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Mary Powell Charlton: Sampler, Portrait, Bible, and Family

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One day in 1769, 9-year-old Mary, daughter of Seymour and Jane Powell of Yorktown, applied the final stitches to her sampler. She had every right to feel proud of her accomplishment, and we can thank the individuals who treasured and saved Mary's needlework.

The sampler, a Charles Willson Peale portrait of Mary as an adult, and her Bible are currently

Detail of lower portion of Mary Powell's sampler showing names and birth dates of her parents and siblings. The final lines show her name, birth date, and the year she worked the sampler. Private collection.

featured in the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum exhibition *American Schoolgirl Needlework: Records of Virtue*.¹ Since few personal papers relating to her family have survived, these three objects offer significant evidence about Mary's life as a young girl, wife, and mother in a middling Yorktown (and later Williamsburg) merchant-planter family.

Seymour Powell's family lived in Warwick and York counties for several generations; by the 1760s, several family members resided in Williamsburg. Although no evidence directly links Mary's father to Williamsburg residents Benjamin Powell and his brother Seymour, circumstantial evidence suggests that the two brothers were uncles of Mary's father. Two more relatives—her father's brother Peter Powell and her father's uncle George Jackson Powell—also lived in Williamsburg.²

By naming their children for parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, and uncles, the Powell family adopted naming patterns common in early

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Virginia. *Seymour*, sometimes spelled *Seymore*, was a common Powell family first name. Mary's father shared the name with his grandfather and likely with his uncle (Benjamin Powell's brother). In turn, Mary's parents named a son Seymour, as did both Mary and her sister Rose Lilly. It is likely that Mary was named for her aunt and paternal grandmother. Except for her sister Rose Lilly, Mary and her siblings all bear names of one or more immediate Powell relatives.

Tracing the family histories of early Virginians is often uneven, with the weights heavily stacked on the paternal side. We know nothing about the maternal side of Mary's family, since Jane Powell's maiden name is unknown. While Jane Powell's family may have lived in eastern Virginia for some years, she could have immigrated to Virginia.

During a time when most Virginia women married by their early 20s, giving birth to her first known child at age 27 was unusually late and suggests that Jane and Seymour married when she was in her mid-20s. On the other hand, the spacing of Jane's children (from about a year and a half to two years apart) and the number of children she had (seven) are typical for Virginians of this period.

Seymour Powell was one of ten children born to York County planter Thomas Powell and his wife, Mary. Thomas was probably in his mid- to late 40s when he died in early 1739, leaving his wife with several adult children and the rest—including Seymour—underage.

Seymour likely spent his early life on the family's plantation, but, by the early 1750s, he had moved to Yorktown, leased a house, obtained an ordinary license, and was operating a tavern. In 1754, Powell was appointed constable for York County, a position he held for some years. By the early 1760s he had become a merchant.³

When and where Mary's father first purchased land in rural York County or Yorktown is uncertain, but court records show he served as a juror in land causes in 1749, indicating he owned land by that date. Though no record of his land purchases in Yorktown survive, through the years he acquired several lots, including his residence (the "house at the water side in Yorktown") mentioned in his will.

By the mid-1760s Powell's business was expanding. He owned a warehouse, and he and his brother Hudson advertised in 1767 that they had a new sloop available for charter to the West Indies. Seymour purchased several parcels of rural York County land: 230 acres in 1770 and 330 acres three years later.⁴

By the end of his life Seymour had acquired thirteen slaves, perhaps beginning in 1749 when

he inherited Kate, Hannah, and Jemmy from his brother Thomas's estate. While several of the slaves may have helped around the house or with Seymour's mercantile operations, most probably worked on his plantations.⁵

Seymour and Jane Powell probably married in the late 1750s. Mary, their first child, and her siblings were likely born in Yorktown, unless Jane's mother or other female relatives lived nearby. In early Virginia it was customary for women in the late stages of pregnancy to return to the homes of their mothers or other female relatives for support and assistance before, during, and immediately after giving birth.

We can assume that this merchant husband and his wife appreciated the value of education and expected their children to at least master basic skills of reading, writing, and ciphering. As was generally true among their peers, the Powells probably intended for their sons to have more schooling than their daughters, who, after mastering basic literacy, would be trained by their mother in housewifery skills in preparation for marriage and managing a household. Seymour's will, written when all of his children were underage, provided for "the maintenance and education of my children until they come to the age of 21 years or married." The level of literacy in this family is also reflected in the number of books Seymour owned ("35 Small printed Books of History & Religion") when he died.⁶

Perhaps Mary, like Nelly Calvert of Norfolk, began her initial instruction in reading, spelling, and writing at about age 6 at a small neighborhood school. After several years, Nelly recalled, "I was sent to a Mrs. Johnson . . . She taught me needle-work and marking on the sampler."⁷ On the other hand, Mary might have been taught by her mother.

Mary's sampler, however, offers tangible evidence suggesting another possibility. Her sampler shares several remarkable characteristics with another sampler on exhibit, one stitched about 1760 by Frances Burwell (born 1747), the daughter of Col. Robert Burwell of Isle of Wight County and Sally Nelson Burwell, a daughter of Thomas Nelson of Yorktown. An exhibition caption invites viewers to

Notice the similarities in the building and the fruit trees on Mary Powell's sampler and Frances Burwell's piece seen nearby. The almost identical motifs on Mary's sampler are larger because of the coarser thread count of the linen ground fabric. The samplers may have been worked under the instruction of the same needle-work teacher.

Both samplers depict a similar, gable-end building—perhaps the Custom House or the west end of the nearby house of Frances Burwell's grandfather in Yorktown whose number and position of windows match the building shown on the samplers.

A family record sampler, Mary's stitchery shows the year she made the sampler, 1769, and the names and birth dates of her parents and siblings. Public records note their names, but only Mary's stitches reveal their birth dates: father, Seymour Powell born October 19, 1723; mother, Jane Powell born September 9, 1733; Mary born July 4, 1760, followed by brothers Thomas born March 11, 1762, Seymour born October 22, 1763, John born May 7, 1766, and her baby sister, Rose Lilly born July 11, 1768. Later records list two more siblings, a brother named William and a sister named Jane, born after 1769.⁸

As the oldest child in a growing family where a new sibling was born every one and a half to two years, Mary likely assumed increasing responsibilities as she aged for assisting her mother with child care and other household duties. In addition to any formal schooling Mary received, Jane Powell taught her daughter the domestic skills needed to run a successful household when she married. Perhaps Mary also received instruction in dance and deportment. As the daughter of a middling merchant, it is also possible that Mary assisted her father at his store when she reached her mid-teen years.

By early January 1776, Seymour Powell was sick enough to write his will, a turn of events that must have concerned his entire family. At the time, Seymour was 53, his wife, Jane, was ten years younger, and their children were all underage: Mary almost 16, Thomas almost 14, Seymour 13, John almost 10, Rose almost 8, Jane perhaps 6, and William perhaps 4.

We do not know whether Seymour Powell's illness was temporary or lingering. His last recorded public action was to sign, along with fifty-two other male residents of Yorktown, a petition to the General Assembly:

For the better and more orderly Government of the place, they pray that an Act may pass for creating the said Town into a Corporation, with power to make By-laws for regulating their police, restraining Enormities, repairing their Streets & Landings & for other such salutary purposes & that the land at the Waterside may be added to the Town.

There are few references to him during these years, but that could be attributed in part to disruptions caused by the Revolutionary War.⁹

The years leading up to and during the Revolution were challenging ones for merchants. As trade with Great Britain ceased, merchants had to temporarily then permanently seek new markets and sources of income, and chance their shipped goods being captured at sea or diverted by British blockades.¹⁰

As it became apparent in the early fall of 1781 that Washington and Rochambeau planned to attack Cornwallis's army at Yorktown, many residents, presumably including the Powell family, left town. Although no one filed a claim, it is likely that Powell's Yorktown property and residence suffered damages during the battle. Many other Yorktown houses were ransacked and many buildings along the riverfront were severely damaged or destroyed.¹¹

Mary's father died sometime before May 20, 1782, the date his will was recorded. When he wrote his will six years earlier, Seymour intended for his wife, Jane, to receive ten of his slaves and specified livestock and live in his house at the waterfront until she could have a house built on part of his rural land.

Then he expected her to sell his Yorktown property, his "goods wares & merchandizes," and the remainder of his rural land to pay his debts; keep one-eighth of the proceeds for herself; and invest the remainder for the maintenance and education of their seven children until they reached age 21 or married and received their one-eighth share of his estate. Reflecting the general expectation that his daughters would marry, Powell stipulated that his "sons may be brought up to such business as my wife may think proper."¹²

As directed in the will, Jane Powell qualified as executrix on September 17, and the York County Court appointed appraisers to inventory Seymour Powell's personal property. Reflecting the lifestyle of a successful middling merchant, the inventory gives no hint of the devastation that the Powells' residence possibly suffered nearly a year earlier during the siege of Yorktown. Perhaps the family removed many of their household furnishings before the battle.

The inventory also lists no store goods, possibly indicating that poor health had forced Powell to quit his business some months or years before he died. Also missing, with the exception of a horse, mare, cow, and several plows that could have been kept in town, are the usual number of animals, tools, and farming equipment generally included in the inventory of someone who owned more than 500 acres of rural land.¹³

Jane Powell continued to occupy the family residence in Yorktown. If Seymour had not arranged for his older sons to be apprenticed to

another merchant or tradesman before he died, Jane probably saw to that. It is likely that her youngest son, William, remained at home until he was apprenticed and her daughters lived there until they married.

Rose Lilly married Claudius Vial of Hanover County in September 1786, and Jane married William A. Rogers of Yorktown by the late 1790s. In the 1780s and 1790s, Jane paid taxes on five to seven slaves and one to four horses in town. She also paid taxes on 560 acres of land in the county until 1790, when she sold 443 acres to William Goosley.¹⁴

On February 20, 1786, Mary Powell married Francis Charlton at a ceremony conducted by the Rev. Samuel Shield. The public record only informs us that the wedding took place in York County, but we know it was customary in eighteenth-century Virginia for marriages to take place at the home of the bride or a close relative.¹⁵

Who was Francis Charlton and what brought him to Yorktown? Charlton is a fairly common British surname; a number of people with that surname lived in Maryland and eastern Virginia by the mid-eighteenth century. To date, no information has come to light linking Francis Charlton with any of these persons with the same surname who lived in the Williamsburg area: tailor George Charlton, who arrived in Williamsburg from London with his mantuamaker wife, Ann, in 1738; wigmaker Edward Charlton, who arrived from London about 1752 and later married milliner Jane Hunter; or wigmaker and tavernkeeper Richard Charlton, who lived in Williamsburg from the 1760s until his death in 1779.¹⁶

There is a good possibility that the man Mary Powell later married was the same Francis Charlton who earlier clerked for Wallace, Johnson, and Muir, one of the leading mercantile firms in Annapolis. Several years before the Revolution, Joshua Johnson represented the firm in London before moving its base of operations to France. Company records show that Charlton clerked for Johnson when he lived in Nantes during the war.¹⁷

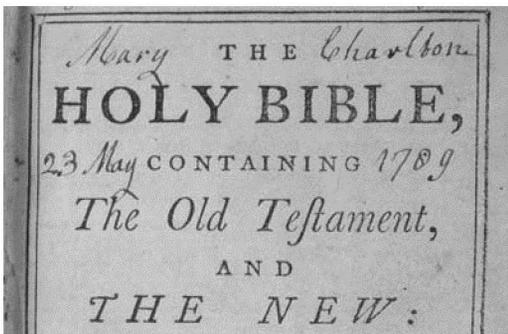
One possible scenario is that Charlton first met Joshua Johnson in London in the mid- to late 1770s and followed him to Nantes to clerk for the firm. Then, perhaps, Charlton accompanied Johnson when he returned to Maryland via London in 1783.¹⁸

The date of publication of the small, travel-size Charlton family Bible on exhibit, printed in Oxford, England, in 1782, fits this scenario. A note written opposite the title page by one of Francis and Mary's children states: "This precious volume was brought from London by my beloved father, Francis Charlton, in the autumn of 1784 and presented to my beloved mother in May 1789. name on next page written in her own dear hand." The tone of the annotation suggests that the note was written after or near the time of Mary's death in 1811 nearly 30 years after Charlton's 1783 arrival in Maryland. This could allow for the minor one-year discrepancy in the note.¹⁹

Wallace, Johnson, and Muir records show that in 1783 and 1784 the firm expanded its consignment trade into Virginia and occasionally sent their "principal clerk" Francis Charlton to the York River to represent the company. A letter copied into William Lee's letterbook may refer to business transacted on one of these trips. Writing from Greenspring on August 15, 1784, to a Mr. Charlton at Mrs. Gibbon's tavern in Yorktown about a dispute with a ship's captain, Lee invited Charlton "to do me the honour of a Visit as you go up the Cuntry."²⁰

When the Annapolis firm decided to stop conducting its consignment trade in tidewater Virginia around the mid-1780s, Francis Charlton may have left the company and decided to open a store in Yorktown. Although Seymour Powell died four years before Francis wed Mary, this marriage linked Charlton to a family with long-established commercial and social connections in Yorktown, Williamsburg, and York County.

Since no land or tax records for Yorktown or York County list Francis Charlton as a landowner, it is possible that the Charltons lived with or next door to Mary's mother on one of Seymour Powell's waterfront lots in Yorktown and rented some of the seven slaves owned by Jane Powell. Personal property tax records do not show that Francis Charlton owned any slaves until 1788, when he is listed as having two slaves over 16.²¹



Detail of upper portion of Bible title page showing Mary Charlton's signature and the date Francis Charlton gave the Bible to his wife. Private collection.



Portrait of Mary Powell Charlton and her daughter, Jane Catherine, painted by Charles Willson Peale in 1789. Private collection.

Although we do not know any of the birth dates, and only the birth year for several of Francis and Mary's children (Thomas Powell born about 1787, Francis born in 1793, and Seymour Powell born in 1795), the fact that they had six children during their twelve-year marriage suggests that most of the children were born about one and a half to two years apart. It is likely that their first child, Jane Catherine, was born near the end of 1786.²²

With no surviving business records for Francis Charlton, it is not possible to measure his success as a merchant, but 1789 could have been a good year for his business. Or, he may have had another reason to want to do something special for his wife and young daughter Jane Catherine.

Perhaps through his mercantile connections, Francis learned that Charles Willson Peale planned to travel from Philadelphia to Maryland in May 1789, or Francis, Mary, and their young daughter may have just happened to be visiting in Annapolis when Peale was in town. Regardless, Francis arranged for Peale to paint a portrait of his wife and daughter.

This undated entry for mid-May in Peale's diary confirms the transaction: "I have began a portrait of Mrs. Calahan also a portrait of Mrs. Charlton & child—Mr. Charlton going to Virginia offered me the payment which I have received in full for his Lady & Child 15 Guineas." That Peale painted the portrait is further validated by the artist's signature and date just above the chair back: "CWPeale painted 1789."²³

See the sidebar for art historian Leslie K. Reinhardt's discerning analysis of the painting.

On May 23 of that year, according to a note in the family Bible, Francis gave the volume to Mary, who signed her name and wrote the date in the upper right corner of the title page.²⁴

The late 1790s were trying years for Mary Powell Charlton. Around the middle of 1797, Mary's mother, Jane Powell, died in Yorktown. Several months later the Charltons moved to Williamsburg, perhaps because Francis anticipated that his business prospects would be greater there.

Although the former capital had been reduced to a provincial town for some years, Williamsburg remained the county seat of James City County, continued to have a local market, and supported two major institutions (the College of William and Mary and the Public Hospital).

Charlton bought the house and lot where the Orlando Jones House has been reconstructed and rented a building on Francis Street across from the Public Hospital where he operated a store. Charlton's time as a merchant in Williamsburg, however, was cut short when he died on January 17, 1798, from what Jane Catherine later termed "a short and sudden indisposition."²⁵

Thus Mary, like her mother and grandmother before her, suddenly became a widow with underage children. The "3 small Beds and furniture for children" listed in Charlton's inventory are poignant reminders that Francis and Mary's six children were young, ranging in age from Seymour, who was 3, up to Jane Catherine, who was about 12. In between were Mary Lorraine, George Washington, Thomas Powell (who was about 11), and Francis (who was 5).²⁶

Tax records for 1798 note that Mary Charlton obtained a retail license for the store, signal-

Mrs. Francis Charlton (Mary Powell) and Daughter . . . has a small format but rich content. The mother is seated and embraces her daughter with one hand. The child stands next to her, leaning against her lap. Both look directly at the viewer while holding some of the flowers deposited in the woman's lap.

She [Mary] wears an apricot-colored invented dress of the style standard for Peale, with bell-shaped elbow length sleeves, voluminous gauzy undersleeves caught up in front with a strand of pearls, a bodice that suggests looseness but maintains a regularized torso form, a loosely tied blue sash with gold tassels, and an airy asymmetric gauze scarf draped about the neckline. Invention is signaled primarily with the numerous folds that indicate a loosely draped quality rather than the smooth fit of fashion.

A watch hangs from her waist or sash end, minutely detailed in contrast to the vaguer handling of costume. A miniature hangs from a cord around her neck, and a sprig of jasmine decorates the center front. Her light brown hair is unpowdered and appears unarranged, lying close and almost flat to the head, and falling into loose ringlets.

The child's dress is only partially visible. From what can be seen, it is consistent with contemporary children's fashion: it is white, with straight elbow-length sleeves, and square neckline. The sash is a feature of such dress, but here is made to echo that worn by the mother, with a gold tassel fringe.

She wears a white hat with two large feathers and a gilt ribbon. This accords with fashionable dress for children, which in the 1770s and 1780s included large caps and hats. Although the hat fits the child's head, its large flamboyant feathers dwarf her frame, and provide a humorous tone.

In contrast to the child's dramatic headgear, the woman's head departs markedly from the fashionable style, which at this date was very wide and often frizzed and powdered. Hats were often worn as well. Unlike most of the hairstyles in Peale portraits, which maintained the general fashionable height or width while avoiding powder and adding long tresses, this one appears almost completely undressed and flat. Usually the hair framing the face more or less followed the fashionable silhouette. Mrs. Charlton's head contrasts pointedly with the fashionable hat her daughter wears. Because her hair is so flat, there may even be a suggestion that Mrs. Charlton has removed her own hat.

The child provides a foil for the mother's appearance, and the pictured dress contrasts

real dress, identified as childlike, and invented dress, identified as adult, natural, and beautiful. The lightness of tone prevents this pictured theme from being too didactic. . . .

In the Charlton portrait, the flowers are depicted carefully and can all be identified. Mrs. Charlton wears jasmine at her bosom. She holds a spray of mock orange (*Philadelphus*) below some honeysuckle (*Lonicera*). A small bloom of hawthorn (*Crataegus*) lies in her lap. The child holds a rosebud.

All of these flowers could be found in America at the time, but except for the rose are not common in portraits. . . . The rosebud that the child holds probably symbolizes her youth, still unopened. The jasmine . . . is notable for its powerful fragrance rather than for showy flowers, and indicates that the sitter's unseen beauty surpasses her outward appearance.

The meaning of the other flowers is not obvious, and since they occur nowhere else in Peale's work, may have had some personal meaning for the sitter. However, like the jasmine, the other flowers all have strong fragrances and simple rather than showy appearance. Mock orange particularly is famous for its fragrance, though its flowers are simple. Peale used these naturalistic renderings of familiar flowers to convey the theme of inner beauty and make the meaning immediate and local, in the same way that he included specific, identifiable locations and houses in other portraits.

Below the flowers, the watch is placed prominently against the ground of drapery. Its precise divination also draws the viewer's attention, and contrasts with the invention of the rest of the costume. In conjunction with the flowers, it might be read as a memento mori indicating the fleeting nature of beauty. However, in concert with the specific meaning of fragrant flowers as indicating inward and invisible beauty, and with the context of invented dress it may be read emblematically. Writers characterized watches as decorative and feminine, and emphasized that their true worth is found inside—as Peale's own experience as a watchmaker would have taught him. . . .

Beautifully painted, with sympathetic characterizations and resonant imagery, the Charlton portrait conveys the theme of virtuous beauty with a lightness, informality, and tenderness that make it one of Peale's most thoughtful and successful.

Leslie Kaye Reinhardt, "Fabricated Images: Invented Dress in British and Colonial American Portraits" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003), 423–426, 428.

ing her intention to operate it on Francis Street. The inventory of Francis Charlton's personal property shows he ran a general store, selling merchandise that included wine, liquor, tea, coffee, sugar, spices, nails, hoes, locks, dishes, glassware, fabrics, blankets, stockings, gloves, and shoe buckles.

Although tax records indicate that Francis and later, Mary, owned several slaves, none is listed in the inventory, perhaps because they actually belonged to Mary. Neither the portrait nor the family Bible is listed in the inventory, indicating they also belonged to his wife.²⁷

Francis Charlton died without a will, so the court appointed Mary administratrix to settle his estate, a task complicated by the fact that the estate of her mother remained unsettled. A document written by Jane Catherine in 1816 reveals some of the hardships her mother faced during these years. "Left in a widowed state, with 5, or 6 young Children to maintain, Educate &c, and that too with very, indeed limited means," her mother, "under the persuasions that her Brothers & Brothers in Law would not withhold that just & fair proportion of her deceased mothers estate, to which she was legally entitled, left the management of it, solely to them. But she was egregiously deceived . . . so it was that the whole estate was divided & subdivided among themselves & not a particle or portion of it assigned to the widow Mrs. C or her family."

Jane Catherine also recalled that about 1803 her mother took in 8-year-old Rosey Vial (the daughter of Mary's sister Rose Lilly, who may have been dead by that date) and "boarded, nurtured, & attended her free of costs until 1806 or 1807 [when] a combination of circumstances obliged" her mother to send Rosey to live with another relative.²⁸

Jane Catherine did not elaborate on the "combination of circumstances" her mother faced in the early 1800s, but several things are obvious. Mary Charlton was a widowed, working mother in her 40s with "limited means" rear-

ing, educating, and caring for six young children and, for several years, also caring for a young female relative.

Tax records show that Mary Charlton continued to obtain retail licenses through 1810. It appears that Mary's health failed that year or early in the next. Entries in the family Bible record some of the sorrows the family experienced in the next decade.

On April 19, 1811, Jane Catherine noted: "My much beloved and truly amiable Mother departed this life aged 51 at her residence in Wmsburg." Two years later, on March 12 she noted: "my beloved Brother, Francis Charlton departed this life aged 20." Nine years later she recorded the death of another brother, Seymour Powell Charlton: "My beloved Brother S. P. Charlton entered into the joy of his Lord Friday 29th Sept 1820 aged 25."²⁹

Administering her mother's estate fell to Jane Catherine, who was then about 25. The family's circumstances dictated that Jane and her siblings move out of the house so her mother's personal property, including three slaves, household furnishings, and store goods, could be auctioned. The first of two auctions was held on August 12, 1811, and the second a year later on October 20, 1812.³⁰

Where the children lived next, and if together or separated, is uncertain but another of Jane Catherine's Bible entries offers a clue: "Saturday 13th June 1812 my dearest Sister Mary L. Charlton married at Mrs. Powell's in Wmsburg, to Robert Greenhow of Richmond." The groom's entry, as recorded in the Greenhow family Bible (printed by Mark Baskett, London, 1768), included more details:

To that over ruling Providence, who had through Life been my Aid, & support; I had frequent recourse; I sought not his Assistance in vain. He directed my Steps to Wmsburg; And at the House of Mrs. Powell, & her amiable Daughter Mrs. McGill; I was by the Revd. Jno. Bracken, Rector of Bruton

Annotation in the Charlton family Bible that records the June 13, 1812, marriage of the Charlton's daughter, Mary Lorraine, to Robert Greenhow, son of John Greenhow, at the home of Frances Powell [formerly Wetherburn's Tavern].

Saturday 13th June 1812
 my dearest
 Sister Mary L. Charlton married
 at Mrs Powell's in Wmsburg, to
 Robert Greenhow of Richmond.

Parish, united in Marriage, on Saturday Evening at about 8 O'clock the 13th of June 1812, to Mary Lorraine Charlton second Daughter of Francis & Mary Charlton late of that City; who was born in the town of York 12 miles from Wmsburg, on _____ the ____ of ____ AD.³¹

This wedding took place in the building known today as Wetherburn's Tavern. Formerly owned by Mrs. Frances Powell's late husband William Rowsay, Frances inherited the property before she married Benjamin Powell in the late 1780s. After Benjamin's death in late 1790 or early 1791, the widow Powell moved to the building that had earlier served as a tavern.

Perhaps the wedding of Mary Lorraine Charlton to Robert Greenhow took place at Mrs. Powell's house, but it is also possible that the Charlton daughters moved in with Mrs. Powell after their mother died. Frances, the daughter of Edmund Tabb of Yorktown who married William Rowsay of Williamsburg in 1779, was probably a childhood friend or possibly even a maternal relative of Mary Powell Charlton. By the time their mother died, the Charlton sons may have been apprenticed and living away from home.³²

On marrying 51-year-old Robert Greenhow, Mary Lorraine—then in her early 20s—experienced an abrupt change in lifestyle. After growing up in a family who had experienced “limited means” for many years, Mary Lorraine became the wife of one of Richmond's most prosperous residents.

Soon after the capital moved to Richmond in 1780, four of Robert's stepbrothers moved to the new seat of government. Robert remained in Williamsburg and carried on the family business established by his father John Greenhow in the mid-1750s and participated in civic affairs by serving as mayor for several years and representing James City County in the state legislature for two terms.

Although Robert and his wife and son did not move to Richmond until 1810, he, like his stepbrothers, began investing in real estate in the 1780s. When he moved his family to Richmond and opened a store there, he quickly became involved in city government—serving first as a councilman and then as alderman and recorder. In 1812, he became mayor.³³

Robert's marriage to Mary Lorraine came just over six months after the tragic death of his first wife, Mary Ann Wills, whom he had married in 1786. The day after Christmas, Robert, his wife, and their 11-year-old son, Robert, were attending a performance at the new Richmond Theatre when fire broke out at the beginning of the

second act. In the confusion that followed, the father and son got separated from Mary Ann, who was killed along with seventy-one others, including the governor.³⁴

By 1813, it is likely that Jane Catherine Charlton had moved in with her sister and brother-in-law. Letters addressed to her by that date were sent in care of Robert Greenhow in Richmond. In 1814, two events occurred that brought both joy and upheaval to the household, although the sequence is uncertain. The family moved from a smaller house on West Franklin Street into the large, two-story brick home on Capitol and 10th streets built by Edmund Randolph, another Williamsburg-to-Richmond transplant, about ten years earlier.³⁵

The birth of Francis John Seymour in mid-June is documented in both the Charlton and Greenhow family Bibles. Jane Catherine recorded: “My beloved Sister delivered of a fine Son on Friday morning 1/4 past 5 June 10th 1814.” Robert's recollection disagrees in two points: “On Friday Morning at half past 5 O'clock of June 17th 1814; My Dear Mary presented me with a fine lovely, Healthfull Boy; dear pledge of our mutual Affection.” Since her sister was likely in the bedroom when Mary Lorraine gave birth and Robert, as was customary at that time, was probably in another part of the house, the fifteen-minute interval recorded in arrival time is understandable. But who was likely correct in noting the birth date is uncertain.³⁶

Both Bibles also record the “christening” [Jane Catherine's word] “baptism” [Robert's description], each giving slightly different details. Although Jane Catherine records the exact date and time as “1/2 past 4 o'clock 24th July 1814,” Robert's record is sufficiently detailed that the scene could be acted out:

On Sunday Afternoon we took him publicly to the Altar of the newly erected Monumental Church in this City; where by Bishop Moore in the presence of the then Assembled Congregation previous to Divine Service, he was by Baptism, under the Name of Francis, John, Seymour, made a Member of Christs Church. We his Parents, His Affectionate Aunt Jane Charlton, his Uncle Seymour, together with Miss Maria Davis, & Miss Peggy Briggs pledging ourselves as Sponsors for his education & bringing up in the Christian Faith which that we may be enabled to do; God of his Infinite Mercy Grant: _____, _____.³⁷

This event must have been bittersweet for Robert Greenhow, since his first wife died in the Richmond Theatre fire in 1811. The city, in cooperation with a committee of citizens, ordered

that a church be built on the theater site as a memorial to the seventy-two residents of Virginia who lost their lives in the conflagration. The Monumental Church (Episcopal), completed in the spring of 1814, survives today. Owned by the Historic Richmond Foundation, the church is currently undergoing restoration.³⁸

Notations in both family Bibles show that the Charlton and Greenhow families grew and diminished over the next few years. Jane Catherine recorded on March 12, 1813: "my "beloved Brother, Francis Charlton departed this life aged 20." Robert's brother Samuel "resigned his Soul into the hands of his Creator" on February 14, 1815. Just over a month later, Jane Catherine recorded the death of Mary Lorraine's baby on March 26, 1815.

Robert wrote that his son Francis John Seymour died on Easter Sunday, after being ill for several months. His account reveals how heartrending this event was for the family: "In the Evening, our much beloved Infant, Francis John Seymour winged his Cherub Way to the Seat prepared for him by the Death & Sufferings of our Dear Redeemer!—But his Inheritance, for ever durable, & most transcendently Glorious, duely reflected on by us his Parents, & his much afflicted aunt and Godmother Jane, to whom he was dear as if he had been her own child." On Christmas Day that year, Robert's stepbrother Dr. James Greenhow died in Philadelphia.³⁹

Mary Lorraine gave birth to four more children: "a fine, healthy, lovely Boy, perfect in all its parts" born August 12, 1817, and baptized James Washington several months later at Monumental Church; "a perfect & well formed Daughter," born September 9, 1819, and baptized Mary Jane Charlton at the church October 27; followed by a stillborn daughter on November 23, 1821, and a premature, stillborn son on June 20, 1826.⁴⁰

Their son James Washington died in Tennessee in 1849. Mary Lorraine outlived her husband, who died in 1840, by fifteen years. She later moved to Winchester, where Mary Jane and her husband, Hugh Lee, lived. Mary Jane Lee lived into the early twentieth century, dying in Baltimore in 1907.⁴¹

Jane Catherine, who probably lived with her sister and brother-in-law for about ten years, married the Rev. Henry Keeling of Richmond about 1823. Born in Princess Anne County in 1795, he converted from the Episcopal to the Baptist faith in 1816.

After spending three years at the Theological Institution in Philadelphia, Reverend Keeling moved to Richmond. He served as pastor at several Richmond Baptist churches, then ran a girl's

school, taught young African-American children to read, and edited several Baptist denominational papers. The Keelings had two children, a daughter named Mary Frances and a son named Robert, born in 1827 and killed during the Civil War in 1862. Jane Catherine, who died in 1860, and Henry, who died in 1870, are both buried in Shockoe Cemetery in Richmond.⁴²

Less is known about the Charlton sons. Francis died, probably in Williamsburg, at the age of 20 in 1813. Seymour Powell moved to Norfolk, never married, and died at the age of 25 in 1820. George Washington, who moved to Petersburg, married a woman whose first name was Mary sometime after 1825. Thomas Powell moved to Richmond, was unmarried in 1825, and died there around the first of January in 1830.⁴³

What do we know about how Mary Powell's sampler, her portrait, and her Bible survived? The portrait and Bible passed from Jane Catherine through the Keeling family to the present owner. The sampler passed to an unknown member of the Powell family and was reunited two generations ago with the family that now owns all three Charlton family pieces.⁴⁴

Greenhow family descendants gave the Greenhow family Bible to the Rockefeller Library in 2007. About fifty years earlier, Powell family descendants gave two volumes to Colonial Williamsburg that formerly belonged to Mary Lorraine Greenhow: *The Book of Common Prayer*, published in Philadelphia in 1818 with "Mary L. Greenhow" stamped in gilt on the front cover, and *The Christian's Inheritance: A Collection of the Promises of Scripture, Under Their Proper Heads* by Samuel Clark, published in London in 1817 with a bookplate that reads "Seymour P. Charlton's Bible, presented to him by his affectionate sister, Mary L. Greenhow, A.D. 1818." All three volumes may be examined in the Special Collections section of the Rockefeller Library.

Two recent books carry the story of Greenhow women through the Civil War period: Ann Blackman, Wild Rose: The True Story of a Civil War Spy (New York: Random House, 2005) and Sheila R. Phipps, Genteel Rebel: The Life of Mary Greenhow Lee (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004). Both are good reads.

Pat acknowledges with thanks members of the Department of Historical Research, staff of the Rockefeller Library; Kim Ivey, Angelika Kuettner, and Barbara Luck of the Department of Collections; Leslie K. Reinhardt, Jean Russo, and the individual who loaned the sampler, portrait, and Bible for the exhibition and shared family papers and research notes about the Powell and Charlton families.

¹ Be sure to catch this exhibition, curated by Kim Ivey, Colonial Williamsburg's associate curator of textiles and needlework, before it closes September 1, 2008.

² Kevin P. Kelly to Darci Tucker, "A Possible Benjamin Powell Genealogy," memorandum, August 9, 1994. Lacking specific evidence about parentage of Benjamin Powell and his brother Seymore, Kelly has drawn on a considerable amount of circumstantial documentation. In this detailed memorandum, he speculates that Benjamin and Seymore were sons of Seymore Powell (c.1675–c. 1745) and his first wife, Elizabeth Tiplady (c. 1675–1720+), or his second wife, Ann Jackson (c. 1700?–?).

³ *Ibid.*; York County Wills and Inventories 18, p. 495, microfilm M-1. 9; York County Judgments and Orders 1, p. 403, and 2, pp. 18, 87, and 420, microfilm M-1.29; *Virginia Gazette*, 12 February 1762, p. 4, col. 1. County records cited here and below, along with Williamsburg tax records, are at the Library of Virginia; microfilm copies for these records and records cited below at John D. Rockefeller Library Special Collections, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (Hereafter, Rockefeller Library).

⁴ York County Land Causes, 1746–1769, pp. 32–34, microfilm M-1.44; Guardian Accounts 1, p. 291, microfilm M-1.42; Deeds 8, pp. 64–67, 286–288, microfilm M-1.16.

⁵ York County Wills and Inventories 20, p. 154, microfilm M-1.11.

⁶ Linda Rowe, "Women and Education in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter* 23 (Summer 2002): 23–29; York County Wills and Inventories 22, pp. 534–535 and 546–548, microfilm M-1.11.

⁷ Charles B. Cross Jr., ed., *Memoirs of Helen Calvert Maxwell Read* (Chesapeake, Va., 1970), 39.

⁸ Mary Powell sampler, private collection; York County Wills and Inventories 22, pp. 534–535, M-1.11.

⁹ *Ibid.*; Virginia Legislative Petitions, 1784–1858, petition dated May 10, 1780, Library of Virginia, M-1051.1.

¹⁰ W. A. Low, "Merchant and Planter Relations in Post-Revolutionary Virginia, 1783–1789," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 61 (1953): 308–309; James F. Shepherd, "British America and the Atlantic Economy," in Ronald Hoffman, John J. McCusker, Russell R. Menard, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763–1790* (Charlottesville, Va., 1988), 19–23.

¹¹ Deposition of Sarah Osborn, quoted in John C. Dann, ed., *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence* (Chicago, 1980), 244–246; Richard M. Ketchum, *Victory at Yorktown: The Campaign that Won the Revolution* (New York, 2004), 242–246; Emmy E. Werner, *In Pursuit of Liberty: Coming of Age in the American Revolution* (Westport, Conn., 2006), 83–84.

¹² York County Wills and Inventories 22, pp. 534–535, microfilm M-1.11.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 546–548.

¹⁴ York County Marriage Bonds, p. 353, M-1.43; Jane Catherine Charlton statement in Papers relating to John Seabrook versus Robert Wilkins, suit related to a Negro woman sold by Jane C. Charlton to Seabrook, Henrico Superior Court, March 17, 1820, Robert Anderson Papers A 3, Estate Papers, folder 144 Mary Charlton Estate Papers, 1813–1825, Rockefeller Library (Hereafter, J. C. Charlton statement); York County Land Tax Lists, 1782–1831, microfilm M-1169.7.

¹⁵ York County Marriage Bonds, p. 78, microfilm M-1.43.

¹⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, 1 September 1738, p. 4, col. 2; 30 April 1752, p. 3, col. 2; (Purdie and Dixon) 25 June 1767, p. 3, col. 1; (Dixon and Hunter) 2 October 1779, p. 2, col., 2.

¹⁷ Although the introduction does not name Francis Charlton, the text mentions that Johnson hired young clerks to assist him in London. Jacob M. Price, ed., *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771–1774; Letters from a Merchant in London to His Partners in Maryland* (London, 1979), xxiii; Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805* (Baltimore, 1975), 55–61, 73–75, 176.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁹ *The Holy Bible Containing The Old Testament and The New* (Oxford, 1782), private collection. (Hereafter, Charlton Family Bible).

²⁰ Papenfuse, *In Pursuit*, 176; Letterbook of William Lee, 1783–1787, p. 114, Virginia Historical Society, microfilm M-82.9.

²¹ York County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1782–1809, M-1169.9.

²² Alice Bohmer Rudd, *Shockoe Hill Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia: Register of Interments, April 10, 1822–December 31, 1950* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 8, lists interment of Thomas P. Charlton, age 44, on January 3, 1830; Charlton Family Bible gives ages at death for Francis and Seymour Charlton. Jane Catherine Charlton appears to be about 3 in the Peale portrait.

²³ Lillian B. Miller, ed., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, Volume 1, *Charles Willson Peale: Artist in Revolutionary America, 1735–1791* (New Haven, Conn., 1983), 561–562, 637. Peale portrait of Mrs. Mary Powell Charlton and her daughter Jane Catherine, private collection.

²⁴ Charlton Family Bible.

²⁵ J. C. Charlton statement; Mary A. Stephenson, "Orlando Jones Historical Report, Block 10, Building 16a," The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, no. 1212, 1960, 12, Rockefeller Library; Robert Anderson to John B. Clopton, August 4, 1816, asks the Principal Assessor for District 17 of Virginia to record a change in the ownership of several pieces of Williamsburg property, including: "One House & lot belonging to the representatives of Francis Charlton (residing in Richmond) I wish changed from my name to the names of the proper owners. This house [no lot number identified] is valued at \$1000," Robert Anderson Letterbook No. 3, Virginia Historical Society, microfilm M-82.2; Lyon G. Tyler, *Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital* (Richmond, Va., 1907), frontispiece labeled "Map of Williamsburg about 1790, from the original in the College Library," shows the name "Charlton" on Lot 16.

²⁶ York County Wills and Inventories 23, pp. 506–509, microfilm M-1.12.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Virginia Gazette, and General Advertiser*, March 7, 1798, p. 4, col. 4, microfilm M-1152.1; J. C. Charlton statement.

²⁹ Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists, 1783–1861, microfilm M-1.47; Charlton Family Bible.

³⁰ Robert Anderson assisted Jane Catherine Charlton in administering Mary Charlton's estate, which was com-

plicated by the fact that neither the estates of Seymour and Jane Powell nor Francis Charlton had been fully settled when Mary Charlton died. Robert Anderson Papers, A 3 Estate Papers, folders 142–145 Mary Charlton Estate Papers, 1794–1835, and folder 146 Seymour Powell Estate Papers, 1776–1831, Rockefeller Library.

³¹ Charlton Family Bible; *Holy Bible* (London, 1768) bound together with the *Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1766) with annotations made by John Greenhow, Robert Greenhow, and others, Rockefeller Library Special Collections [BX5145.A.4 1766] (Hereafter Greenhow Family Bible).

³² Mary A. Stephenson, “Wetherburn’s Tavern Historical Report, Block 9, Building 31,” The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, no. 1169, 1965, 51–57; *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon) 13 November 1779, p. 2, col. 1; York County Wills and Inventories 21, pp. 96–97, microfilm M-1.11.

³³ Sheila R. Phipps, *Genteel Rebel: The Life of Mary Greenhow Lee* (Baton Rouge, La., 2004), 14–25, 33.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 27–28; Greenhow Family Bible.

³⁵ Anderson Letterbook 3; Phipps, *Genteel Rebel*, 19, 28, 35.

³⁶ Charlton Family Bible; Greenhow Family Bible.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Phipps, *Genteel Rebel*, 30–31; for more information about the Monumental Church, including a link to

a virtual tour of the church during its restoration, go to www.historicrichmond.com.

³⁹ Charlton Family Bible; Greenhow Family Bible.

⁴⁰ Greenhow Family Bible.

⁴¹ Rudd, *Shockoe Hill Cemetery*, 20, lists interment of Robert Greenhow on July 2, 1840; Phipps, *Genteel Rebel*, 53–54, 74, 219.

⁴² Revd. Henry Keeling and wife In Account with Robert Anderson, 1811–1831, Anderson Letterbook 3, p. 37. Until 1823 Anderson’s accounts had been with Miss Jane Charlton; entry for Henry Keeling, 1795–1870, in George Braxton Taylor, *Virginia Baptist Ministers, Fifth Series, 1902–1914 with Supplement* (Lynchburg, Va., 1915), 504–507; Notes on the Powell, Charlton, and Keeling families compiled in September 1952 by aunt of the current owner of the sampler, portrait, and Bible, 6–10.

⁴³ Charlton Family Bible; Phipps, *Genteel Rebel*, 4 and 200; Indenture between Thomas P. Powell of the city of Richmond and Robert Anderson of Williamsburg, 14 January 1824, York County Deeds 9, p. 404–405; Copy of Injunction: James H. Hubbard versus Robert Anderson, 1825, Robert Anderson Papers, A 3 Estate Papers, Folder 146 Seymour Powell Estate Papers, 1776–1831, Rockefeller Library; Rudd, *Shockoe Hill Cemetery*, 8.

⁴⁴ *Notes on the Powell, Charlton, and Keeling families*, 1–47.

New Orleans and the American Revolution

by Mark Couvillon

Mark is a historical interpreter in Public Sites and a native of New Orleans.

By the time hostilities broke out between the American colonies and England, New Orleans had been a Spanish possession for twelve years. Founded by Sieur Bienville in 1718 to maintain French control of the Mississippi River, New Orleans became the capital of Louisiana in 1722.

Though spared from invasion during the French and Indian War (1756–1763), New Orleans and all French territory west of the Mississippi River was turned over to Spain in 1762 by King Louis XV in part to compensate his Bourbon cousin King Carlos III for the loss of East and West Florida to England.¹

Almost six years passed, however, before Spain officially took control of its new territory. The first Spanish governor to arrive in New Orleans had been driven out by the French in 1768. Not until 1769, with the arrival of a large military force under the command of Gov. Alejandro O’Reilly, did Spain gain control of Louisiana.²

Following Governor O’Reilly to New Orleans from Cuba was fellow Irishman Oliver Pollock. Pollock had immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1760 at the age of 23. Two years later, he began his career as a merchant and moved to Havana to trade with the Spanish in the West Indies. O’Reilly

granted Pollock free trade in New Orleans, and by 1776, he had become one of the wealthiest and most influential businessmen in the city.

Congress looked upon Spain, as it had upon France, as a possible ally in the war against England. And the port city of New Orleans, situated near the mouth of the Mississippi, seemed the most likely avenue for aid from that country, especially if the British attempted to blockade the Chesapeake.

The first serious attempt by the Americans to open a line of communication with Spanish Louisiana occurred in 1776, when Gen. Charles Lee, commander of the southern forces, sent Virginia officers George Gibson and William Lynn from Fort Pitt to New Orleans disguised as traders to seek aid for the Revolution.

Arriving in New Orleans in late August, after a 2,000-mile journey down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, Gibson sought Pollock’s assistance to present Lee’s letter (which had been endorsed by the Virginia committee of safety) to the governor. Would Spain open a commercial alliance with the colonies in exchange for American help in reclaiming various English settlements in Florida?

Governor Unzaga (Luis Unzaga, a native of Malaga, Spain, accompanied O'Reilly to Louisiana in 1769 to help organize the regiment of Louisiana. He was appointed governor in late 1769) responded that he could not grant an open commercial alliance without permission from Madrid first. But in a measure of good faith—no doubt spurred on by news of America's Declaration of Independence, a copy of which Gibson had brought with him—Unzaga sold Pollock 10,000 pounds of gunpowder from Spanish stores. Gibson, acting as "merchant," made the purchase with a draft of 1,850 Spanish milled dollars upon the council of Virginia.³

Lieutenant Lynn took the majority of the powder and supplies upriver to Fort Henry at Wheeling in western Virginia. Captain Gibson sailed to Philadelphia with the remainder of supplies and a letter to Congress from Pollock, pledging his support for the Revolution. This important shipment came in time to prevent forts Pitt and Henry from falling into enemy hands.

General Lee's suggestion of ridding the British from West Florida was appealing to Unzaga, who viewed the English posts at Manchac (a small town in Tangipahoa Parish, Louisiana. Manchac Post or Fort Bute was established in 1763 at the junction of the Iberville River with the Mississippi. It remained an important British military and trading post until captured by Spanish forces in September 1779), Mobile, and Pensacola as both financial and military threats to Spain's holdings in the Gulf of Mexico. It was also appealing to his king.

Unzaga soon received word from Madrid that he was to continue to give aid to the Americans and that he should begin by shipping whatever surplus he had on hand. He also learned that Havana, Cuba, would be the base of operations for supplies destined for the American colonies and that most of the supplies would go through New Orleans. Madrid cautioned Unzaga to make sure all activities were done covertly and kept the appearance of Spanish neutrality at all times.

In February 1777, 30-year-old Don Bernardo de Galvez replaced the aging Unzaga as governor of Louisiana. A friend of the Americans, one of his first acts as governor was to permit the inhabitants of his colony to trade with the United States. Like his predecessor, de Galvez worked closely with Pollock in keeping the Americans supplied with the necessary materiel of war. Without the help of those two men, the war in the west may have ended much differently for the United States.

In July 1777, a proposal submitted by Col. George Morgan and Col. Benedict Arnold to

take Mobile and Pensacola was raised in Congress but died due to lack of troops and funds. Later that year, however, the secret committee of commerce sent Capt. James Willing from Fort Pitt to "capture whatever British property he might meet with" on his way to gather supplies that had been sent to New Orleans from Cuba at the request of Charles Lee. These items included lead, medicine, clothing, and 2,000 barrels of gunpowder.

Willing also brought with him a letter notifying Pollock of his appointment as Congress's commercial agent in New Orleans—a position he already held for Virginia. On his way down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, Willing and his men plundered and raided the plantations of every British subject they came upon. They also captured the strategic British posts at Natchez and Manchac, which succeeded in temporarily crippling the British forces on the Mississippi and interrupting the flow of supplies from Natchez to Pensacola.

While in New Orleans, Willing received permission from Governor de Galvez to hold a public auction to dispose of the captured goods. The sale eventually netted the Americans more than \$62,000.

Willing's victories were short lived, however. In response to the seizure of British property, the governor of West Florida sent British forces to retake Manchac and Natchez, along with orders to block further trade between America and Spain on the river.⁴

On January 2, 1778, Gov. Patrick Henry sent Col. George Rogers Clark on a mission to recapture the Northwest Territory for Virginia by capturing key British posts north of the Ohio. Henry authorized Clark to apply to the commander of Fort Pitt for the powder and lead he needed, "which Captain Lynn brought from New Orleans." Henry further authorized Clark to draw on Pollock for the money he might need during the expedition.

Clark soon found the continental currency was valueless in that part of the country, and he began making drafts on Pollock for the purchase of supplies. In a short time these exceeded 50,000 Spanish dollars. Pollock met these drafts even though the Virginia government had been unable to supply him with cash.

In addition to advancing credit, Pollock sent 2,000 pounds ("a ton") of powder and other supplies to Clark in September 1778. An additional 500 pounds of powder followed three months later. By the end of 1781, Pollock had advanced \$139,739 to Clark and his officers.

According to Clark, his efforts to secure and hold the Illinois country would have failed if

the merchants from whom he had purchased goods had not been reimbursed by Pollock in silver at face value. Virtually unknown today, Pollock's effort in financing the Revolution was no less important than that of his Philadelphia counterpart Robert Morris, who is regarded as "the financier of the American Revolution." Both men played a crucial role in keeping the Americans afloat—a role that cost Pollock his fortune and landed him in debtor's prison.

Not all of the New Orleans expeditions ended in success. There were numerous British spies in the city, and the Willing expedition resulted in increased British presence along the river, making travel more dangerous. In 1778, Governor Henry ("Patricio Enrique," as the Spanish translated his name) sent Col. David Rogers to New Orleans with a small force to deliver some official letters to Governor de Galvez and to collect any supplies that might be waiting for Virginia. Upon his return to Fort Pitt, Rogers's flotilla met with disaster. Ambushed by a British-led Indian party near present-day Cincinnati, Rogers, along with most of his men, were killed and the two keel boats laden with goods and money were captured.

On June 21, 1779, Spain officially declared war on England by forming an alliance with France. Spanish subjects around the world were ordered by Carlos III to fight the English wherever they found them.

De Galvez had prepared for this moment for months by spying on British posts in West Florida and building up his army. Fear of a British attack on New Orleans as well as the disruption of Spanish shipping in the Gulf of Mexico led him to make a preemptive strike.⁵

Governor de Galvez's first objective was to secure the Mississippi River by capturing British posts above New Orleans. On August 27, 1779, de Galvez led his army ninety miles up the Mississippi River to Fort Bute at Manchac. Unaware that a state of war existed between England and Spain, the confused British commander surrendered the post on September 7. On September 20, de Galvez took Baton Rouge from the British and negotiated the surrender of Natchez.

He returned to New Orleans a hero, having captured 1,000 British soldiers, eight boats, and 430 leagues of land. Most important, he had closed the Mississippi River to enemy traffic.

In early 1780, Great Britain devised a plan to encircle the rebelling colonies by executing a pincer movement in the west. The British planned to invade from the north out of Detroit, reclaiming everything lost to Clark, while at the same time dispatching another force up the Mississippi River from Pensacola.

If successful, the movement would split the continent from the Americans as well as the Spanish. Moreover, establishing such firm claims would limit the growth of the American colonies if independence was achieved.

Fortunately for the United States, de Galvez struck first. On January 28, 1780, he led a flotilla of twelve ships and 754 men to attack Mobile. Met by de Galvez's army, reinforced by 1,400 soldiers from Havana, the British surrendered the port town on March 9.

This victory earned de Galvez a promotion to field marshal and gave him command of all Spanish operations in America. The greatest triumph of his expedition was the capture of Pensacola, the British capital of West Florida. Aided by a French squadron under St. Simon, de Galvez's force of 7,000 laid siege to the British port on March 9, 1781. After two months, the last British port on the Gulf of Mexico fell to the Spanish.

At the same time de Galvez was recapturing West Florida for Spain, Spanish forces at St. Louis followed his orders and attacked the British-held post at St. Joseph in present-day Michigan, where stockpiles of enemy supplies and munitions were stored. The sacking and burning of St. Joseph ended all future British threats on St. Louis and the upper Mississippi River. Defeated in the north and the south by Spain, Great Britain abandoned its plan to hem in the American colonies from the west.

Today a statue of Gen. Bernardo de Galvez stands in Washington, D.C., near the State Department building as a reminder of the debt we owe to him, to Spain, and to New Orleans.

¹ The secret Treaty of Fontainebleau between France and Spain was ratified on November 13, 1762, three months before the Treaty of Paris was signed.

² In 1775, New Orleans boasted a population of some 5,000 inhabitants, mostly of French and African descent. The original layout of the city, today's "French Quarter," was surrounded by an earthen palisade with a ditch. O'Reilly (originally Alexander O'Reilly) was one of many Irish expatriots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who left Ireland to serve in Catholic forces elsewhere. In the eighteenth century there were several Irish regiments serving in Spain.

³ Governor Unzaga ordered the American Declaration of Independence read in New Orleans on August 20, 1776, "By beat of Drum."

⁴ Captain Willing was captured by the British while returning to Philadelphia by sea and made a prisoner of war. In 1781, he was exchanged for Col. Henry Hamilton.

⁵ After receiving word that Spain had declared war on England, Lord Germain ordered British Gen. Frederick Haldimand, governor of Canada, to attack New Orleans and reduce the Spanish ports on the Mississippi River.



COOK'S CORNER

Go Fish!

by Jim Gay

Jim is a journeyman in Historic Foodways in the Department of Historic Trades.

In the eighteenth century when winter turned to spring, Williamsburg's dining room tables reflected the new season. Besides experiencing the arrival of fresh vegetables and spring lambs, people knew that, finally, after months of scarcity, fish from the Chesapeake Bay and local fresh waters were active again after a long winter of dormancy. Spawning runs of herring promised replenishment of salted provisions for the poor, while warmer weather provided opportunities for outdoor fish feasts for the wealthy. Except for ham, tidewater Virginia's signature food was from the bay.

In August 1774, Philip Vickers Fithian, tutor to the Robert Carter family, wrote, "Each Wednesday and Saturday we dine on Fish all the summer, always plenty of *Rock, Perch, & Crabs*, & often *Sheeps-Head* and *Trout!*"¹ And the tradition continues: When Queen Elizabeth II dined at the Governor's Palace in May 2007, she had rockfish with lemon sauce and Virginia ham!

In the same month, over 200 years earlier, the purchasing accounts for the Governor's Palace showed large quantities of rockfish representing over half the total expense for all fish and seafood. In addition to rockfish (today also called stripers or sea bass), the accounts also mentioned trout, drum, oysters, crabs, sturgeon, eels, turtles, and catfish.² Some of these provisions most likely went to feed the servants and slaves. The bay provided for rich and poor alike.

As modern people living in an urban industrial society, we are mostly immune to the influences of weather and seasons. We can eat pretty much anything we want, from wherever we want, whenever we want it. Not so for the people of the eighteenth century. In addition to the seasons, they also had to contend with tides and celestial events. As any fisherman will

tell you, tides and the phases of the moon are still powerful influences on marine fishing (and fishermen). Visit any fishing website, and the subjects of moon phases and tides will eventually surface.

While there is debate about the effects of the moon and tides on freshwater fishing, there is no debate about their effects on marine fishing. The general advice is to fish the rising tide on a daily basis; the new and full moons will bring on the strongest tides and best fishing monthly.

In a world without refrigeration, eighteenth-century consumers had to be aware of the cycles of tides to be able to buy the freshest fish available. Purchasing accounts even noted occasional Sunday transactions.³

William Sparrow, a servant to Lord Boteourt, maintained accounts at the Governor's Palace that record daily purchasing data for foodstuffs, including fish and seafood (oysters, crabs, and turtles). In general, generic "fish" purchases were the most numerous in the summer and fall. On thirty occasions, the account simply noted "fish" rather than a species. We can presume that "fish" included croaker, spot, spotted trout, flounder, bluefish, butterfish, and drum—fish that are still the least expensive to purchase today. None of these fish was caught in deep water. There was no mention of tuna, swordfish, dolphin, or scallops.

As stated, rockfish was highly prized. Eleven purchases were made, mostly in the winter and spring. On two occasions, as many as thirteen rockfish were purchased at the same time. Another time, Sparrow indicated "two strings," meaning several fish per string.

While available year-round, oysters were purchased at the Palace primarily in the fall and spring and represented the second most numerous transactions. Sparrow bought oysters twenty-five times during the twelve-month period from July 1769 to June 1770. Since oysters were huge, they were rarely purchased with other seafood. Likewise, crabs were generally purchased separately; perhaps because they were labor intensive. However, on occasion, Sparrow also purchased "soft crabs" (what we now call

“soft-shelled crabs”). Other seafood and fish were bought sporadically during the period.

Eels, turtles, and sturgeon were noted on a regular basis.⁴ Unlike fish, eels and turtles are air breathers. Freshness could be assured simply by keeping eels in a bucket or tub of water. Turtles, on the other hand, would have presented a bigger challenge but could have been imported alive from the West Indies. The *Virginia Gazette* listed ships arriving from the West Indies carrying shipments of turtles.⁵ Richard Bradley, a British cookbook author, claimed, “turtles weighed up to 200 pounds and were ‘frequently brought to England in Tubs of Sea Water, and will keep alive a long time.’” Sparrow’s accounts listed six turtles weighing 200 pounds. In the colonies, Mary Randolph directed her readers to “kill the turtle at night in the winter and in the morning in the summer.”⁶

Another large sea creature familiar to Virginians was the sturgeon. The Atlantic sturgeon lives in saltwater most of the year but comes into rivers to spawn from May until September. The largest Atlantic sturgeon caught in the Chesapeake Bay was fourteen feet long and weighed 811 pounds!⁷ Besides the food value, the by-products of sturgeon included the skin, which could be fashioned into leather, and the bladder, which produced a pure gelatin called isinglass used to clarify jellies and beer. According to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA) website, sturgeon and turtles were the most important food sources for Jamestown survivors of the starving time.⁸

The seasonal limitation of this abundant resource made preservation methods critical. For fish, salt was the primary preservative. The ancient Egyptians were probably the first civilization to preserve fish with salt.⁹ The Sparrow accounts show salted fish being purchased by the hundredweight, probably for the slaves on the property.

Thomas Jefferson’s purchases for “labourers” included barrels of salted herring and shad. “The salted fish were rationed to the Negroes; two fish were considered a ration.” Jefferson mentioned in his farm book that salted fish by the barrel

was cheaper than an equivalent amount of pork. “[A] barrel of fish costing 7. D. (pence) goes as far with laborers as 200 lb. of pork costing 14. D.”¹⁰ In Virginia, pigs more or less raised themselves in the forest so Jefferson’s observation clearly illustrates the economical nature of salted fish in the eighteenth century.

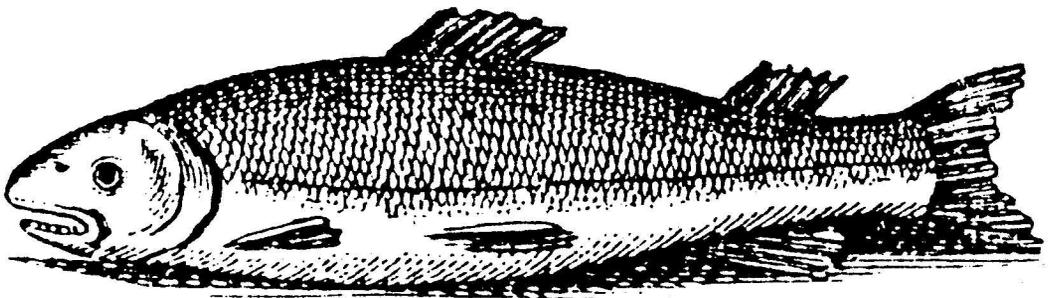
A Polish visitor to Mount Vernon reported George Washington’s slaves were rationed “twenty salted herring a month along with a peck of corn each week for an adult, half that for children. They were not permitted to raise chickens, pigs, ducks, or geese.”¹¹

Mary Randolph’s method of curing herring is quite economical. She recommends taking the brine left over from the “winter stock of beef to the fishing place, and when the seine is hauled . . . pick out the largest herrings . . . and throw them alive into the brine; let them remain for 24 hours” then drain and salt them in barrels.¹²

Another method of keeping fish uses vinegar instead of salt. If the size of the fish was larger than a household needed, the highly perishable leftover was pickled in vinegar in a process called caveaching. Modern foodies might recognize this as *escabeche*, available in many high-end gourmet restaurants. Essentially, it is fish that is floured and lightly fried, then put into vinegar. The acidic vinegar actually finishes “cooking” the fish.

Mary Randolph’s recipe directs cooks to put the fish “into a pot with chopped onion between the layers, take as much vinegar as will cover it, mix it with some oil, pounded mace and whole black pepper, pour it on and stop the pot closely.” The oil will eventually separate and float on top to form an airtight barrier. “This is a very convenient article, as it makes an excellent and ready addition to a dinner or supper.”¹³

Perhaps one of the most unusual uses of seafood in the period was oyster ice cream. While it may sound like something you would eat only if you lost a bet, it is actually quite tasty and made perfect sense in the context of the eighteenth century. If the queen had visited the Governor’s Palace in the eighteenth century instead of the twenty-first, she might well have been served



oyster ice cream. Essentially, it was frozen oyster soup, unsweetened, with the oysters strained out before freezing.¹⁴ Imagine having it served to you as the first course instead of a hot soup in the month of July!

Imagine the luxury of eating *anything* frozen in the summer and the ridiculous amount of labor involved to cut up a frozen pond in the winter and store it in an icehouse. Perhaps the irony is that the oysters that were strained out of the soup might have fed someone in the kitchen or even the slave “labourer” who cut the ice in the first place. As was said in the beginning, the bay provided for rich and poor alike.

¹ Hunter D. Farish, ed., *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, Va., 1993).

² Lorena S. Walsh, “Provisioning Early American Towns. The Chesapeake: A Multidisciplinary Case Study, Final Performance Report” (1997), 45; and William Sparrow, “Purchasing Accounts for the Governor’s Palace.”

³ For historical calendars indicating days of the week, visit <http://www.hf.rim.or.jp/~kaji/cal/cal.cgi?1770>

⁴ Sparrow “Accounts.”

⁵ *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, August 11, 1768, p. 2, col. 3.

⁶ Mary Randolph, *The Virginia House-Wife* (1824, 1825, and 1828), ed. Karen Hess (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 297, 230.

⁷ Chesapeake Bay Program website, www.chesapeakebay.net/info/atlantic_sturgeon.cfm, last accessed December 29, 2007.

⁸ *Ibid.*; and Jamestown Rediscovery website, www.apva.org/exhibit/eats.html last accessed December 29, 2007.

⁹ Mark K. Kurlansky, *Salt, A World History* (New York: Penguin Putnam Inc., 2002), 38.

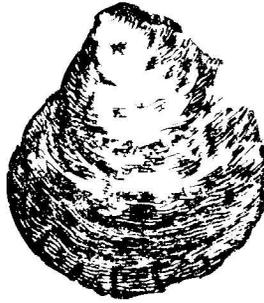
¹⁰ Edwin M. Betts, ed. *Thomas Jefferson’s Farm Book, with Commentary and Relevant Extracts from Other Writings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 187.

¹¹ James Trager, *The Food Chronology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company), 191.

¹² Randolph, *The Virginia House-Wife*, 21.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 175.





Q & A

Question: *What was the price of a hogshead of tobacco? (from a recent IIE class)*

Answer: The price of tobacco was largely controlled by European agents. At the end of the colonial period, 90 percent of the nearly 100 million pounds of tobacco exported annually from Virginia and Maryland was reexported from British ports to continental Europe.

Duties imposed by the Virginia general assembly and the costs of inspection, transport, and doing business with middlemen had secondary impacts on the price. Parliamentary taxation played a role, but tobacco slated for reexport to the continent was exempt from these duties. Thus buyers in Europe had the real control.

The price a planter received depended on how good his crop year was. In a bad year, such as when a hailstorm slashed his leaves, the planter likely got less than market price for his crop. Prices also varied by region. Sweet-scented tobacco, which could only be grown in certain parts of Virginia, often fetched a higher price than oronoco, the type grown around Williamsburg.

Between 1770 and 1775, tobacco prices fluctuated between 16 shillings/8 pence and 25 shillings per hundredweight (112 pounds). The average weight of a hogshead of tobacco in 1771 was 1,066 pounds. Production per laborer, affected by variable circumstances, was about 800 to 1,000 pounds per season.

Let's say an average planter's hogshead is worth 20 shillings per hundredweight. That brings him something over 2 pence per pound. We see many references to planters getting £8, but also £6, £10, or sometimes £12, for a thousand-pound hogshead of tobacco, depending on the quality.

If a planter produced five hogsheads of par-rated tobacco—Patrick Henry referred to

respectable folk as producers of five to six hogsheads—and each weighed 1,000 pounds, then he earned above £40 sterling for his trouble. Not bad, but hardly the wealth one would hope. This may be why so many tidewater planters began transitioning to production of wheat, a much more stable commodity and better for the maintenance of worn-out soils.

To summarize for guests, an easy-to-explain statement would be that a good, average price for tobacco in the eighteenth century was 20 shillings per hundredweight and that a hogshead weighing 1,000 pounds would bring around £10 sterling. (*David Nielsen and Wayne Randolph, Rural Trades*)

Question: *An interpreter suggested that Peyton Randolph's Masonic membership would have perhaps influenced his religious beliefs and led him to support the Rev. Samuel Henley in his controversial and unsuccessful bid for appointment as minister of Bruton Parish in 1773. Would becoming a Freemason have impacted one's religious beliefs in such a way? (submitted by Julie Richter)*

Answer: No. Men who became Freemasons were likely tolerant of different religious points of view or perhaps were themselves dissenters from established churches. That's not to say that no one ever changed his religious views after joining the Masons but rather that prospective members would have known the Masons to be a broadly tolerant organization.

Peyton Randolph came from a religious background of a liberal cast with elements of rational or Enlightenment thinking. His father, Sir John, noted in his will that he had been called "deist heretic and schismatic" going on to explain his adoration for the "Supreme Being[,] the first cause of all things," and his belief that Jesus was sent to save mankind from superstition and ignorance.

Peyton Randolph supported Reverend Henley who had publicly aired his doubts about traditional Christian belief in the Trinity and the divinity of Christ. The other candidate, John Bracken, supported by the religiously conservative traditional Anglican Robert Carter Nicholas, got the appointment. But the contest for the Bruton pulpit cannot be judged on religious grounds alone. The long history of hostility between the Randolph and Nicholas families must be taken into account. (*Linda Rowe, historian, Department of Historical Research*)

Question: What were the chief challenges confronting the Virginia state government during the Revolution?

Answer: Virginia's major difficulties between 1776 and 1783 revolved around its efforts to respond to war-related contingencies. The General Assembly was never able to establish a truly efficient system for recruiting the state's quota of soldiers for the Continental Army. The legislature refused to enlist slaves and could not offer a bounty appealing enough to attract volunteers. The assembly attempted a draft, but soon abandoned it when it proved highly unpopular.

Virginia had an equally difficult time raising the materials necessary to supply both Continental and state troops. Although the state offered incentives for the production of such scarce items as salt, gunpowder, and weapons, the state's economy lacked the resources to shift into manufacturing (although some small successes were made in areas such as gun- and cannon-making).

Moreover, the state did not set up a permanent quartermaster corps until 1781, and it was not until 1780 that the legislature established a fixed system of county quotas for clothing and provisions. After Cornwallis invaded Virginia, the legislature authorized the executive to impress necessary military supplies. Even then, such actions produced strong protest and opposition.

One major problem that contributed to most of Virginia's other difficulties was the state's inability to raise the revenue to fund wartime activities. Virginia first resorted to an issue of paper notes backed by taxes, then soon followed that with interest-bearing notes.

The state attempted to pay off these loans by instituting a general poll tax, as well as by assessing the value of land and slaves. Unfortunately, the need for funds ran ahead of the state's ability to raise revenue. By 1779 the assembly had increased the poll tax, introduced a tariff, and levied a special tax payable in grain commodities.

Through this period the value of currency fell. Currency depreciation and subsequent price inflation further undercut the state's ability to purchase military supplies.

The financial crisis in 1779 led to confiscation of loyalist property, an action Virginia had been reluctant to take. Finally, in 1781, the legislature repudiated its paper money and demanded that taxes be paid in hard money. Virginia, escaping bankruptcy, weathered the financial storm in spite of fiscal caution. (*Kevin Kelly, historian, Department of Historical Research*)

Question: How was Virginia's participation in the French and Indian War financed? (submitted by Kathy Lantz, orientation interpreter, Department of Orientation and Guest Service)

Answer: It wasn't easy. While Gov. Robert Dinwiddie felt compelled to challenge what he saw as French encroachment on Virginia's western territory in early 1754, average Virginians were unconcerned. This stemmed from the perception that only the handful of wealthy land speculators who formed the Ohio Company had any stake at all in Virginia's western lands.

The militias in Frederick and Augusta counties had flouted Dinwiddie's initial order to mobilize for a campaign, prompting the governor to call for a volunteer force instead. The House of Burgesses, already at odds with the governor over his earlier attempt to institute a fee of one *pistole* (a Spanish gold coin) for his signature on land grants, dragged their feet when asked to appropriate money for a standing force to guard the forks of the Ohio.

Dinwiddie shamed the burgesses into action by appealing to their patriotism. "[M]uch art was used to get one penny for the defence of the Country," wrote burgess Landon Carter. Carter attributed the reluctance of the legislators to their sense that many of their constituents were "too poor" to pay the taxes for such an expedition. In the end and by what Carter called a "side Glance," the burgesses approved a military supply bill for £10,000, which they called "An Act for the encouragement and protection of the settlers upon the waters of Mississippi."

Dinwiddie called this appropriation "a mere trifle" and found it "so clogg'd with unreasonable regulat[ion]s and Encroachm[en]ts on the Prerogative" that he considered vetoing it. Particularly irksome to the governor was the bill's establishment of a military appropriations committee to decide how the £10,000 should be spent and to control all war-related disbursements, both civil and military.

Under the watchful eyes of the fourteen gentlemen (ten from the lower house and four from the council) who made up this "Country Committee," as it was called, Dinwiddie set about raising six fifty-man companies. This force became the nucleus of the Virginia Regiment in the French and Indian War. Initially these provincial troops were a motley collection of volunteers from across the colony who took up arms with the understanding they were to be paid, albeit poorly.

Still, general apathy about the French threat meant that less than 1 percent of eligible Virginia males volunteered for military service in 1754. The Virginia government responded by instituting conscription on certain marginal members of society and even recruited from other colonies.

After the reality check of Virginia's military reversals in mid-1754 and with his £10,000 war chest empty, Dinwiddie reconvened the legislature in late August in a futile attempt to get passage of a second military appropriations bill. The soldiers' pay was curtailed, and the governor gave up hope of renewing offensive operations that year.

Unlike the Virginia General Assembly, the British government took the French threat seriously. In October 1754, word came that the home ministry was contributing £20,000 to the Virginia war effort, as well as 2,000 small arms to its arsenal.

By the time the assembly reconvened later that month, the controversy over the *pistole* fee had been laid to rest and harmony between governor and legislators had been restored. The burgesses matched the British appropriation with another £20,000 toward military defense. The following spring, the assembly cautiously authorized an additional war bill for £10,000.

The home ministry also determined to send British regular troops under Gen. Edward Braddock to Virginia's aid. Braddock arrived in Alexandria in February 1755. Despite the existing legislative appropriations, the general was forced to linger there for two months due to lack of horses, wagons, and other necessities. His army got moving only after Benjamin Franklin negotiated a contribution of 150 wagons from Pennsylvania farmers.

When Braddock disembarked at Hampton in the spring, the British Army and the Virginia Regiment were poised to embark on a gargantuan military campaign in a place with little circulating specie (coin) and no paper money. The need for money to pay troops was so dire that on March 20, 1755, Braddock wrote from Williamsburg to the Duke of Newcastle, first lord of the treasury:

As small coined Silver will be greatly wanted for payment of the Troops, and as no considerable Quantity of it can be got in this Province; I must beg of your Grace to direct the Contractors, Mr. Hambury & Mr Thomlinson, to send over as soon as possible, if they have not already done it, four or five Thousand pounds, in Piastres & Half Piastres: which is the

more necessary, as all the Money already brought over by the Regimental Paymaster is in Spanish Gold and Dollars. (Stanley Pargellis, ed., Military Affairs in North America, 1748–1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle [Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1969], 81.)

Such an influx of specie may have boosted the economy of Williamsburg and the rest of tidewater where it was disbursed not only for soldiers' pay but also locally for military supplies. Indeed, the most common silver coins found here archaeologically today are Spanish pistareens and pieces of pistareens cut to make change.

In May 1755, two months after Braddock's appeal for specie, the assembly authorized the first issue of Virginia paper money to help finance the war effort. The burgesses very reluctantly resorted to paper currency, but saw no alternative to issuing treasury notes in anticipation of collecting the taxes to fund their military appropriations bills. The notes could be used to pay taxes and were made legal tender for all private transactions. To help ensure their value, the first notes bore an interest rate of five percent.

When the assembly authorized the issuance of noninterest-bearing notes in the summer of 1757, however, British merchants lodged a complaint against Virginia with the Board of Trade. The merchants declared that the new notes were issued against insufficient tax levies, undermining their value and distorting the exchange rate between paper currency and sterling.

From 1755 to 1762, Virginia authorized eleven issues of treasury notes, all printed in Williamsburg, in an assortment of denominations ranging from 1 shilling to £20. According to curator Erik Goldstein, no examples of the earliest notes from 1755 to 1756 are known to exist.

Colonial Williamsburg does own a number of rare later-issue notes, several of which are on display in the coin exhibit *Pounds, Pence, and Pistareens* in the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Art Museum, along with a fragment of an original printer's plate for Virginia notes. An example of the April 7, 1762, Virginia issue, as well as images of a *pistareen* and a *pistole* can be seen on the Foundation's online coin exhibit at www.history.org/coins.

After the military reversals of the summer of 1755, Dinwiddie convened the assembly in an emergency session. The legislature quickly granted his defense requests, including £40,000 for the protection of the frontiers and a provincial army of 1,200 men.

By early spring of 1756, George Washington had called for a doubling of the size of this army, and the assembly responded by authorizing a 25 percent increase in the number of men and a grant of £2,000 to hastily build a network of eighty-one makeshift forts along the western frontier.

The assembly also provided £1,000 for the building of a fort in friendly Cherokee country along Virginia's southwestern border. As the war dragged on, legislators who had hesitated to appropriate funds at the beginning of the conflict increasingly understood the need. By January 1757, the assembly had approved a total of £125,000 for the colony's defense, a figure that quadrupled in the next five years.

In spite of all this, soldiers still had difficulty getting their pay. In April 1757, Treasurer and Speaker John Robinson noted that the men of the Virginia Regiment were owed £6,000 in back pay. The assembly approved the necessary pay bill, but by year's end, two Virginia companies in South Carolina found themselves so distressed for funds that the governor sent them his own personal bill of exchange for £500.

While draft laws primarily affected the poorest fifth of Virginia's population, rising taxes during the war impinged upon a wide portion of society, both rich and poor. Early military expenditures were funded by poll (per person) taxes, which more than doubled during the first years of the war, rising from 4.6 pounds of

tobacco (4 pence) per tithable (taxable person) in the 1750s to 1 shilling by mid-1755—trebling taxes due per person. After 1757 the poll tax per tithable was set at 4 shillings per annum for the duration of the war. Heads of households were taxpayers. They paid the per-person tax due for the number of tithables in their households (blacks 16 and older, white men 16 and older).

When income from the poll tax no longer sufficed, the assembly enacted a land tax. Other levies were placed on business licenses, court suits, and luxury carriages. Finally, the legislature increased the rates on exported tobacco and imported slaves.

James Maury summed up the view of many Virginians on taxes when he wrote in June 1756 that the assembly had imposed “[p]ractically every kind of tax ever devised by the ingenuity of law-making bodies. Taxes on taxes are multiplied, and, though it be a necessary, it is a heavy burden.”

For further information, see James R. W. Titus, “Soldiers When They Chose To Be So: Virginians at War, 1754–1763” (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1983).

(Bob Doares, with thanks to Erik Goldstein, curator, Department of Collections)

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

As the Dust Settles (A Department of Archaeological Research Update) *Rediscovering Ravenscroft*

by Meredith Poole

Meredith is a staff archaeologist and coordinator of public programs in the Department of Archaeological Research.

The Ravenscroft property, site of the Department of Archaeological Research's current exhibit dig, is one of the more "anonymous" locations in the Historic Area. While supporting sheep and crops of flax over the last sixty years, these two lots have rarely drawn much attention from passersby. This was not always the case.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Ravenscroft property demanded notice. Standing at the end of an important cross street, this multiple-lot "townstead" boasted an impressive house (now partially under Botetourt Street) and a full complement of outbuildings. This was no sheep pasture; this was a destination and home to a number of influential men: Thomas Ravenscroft, a carpenter and sheriff of James City County, merchant John Holt, and William Hunter and Joseph Royle, printers of the *Virginia Gazette*.

Given this remarkable background, the story here might not be the current excavation, but why it has taken archaeologists so long to investigate the Ravenscroft site in the first place.

Actually, the current dig marks the third archaeological foray onto colonial lots 267 and 268. In 1954, excavators sliced trenches across both parcels in their quest to find brick foundations of buildings to reconstruct. This brutal—albeit efficient—technique, known as

cross-trenching, exposed two cellars: one, the remains of a substantial house (a building that straddled present Botetourt Street); the other a modest fourteen by sixteen feet, with physical characteristics that stumped the interpreting draftsmen and architects. Whether for reasons of uncertainty over this building's configuration or the inconvenience of closing Botetourt Street to reconstruct the other, neither structure was rebuilt. The site was reburied and, for nearly fifty years, assumed the guise of "green space."

But the Ravenscroft site was not easily forgotten. In the archaeology lab, drawers of artifacts collected by excavators at a time when many items were often overlooked served as enduring reminders of the site's exceptional qualities. And when the Ravenscroft property was considered as a location for the tenant house exhibit in 1998, archaeologists were among the first to weigh in.

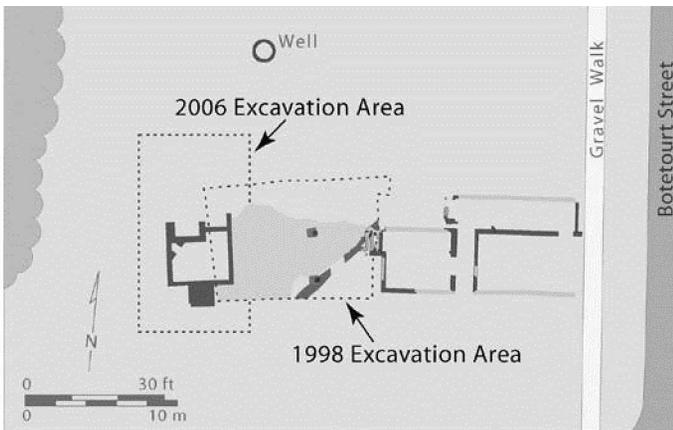
As the site of a tenant house exhibit, Ravenscroft was an appropriate location. For much of the eighteenth century, tenants did, indeed, reside there. Many were tenants of extraordinary means, but tenants nonetheless.

The property's undeveloped state was yet another point in its favor. But the fact that there were eighteenth-century foundations underneath posed a challenge. To protect those, plans called for the tenant house to be raised on piers and positioned between the two cellars. As an added precaution, archaeologists were dispatched (during three very wet weeks in January) to excavate, record, and recover evidence lying within the "footprint" of the proposed building.

This archaeological "window" proved fortuitously placed, intercepting a large and very rich trash pit. Among the more than 9,000 artifacts recovered were fragments that spoke of unusual affluence: pewter tea-



Excavation of the Ravenscroft cellar, 1954



The Ravenscroft property showing foundations found in 1954, the 1998 excavation area with features, and the current project area (opened in 2006).

and tablespoons, glass decanters, and Chinese porcelain. Many of the architectural artifacts from this pit had a decidedly seventeenth-century “feel.” When chemical tests suggested that the clay roofing tiles had been fired in John Page’s 1660s tile kiln at today’s nearby Bruton Heights, hopes were high that the smaller cellar might date to the Middle Plantation period.

Unfortunately, archaeological salvage projects, such as the one conducted in advance of the tenant house construction, often produce more questions than answers. Though the Ravenscroft site clearly encompassed a rich record of eighteenth- and perhaps seventeenth-century occupations, prior claim prevented further excavation.

Over the short but successful duration of the tenant house exhibition, archaeological preservation was a central theme of training, and interpreters became vital allies in protecting the archaeological record underfoot.

Archaeology is often a cumulative process with successive excavations contributing to an overall understanding of what a site looked like and how people lived on it. While no reconstruction had ever taken place on the Ravenscroft property, evidence for the site’s eighteenth-century appearance had been mounting.

The basic layout was established in 1954 with the discovery of two brick cellars and a well. Nearly half a century later, in 1998, different excavation techniques captured more subtle evidence of the site’s plan: postholes, boundary ditches, and a large trash pit. Artifacts from those features yielded dates with which archaeologists roughed in a site chronology. But for all that was known, much remained frustratingly unclear.

By early 2006, the tenant house had been relocated once more, this time to the greener pastures of Great Hopes Plantation. The property was again vacant, save for a few grazing sheep,

when archaeologists began discussing a site for the 2006 “exhibit dig.” This time the Ravenscroft site seemed an ideal choice. In addition to its unchallenged archaeological merits, the site was positioned just outside of Revolutionary City® for high visibility. Additionally, it could be linked to important colonial figures, including William Hunter and Joseph Royle, whose successive roles as publishers of the *Virginia Gazette* made them people of interest in the years leading up to the Revolutionary War.

In the spring of 2006, archaeologists returned for a third, and more extended, examination of the Ravenscroft site. The current project focuses on the smaller Ravenscroft cellar and takes on questions left unanswered by previous excavations. Archaeologists and archaeological field school students have spent two summers re-exposing the cellar in an effort to learn when it was built, what it looked like, how it was used, and who may have inhabited the space.

At first glance, this project might seem a repeat of work already accomplished. The cellar, after all, was found and completely emptied in 1954. But different techniques have produced better and more insightful results. Instead of narrow cross-trenches, archaeologists are currently working in an area large enough to reveal the cellar as well as related additions, fences, or work spaces. Digging the site stratigraphically (one layer at a time) provides an opportunity to explore how the property changed over time. Although many of these layers have been churned by decades of plowing, the recent discovery of intact stratigraphy at the site’s south end offers a chance to link people with the objects they used.

The Ravenscroft cellar has been the “center-piece” of the excavation, capturing the attention of guests and providing student interpreters (accustomed to pointing out the vague outlines of postholes) with something visible to discuss. While portions of the cellar wall began emerging from the dirt in 2006, the feature was not fully exposed until mid-2007.

Energetic field school students took turns excavating the fill, recovering more than 150 bags of artifacts from the building’s interior. Recognition that the artifacts had been dumped a mere fifty-three years prior (in the aftermath of the 1954 project) did little to dampen their enthusiasm. In fact, the Ravenscroft cellar, despite its disturbed nature, contained a full education in the range of eighteenth-century material culture.



Wine bottle seal impressed with "Jno Greenhow Williamsburg 1770"

Among the more notable items were wig curlers, octagonal wine bottles bearing the seal of John Greenhow, shoe buckles, wine glasses with airtwist stems, pipe bowls, gun flints, and a vast assortment of ceramic vessels.

In addition to artifacts, two years of digging have yielded answers to a number of archaeological questions. We now know that the cellar, previously undated, was constructed sometime *after* 1720, based on the presence of a ceramic commonly known as "Rogers ware" in the builder's trench (the backfilled hole in which the foundation was constructed). Yorktown potter William Rogers began producing this type of pottery in 1720, indicating that the cellar had to be dug sometime after that date (how long after 1720 remains to be seen).

Ravenscroft cellar at the end of the 2007 field season



Present dating evidence attributes the cellar to the tenure of Thomas Ravenscroft. If, however, archaeologists find more recent artifacts as they continue excavating within the builder's trench, both the believed date of cellar construction and its ownership will change accordingly.

And what of the seventeenth-century material found in the trash pit? In a disappointing but intriguing twist, the seventeenth-century material turned out to lie above the early eighteenth-century builder's trench, indicating that it was dumped *after* 1720. Apparently, as the eighteenth-century building was being constructed, someone was tearing down a seventeenth-century building nearby and tossing the debris into the trash pit. While this theory neatly ties up the trash pit's reversed stratigraphy, it adds the search for the Middle Plantation period building to our to-do list.

While dating the cellar has been reasonably straightforward, the function of the building it supported remains a mystery. The Ravenscroft cellar has some unusual physical characteristics that hint at its possible use. A wide bulkhead entrance centered on the *front* of the building, for example, indicates that delivery and storage of large items were important, as would be true of a store. Alternatively, the building's small size and its location in relation to the main house (uncovered in 1954) suggest that it could be an outbuilding.

Perhaps the most engaging theory, however, stems from an 1820s reference to a property in this vicinity as “the old bakehouse lot.” Commercial bread production might explain the need for wide cellar steps to accommodate crates and barrels. Bread baking may also shed light on the cellar’s most puzzling feature: a large hearth that seems to be on the *outside* of the building.

For archaeologists, the possibility that this cellar might be the remains of a commercial bake house provides an opportunity to study the Ravenscroft property in a larger context—one that could conceivably include William Robertson’s windmill, of the same time period, just to the west.

Pursuing the bake house theory will take time. Comparison of this cellar with other known examples of eighteenth-century bake houses will clarify whether there are similarities in form. Other tests can be conducted closer to home. Samples of soil from the cellar floor and mortar used in repairs will be taken to determine whether they contain archaeobotanical remains of wheat or other grains that would be present in large quantities in a commercial bake house.

It is important to remember that regardless of how the Ravenscroft building was used, it is likely to have been familiar to the enslaved members of successive households. A store, a kitchen, or a bake house would have required slave labor. Additionally, slaves were often housed in outbuildings. So while the function of this building may remain ambiguous for a time, its excavation provides the opportunity to examine tangible evidence of lives poorly represented in Williamsburg’s written history.

Ultimately, it may prove impossible to discover the function of this building without determining its configuration. Archaeologists continue to be perplexed by the outward-facing hearth on the exterior wall of the Ravenscroft cellar. Its presence suggests that the building, when standing, had an uncellared room extending north.

Yet this year’s intensive search for postholes, a builder’s trench, piers, or other indication of an addition has left us empty-handed. It is certainly possible that years of plowing have erased whatever scant evidence existed.

Alternatively, this building may always have been the small square that it is today. The Frenchman’s Map certainly shows it as such by 1781. If this is so, then the large fireplace is, in fact, an external oven, lending credibility to the bake house theory.

The People of the Ravenscroft Site

The most compelling stories that are likely to emerge from the Ravenscroft project will be stories about the people who made this property their home. With nearly three hundred years of continuous occupation, there are many potential subjects, beginning with members of the African American community centered in this part of town during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Because it is the lot of archaeologists to “read” history backward, it is these most recent residents—the Eppses, the Braxtons, and the Crumps—whose history is best represented in our “finds bags.”

In working down through the soil layers, archaeologists have had, and look forward to, additional encounters with some of the site’s eighteenth-century residents: Christopher Jackson (1713), a surveyor; Thomas Ravenscroft (1715), a carpenter; Robert Wills (1739), a tavern keeper (whose tavern we do not believe was located on this site); John Holt (1745), a merchant; and printers William Hunter (1754) and Joseph Royle (1761). Many of these were the wealthy and successful men whose garbage so dazzled archaeologists over the course of three excavations.

There are other tales to be told as well. Wives, children, slaves, and (in the later eighteenth century) tenants lived and worked here, leaving impressions in the ground, if not in the historical record. Through documentary research, archaeologists are compiling a list of those whose lives played out on these lots: Stephen, Anthony, Juba, Doll, Ellen, Isabel, Judy, Billy, Jammy, William, and Nanny (of the Holt household); James, Diana, Cesar, and Mat (of the Hunter household); and Matt, Aberdeen, Jenny, Lewis, William, Lydia, and Lucy (of the Royle household).

This advertisement for Jenny, a runaway from Joseph Royle’s estate, appeared in Hunter and Dixon’s Virginia Gazette, January 28, 1775

RUN away from *Williamsburg*, a light Mulatto Girl named JENNY, belonging to the Estate of *Joseph Royle*, deceased. She is about 16 Years of Age, has a very bushy Head of Hair, and when frightened, a down Look. As she is well known in the Neighbourhood of this City, a more particular Description is unnecessary. A Reward of 10s. will be given to any Person who will deliver her to the Printers of this Paper.

For most of these individuals, the documents contain little more than a first name. Others, like 16-year-old Jenny, described in a 1775 *Gazette* advertisement as “a light Mulatto Girl . . . belonging to the Estate of Joseph Royle, deceased,” are represented in only fragmentary detail.

An important goal of this excavation is to reassemble the stories of these people from discarded objects used in their daily lives and work. Although artifacts have been plentiful on the Ravenscroft site, most of what has been found has been disturbed, either by earlier archaeologists or by plowing. While displacement does not detract from the interest of individual artifacts, it prevents archaeologists from connecting groups of objects with the people who used them in anything more than an abstract way.

A number of milestones were reached on the Ravenscroft site in 2007, but none was more celebrated than the removal of the last bit of disturbed dirt from the current site at the end of the season. Archaeologists returning in 2008 look forward to an opportunity to sift through “intact deposits” to recover more reliable evidence of the site’s eighteenth-century residents.

What next?

The Ravenscroft property is quite large, and there is much ground left to explore. During the 2008 season archaeologists will complete work in the current excavation unit and may expand westward toward the ravine where trash from this building was likely dumped or toward the north to follow a series of postholes identified in 2007. In future years, as the opportunity presents itself, portions of the main Ravenscroft building (those parts not extending into Botetourt Street) may be explored. Archaeologists may also search for the seventeenth-century building whose remains were once so unceremoniously dumped into a trash pit. The potential for future excavation on this site is tremendous, and archaeologists look forward to many seasons of gratifying work.

What about reconstruction? Visitors to the Ravenscroft site are often incredulous to learn that archaeologists in 1954 uncovered two eighteenth-century cellars only to rebury them. They are more incredulous still to learn that

today’s archaeologists are likely to repeat the process. Unfortunately, exposed cellars are not infinitely durable; while interesting reminders to us and to our guests that Williamsburg is a work in progress, they must be protected.

For nearly eighty years, physical reconstruction has been the goal (and therefore the expected outcome) of Historic Area excavations. More enticing to this generation of researchers, however, is the possibility of reconstructing the Ravenscroft property, not with bricks and mortar but “virtually,” using digital technology to render the buildings and landscape as they evolved from the seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries.

In August 2007, the Ravenscroft cellar was “imaged” using a three-dimensional laser scanner as part of the yearlong “Virtual Williamsburg” pilot project. This planning study, undertaken in collaboration with the Institute for Advanced Technologies in the Humanities (IATH) at the University of Virginia, is focused on exploring the use of 3D computer graphics for virtually reconstructing eighteenth-century Williamsburg.

The scanning data gives researchers the flexibility to examine the Ravenscroft cellar and experiment with possible building configurations long after the site is backfilled. In the future, as the “Virtual Williamsburg” project moves beyond the planning stages to model the entire town, the Ravenscroft property may once more be visible “virtually” as it was in the eighteenth century.

(Excavation on the Ravenscroft site resumes in late May 2008 and will continue through the end of August. The project is a collaborative effort between Colonial Williamsburg archaeologists and students from the College of William and Mary participating in a summer field school. As an exhibit dig, the Ravenscroft excavation incorporates public interpretation into its research-design. Guests and employees alike are encouraged to visit the site and to learn about the archaeological process and recent discoveries through student interpreters, signs, and hands-on activities. A web feature and a web log, maintained through the Research Division website, provide additional materials and updates on the progress of the excavation.)

The Silver Skull Plate: Samuel Clark's Career as a Teenage Militiaman in the Revolutionary War

by Daniel Lovelace

*Dan is a former president of the Friends of the National Park Service for Green Spring Inc.
He is completing a book about loyalist espionage during the American Revolution.*

(Daniel F. Bakeman, the last of the estimated 217,000 Americans who served in the Revolutionary War, died on April 5, 1869, at the age of 109.)

Most of the American troops who took the field during the War of Independence were members of state militia units, rather than soldiers in the Regular or Continental Army. Few of these citizen-soldiers kept diaries that have survived, and the list of personal memoirs penned later in life by militiamen is short. Thus, what little we know about them is usually obtained from official documents such as pension applications, church records, and family archives. Because young Samuel Clark's experiences as a Virginia militiaman were both protracted and occasionally exciting, his well-documented career provides a valuable historical "snapshot" of the militia system in action during the final years of the American War of Independence.

Seventeen-year-old Samuel Clark was one of the unsung heroes of the Revolutionary War. Between September 1780 and April 1782, Clark was twice drafted, and on three occasions he volunteered to serve ninety-day tours with various Virginia militia units.

On the afternoon of July 6, 1781, he fought in the opening phase of the Battle of Green Spring, five miles west of Williamsburg in James City County, Virginia. Severely wounded by the saber of a British cavalry trooper (he carried a silver plate in his skull for the rest of his life), Clark lived to fight again at the siege of Yorktown.

He later raised a family and became a successful farmer and public figure in Monroe County, Virginia. During the War of 1812, he served as

deputy commander of Monroe County's 108th militia regiment. Before he died in 1857 at age 92, he had received a veteran's pension for twenty-five years and been granted 160 acres of federal bounty land in recognition of his service during America's two wars with Great Britain.

Samuel Clark's gravestone has been lost and buried by time, but a powerful symbol of his War of 1812 military career has been handed down through the Clark family and remains on private display to this day: a handsome, custom-made officer's dress sword. It was probably presented to him after the war by either his subordinate officers or the citizens of Monroe County. Embellished with an ivory grip and a gold damascened blade, the brass-mounted sword was probably decorated by a silversmith and would have been an expensive gift in 1815. (See figure 1.)

Family Background

Born April 18, 1764, Samuel Clark came from a family that had lived in western Virginia's vast Augusta County for three generations. His grandfather James served with British-led militia forces during the French and Indian War and later became a land agent and owner of an 800-acre plantation near Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley. By the time he died in 1778, James Clark and his wife, Elizabeth, had produced eleven children, including six sons.

Samuel's father, William Clark (born in 1738), inherited land near Moffatt's Creek in Augusta County. He married Margaret McCutchan in 1760, fathered three children, and died in 1766 at age 28, two years after Samuel was born.

When his mother remarried in 1769, Samuel and his elder brother and younger sister were each adopted by relatives from his mother's first marriage. Samuel was raised by his uncle Alexander Clark and endured a challenging childhood living on what was part of Virginia's western frontier.

According to his Revolutionary War pension application, young Samuel began his Virginia militia career in September 1780 as a substitute in place of Thomas Means, a man who had been drafted to serve in an Augusta County unit commanded by Capt. Thomas McCutchan

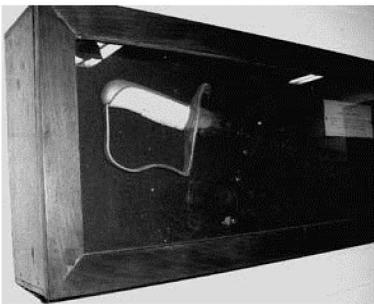


Figure 1:
Samuel
Clark's
Presentation
Sword

(most probably a relative of Samuel's mother). His second tour of militia duty was with Captain Trimble's company of Colonel Sampson's regiment, during which he took part in a skirmish with British forces near Portsmouth, at the entrance to the James River in eastern Virginia.

The Militia System in Wartime Virginia

Motivated by patriotism, bounty money, substitute fees, or family considerations (serving in place of older relatives), an estimated 166,000 men served in the militia units of the various states during the War of Independence. Some were drafted, but most were volunteers, many of whom served three or more ninety-day militia tours, usually with different companies or regiments and sometimes under the flags of more than one state.

The militia system had operated in North America since the earliest days of British colonial rule. Thanks to participation in repeated English invasions of French Canada and the need to counter more serious Native American resistance, militia capabilities developed more rapidly in the townships of New England. In the agrarian South they were strengthened by the influx of some 250,000 immigrants into the western backcountry of the southern colonies between 1730 and 1775, where militias became the only reliable defense against Indian attacks.

Virginia revitalized its militia institution at the outset of the Revolution, with many counties continuing the requirement that all male citizens between 16 and 60 appear for drills at least once a month.

Militia members were required to provide their own weapons and ammunition, which often resulted in a mix of hunting rifles and smoothbore muskets. Other militia weapons included such "frontier warfare" items as tomahawks and butcher knives.

Militia uniforms were irregular, often consisting of a hunting shirt and leggings, or a jacket with patched trousers. (See figure 2.) Virginia militia companies seldom consisted of more than one hundred men. During the colonial period, officers were appointed from among the gentry and well-to-do planters who also held top county offices and served in the House of Burgesses.

The combat effectiveness of America's militia forces during the Revolution ranged from embarrassing to brilliant, depending upon their levels of training, readiness, and motivation and the quality of their commanding officers. Although militia units were notorious for their unreliability, early in the war they formed the nucleus of the Continental Army, which they continued to support in joint operations throughout the



Figure 2: A Virginia Militiaman (by Don Troiani)

conflict. As one British Army historian put it, "there was always the incalculable factor, the American militia, a factor which could never be counted on by its friends, but equally could never be ignored by its enemies."

Samuel Clark and the Battle of Green Spring

Clark joined his third militia unit (a part of Col. Thomas Huggard's regiment, led by Capt. Patrick Buckhannon) in May 1781 as a substitute for his cousin John McCutchen. His cousin had been drafted for three months, but "who from the situation of his family could not with safety to them leave home."

Captain Buckhannon's company marched from Augusta County to James City County, where it joined a detachment of the steadily growing 1,500-man army led by the Marquis de Lafayette and Gen. Anthony Wayne, which had been shadowing the 5,000 remaining veterans of General Cornwallis's expeditionary force for nearly two months. Little did Samuel know that he was destined to fight in two of the most important engagements leading to the victory at Yorktown: the skirmish at Spencer's Ordinary and the Battle of Green Spring.

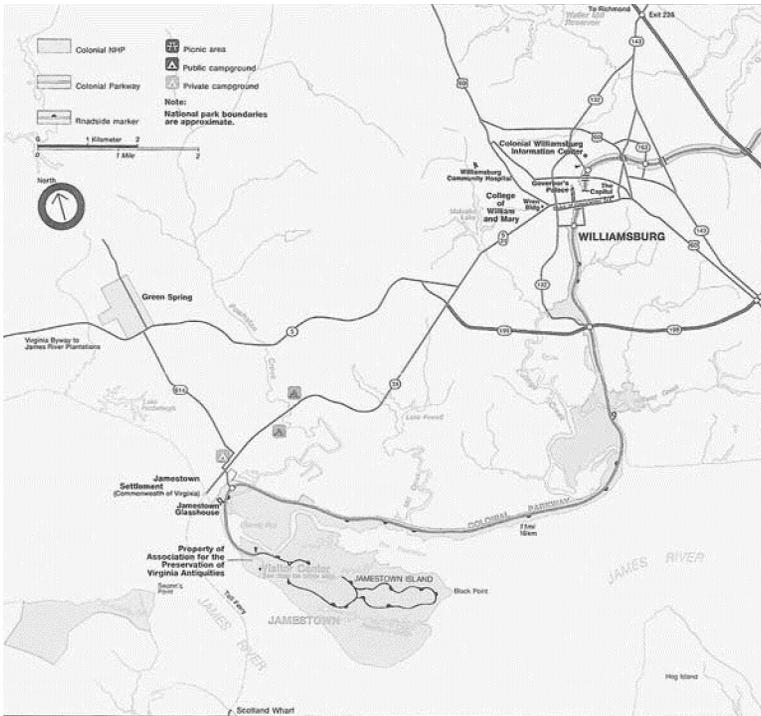


Figure 3: Modern map showing locations of Green Spring, Jamestown Island, and Williamsburg.

The June 26 clash near Spencer's Ordinary (a tavern about nine miles northwest of Williamsburg) was a meeting engagement that broke out when two hostile columns ran into each other by accident. Clark's unit was one of three Virginia militia companies and one hundred American dragoons that intercepted a British raiding party led by loyalist Col. John Graves Simcoe. He and his 360-man "Queen's Rangers" were returning from burning ships and foraging on the Chickahominy River about twenty miles northwest of Williamsburg.

The Americans got the worst of the three-hour "running battle" that followed, but both forces escaped to their lines with light casualties. Clark did not keep a diary of his militia tours, so we can only guess at his reaction to seeing British cavalry units in action for the first time. He had a second opportunity to engage such forces some ten days later, less than fifteen miles to the south, near a 7,000-acre, 150-year-old plantation known as Green Spring. (See figure 3.)

One of the last major open-field engagements of the American Revolution, the Battle of Green Spring involved some 6,000 men (1,500 American and 4,500 British), and produced more than 200 casualties (150 American, 75 British).

On the afternoon of July 6, 1781, Clark was one of roughly 200 Virginia militia riflemen deployed as skirmishers south of Green Spring Plantation, the imposing brick mansion built in

1645 by colonial governor Sir William Berkeley some three miles north of Jamestown Island. Because the American forces had few cavalry of their own, the riflemen's mission was to counter probes by Col. Banastre Tarleton's infamous light cavalry unit known as "The British Legion." (See figure 4.) Still smarting from their defeat at the Battle of Cowpens in mid-January, the legion's 200 loyalist troopers had been performing screening and raiding missions for Cornwallis's army since its arrival in Virginia in May.

Clark and his fellow riflemen had arrived at Green Spring Plantation earlier that day, part of

the advance guard of a steadily growing American army commanded by Lafayette and Wayne. This force included several hundred Virginia militiamen and some 900 experienced regulars from three Pennsylvania regiments of the continental line.

Figure 4: British Legion Trooper (by Don Troiani)



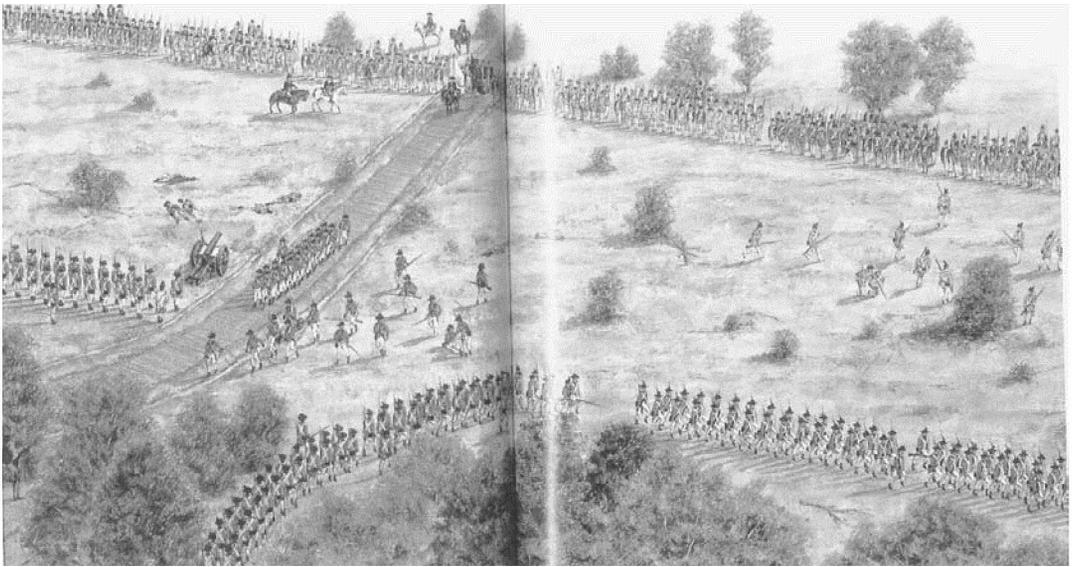


Figure 5: Cornwallis's Troops Maneuvering to Surround Wayne's Force

Lafayette and Wayne had been shadowing the exhausted, but still powerful, British expeditionary force under Cornwallis for two months, waiting for an opportunity to attack. Thanks to false information planted by British intelligence agents, Lafayette initially believed that most of Cornwallis's army had already crossed the James River, leaving only a rear guard behind at Jamestown. In reality, 4,000 battle-hardened British troops lay hidden in the woods at the southern end of Green Spring Road ready to ambush the attacking Americans.

Clark and his fellow Virginians were some of the first victims of Cornwallis's trap. In an attempt to goad the Americans into attacking, Cornwallis sent Tarleton's legion up Green Spring Road and deployed a company of infantry pickets across the road to simulate a rear guard protecting a small remaining British force.

When Clark's unit, a company of 100 Virginia riflemen commanded by Capt. Patrick Buckhannon, encountered Tarleton's cavalry, a chaotic firefight took place in a heavily wooded area just south of Green Spring Plantation. Clark was part of Wayne's advance guard trying to force Cornwallis's pickets to retreat toward the James River.

When the British Legion's troopers came to the pickets' defense, Clark received his saber wound. Samuel was probably one of the fourteen men wounded (along with one killed) reported by one of the militia companies in the Green Spring engagement.

Taken immediately to Green Spring Plantation for treatment, Clark was evacuated that night to Chickahominy Church, located two

miles south of modern-day Toano, Virginia, and later to a field hospital closer to Richmond.

Given the seriousness of his injury, one might think that Clark was lucky to survive, let alone turn up three months later at the Siege of Yorktown. However, eighteenth-century military medicine was quite familiar with skull wounds such as Clark's. Surgeons of the period knew that a silver plate was best suited to cover an "open-brain" wound, because silver's chemistry tended to prevent infections. This straightforward surgical procedure, plus Samuel's youth and vigorous constitution, undoubtedly saved his life.

The subsequent events and final outcome of the Battle of Green Spring are fairly well known. After pushing aside the British skirmishers and sending the three continental line regiments down Green Spring Road and into open fields on the approaches to Jamestown Island, Lafayette and Wayne realized too late that they had blundered into a trap and were about to be surrounded and annihilated. (See figure 5).

Only a brave but costly charge against the center of the British line by the Pennsylvania regulars gave the American forces time to withdraw and prevented a clear-cut victory for Cornwallis, who decided not to pursue the American force as darkness fell over the battlefield. Protected by Royal Navy vessels, the main body of British troops crossed the James River the following day on their way to Portsmouth, from whence they expected to be evacuated to New York.

Samuel Clark's Post-Green Spring Military Career

After receiving further treatment at a field hospital on the Pamunkey River, Clark was discharged from his third Virginia militia unit in August 1781. He was immediately drafted to serve three months in another Augusta County militia company, this one commanded by Capt. Francis Long.

According to his Revolutionary War pension application, Clark's new militia unit was deployed to Yorktown, where he took part in the two-week siege, witnessed the October 19 surrender, guarded British prisoners of war on their way to Winchester, Virginia, and was again discharged.

In April 1782, he volunteered to serve his last ninety-day militia tour, this time with a company under the command of Capt. John McKittrick. The unit was fighting Indians in the Ohio Territory along the west fork of the Monongahela River and in the Tygart River Valley. Clark described his duties during this assignment as those of "a spy."

Between Two "British" Wars

At the end of the war in 1783, Clark returned to Augusta County as a hero, and thanks to two years' worth of pay and bonus money, probably a well-off one. By 1786, he had moved fifty miles southwest to a part of Augusta County that in 1799 became Monroe County and had married a woman named Mary Margaret Handley from nearby Greenbriar County.

The Handley family had been early settlers of the area. Mary's father had served as a county constable prior to 1773, and her uncle James was one of five trustees who helped found the town of Union, Virginia, in 1774.

Thanks to intermittent raids by Native Americans, Virginia's western frontier was still a dangerous place for white settlers in 1786. An entry in *The History of Monroe County, West Virginia* notes that Rehoboth Methodist Church completed in 1786 was built in such a way that "the red men could not have come within rifle shot unseen." It also mentions that "Samuel Clark, a veteran of the Revolution, was one of the men who placed the wall-logs [of the church] in their positions." (A reconstruction of the Rehoboth Church now stands on the original foundations some two miles outside of Union and is open to the public.) The church's sign on West Virginia Route 3 notes that, in 1786, worshipers carried rifles as well as Bibles when visiting "the oldest church building west of the Allegheny Mountains." (See figure 6.)

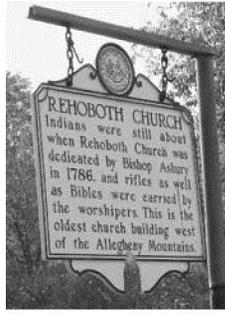


Figure 6: Rehoboth Church, Union, West Virginia

Clark probably invested most of his fortune in land, and census documents list his occupation as "a farmer." County land conveyance records show that, in 1794 and 1796, Samuel Clark purchased two parcels of land totaling 125 acres from his father-in-law John Handley and a man named John Kincaid.

He eventually built a log farmhouse (the chimney and one wall of which have survived to this day as part of a modern home) on a gentle slope with a spectacular valley view three miles south of Union. (See figure 7.)

During the next five decades, he and Mary Margaret raised seven children and accumulated a considerable estate, acquiring more farmland and a dozen slaves. A Monroe County personal property list of 1799 shows Samuel Clark owning only four horses, but by 1850, the census for Monroe County estimated the value of 85-year-old Samuel Clark's estate at \$10,000—the modern-day equivalent of about \$220,000.

"Major" Clark (so named to differentiate him from two other relatives named Samuel) was also active in public life. His wartime experience no doubt helped him acquire a commission in the county militia, and by 1790, he had attained the rank of captain.

Monroe County was established in 1799, and the town of Union became its county seat. Samuel and his uncle were listed as qualified voters during the election of November 3, 1800, which shows that both men were considered "persons of some property and consequence." County records indicate that Samuel served as

Figure 7: Samuel Clark's farmhouse site



a county official on several occasions, being appointed by the governor of Virginia as a justice of the Monroe County Court in 1816.

War of 1812

When the United States declared war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812, America's regular army totaled fewer than 7,000 men, most of them deployed in dozens of small posts and garrisons around the country and along the nation's western frontiers. Led initially by officers who often were superannuated veterans of the Revolutionary War, these "forces in being" were not sufficient to defend the country or successfully invade Canada. Under such circumstances, the state militias were expected to fill the gaps in America's defenses.

While Virginia contributed relatively few soldiers to the regular army during the second Anglo-American conflict, its long-standing tradition of county-based militia unit organization and training made the Old Dominion a major potential source of militia manpower.

In early 1812, Virginia's adjutant general listed some 60,000 men fit for militia duty, and by late 1814, almost all of them had been mobilized for various lengths of time. With few exceptions, state militia units were called into federal service by United States military authorities (i.e., The War Department) and were paid with funds ultimately provided by the federal government.

In 1812, Samuel Clark was 48 years old and had held the rank of major in the 108th regiment (Monroe County) of the Virginia militia since March 18, 1809. Clark served as deputy commander of this regiment during the War of 1812. The other regimental officers were Lt. Col. Richard Shanklin and Maj. Conrad Peters.

The four companies that made up the 108th regiment included a company of riflemen commanded by Capt. Andrew Burne (or Beirne), a troop of cavalry commanded by Capt. Charles W. Lewis, and infantry companies commanded by Lt. William McDaniel and Capt. Andrew Nickell. However, after militia companies had been mobilized and brought together, they were often placed under the command of regular army officers, with their local (i.e., militia) commanding officers assuming subordinate positions.

Although the exact dates of Clark's tenure as deputy commander of the 108th remain uncertain, the regiment's companies were repeatedly called up to help defend the Richmond and Norfolk areas for varying periods, beginning in the fall of 1813 and lasting through the spring of 1815.

These deployments usually coincided with the periodic return of British naval and ma-

rine forces to Chesapeake Bay and its several rivers. Although the British conducted few major attacks in the area (such as the June 26, 1813, sacking and burning of Hampton), they frequently raided and destroyed plantations and other high-value targets. There is no evidence to indicate that the 108th saw any combat during the war, and it is likely that its companies were principally engaged in garrison duties that strengthened the defenses of Virginia's capital and its principal port city.

In August 1832, 68-year-old Samuel Clark submitted a detailed declaration of his service in the Revolutionary War in hopes of obtaining a federal pension. His application was supported by his friend Berryman Jones, who had served with him in three militia companies and had fought alongside him at the Battle of Green Spring.

Clark's pension certificate was issued on December 26, 1832, and he "was placed on the Virginia pension roll at \$50.00 per annum." Twenty-three years later, he applied for bounty land being offered to Revolutionary War veterans, and was issued a land warrant for 160 acres (the location is unknown) on May 24, 1856.

"Major" Clark's wife died on November 24, 1844, and was buried in Greenhill Cemetery, located on a hilltop overlooking the town of Union. He did not remarry but remained active in his community. He was appointed sheriff in 1845 and helped found Union's first Masonic lodge in 1849.

Three of his four sons remained in the vicinity of Union and prospered, becoming farmers (John and James), a tavern keeper (William), and—in the case of his grandson Samuel A. Clark—winning election as sheriff. When he died on January 27, 1857, Samuel was 92, having outlived Mary Margaret by thirteen years.

The details of Clark's will reveal new dimensions of his life. It had been drawn up on June 3, 1851, and was probated in February 1857, with John Clark and Alexander Clark serving as executors.

In addition to the usual disposal of land, a dozen slaves, livestock, and other property among his children, Samuel Clark's will included a clause providing one of the family's slaves, a woman named Ruth, with special treatment. According to the document, "Ruth, a faithful negro servant, [was to be] allowed to choose which one of [Samuel's] children she wants to live with and serve, and the one she selects is asked to take care of her the remainder of her life for the good she has done them." Apparently Ruth and her husband (by this time deceased) had helped "Major" Clark raise his children after his wife's death in 1844.

Lessons of Clark's Story

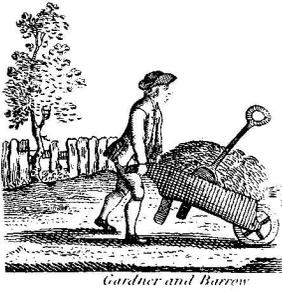
As a veteran of America's first and second Wars of Independence, Samuel Clark witnessed the cost and benefits of a national defense system that traced its origins back to the "trained bands" of Henry VIII's England. Motivated by the appeal of citizen-soldier militias and fears of the potential despotism of standing armies, during the colonial period all the British colonies except Pennsylvania adopted militia systems of some sort.

These forces deteriorated over time and were only revived in the mid-1700s, as British regular troops began to be dispatched to North America to deal with the growing threat from New France. Alarmed by the English military build-up during the French and Indian War, the colonies began to strengthen their militia forces between 1763 and 1775. It was these citizen-

soldiers who fought the Revolution's opening battles and provided the nucleus of experienced manpower for the Continental Army.

After the Revolutionary War, the myth of the political and military superiority of militia forces perpetuated itself, preventing the creation of even a small standing army staffed by full-time professionals (and directed by a secretary of war and a Department of War) until 1789.

Because its token regular army was unprepared to deal with major foreign threats, the United States resorted to a militia-based strategy to fight the land campaigns of the War of 1812. Only following the embarrassing defeats suffered at the hands of British and Canadian forces during that conflict did American political leaders begin to question the wisdom of continuing to depend primarily upon the citizen-soldier for the nation's defense.



Bothy's Mould

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

Figures of the Most Beautiful, Useful and Uncommon Plants . . .

by Larry Griffith

Larry is curator of plants in the Landscape Department.

In the spring of 2001, I was fortunate to receive a grant from the Mars Family Foundation to determine the presence, prevalence, and use of plant species in the American colonies and among the European nations. The procedure for doing this was stipulated by the terms of the grant: that I both work in the field and conduct documentary research. My tools were a patch of ground in the Historic Area and primary and secondary sources, one of which was particularly rewarding to study. That work, contained in the rare books collection at the John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, has a ponderous title that I will abbreviate to *Figures of the most Beautiful, Useful and Uncommon Plants*, or even better: *Figures*. For those readers who wish to peruse the full title, it is presented below:

Figures of the most Beautiful, Useful and Uncommon Plants Described in the Gardeners Dictionary Exhibited on Three Hundred Copper Plates, Accurately Engraven after Drawings taken from Nature with The Characters of their Flowers and Seed-Vessels, Drawn when they were in their greatest perfection. To which are added, Their Descriptions, and an Account of the Classes to which they belong, according to Ray's, Tournefort's and Linnaeus's Method of Classing Them.

This article is primarily about *Figures* and secondarily its author Philip Miller, who was, from 1722 to 1770, curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden on the Thames outside of London. Other artists also contributed to the work, one of whom was Georg Dionysius Ehret, generally regarded as the most competent botanical artist of the eighteenth century. Another component of the work that deserves inspection are the plant collectors Miller names as having sent plants back to Europe from the New World, notably North America.

Figures is a two-volume work bound in full-diced calfskin with gilt-tooled covers, edges, and turnings. The spines of the volumes are rebound with spines titled *Miller's Hist. of Plants*, and

bear volume designations on green labels. All edges are gilt. Volume 2 has marbled endpapers, and both volumes contain the bookplate of John Vernon, Lincoln's Inn.

Figures represents a combination of two types of plant encyclopedias. It attempted to lure wealthy patrons with its luscious illustrations as well as provided relevant and accurate botanical commentary regarding plants Miller thought deserved public attention. In a sense, *Figures* is a hybrid, borrowing its whole form from various types of treatments of plants: the herbal and the florilegium.

Herbals sought to elucidate the medicinal properties of plants and illustrate their morphology and appropriate uses. Wesley Greene's insightful article last season in the *Interpreter* (Summer 2007) presented the history of taxonomy and the herbals exceedingly well. On the other hand, the interest in the exclusively ornamental appeal of plants can really be said to date from the 1613 publication of the *Besler Florilegium*, a flower book dedicated to the sheer enjoyment of the endless multiples of the "florist flowers" and other ornamentally grown plants.

Figures was a revelation of sorts, a conscious distillation of plants that Miller deemed of curious enough nature to include in his opus. In the preface, he explains his plan and his eventual frustration with it, saying, "The plan of this work . . . was . . . to exhibit the Figures of One or more Species of all known Genera of Plants." This would have been a bold undertaking in any case. Although feats such as this were certainly accomplished, they were seldom if ever illustrated.

After an initial offering of plates to the public, Miller determined that his subscribers felt such an ambitious attempt should be met with more circumspection. "The Author, therefore, almost from the Beginning, found it necessary to contract his Plan, and confine it to those Plants only, which are either curious in themselves, or may be useful in Trades, Medicine, &c, including the Figures of such new Plants, which do not include any Species having one or other of these Properties . . . ; so that the Number of Plates now included in this Work, are not near so many as was at first intended."

Miller assures the reader that no expense was spared in the production of the book and that the drawings “were taken from living Plants; the Engravings were most of them done under the Author’s inspection; and the Plates have been carefully coloured from the original drawings.” He further informs the reader that, in the classification of the plants selected, he has taken direction from John Ray’s (1627–1705), Joseph de Tournefort’s (1656–1708), and Linnaeus’s (1707–1778) methods of plant description and identification. As Greene’s detailed article indicated, these plantsmen were Miller’s contemporary intellectual peers and among Europe’s leading plant taxonomists. Although Ray’s and de Tournefort’s careers had come to an end before Miller’s had begun, their work was still highly influential in Miller’s lifetime and to his profession. In addition, he corresponded directly with Linnaeus.

If we consider a critical part of Miller’s title, “the most Beautiful, Useful and Uncommon Plants,” the multiple narrative and purpose of *Figures* becomes apparent. This broad compendium of plant types, from the practical asparagus to the flamboyant amaryllis, coupled with its glorious illustration and incisive commentary, is unparalleled in mid-eighteenth-century Britain.

Bound and published in London in 1771, the work’s three hundred elaborate copper-engraved, hand-colored illustrations were struck and made available for sale to the public serially between 1755 and 1760. Presumably the commentary, which is in the pre-Linnaean Latin polysyllabic taxonomy, was written at about the same time.

This circumstance led Greene, Don McKelvey, and me to conclude that Miller, who adopted Linnaean binomial nomenclature in his 1759, seventh edition of the *Gardeners Dictionary*, had reverted to polynomial Latin in his 1771 *Figures*. However, examination of the plates themselves and subsequent research revealed that the plates and commentary were produced between 1755 and 1760 and, consequently, reflected the antiquated polynomial style.

In 1759, Miller republished his phenomenally popular *Gardeners Kalendar* (seventh edition) and with it adopted the binomial (genus/species) model that regularized botanical classification. If the majority of the commentary and nomenclature and the work on the plates in *Figures* were already completed by 1760, would that have made *Figures* an anachronism upon its completion? Would that forestall the project and account for only its later bound editions of 1771? Was *Figures* stillborn? Would *Figures* have been, produced at some expense, an outdated extravagance?

This may account for the rather scant treatment that *Figures* is given in secondary sources concerning Miller and his encyclopedic publishing. More credibility and commentary is devoted to his eight editions of the *Gardeners Dictionary*, of which Colonial Williamsburg owns the following:

- 1733 *Gardeners Dictionary*, 2nd edition
- 1752 *Gardeners Dictionary*, 6th edition
- 1754 *Gardeners Dictionary*, 4th edition (3 volumes)
- 1763 *Abridgement to the Gardeners Dictionary*
- 1768 *Gardeners Dictionary*, 8th edition (2 volumes); 2 sets.

One source is nearly silent as to the phenomenon of the publication of *Figures*, giving only the dates when the original plates were struck circa 1755–1760.¹ At the bottom of each plate, the names of the delineators and engravers appear. The majority of the plates were executed by John Sebastian Miller, William Houston, and R. Lancake. Sixteen drawings and one etching were prepared by Georg Dionysius Ehret. John and William Bartram produced a couple.

Ehret (1708–1770) was the most celebrated botanical artist of the eighteenth century and much sought after by compilers of horticultural texts. He is famous for having worked on the thirty-eight plates in the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, a catalog Linnaeus compiled of George Clifford’s garden in Holland. The Foundation is fortunate to have one volume of this work (circa 1738) in the rare-book collection, where one can view Ehret’s uncolored plates.

Ehret was also important to the dissemination of the new Linnaean system of plant taxonomy. He drew and engraved a colored “tabella” representing Linnaeus’s system of plant taxonomy. The original colored drawing for the engraving is in the collection of the Natural History Museum in London.

Ehret, married to the sister of Miller’s wife, worked only intermittently on *Figures*. In all, he created the original drawings for twenty-one plants in sixteen plates and cut his own copper-plate for the second castor bean plant (*Ricinus communis*) illustration.

The following table summarizes Ehret’s contribution to Miller’s *Figures*:

Plate #	Species	Date of imprint	draughtsman
3.	<i>Abutilon</i>	1755	Ehret, pinxt.
3.	<i>Abutilon</i>	1755	Ehret, pinxt.
5.	<i>Acacia</i>	1755	Ehret, pinxt.
4.	<i>Acacia</i>	1755	Ehret, pinxt.
6.	<i>Acacia</i>	1755	Ehret, pinxt.
38.	<i>Anthemis</i>	1755	Ehret
48.	<i>Arbutus</i>	1755	Ehret, pinxt.

57.	<i>Aster Carolinianus</i>	1755	Ehret, pinxt.
57.	<i>Aster procumbens</i>	1755	Ehret, pinxt
68.	<i>Borrago</i>	1756	Ehret, pinxt
82.	<i>Cassia</i>	1756	Ehret
176.	<i>Mesembryanthemum</i>	1757	Ehret
176.	<i>Mesembryanthemum</i>	1757	Ehret
176.	<i>Mesembryanthemum</i>	1757.	Ehret
177.	<i>Mesembryanthemum</i>	1757	Ehret
177.	<i>Mesembryanthemum</i>	1757	Ehret
208.	<i>Pinus</i>	1758	Ehret, pinxt
215.	<i>Quercus</i>	1758	Ehret
220.	<i>Ricinus</i>	1758	Ehret
219.	<i>Ricinus</i>	1758	Ehret
291.	<i>Acacia</i>	1759	Ehret

Much of Ehret's renown comes from the patronage of Dr. Jacob Trew, noted for his extensive work, *Plantae Selectae*, issued in ten parts from 1750 to 1773.

Philip Miller's true fame stems from his garden. Among the luminaries of British eighteenth-century horticulture, Miller was from 1722 until 1770 gardener and curator of the Chelsea Physick Garden, adjacent to London. Le Rougetel notes, "Under his care and through his enthusiastic introduction of new plants it became the most richly stocked botanic garden in Europe."² He was credited with making it the premier botanical garden of its time in Europe.

Established by the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London in 1673, the Chelsea Physick Garden was intended to provide living plants that constituted both the raw materials of the apothecaries' trade and the tools for learning that trade. "It was a garden above all for training. . . . Increasingly it provided a site for the growing of plants used in medicines for correct identification by the Society's apprentices."³

The son of a market gardener, Miller established himself as a "florist," a trade that specialized in the production and development of exuberant strains of carnation, tulip, auricula, anemone, hyacinth, ranunculus, and polyanthus. Such were his horticultural achievements that he came to the attention of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), a stellar figure in his own right.

Sloane studied with the great de Tournefort at the Royal Garden of Plants in Paris, obtained his degree of doctor of medicine from the University of Orange in 1683, and served as physician to the duke of Albemarle in Jamaica. There he assembled the material that became *Catalogus Plantarum quae in Jamaica* (1696). Importantly for Miller, Sloane purchased the Manor of Chelsea, including the Apothecaries' Garden. When, in 1722, Sloane granted the entire physic garden to the Apothecaries Company, Miller was appointed foreman on Sloane's recommendation.

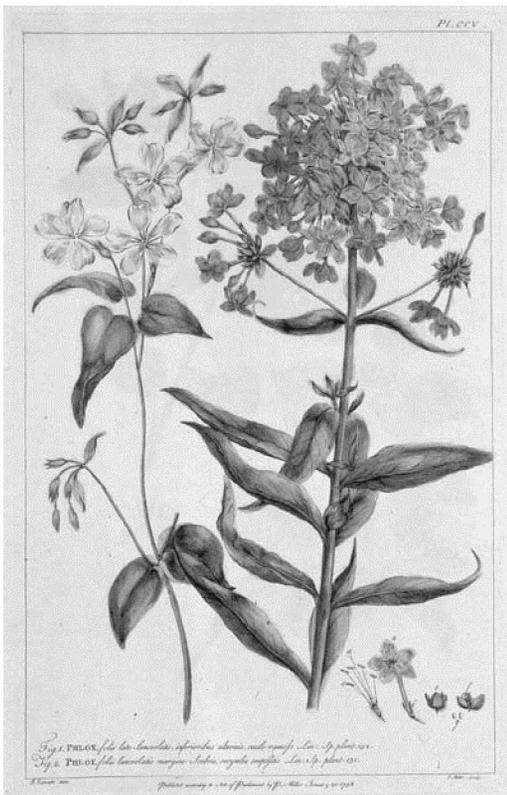
Miller published prodigiously while serving as curator and gardener of the Chelsea Physic Garden. As mentioned earlier, he is best known not for his splendid *Figures* but his encyclopedic *Gardeners Dictionary*, which went through eight editions. While the *Gardeners Dictionary* is packed with practical horticultural advice and plant species, *Figures* is especially rewarding to work with because of the beauty of the illustrations.

This fulsomely illustrated, handsomely leather-bound two-volume work was seminal to the research that I conducted over the past several years. Importantly, this botanical work is written in English, and not the usual Latin of most plant taxonomists. A third rail, so to speak, between the herbal and the florilegium, is the proliferation in the eighteenth century of gardening manuals or dictionaries that were intended to inform the growing gardening public about the intricacies of gardening. Miller in his immensely popular *Gardeners Dictionary* does just that. The well-executed and colored engravings of *Figures*, in addition to its incisive scientific commentary, would have placed it well above other plant encyclopedias of the era if its taxonomy had not been eclipsed by the Linnaean system.

A clue to its hybrid character might be gleaned from its target audience, the well-educated intellectual and social elite of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. *Figures* is dedicated to John, duke of Bedford, marquis of Tavistock, earl of Bedford, etc. The work was patently intended for the pampered eyes of the elite, the minds of curious readers, and the imaginations of fervent botanical, horticultural, and gardening aficionados. Because of the ambitious nature of the work at its inception, the first sixty-two chapters and plates are dedicated to those plants beginning with "A." As the work was reconceived, the number of genera and species was reduced.

An important element in *Figures* is the number of North American species included in the work: 57 out of 392 species presented on 300 plates. When inspecting *Figures* for the frequency of American provenances, plants obtained outside the original thirteen colonies were not counted. While this approach excludes species found in Central and South America as well as the West Indies—admittedly a considerable portion of the content, it allows for a more focused study. Also revealing is information about the origins of specimens, including details about some of the people ("collector-commentator" in the following chart) from whom Miller obtained new species as seed, slip, or plant, or the place of embarkation of a particular plant. American species included:

Miller's Name	Botanical species	Common Name	Collector Commentator	Oenothera 3 kinds	Oenothera sp.	Evening Primrose
<i>Abies</i>	<i>Abies balsamea?</i>	Fir	Banister	<i>Oenothera</i>	<i>Oenothera</i> sp.	Evening Primrose
<i>Acer</i>	<i>Acer rubrum</i>	Scarlet Maple	Banister/ Catesby	<i>Oenothera</i>	<i>Oenothera</i> sp.	Evening Primrose
<i>Amorpha</i>	<i>Amorpha fruticosa</i>	Bastard Indigo	Catesby	<i>Opuntia</i>	<i>Opuntia</i> sp.	Prickly Pair Cactus
<i>Anona</i>	<i>Asimia triloba</i>	Paw-paw	Catesby	<i>Phlox</i>	<i>Phlox paniculata</i>	Summer Phlox
<i>Aquilegia</i>	<i>Aquilegia canadensis</i>	Columbine		<i>Phlox</i>	<i>Phlox divaricata</i>	
<i>Asarina</i>	?			<i>Physalis</i>	<i>Physalis</i>	?
<i>Aster</i>	<i>Aster</i> sp.	Aster	Catesby	<i>Polemonium</i>	<i>Polemonium reptans</i>	Jacob's Ladder
<i>Aster Carolinanus?</i>		?	Thomas Dale	<i>Ptelia</i>	<i>Ptelia trifoliata</i>	Hop Tree
<i>Basteria</i>	<i>Calycanthus virginicus</i>	Sweetshrub	Catesby	<i>Pulmonaria</i>	<i>Pulmonaria</i>	Lungwort
<i>Cassine</i>	<i>Ilex</i> sp.	Cassine holly?	Catesby	<i>Robinia</i>	<i>Robinia hispida</i>	Bristly Locust
<i>Ceanothus</i>	<i>Ceanothus americanus</i>	New Jersey Tea		<i>Rudbeckia</i>	<i>Rudbeckia</i> sp.	Black-eyed Susan
<i>Celtis</i>	<i>Celtis</i> sp.	Hackberry		<i>Sarracenia</i>	<i>Sarracenia</i> sp.	Side Saddle Flower
<i>Chelone</i>	<i>Chelone</i> sp.	Turtlehead	Catesby	<i>Serratula</i>	?	Sawwort
<i>Clethra</i>	<i>Clethra virginica</i>	Sweetpepper Bush		<i>Solidago</i>	<i>Solidago</i>	Goldenrod
<i>Coreopsis</i>	<i>Coreopsis</i> sp.	Tickseed		<i>Spirea</i>	<i>Spirea</i> ?	?
<i>Crateagus</i>	<i>Crateagus</i> sp.	Hawthorn		3 kinds	<i>Filapenula?</i>	
<i>Delphinium</i>	<i>Delphinium exaltatum</i>	Larkspur	Bartram	<i>Spirea</i>	<i>Spirea</i> ?	?
<i>Diervilla</i>	<i>Diervilla</i>	Bush Honeysuckle		<i>Spirea</i>	<i>Spirea</i> ?	?
<i>Helleborine</i>	?	?	Bartram	<i>Tacamahaca</i>	<i>Populus balsamifera</i>	Ontario Balsam Poplar
<i>Hydrangea</i>	<i>Hydrangea arborescens</i>	Smooth Hydrangea		<i>Veratrum</i>	<i>Veratrum virginicum</i>	Virginia Bunch Flower Bartram
<i>Kalmia</i>	<i>Kalmia latifolia</i>	Mountain Laurel		<i>Viburnum</i>	<i>Viburnum</i> sp.	<i>Viburnum</i>
<i>Lilium</i>	<i>Lilium philadelphicum</i>	Lily	Bartram	Three of Miller's sources, individuals traveling and collecting in America at the behest of patrons in England, hold special interest: John Banister (1650–1692), Mark Catesby (1682–1749), and John Bartram (1699–1777).		
<i>Lupinus</i>	<i>Lupinus perennis</i>	Lupine		Banister's name should be familiar to every student of colonial American horticulture. Under the patronage of Henry Compton (1632–1713), bishop of London, he acted as something between an agent and liege of the bishop and undertook a botanizing trip to Virginia in 1678. This trip marked the beginning of a fourteen-year horticultural relationship with the bishop, who stocked his impressive garden at Fulham Palace with many		
<i>Magnolia</i>	<i>Magnolia</i> sp.	Magnolia				
<i>Media</i>	<i>Dodecatheon Meadia</i>	Shooting Star	Banister			
<i>Mespilus</i>	?	?				
<i>Mespilus</i>	?	?				
<i>Monarda</i>	<i>Monarda</i> sp.	Bee-balm				
<i>Monarda</i>	<i>Monarda</i> sp.					



of Banister's introductions. Banister fell victim to friendly fire in Virginia while botanizing in 1692.

Twenty years later, Catesby arrived in Virginia to visit his married sister in Williamsburg. After seven years in tidewater, Catesby briefly returned to England before resuming his travels with a visit to the southern colonies and the Bahamas (1722–1726). This expedition led to the publication of *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands: containing two hundred and twenty figures of birds, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, and plants*, a splendid work also in the Foundation's collection.

Bartram was another seminal figure in colonial American horticulture. Self-taught in Latin, he was part of the heated horticultural gestalt that saturated European intellectual culture. The Royal Society honored botany as integral to scientific thought. Bartram's contributions to botany and to transatlantic plant exchange earned him the title of botanist to the king. Furthermore, Bartram's connections on the English side of the Atlantic were strong.

Peter Collinson, a London merchant and dedicated plantsman, organized a syndicate with Miller, the duchess of Richmond, and Lord Petre, which financed the plant explorations of Bartram in the New World. Ultimately, Bartram's relationship and correspondence with Collinson "led to about two hundred plants being introduced into Europe from America."⁴

Figures also deserves closer inspection because each "American" entry is a story unto itself. For example, the first entry demonstrates both the occurrence of an American plant and the collector or naturalist who observed it. Chapter 1 is devoted to *Abies*, "The Fir or Spruce Tree." In the commentary, Miller writes, "The Cones of these Trees were sent from Virginia to England by Mr. Banister, towards the End of the last Century; and several of the Plants were raised in the gardens of the Bishop of London at Fulham, those of Mr. Reynardson at Helleddon, near Uxbridge, and at Mr. Darby's Garden at Hoxton." The "Fir or Spruce" entry is but the first of five entries wherein Miller recognizes Banister as the introducer of new species to British horticulture.

Quickly on the heels of the *Abies*, or Fir Tree, comes the Virginia Red Scarlet Maple, his *Acer Virginianum, folio majore, subius arenteeo supra viridis splendente*. The red or scarlet flowering maple of Virginia was a tree, Miller says, that was introduced to the North American mainland by Banister first, where it was grown both at the Fulham garden of the bishop of London and Miller's garden at Chelsea.

Proceeding alphabetically, I quickly came upon *Amorpha*, the bastard indigo. It was, for the purposes of the grant, a hole in one. Miller states that "the Seeds of this Plant were sent from Carolina by Mr. Catesby in 1724, which were sown in many Gardens; . . . and now they are pretty common in most of the Nursery-gardens about London." Upon closer inspection of modern horticultural sources, *Amorpha* is said to hug the sandy coastlines of what has become known as the Carolinas.

Anona follows on *Amorpha* by some pages. Our pawpaw was various things for Miller:

Anona, Custard-Apple, Sour-Sop, Sweet Sop, Water Apple &c. . . . Commonly called by the Inhabitants of North American PawPaw. . . . This species is described by Mr. Catesby, in his History of Carolina, and the Bahama Islands. . . . Mr. Catesby says that this Tree seldom grows more than Ten or Twelve Feet high in that country, with Stems as large as the Small of a Man's Leg . . . He also mentions that the fruit is seldom eaten but by Negroes.

A startling discovery is the fact that Lord Petre at Thorndon (considered at the time one of the most impressive estates in England) was not only growing guava, pineapple, gingers, and limes in his stove houses, but pawpaw as well, although the record is silent as to how it was used as a culinary item.

Other concurrences abound. Miller's *Basteria* is none other than our Carolina allspice (*Ca-*

lycanthus virginicus), the usually spicy-scented American shrub well-known in southern American gardens. Miller is almost chatty when writing about allspice: "It was procured from Carolina by Mr. Catesby, who says it grows at a great Distance from the Settlements already made in that country; but I have been informed, that the Inhabitants of Charles Town have propagated it their Gardens of late Years, so have great Plenty of it there."

Once again, Catesby figures large in the acquisition of plants in regard to the troublesome, but beautiful, American trumpet vine. Among the American plants pictured in *Figures* that must unhinge the uninitiated most is Miller's *Bignonia*, our trumpet vine (*Campsis radicans*), a staple on fences in the Historic Area, grows rampant in the wild. But its inarguable appeal, due to the size and coloring of its vibrant orange flowers, and its manageable size in the drizzly English climate, must have convinced Miller to devote one luscious folio page to the vine that farmers and homeowners now call a weed. But Miller's commentary is further illuminating, saying, "The Seeds of it were sent from Carolina in 1724 by Mr. Catesby, from which many plants were raised." He comments on the native habit of this invasive vine and its ability to climb trees up to fifty or sixty feet.

Miller's inventory of American plants is diverse. Hop Tree (*Ptelea triloba*) is rare, one specimen of which can be found behind the Lewis House on Francis Street. Growing naturally in Virginia, Miller says, it was discovered first by the Reverend Banister in the seventeenth century. In the early eighteenth century Catesby sent seeds to Britain gathered in Carolina, where "it was found growing in Plenty." Miller allows that "There is no great Beauty in the Flowers; but those who are curious in collecting rare Trees and Shrubs, preserve it in their Gardens for the sake of Variety."

It is a boon to the plant researcher when one primary source leads to another primary source, or to two in fact, as in the case of the turtlehead (*Chelone* sp.) or hummingbird flower. Miller testifies to the intrepid English traveler John Josselyn's (fl. 1630–1675) seventeenth-century account of the turtlehead growing near Boston. In a second nod to an avid plant collector, Miller wrote in *Figures*, "the most beautiful, the Colour of the Flowers being a deep Red, and the Flowers are somewhat larger than those of the white. This is the Second Sort mentioned in the Gardener's Dictionary [Miller's], which was sent from Virginia by Mr. Clayton a few Years past."

Banister's contributions to *Figures* multiply. Of the shooting star (*Dodecatheon Meadia*), Miller



says, "This plant grows naturally in Virginia, and other Parts of North America, from whence it was sent by Mr. Banister, many Years since, to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, in whose curious Garden I first saw this Plant growing, which was in the year 1709." Shooting star (Miller's *Meadia*) is a small woodland plant with pendulous pink flowers from which its name is derived.

Of pulmonaria (*Pulmonaria officinalis*) or lungwort, he reports, "This plant grows naturally on the Mountains in North America. The seeds were sent from Virginia by Mr. Banister many Years since and some of the Plants were raised in the Garden of the Bishop of London at Fulham."

Of a blue aster, Miller writes, "This plant grows naturally in Virginia, from whence it was brought by the late Mr. Mark Catesby, about the year 1720, and given to Mr. Fairchild, Gardener at Hoxton, who propagated it in great Plenty." He notes that it is perennial and that it flowers in October. Reaching consensus on the identity of this aster is difficult.

One of the most glorious illustrated pages of *Figures* features a double portrait of two red lilies, one of American extraction, the other the "Carmine Lily of Byzantium." Of the American lily, Miller says, "The Root of this Flower was sent me by Mr. John Bartram from Philadelphia,

who found the Plant grown naturally in that country." It is likely the *Lilium philadelphicum*.

Figures is interesting because it is a compilation of Banister's, Catesby's, and Bartram's roles in collecting, identifying, and conveying plant specimens to England; Ehret's and others' superb draftsmanship; and Miller's botanical erudition. *Figures of the most beautiful, uncommon and useful plants* is a rare treasure worthy of more investigation. Its beauty, its botanical acumen, and its availability in Colonial Williamsburg's collection make it a valuable and memorable resource for plant researchers.

¹ Hazel Le Rougetel, *The Chelsea Gardener: Philip Miller, 1691–1771* (Portland, Ore.: Saga Press/Timber Press, 1990).

² Ibid.

³ Sue Minter, *The Apothecaries' Garden: The New History of the Chelsea Physic Garden* (Stroud, Eng.: Sutton, 2003), 2.

⁴ Le Rougetel, *Chelsea Gardener*, 68.



Interpreter's Corner

What Are Your Sources?

by Jim Hollins

Jim is a historical interpreter in the Department of School and Group Services.

"What're your sources?" Have you ever been asked, or have you ever asked someone, that question? If you deal in history, I'm sure you have. In one's quest to be accurate, primary sources play an important part in the interpretation of history. When you can point out one or more references in historical documents that substantiate your story, you are able to establish credibility quickly.

I have been a longtime collector of antique tools and enjoy studying them—particularly those used in eighteenth-century Virginia. I spent several years developing a list of tools and tool-related items identified in eighteenth-century Virginia primary sources. This has developed into several finding aids for tools and hearth-cooking equipment. There are often

multiple references for each item. Most of the sources can be found in Colonial Williamsburg's John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library.

In compiling the lists, I confirmed what I already knew and discovered new things. For example,

- A measuring device used by the wheelwright is commonly referred to as a *traveler*. I never found the word *traveler* in any eighteenth-century references. (*The Oxford English Dictionary* gives first reference of this usage as 1879–1881.)
- Emery paper was used in eighteenth-century Virginia.
- The term *spatula* was not associated with hearth-cooking tools.
- The word *spider* showed up in hearth-cooking tools.
- A common term in Virginia for a device that allowed a pot to be positioned over the fire in a kitchen was *pot rack*. In Norfolk County it was referred to as a *trammel*.

The finding aids also allow you to compile lists of such tools as locks, nails, brushes, and baskets, resulting in an idea of the variety of tools used in eighteenth-century Virginia.

Recently, Jay Gaynor, director of Historic Trades, offered to computerize the finding aids. Thanks to Diane Hudgins, administrative specialist, they are now available to Colonial Williamsburg employees on CD and hard copy. If you would like to take a look at them, contact Diane at the Margaret Hunter Workshop (extension 7108).

New at the Rock



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

Camerarius, Joachim. *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex re Herbaria Desumptorum Centuria una Collecta* (Frankfurt: Johannis Ammong, 1605). This Lutheran theologian, physician, and botanist maintained an extensive botanical garden in Nuremberg, Germany. The work is a condensation of the original four-volume collection of emblems showing plants and animals. Various significances and associations of birds, insects, flowers, fruits, etc., are explained. The work is among the first botanical emblem books to be illustrated with copperplate engravings, some of which are thought to have influenced the design of early-American currency.

Channing, William Ellery. *Slavery* (Boston: James Munroe, 1835). This Unitarian clergyman and author, a one-time resident of Richmond, Virginia, was dedicated to developing the full potential of all mankind and supported universal education. A visit to the West Indies prompted this volume, which condemns slavery and demonstrates its ethical indefensibility.

Debates in Both Houses of Parliament on the Articles of Peace (London: S. Bladon, 1783). This book includes discussions concerning ending hostilities with America and documents talks on February 17, 1783. Speeches by various members of both bodies outline the common position that peace should be recommended to the king. After briefly considering abdication, George III agreed. The Treaty of Paris, officially ending the Revolutionary War, was signed later that year.

Dickinson, John. *New Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great-Britain over the Colonies in America* (London: J. Almon, 1774). Dickinson was a Philadelphia lawyer and delegate to the First Continental Congress who opposed separation from England and worked to temper the language of the delegates so that reconciliation might remain possible. Identifying the author

only as a "Pennsylvania Farmer," the work counsels leaders on both sides of the Atlantic concerning the economic folly and unconstitutionality of new British revenue laws ignoring rights of Englishmen living in the colonies.

Doddridge, Joseph. *Notes, on the Settlement and Indian Wars, of the Western Parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania* (Wellsburgh, Va.: Office of the Gazette, 1824). This book covers the period 1763–1783 and provides a description of the society and manners of the early settlers in the region. Topics include Native Americans, flora and fauna, slavery, and noteworthy personalities.

Galloway, Joseph. *Cool Thoughts on the Consequences to Great Britain of American Independence* (London: J. Wilkie, 1780). In this work, a Maryland native and loyalist strongly supports retaining union with England and advocates a council elected by the Revolutionary colonial assemblies, which would be overseen by a president-general appointed by the king.

———. *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion* (London: G. Wilkie, 1780). The author moved to Philadelphia and became active in Pennsylvania political life. A member of the First Continental Congress, he later fled to England where he wrote this loyalist interpretation of Revolutionary activities.

Hamilton, Alexander. *Colonel Hamilton's Second Letter, from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1784). The Federalist leader and future secretary of the treasury writes under the name of an ancient Athenian Platonist philosopher, supporting compliance with the 1783 peace treaty with the British. He also addresses the nature of civil liberties and advocates ending attacks on Tory sympathizers and their property.

Journal of the Proceedings of Congress (London: J. Almon, 1778). This is the first British edition of these crucial journals, covering the proceedings after the outbreak of hostilities but before the writing of the Declaration of Independence. A bookplate bears the armorial crest of the Lowther family.

Letter to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec (Philadelphia: William & Thomas Bradford, 1774). This extract from the minutes of the Continental Congress invites the Canadian province to unite with its southern neighbors against the unjust demands of England. Delegates are invited to join their fellow citizens of North America at the Congress held in Philadelphia in May 1775. This work bears the signature of John Leeds, a public official, surveyor, and mathematician living in Talbot County, Maryland.

Macaulay, Catharine. *Address to the People of England, Ireland, and Scotland* (New York: John Holt, 1775). A correspondent of George Washington's, the author was called "the woman of the greatest abilities that this country has ever produced" by Mary Wollstonecraft. Macaulay was a historian and staunch defender of American rights and roused the British to defend their own interests against governmental oppression as well.

Military commission: Written from the British headquarters in New York, Gen. Sir William Howe appoints Richard St. George Mansergh St. George as lieutenant in the 52nd Regiment of Foot on December 23, 1776. Commissions issued in America are rare. A member of the Anglo-Irish landed gentry, St. George was painted by Thomas Gainsborough shortly before leaving for America, where he was wounded at the Battle of Germantown.

The Objections to the Taxation of Our American Colonies (London: J. Wilkie, 1765). This work appeared the same year that the Stamp Act went into effect and studies the issues that the act raised concerning the colonists' right to tax themselves versus arbitrary taxation by the British Parliament.

Phillips, Wendell. *Review of Lysander Spooner's Essay on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery* (Boston: Andrews & Prentiss, 1847). Spooner's work discussed whether the United States Constitution supported the institution of slavery. He used legal and natural law to support the interpretation that clauses appearing to support slavery

actually do not and observed that "no law in conflict with natural law is valid and that judges have no obligation to enforce such naturally invalid law." Phillips, an American abolitionist, criticizes the work for not supporting antislavery ideals in stronger terms, and, stating that the republic had been governed by slaveholders throughout its history, identifies the Constitution as a proslavery compact.

Price, Richard. *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776). Price, a Welsh, nonconformist minister and political philosopher already known for his sermons, strongly disapproved of the war between England and the colonies. A friend and correspondent of both Franklin and Jefferson, his work encouraged Americans to declare independence.

Propositions of Colonel Hamilton, of New York, in the Convention for Establishing a Constitutional Government for the United States (Pittsfield, Mass.: Phineas Allen, 1802). This pamphlet also contains a summary of the political opinions of President John Adams, together with a comparison of the fundamental differences between the country's two major political parties—the Federalists, represented by writings of John Adams, and the Republicans, as set forth by Samuel Adams.

Quarles, Francis. *Divine Poems* (London: Miles Flesher, 1634). The author, an English poet, studied law at Cambridge and Oxford universities and began his literary life as an author of poems paraphrasing several books of the Old Testament. *Divine Poems* first appeared in 1630 and contained edifying lessons concerning Jonah, Esther, and Job, together with sonnets inspired by the Song of Solomon celebrating the mystical marriage of Christ and the church.

Seabury, Samuel. *The Congress Canvassed: or, an Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates, at their Grand Convention* (New York: n.p., 1774). Addressed to the merchants of New York, this work was published under the pseudonym of A. W. Farmer (i.e., a Westchester farmer). A Church of England rector in New Jersey and New York, Seabury was arrested in 1775 for his staunch loyalist sympathies. The work seeks to convince merchants that prohibiting importation of English goods will only redound to their detriment and economically impair them. Seabury remained in America and became the first consecrated bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

Sharp, Granville. *Declaration of the People's Natural Right to a Share in the Legislature* (New York: John Holt, 1774). Sharp, a noted biblical scholar and abolitionist, provides a strong argument for popular representation. The original work was sent to America by Benjamin Franklin and widely reprinted. Some have found verbal and conceptual similarities with Jefferson's subsequent work on the Declaration of Independence.

Tucker, Josiah. *Cui Bono? or, an Inquiry, what benefits can arise either to the English or the Americans* (Gloucester, Eng.: R. Raikes, 1781). The author, an English economist, political writer, and dean of Gloucester, argues that all countries will be losers in any war and advises Americans that their independence is an idle and visionary notion. Their fate, he predicts, will be to become "a disunited People till the End of Time." However, he divides the colonies into the region between Connecticut and the Hudson River and the Carolinas and Georgia as loyalist areas, while advising independence for the remainder.

———. *Letter to Edmund Burke, Esq.* (Gloucester, Eng.: R. Raikes, 1775). The author, while hostile to the Americans, advocated declaring the colonies independent. Edmund Burke attacked Tucker's writings as "childish," thus eliciting this rather harsh fulmination against the former's plan of pacification by recognizing the authority of the Continental Congress to legislate for the colonies.

The Universal Magazine (London: Stephen Cumberlege), vol. 72, June 1783. This issue contains the orders issued by George Washington to his troops on the arrival of the information that the preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon between America and England. Issued from Chatham, New York, on April 18, 1783, the document orders a cessation of hostilities to begin the next day.

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



Correction: Wesley Greene noted an error in the "Q & A" segment in the Fall 2007/Winter 2008 issue. It concerned the yew tree at Custis Square and stated that John Bartram recorded seeing yews there in 1769. Bartram visited Williamsburg in 1739, not 1769.



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