Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

VOL. 23, NO. 2 SUMMER 2002

Conservation of a Jeffersonian Vision: Jefferson's 1786 Model of the Capitol of Virginia

by John Watson

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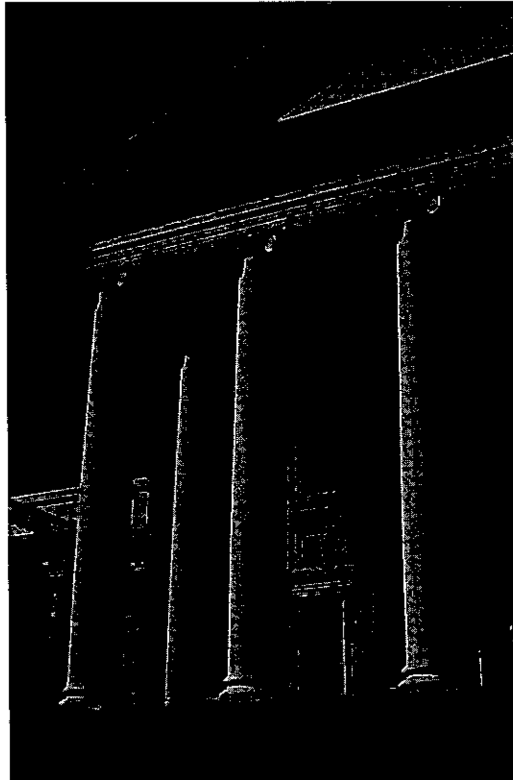
In the spring of 1776, Thomas Jefferson began preliminary architectural plans for a new Virginia Capitol building that eventually would be constructed not in the colonial capital, but in Richmond. In 1785, Jefferson was serving as minister plenipotentiary to Paris, yet the directors of the public buildings in Richmond called upon him to collaborate with an architect of his choosing to provide plans for a new Capitol. In spite of the magnitude of his other responsibilities abroad, Jefferson was only too happy to be involved. His vision for the new nation—that it should reflect not a stodgy colonialism, but a lofty democratic ideal—looked to classical Greece and Rome for inspiration. Indeed, what could guide and inspire the citizenry to such a self-image better than a new, pure, classical architecture?

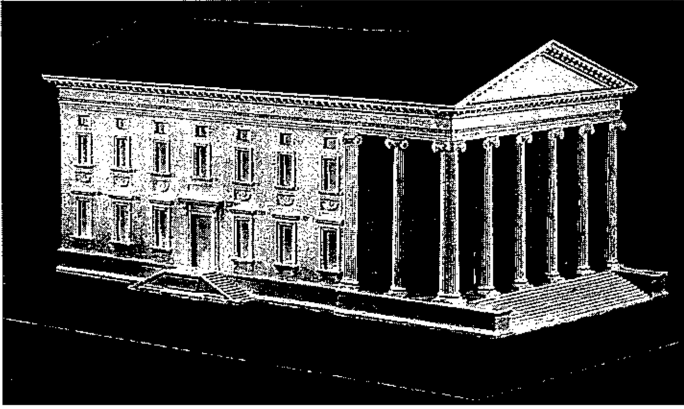
Also in this issue . . .

"New Traveling Coach Arrives at Colonial Williamsburg" . . . 6
"Neighborhoods Throughout the Countryside" by B. White . . . 7
"Is That a Presbyterian Meeting House in the Historic Area?" by J. Turner and L. Rowe . . . 16
"Arts & Mysteries" by N. B. Poirier . . . 20
"Women and Education in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" by L. Rowe . . . 23
"Cook's Corner" by L. Arnold . . . 29
"Nicholas Cresswell's Journal, 1774–77" . . . 31
"Q & A" by B. Doares . . . 40
"The Bothy's Mould" by J. Guthrie . . . 43
"Notes from the Museums" by J. Gilliam . . . 44
"New at the Rock" . . . 45
"Interpreter's Corner" by K. McBride . . . 47
"Editor's Notes" . . . 48



Today, the Virginia Capitol stands as a symbol of Thomas Jefferson's vision for a new nation founded on Greek and Roman principles of democracy.

Jefferson found the perfect architect for the job in Charles-Louis Clérisseau, who trained in Italy and was known for his drawings of classical buildings and ancient ruins. Jefferson provided Clérisseau with his newest Capitol plans, but the interior of the building would remain Jefferson's design, for it was Jefferson who knew how the government would best use the inner spaces. The elder French architect suggested a new classical model for the building's overall exterior appearance. Jefferson approved of his choice, writing to the directors of public buildings back in Virginia, "There is at Nismes in the South of France a building, called the Maison quarrée,



A plaster model of the Virginia Capitol was made in 1786 by Jean-Pierre Fouquet according to plans by Thomas Jefferson and Charles-Louis Clérisseau. All three men were in Paris at the time. Jefferson said it was "for the guide of the workmen" who were already at work on the new Capitol building in Richmond.

erected in the time of the Caesars, and which is allowed without contradiction to be the most perfect and precious remain of antiquity in existence" (January 26, 1786).

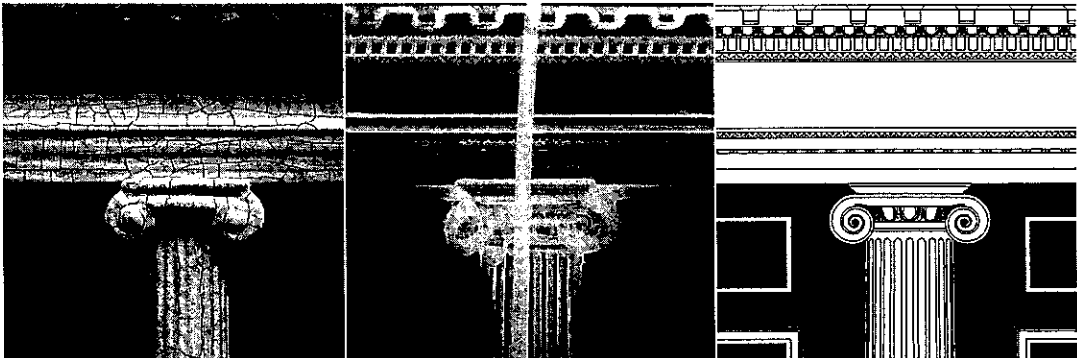
Jefferson commissioned a plaster model of the Capitol plan, not only because it was the custom in Paris, but also because it was "absolutely necessary for the guide of the workmen not very expert in their art" (Jefferson to the Directors of Public Buildings, January 26, 1786). He selected a promising young Frenchman, Jean-Pierre Fouquet, to make the model, which was ready to be shipped to Virginia by midyear. Unlike Clérisseau's drawings, which vanished after being loaned to the designers of the Capitol in Washington, D. C., Fouquet's delicate plaster model has survived without damage to the present day. It has spent much of the past two centuries on exhibit in the rotunda of the Capitol in Richmond, where it will soon return.

In 1994, the original Fouquet model of the Capitol of Virginia, now under the guardianship of the Library of Virginia, came to the Colonial Williamsburg Department of Conservation for extensive research, examination, and conservation treatment, which was completed in 2001. Conservators and historians were captivated by the artifact's auspicious beginnings, its informative stratifications from the nineteenth century, and its revelations to all who have taken care to look closely enough.

Although the plaster model has survived with very little loss, it has not escaped change altogether. Originally consisting only of a portico and side wall, the model was given a rear wall made of wood very soon after its arrival in Virginia. Conservators confirmed the Virginia origins of the back wall by making microscopic examination of the wood and finding it to be tulip poplar—a native of Virginia and not France. Thereafter, a surprising tradition developed—the model was repainted every time the color scheme of the actual Capitol building was changed.

Today, Fouquet's originally bare-plaster model is buried under twelve to fifteen layers of lead-based paint. This has been both a blessing and a curse. Thanks to the paint, the fragile plaster surfaces beneath have been frozen in their pristine eighteenth-century state. Microscopic cross-section analysis of the paint revealed an important record of the Capitol model's changing paint schemes during the nineteenth century. Since the actual Capitol building has been through extensive restoration over the years, the model retains an important record of the build-

Preserved under 12–15 layers of paint, the Capitol model revealed surprising detail in x-radiographs.



ing's paint history. However, the curse of the paint is that it obscures whatever surface detail might be hidden underneath.

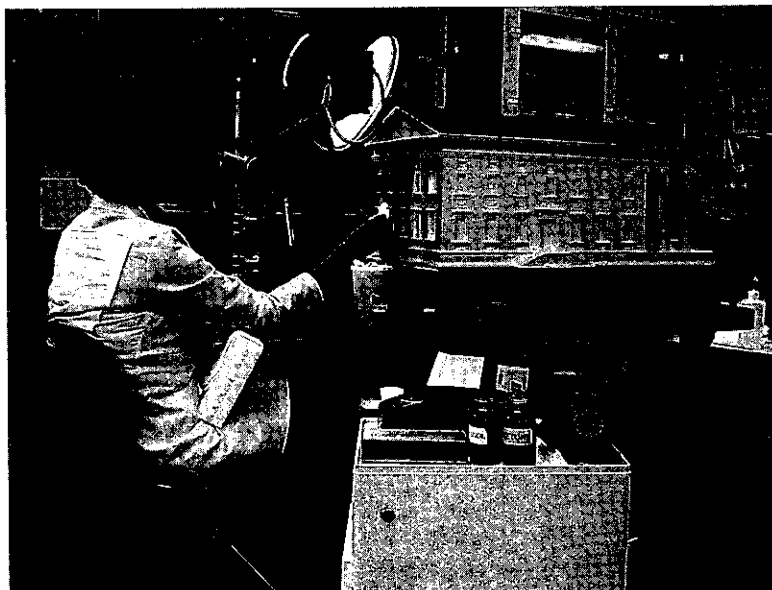
An early and spectacular discovery was made when conservators took the model to NASA Langley Research Center for the first round of x-radiography. Not only was there detail under the paint, but it was stunning detail indeed. No one was prepared to find richly carved egg-and-dart, waterleaf, and bead-and-reel moldings adorning the pediment. Architraves, cornices, column capitals, pilasters, and carved garlands with leaves and fruit adorned the model. Carved guttae on the window brackets measured only four-hundredths of an inch wide. A single grape in one of the wall garlands measured a mere two-hundredths of an inch in diameter.

Conservators also made a series of "keyhole excavations" to see if detail could be exposed through paint removal. The tests showed that the fragile plaster was not able to stand the stress without crumbling. A group of architectural historians and officials of the Library of Virginia who had responsibility for the model met in

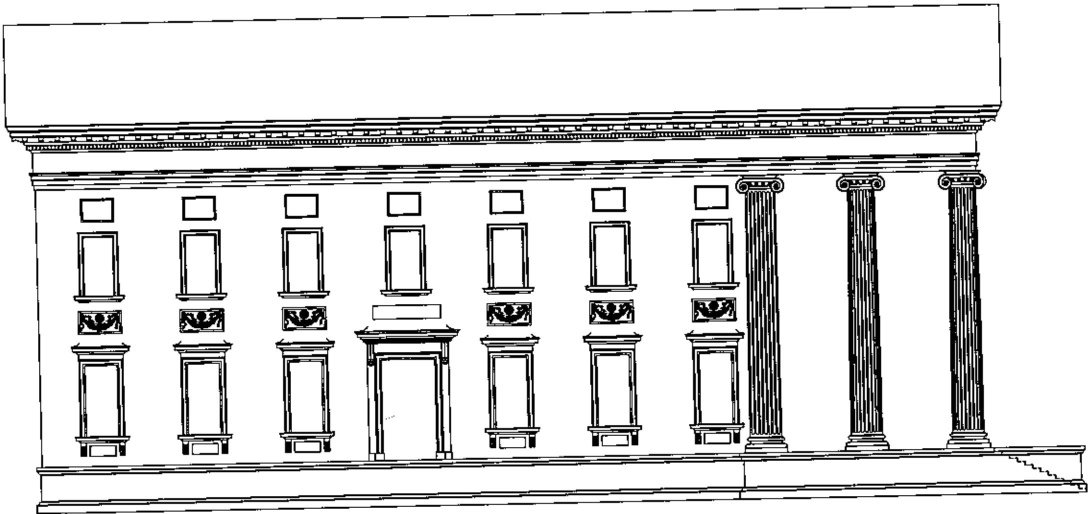
Amy Fernandez of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Objects Conservation lab, the project conservator for the 1786 Jefferson-Fouquet model, received assistance from Stephanie Conforti and former objects lab manager Scott Nolley. Replicating the model took the efforts of a half-dozen conservators, subcontractors, and volunteers. John Watson served as project director and draftsman. Conservator Tom Snyder, the primary model maker, was assisted by Chris Swan. Albert Skutans and volunteer John Piaza were major participants, the latter also contributing to the drawings. Professional model makers Joseph Hutchins and Gary Lavarack each supplied some of the patterns for the replica. Other conservators who participated in various phases of the project included Mark Kutney, Emily Williams, Pamela Young, David Blanchfield, Steve Ray, and former Director of Conservation Carey Howlett, who provided initial historical research that guided most aspects of the overall project.

The 1786 model of the Capitol and its new replica appear in the exhibit *Jefferson and the Capitol of Virginia* at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum through February 17, 2003. The exhibition came to Williamsburg from the Library of Virginia in Richmond, where it was shown during the first half of 2002. In addition to the models, the exhibition includes some of Jefferson's original drawings and drawing tools, a period publication by his collaborating architect Charles-Louis Clérisseau, works by others that influenced Jefferson's design, and period illustrations of the Capitol as it appeared over the course of its first century.

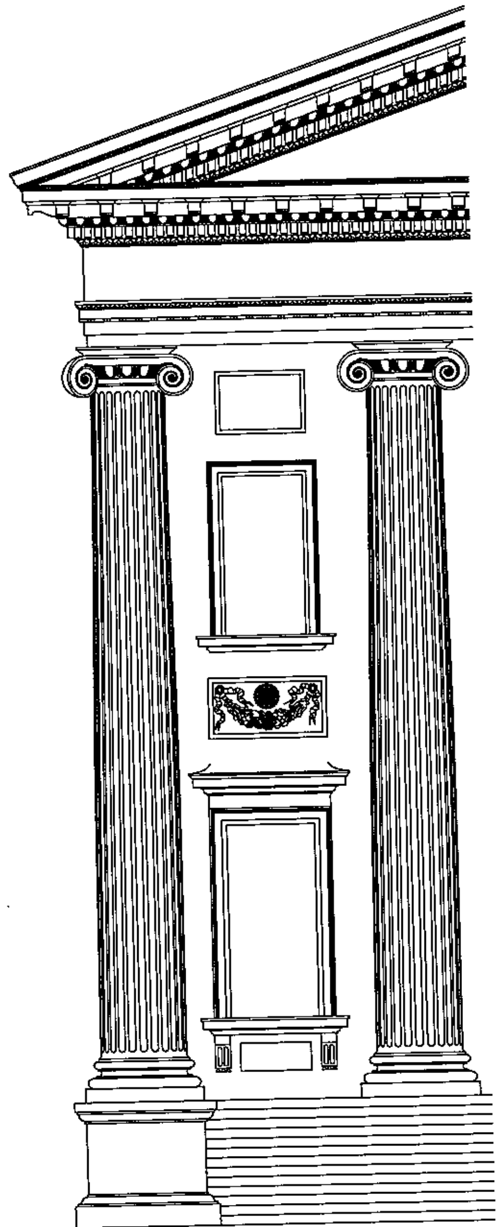
On September 27 and 28, 2002, the Williamsburg Institute presents "Jefferson and the Capitol of Virginia," a symposium sponsored by the Library of Virginia and Colonial Williamsburg. For details contact the symposium registrar at (757) 220-7174 or email tdailey@cwf.org.



Using a microscope to guide such exacting work, conservator Amy Fernandez selectively removed layers of paint on the rear wall of the model. This exposed five paint schemes that had been applied to both the model and the building during the nineteenth century.



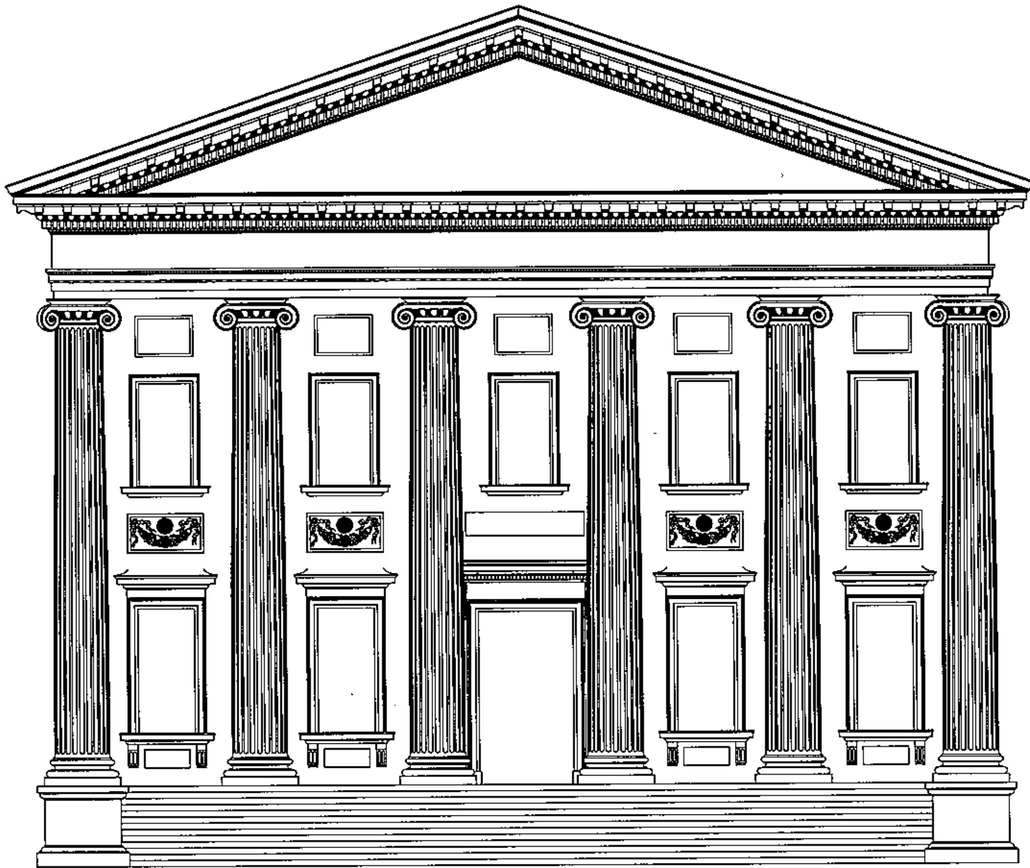
Working from the model as well as the X rays and Jefferson's own architectural sources, the author reconstructed drawings to guide the making of a replica.



Williamsburg to discuss options for the historic model. They came to the unanimous decision that the layers of paint were worthy of preservation. Therefore, the conservation treatment should be limited to cleaning the model and making only minor repairs on a few damaged areas. In addition, the group endorsed the conservator's recommendation to excavate certain layers of paint on the non-original back wall for purposes of exposing, for public exhibit, the important paint history not only of the model, but of the Capitol building itself.

Conservators removed twenty-six years of surface dirt, soot, and grime from the surface as well as a dirty wax coating put on in 1974. Some minor repairs were made and old ones improved. The twentieth-century paint layers had developed deep cracks overall. The cracks were cosmetically reduced to improve the overall appearance of the painted surface. Most important, selected layers of paint were removed from sections of the back wall to reveal five complete paint schemes that matched the paint history of the actual Capitol building in Richmond. Period engravings and photographs of the Capitol building confirmed the correlation of paint schemes between the building and the model.

The problem remained that everyone had a strong and legitimate interest in seeing the model as it originally appeared when it arrived in Virginia in 1786, complete with all its fine detail and crisp outlines. There was one perfect though daunting solution. Increasingly, conservators are making accurate reproductions that virtually "restore" the initial appearance of an important object without altering the original. No other

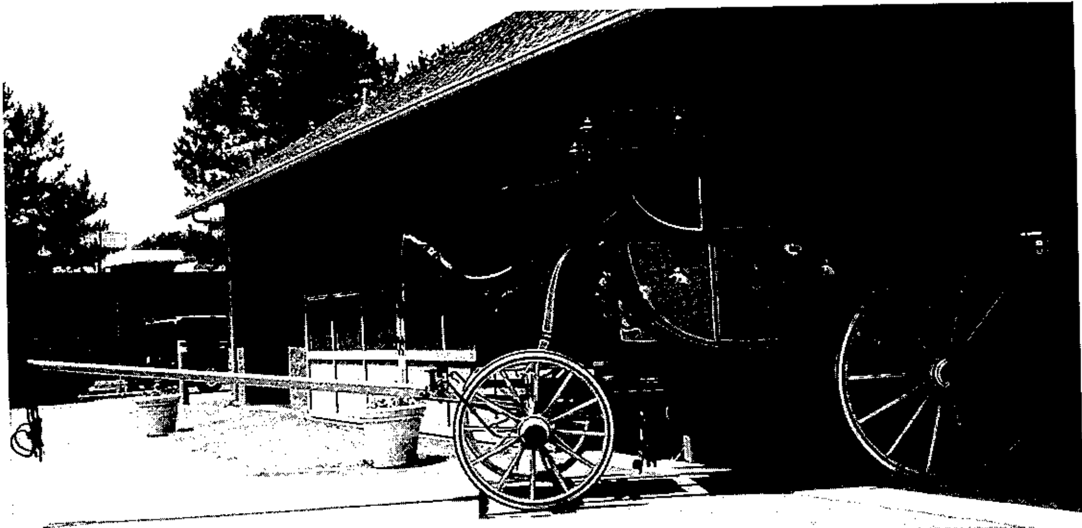


approach gets to the aesthetic message of an artifact without destroying at least part of the historical message.

The first step in the replication process was a challenging project on its own—to reconstruct the original architectural drawings. The thick layer of paint on the model not only obscured the detail, but meant that measurements could not be taken literally. More instructive were 150 X rays taken of the model, most by Colonial Williamsburg's conservation staff using the new X-ray facility at Bruton Heights. The dimensions and details revealed by the X rays also had to be mathematically interpreted to compensate for distortions. The cone-shaped projection of X rays passes through the model on the way to the film, resulting in an image that is always somewhat larger than the artifact. Determining the actual measurements resembles computing the precise dimensions of an object having only shadows cast on a wall.

Model makers created parts of the model in virtual space, using 3D computer assisted design (CAD) software. The resulting data drove a digital milling machine that carved patterns of green modeling wax or acrylic resin. Other patterns were cut using conventional, miniaturized woodworking methods. Rubber molds of these patterns yielded multiple patterns in casting resin. The model makers glued together separate cast patterns of windows, entablature sections, garlands, doors, and other details to form a master mold for a whole wall or section.

The conservation of the Capitol model and the making of its replica were a fascinating journey back to the formative years of the new nation. The project showed with unusual vividness, how an artifact can be read as a voluminous historical document. The model gave us a glimpse into the ateliers of a celebrated French architect and of a 1786 Paris model-making tradesman. The accumulation of paint layers showed us a moving picture of a two-hundred-year journey through time and changing tastes. Most compellingly, the artifact gave us a remarkable glimpse into the seminal mind of Thomas Jefferson. Was this a small plaster building or a vision for America? The answer comes in Jefferson's own words, "It is very simple, but it is noble beyond expression, and would have done honour to our country as presenting to travelers a morsel of taste in our infancy promising much for our maturer age" (Jefferson to James Madison, September 20, 1785).



New Traveling Coach Arrives at Colonial Williamsburg

By Richard Nicoll and Laura Arnold

Richard is the director of the Coach and Livestock Department. Laura is a member of the Interpreter *planning board.*

In 1773, when Robert Carter, wealthy planter and member of the Governor's Council, ordered a traveling coach through John Hyndman, a merchant in London, he provided detailed specifications about his order. Carter asked for "A strong, fashionable traveling post coach without a box, no guilding thereon, but neatly painted and varnished, the body lined with blue leather. It is hoped that the wood of the coach be fully seasoned." This coach was built by Joseph Jacobs, Jr., at his shop on St. Mary's Avenue in London at a cost of £119. When the coach arrived at Leeds, Virginia, on September 12, 1774, Philip Fithian, tutor to Robert Carter's children, described it as "a plain coach with the upper part black and lower part Sage or Pea Green."

Thanks to the generosity of James and Maureen Gorman of Cumberland Foreside, Maine, a replica of Carter's coach provides an eighteenth-century traveling experience to our twenty-first-century visitors. This addition to the six other historically accurate carriages owned by Colonial Williamsburg was built by Florian Staudner of Vienna, Austria, in 2001. The newest coach is based on research conducted by Ron Vineyard, former master of the Wheelwright Shop, to determine the specifications for the construction of a traveling coach. Examination of the Selway Coach, an original eighteenth-century coach now in a private collection in France, the Powell Coach at Mt. Vernon, and other similar coaches provided visual documentation to Carter's original order. In addition, William Felton's 1793 Treatise on Carriages stated that strength and convenience were the essential properties for a traveling coach. Plain, strongly built vehicles were preferred for such use—the plainer and stronger they were built, the better they were for this purpose. Felton specified strong wheels, efficient axletrees, and a common coach box and stated that if the plain traveling coach was well formed and neatly executed in the finishing, it would always preserve a genteel appearance. Because the new coach, unlike Carter's, will be subjected to the paved and cobbled streets of the Historic Area and to daily use by visitors, some modifications were necessary for practical and safety reasons (roller bearings in the wheels and steel in the pole). The new coach was built using the wood, iron, and techniques favored by eighteenth-century coach makers. With its shiny black upper part, pea green body displaying the Carter coat of arms painted on the sides, bright yellow undercarriage and wheels, and blue leather interior, the new coach indeed presents a genteel appearance.

Visitors who have the privilege of riding in the new vehicle will appreciate the ample storage in the traditional English "boot" and the ability to attach an innovative leather case on the roof of the coach, the eighteenth-century version of a modern car-top carrier. Nine of Carter's surviving twelve children were girls who, along with their mother, would have delighted in a large storage case for transporting their gowns when traveling between their plantation at Nomini Hall and their spacious house

next to the Governor's Palace. As in today's luxury cars, the leather interior of the coach provided comfort as well as the fashionable touch originally requested by Carter. His wealth and his knowledge of what was popular in London enabled him to transfer the fashion for a "neat and plain" look in household furnishings to the design of his new traveling coach.

The clouds of war were gathering in 1774 when the coach arrived in Virginia. These clouds threatened to destroy Robert Carter's way of life. He was a "reluctant patriot" who initially opposed separating from Great Britain. When independence was declared, he threw his support behind the struggle to create a new nation. Evidence of Carter's lifestyle can be found on many sites in Colonial Williamsburg: the College of William and Mary, the council chamber at the Capitol, the Governor's Palace, the home of his neighbor George Wythe, and his own house on Palace Green. Riding around the streets of the Historic Area in Carter's elegant traveling coach provides our visitors with a new opportunity to reflect on the risks and the potential loss of all that was familiar to him and his fellow Virginians when they made the decision to choose revolution.

Neighborhoods Throughout the Countryside

by Bill White

Bill is executive producer and director of Educational Program Development. The Interpreter *staff thanks him for permission to reprint this chapter from "Charlatans, Embezzlers, and Murderers: Revolution Comes to Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1998). The excerpt describes eastern Virginia's rural and urban landscapes and peoples in the 1760s as an eighteenth-century traveler would have seen them as he journeyed from the Northern Neck to the capital city of Williamsburg and beyond to the port cities of Yorktown, Hampton, and Norfolk.*

Nearly every historian who describes colonial Virginia comments on the absence of major urban centers. Over and over again, Virginia's riverways and large plantations pervade historians' reports. Although plantations with their slave laborers and gentry masters dominate the landscape in most accounts, it is more accurate to see Virginia by 1760 as a series of small rural farming communities. A network of roads linked together small towns and hamlets like York, Williamsburg, Hampton, Richmond, Urbanna, and Fredericksburg. Peppered along these roads were innumerable smaller communities or neighborhoods. At crossroads, warehouses, ordinaries, courthouses, and ferries Virginians gathered in the seasonal rhythms of vibrant and active farming communities. In these interconnected small communities, Virginians fashioned and coordinated their response to the provincial and imperial issues of the 1760s and 1770s.[1]

No doubt the opulent houses of Virginia's most prominent residents were a striking feature of the Virginia landscape. Sailing up the Rappahannock River, for example, the Carter plantation of Sabine Hall commanded the attention of even the most casual observers. The home of Colonel Landon Carter stood three miles from the river. Six finely trimmed and terraced gardens led the eye up a graceful slope to the two-story brick Georgian edifice called Sabine Hall, a dwelling house "of taste" on which Carter began construction in 1738. The home befit Carter's station in the colony: justice of the peace for Richmond County, county lieutenant for the militia, and member of the House of Burgesses. His Virginia Northern Neck holdings alone totaled more than thirty-five thousand acres.[2] In the early part of the century, majestic riverfront structures represented focal points for the community. Smaller planters brought their tobacco to the wharves of great plantations. Gentry planters served the role of merchant to the community, securing goods and credit for their neighbors. Even the local militia practiced in the fields around the county lieutenant's home.[3]

In the years between 1730 and 1760, however, the community role of these homes and estates gradually diminished. Increasingly, the great plantation homes became private havens for Virginia's gentry. Small urban centers and rural hamlets took their place as the central focus of the neighborhood's interaction. At one of these small towns or landings, travelers disembarked. On the Rappahannock River, as an example, these communities included Urbanna, Leeds, Port Royal, Falmouth, and Fredericksburg.[4]

Approaching Port Royal, travelers encountered another, more modest plantation. Captain William Fox's seven hundred–acre plantation overlooked the Rappahannock just a half mile below the town. His unpretentious home stood only one-story high. Its brick construction was unusual, as was the eight-foot-wide portico grac-

ing the riverside façade. Most planters of his station lived in wooden clapboard dwellings, but Fox was not only a planter. As master of the ship *Matty*, he engaged in the British and West Indies trade. Fox consigned goods for merchants up and down Virginia's coast in Port Royal, Williamsburg, York, and Norfolk. Fox could well afford this sturdy brick dwelling. His residence, like Landon Carter's, displayed a garden visible from the waterfront, but Fox's measured only "200 feet square." This was not a pleasure garden. Fox's garden supplied vegetables and herbs for the household, and he paled it in with sawed boards as a discouragement to pests. On the river, in front of the dwelling, a "good fish house" exploited the excellent shad and herring fishing on the river. Fox also rented part of his land to a tenant. He worked hard for the material advantages he possessed. Managing the plantation, shipping consignments, the fishery, and a tenant kept William Fox busy.[5]

At Port Royal, ships anchored in the river and tied to the dock obscured the view of the town. The estuary was only about a quarter mile wide at this point, but its depth was sufficient to accommodate some larger cargo and trade ships. On the wharf, ship's captains off-loaded their cargoes of imported goods or stuffed their holds with tobacco, ginseng, lumber, barrel staves, shingles, and skins in preparation for departure to northern colonies, the West Indies, or Great Britain. Planters of varying statuses looked over the latest shipload of indentured servants or slaves with an eye for purchasing new plantation hands. Another ship waited in the river while its captain searched the town for a pilot to guide it farther upriver to Fredericksburg. Those who disembarked walked through a hamlet designed in a grid pattern, four streets wide and four or five streets deep. Between twenty and thirty structures graced the streets including homes, trade shops, taverns, boarding houses, and six Scottish merchants.[6]

Given the prevalence of waterways cutting across Virginia's landscape, the sojourner might assume water the easiest, most direct method of travel within the colony. Actually, individuals did not commonly journey by water until the mid-nineteenth century. Most ships and boats engaged in commerce and the transportation of goods, and great plantation estates were oriented on the river for commercial advantage.[7] But travel by individuals from one destination to the next generally involved overland routes. A network of roads crisscrossed tidewater Virginia, and fords, bridges, and ferries traversing the waterways connected them. Overland was the most direct and convenient path for

travel. Between 1768 and 1774, George Washington traveled to Williamsburg sixteen times, and each time he traveled the overland roads. Those of even modest means traveled by horseback. Affluent men and women navigated the land passage in coaches or riding chairs. The poor and enslaved journeyed on foot.[8]

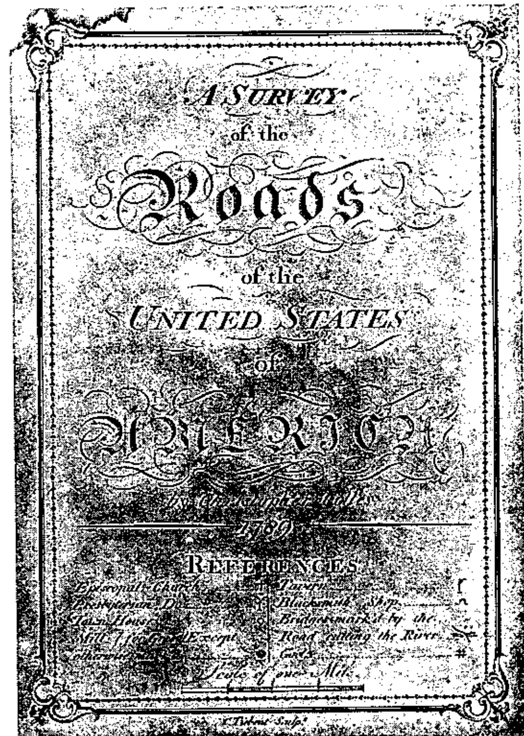
This was the scene just outside Port Royal. Locals moved up and down along the town's land entrance: some walked, some rode horseback, and a few rode in carriages. Folk from the countryside did business with the merchants and tradesmen of Port Royal. Cart drivers guided teams of oxen or horses, their wagons loaded with goods for the wharf or produce and supplies for the town. About one-half mile outside town a blacksmith worked at his shop next to his small dwelling house. The tradesman at work here rented the property from Captain Fox.[9]

The countryside past Port Royal carried the mark of Virginians. Fields of tobacco, corn, and grain stretched along the roadside. Even areas not under cultivation showed the results of habitation. Woodlands were strewn with stumps and timbering waste. Other sections displayed the thick weave of young second-growth scrub. Tobacco cultivation quickly sucked nutrients from Virginia's soil.

Planters adopted a system of exploiting the land that left a heavy mark on the landscape. They cleared a section of forest for tobacco cultivation. In three or four years, the planter abandoned this depleted section for another freshly cleared one. The used land lay fallow for up to twenty years. When a thick thatch of scrub pine and underbrush covered the old field, it could again be cleared and profitably cultivated in tobacco.

Increasingly, though, farmers moved toward diversification, the cultivation of grains, and away from tobacco with its fickle market. Wheat grew profitably on land depleted for tobacco and extended the profitability of the land. As the eighteenth century progressed, production of wheat, corn, beef, pork, and other staple crops increased largely in response to the demands of the Atlantic trade. European shortages increased demand for American staples. Planters who diversified crop production suffered less in the sometimes dramatic tobacco market fluctuations. More important, crop diversification intensified the need for urban centers connected to the Atlantic trade and did much to spawn the network of small towns and trading centers in tidewater Virginia. This network with its imperial connections would become the forum of revolutionary Virginia.

The road from Port Royal led southwest out of town before it turned due south. Sandy soil


A SURVEY
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REFERENCES

Title page of A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America *by Christopher Colles, 1789 (1983-315, 1). This survey was the first published road atlas of the United States.*

barely supported the scrub pines, but "Vast Numbers of Laurels" grew along the roadside. During spring, blooms adorned the thoroughfare with color. Every few miles, a crossroad or fork marked the trip. To the left or right, the roads led to other small communities.[10]

Nine miles from Port Royal, the traveler found the Caroline Courthouse crossing. The southwest road led to Caroline Courthouse just a couple of miles away. Courthouses figured visibly as centers of activity in rural communities. Monthly meetings of the court attracted most county residents, but every day the courthouse neighborhood reflected patterns of an active and vibrant rural farm community. Besides the courthouse itself, a tavern (or ordinary) often operated close by. Also within view of the courthouse there were a couple of houses or even a merchant's store. Many Virginians advertised that they lived near or had a business located near a courthouse. This did not suggest that their dwelling was within view of the courthouse, but it identified their neighborhood. Any person seeking a resident asked at the tavern or dwelling nearby and received information concerning the resident's whereabouts from a neighbor.

Travelers often commented on the poverty they encountered as they passed through the countryside. It was not just the slave quarters

occasionally within view of the road or the gangs of Africans working in the fields as overseers stood above them and supervised. Travelers observed "miserable huts inhabited by whites, whose wane looks and ragged garments bespeak poverty." Most of these huts were one- or two-room, wood-frame structures. Clapboards covered the outside walls and roof. Few planters lathed and plastered the interior walls. There was seldom a second floor. Glass windows adorned a few dwellings, but most planters closed out weather and light when they latched their shutters. Planters often built their chimneys of wood and plastered the inside with mud. Both poor and middling planters lived in dwellings of approximately equal size. Increased status in the community found expression in finer building materials, floors, plastered interior walls, glass, brick, and possessions.[11]

Sneed's Ordinary was three miles below the Caroline Courthouse crossroad. The east fork at Sneed's turned sharply south some two miles later and headed for Beverley's Run eight miles away. After fording the stream, the road continued to Gardner's Ordinary crossroad where the westward road led to still another crossroad and the turn south for Todd's Bridge. Navigating the matrix of roads and lanes, though well known to locals, perplexed the stranger. Travelers, no doubt, frequently requested directions from locals they encountered along the way.

Todd's Bridge, a small community, included the bridge, a warehouse, ordinary, post office, several homes, and probably a store. This was obviously not a planned community. No grid plan measured off streets as in the town of Port Royal. Buildings, constructed hodgepodge, lined either side of the bending road. Bernard Moore's nearby forge and geared gristmill were also part of this small community. The post rider visited frequently, passing through the community twice weekly on his trips between Newcastle and Fredericksburg. The front of the warehouse often served as an auction block for slaves. Bridges were important connectors for this tidewater region cut by waterways. They linked communities, facilitated the transportation of goods and produce, and assisted the traveler. Todd's Bridge crossed the Mattaponi River and connected King and Queen County with its southern neighbor, King William County.[12]

Colonel Thomas Moore and Colonel Bernard Moore were two of King William County's prominent citizens and landowners. Thomas Moore owned several tracts in the county, most of which he probably rented to tenants. His five hundred acres on the Mattaponi River had a large two-story brick house containing eight rooms. On another tract between the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey Rivers, a more common wooden structure served as a dwelling. Three other tracts ranged from

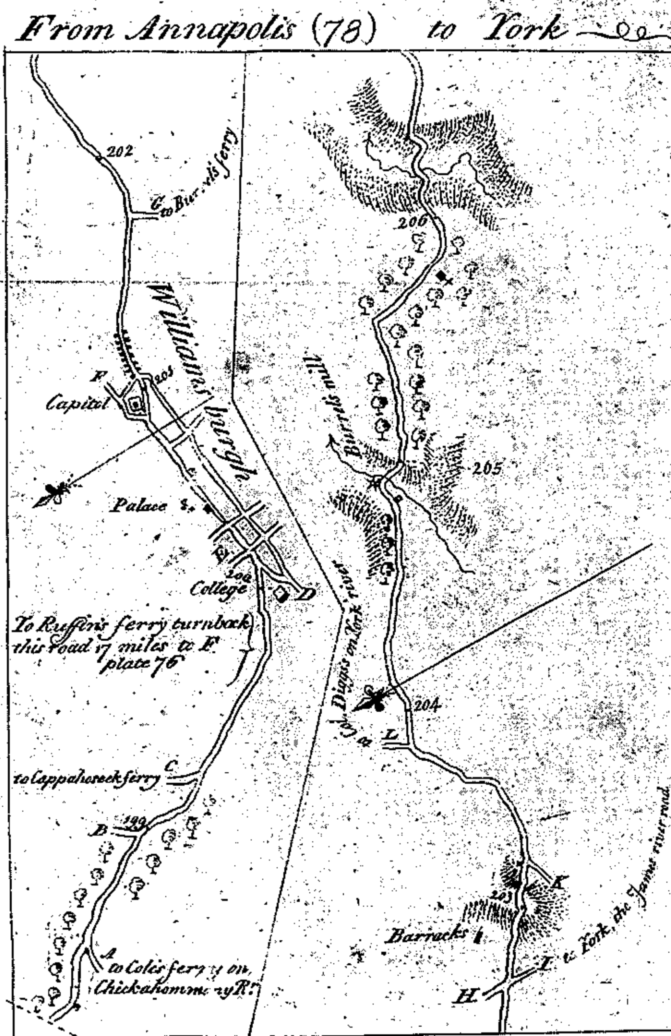

Plate 78 of Colles's Survey takes the late-18th-century traveler from the Chickahominy River through Williamsburg and part of the way to Yorktown (1983-315, 4). Each plate is composed of two or three separate strips with directional arrows indicating north. Capital letters identify the sequence in which the strips are to be read.

130 to 340 acres. All contained slave quarters "and convenient houses for cropping, and orchards, &c." One tract adjoined the "main road from King William courthouse to Claiborne's ferry, . . . conveniently situated for keeping a tavern or a store."

Thomas Moore also owned a "good water grist mill" in this area. His slave Hercules, the miller, ground corn and other grains for Moore's neighbors. As many as thirty slaves worked on Moore's properties. The bondsmen Harry and Jemmy were sawyers and clapboard carpenters. In 1766, Harry lived with his wife Sarah, mother to their one-year-old daughter, Judith. York was a gang leader, responsible for overseeing much of the work on Moore's quarter. His family included his wife, Delph, and their infant daughter, Dorah. Jupiter and his wife, Sukey, had a one-year-old named Judith. There were Cuff and his wife, Thompson. Molly, a seventeen-year-old mulatto, was competent at "all kinds of needle work," and Sarah was "a good mantuamaker." They served Moore as house servants. Lucy, Sarah's child, was about two years old. Eve had worked in the house as well as in the fields. She had a daughter named Rachel. Daniel, Dinah, Jupiter, Judith, Lucy, Alice, Daphne, Nancy, and Cuze worked the fields and tended livestock that included at least eight horses and one hundred head of cattle. In September 1767, all of Moore's King William property was sold by lottery to pay his debts to the John Robinson estate.[13]

Small planter Joseph Southerland lived near the King William courthouse, as did Harry Gains on seventeen hundred acres of land, three hundred of which he leased to tenants. Gains's prosperity came from his family's occupations, carpentry and undertaking. His father, Major Harry Gains, built the churches in Stratton Major, Christ Church, and Middlesex Parishes in the early part of the century. The son added to this legacy, building a vestry house and church for Stratton Major Parish. Other credits of the younger Gains included the construction of William Byrd's plantation house at Westover. Gains acquired enough respect in his community that the county constituency elected him to the House of Burgesses.[14]

William Cowne rented 572 acres of land belonging to the estate of Anderson Stith. The widow, Joanna Stith, unsuccessful at settling her husband's debts, placed the tenement on the market. Cowne probably worried that a new landlord might raise the rent and send him in search of a new plantation. Several apprentices worked in the area for Francis Smith, Sr., and James Geddy, undertakers and carpenters at King William Courthouse. James Axley and William Arter were carpenters. William Kindrick apprenticed as a bricklayer.[15]

In another three miles, the road between Port Royal and Williamsburg reached Aylett's Warehouse and landing. Archibald Govan, factor for a Scottish merchant firm, ran a store near the warehouse. A factor's clientele generally extended twelve to fourteen miles around his store. A successful merchant ingratiated himself "with the people." Acting "from judgement and through knowledge of people's dispositions," a factor provided good services for all and was not above plying his customers with "drink in abundance" when advantageous. These factor merchants purchased crops, mostly an inferior grade of tobacco for the French tobacco market in which Scottish merchant firms traded.[16]

From Aylett's Warehouse, it was five miles to Burwell's Ordinary where the road turned west and connected with the Mancohick Road to Chesterfield. In 1781, a Pennsylvania lieutenant, William Feltman, traveled through Burwell's "ornery" (as he recorded the Virginia pronunciation of ordinary). The lieutenant described the place as "destitute of every necessary of life." As Feltman marched through this area with the army, residents of various rural neighborhoods stood along the road and watched the soldiers pass. His soldier's eye could "scarcely discern any part" of the white women who stood on the roadside. They had "themselves muffled up with linens, &c. in order to prevent the sun from burning their faces." In contrast, "a number of the blacks," male and female, stood alongside the veiled whites, "all naked, [with] nothing to hide their nakedness." Pennsylvania soldiers in the road looked on the passing scene in amazement, but their Virginia hosts took these circumstances for granted. It was the common way of dress and undress in the community.[17]

After Aylett's, the road turned slowly south, passed through the West Point–William's Ferry crossroad, and on to Ruffin's Ferry. Virginians limited bridge construction to small spans, and fords only traversed shallow water. Ferries dotted the riverfront, transporting carts, wagons, livestock, and travelers on foot, horseback or carriage. On occasion, crossing was dangerous. Sudden storms and accidents damaged property and injured passengers or their horses. Ferry schedules were erratic. Ferrymen commonly operated their service along with another trade (a small plantation, tavern, or store). In consequence, travelers seldom found the ferryman ready. Passengers waited while someone fetched the ferryman from his other work or they watched while the ferry meandered back toward them after transporting a previous load. Ruffin's crossed the Pamunkey

River where it was three hundred yards wide and about forty feet deep. On the south shore, the road crossed through two miles of swamp before the ground on either side became firm and dry. Doncastle also called Byrd's Ordinary, was another few miles down the road.[18]

The estate of Speaker and Treasurer John Robinson owned Doncastle Ordinary (also known as Byrd's Ordinary). Thomas Doncastle rented the property and developed quite a reputation for the establishment. Besides the ordinary building, the tavern keeper managed five hundred acres of land and lived in a "genteel two story house." His business and household operated with the help of a cook and several house servants. Doncastle kept a "stock of cattle, hogs, horse [and] sheep" on the property.[19]

The road from Doncastle led past Hickory Neck Church, to Burnt Brick Ordinary, and on to Allen's Ordinary. Buildings, ordinaries, and crossroads acted as signposts marking the traveler's progress. From Allen's, the final leg of the trip to Williamsburg was just six miles.

The road from Doncastle's cut deeply into the terrain, showing more than a hundred years of traffic. Approaching Williamsburg, the vistas opened. Fields on each side appeared larger, and the patches of uncut timber smaller. Travelers could see the college cupola though they were well outside town. The trip from Port Royal took about two and one-half days. As the traveler drew closer to the town, the college loomed impressively. This three-story brick structure, clearly a public building of some stature, heralded the entrance to the city of Williamsburg. The city (two to three times the size of Port Royal) was small for a capital. Moreover, it was landlocked. Only shallow-draught shipping could approach within a couple of miles at College Creek Landing south of the city. Capitol Landing on Queen's Creek, north of the city, was no more accommodating.[20]

Williamsburg was an interesting combination of government seat, commercial center, country market, and rural farming community. The main street stretched about a mile from west to east. Standing midway down this broad avenue (named Duke of Gloucester Street), the traveler spied public buildings in every direction. At the west end stood the college chartered by King William and Queen Mary in 1693 and constructed between 1695 and 1700, the oldest public building in the city. There on Duke of Gloucester Street was Bruton Parish Church. Next to the brick cruciform structure, a tree-lined vista drew the eye north to the residence of Virginia's royal governor. The Georgian design —capped by a cupola, flanked by two outbuildings and enclosed with a brick wall—impressed onlookers as a "magnificent structure." A few steps east on Duke of Gloucester Street was Market Square with its market house. Here, farmers gathered to sell their produce and meats. Slaves earned cash by selling the chickens they raised and the oysters they gathered from the river. On the south side of the square a two-story brick octagonal structure served as the colony's storehouse for weapons and gunpowder. By 1770, a new courthouse graced the north side of the street. At the far eastern end stood the Capitol building, a symmetrical complement to the college.[21]

Despite the absence of a waterfront, Williamsburg still maintained a thriving commercial life. Several merchants operated profitable stores in the city. Professionals, including surgeons and lawyers, worked within the city's boundaries. The town overflowed with tradesmen: tailors, shoemakers, apothecaries, goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, founders, cabinetmakers, coachmakers, and undertakers. In 1765, more than 250 inhabitants identified themselves as artisans producing the goods of more than fifty trades.[22]

The city's governmental and economic roles intermingled. Several times each year, meetings of the General Court, Assembly, or the Governor's Council brought a variety of Virginians to the city. Twice yearly, merchants of the colony gathered during the General Court and set rates of exchange. Taverns profited from the cosmopolitan nature of the city. Unlike the small one- and two-room ordinaries encountered on rural roads, Williamsburg's multiroom taverns catered to the gentry and middling sort frequenting the town.

Still, the city had a distinctive rural feel. Several prominent and enterprising residents owned large plantations adjoining the city. The governor was one. Behind his mansion and the finely trimmed formal gardens, slaves worked an extensive tract of land. Peyton Randolph, who succeeded John Robinson as speaker of the House of Burgesses, and his brother Attorney General John Randolph presided over plantations on the outskirts of town. Other prominent residents like Colonel William Byrd and Colonel John Chiswell managed extensive land holdings elsewhere in the colony and maintained houses in the city. In the 1760s Robert Carter of Nomini Hall still resided primarily in his town house and spent little time in residence at his plantation.

Leaving by the east end of the city, the York Road carried travelers down the peninsula. Just outside the city, in May 1765, a traveler saw the spectacle of three slaves hanging from a gallows. Executed for stealing money from a Williams-

burg resident, the slaves were left hanging on the York Road as a warning to others.[23] Yorktown was twelve to thirteen miles away.

The town of York was a small, though important, shipping center. The York River was about one mile wide at this point. Across the river was Gloucester Point. The largest seagoing vessels could navigate the York River. A cluster of some three hundred small houses, shops, and warehouses were packed along the shoreline. Behind this business center the ground rose sharply to form a cliff. Atop this bluff, overlooking the town and ships anchored in the river, stood the houses of York's most prominent citizens, including Councilor William Nelson's grand Georgian brick dwelling.[24]

From Yorktown, the road continued eastward down the peninsula, past Half Way Ordinary, and ended at Hampton, a town no larger than Yorktown. Hampton was a deepwater port on the James River side of the peninsula. When the Elizabeth City County Court was in session, however, the town bustled with activity. Often Royal Navy ships stationed in the Chesapeake moored in the harbor. Anne Blair of Williamsburg traveled to Hampton during these times and took advantage of the "Balls both by Land and by Water." Royal Navy officers entertained and charmed the ladies on board their ships with the military panoply of "the Drum & Fife" and with their "pleasing Countenances," polite company, and "easy Behavour."[25]

From Hampton it was a short sail across the James River, past Sewell's and Lambert's Points, into the eastern branch of the Elizabeth River. Several miles upstream, travelers came upon Norfolk, the largest urban center in the colony. There was no neatly organized grid plan for the layout of the town. As the city had grown, residents laid out new sections according to the topography, not a symmetrical design. Homes were mostly modest one-story structures. More prominent merchants and professionals lived in somewhat larger homes. This protected harbor was ideal for trade. The banks of the Elizabeth River at Norfolk were high enough to make landing and loading goods convenient. Norfolk was a commercial town inhabited primarily by merchants, artisans who built and supplied the necessities for ships, and "Sailors enough to manage their Navigation." Besides merchant warehouses laden with import and export goods, a shipbuilding industry thrived in the area. Lumber from the nearby forests supplied masts and planking.[26]

Norfolk, a town of enterprise, was by the 1760s, the largest town in Virginia. Tar, pitch, turpentine, and timber from North Carolina filled its warehouses and fed its thriving shipbuilding industry. Carolina farmers also herded cattle and hogs into town for slaughter and export. Norfolk profited from the diversification of the Chesapeake's crop production. Between 1740 and 1770, Virginia's corn exports grew from 42,212 bushels to 388,298 bushels. Wheat exports increased from 25,204 bushels to 185,926. In 1740, Virginia exported 15 tons of flour. Thirty years later merchants shipped 2,591 tons of flour out of her ports. Much of Virginia's grain exports went through the Norfolk harbor, carried by Chesapeake sloops and schooners. From Norfolk, the grain went on to the West Indies and southern Europe. There was also a thriving manufactory. James Campbell and Company operated one of the largest manufacturing complexes in America. The ropewalk, tannery, and shoe factory employed almost fifty slaves.

By the mid-1760s Norfolk's entrepreneurs were primarily Scots Presbyterians, whom one hostile traveler deemed as the "most bigoted set of people in the world." This traveler, however, only commented on a portion of the inhabitants. The residents of Norfolk were a diverse lot. Half the population was of African descent. Though most were enslaved, Norfolk had a small free black community. Then there were the runaways. Norfolk represented opportunity for runaway slaves, and the outbound ships in her harbor represented freedom.[27]

By the 1760s, a tight web of communities with integrated trade, economic, and communications networks knitted Virginia's Tidewater together. Some centers like Port Royal, Williamsburg, and York were planned communities located strategically on the landscape in regular grid patterns for trade and government. Others evolved, unplanned, in response to economic needs and opportunities. A series of roads, bridges, and ferries linked each small community to its neighbor. The events of one were the news of the next. What is more, across these roads and through these communities news of gathering political crises—provincial and imperial—spread quickly.

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[1] Historians examining the pattern of dispersed settlement in Virginia and its implications for the development of the region's landscape, economy, and society agree that Chesapeake society developed distinctive characteristics. This chapter relies on the rich secondary literature on historic geography, economic development, and spatial order. D. W. Meinig, *Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History,* Volume I, *Atlantic America 1492–1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580–1845* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982); and James T. Lemon, "Spatial Order: Households in Local Communities and Regions," *Colonial British America:*

Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era, ed. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), give good overviews of colonial settlement patterns and their effects on the regional development of British North America. For specific Chesapeake studies see: Carville Earle, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650–1783* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Department of Geography, 1975); James William Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972); Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Material Life in America 1600–1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988); Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth-Century South," *Perspectives in American History* 10 (1976): 7–78; and James O'Mara, "Urbanization in Tidewater Virginia During the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography" (Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, Ontario, 1979).

[2] Carter, *Diary*, 1:5–7.

[3] Isaac, *Transformation*, 34–42, illustrates the gentleman's seat. Kulikoff, *Tobacco*, 261–313, discusses the rise of the gentry elite. T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 84–118, describes the great planters and their relationship with lesser Virginians in the consignment trade system.

[4] Lewis, *Pursuit of Happiness*, discusses the retreat of gentry to their estates. Earle and Hoffman, "Staple Crops," 22–23; and O'Mara, "Urbanization," 295–296, 316, and 341–342 discuss the emergence of small urban centers.

[5] Captain Fox offered his plantation for sale in August 1766, *Virginia Gazette*, (Purdie and Dixon), 15 August 1766, 3. This is probably the same Captain William Fox who frequently advertised or is mentioned as master of the ship *Matty*, operating out of the Rappahannock River. Fox was engaged with, and transported goods for merchants from Port Royal to Norfolk. See: *Virginia Gazette* (Royle), 4 December 1766, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 11 December 1766 Supplement, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 10 October 1766, 3 and 6 November 1766, 3.

[6] John Harrower, *The Journal of John Harrower, An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia 1773–1776*, ed. Edward Miles Riley (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1963), 37; *Virginia Gazette* (Royle), 4 November 1763, 2; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 15 August 1766, 3 and 6 November 1766, 2.

[7] There are some notable references to boat travel in Virginia. Fithian, for example, records one Sunday in 1774 when the Nomini River was "alive with Boats Canoes &c some going to Church, some fishing, & some Sporting." Fithian describes this traveling boat owned by Carter as "a light neat Battoe elegantly painted & is rowed with four Oars." Still, the entire time Fithian was with the Carter family, he only recorded traveling by water three times. On every other occasion Fithian and the Carters traveled overland. Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 31, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 47, 87, 125, 144–145, 149, 157, 172, 192.

8 T. H. Breen, "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling among the Gentry of Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 34 (April 1977): 239–257; Isaac, *Transformation*, 52–57; Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1989), 49–60; Mary R. M. Goodwin, "Wheeled Carriages in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" (Colonial Williamsburg Research Report, 1959); Ron Vineyard, "Virginia Vehicles" (Colonial Williamsburg Research Report, 1988); Ron Vineyard, "Virginia Freight Waggons 1750–1850" (Colonial Williamsburg Research Report, 1994); Ernest P. Goodrich, "Restoration of Colonial Traffic in Williamsburg Virginia" (Colonial Williamsburg Research Report, 1938), and O'Mara, "Urbanization," 181–237; George Washington, *The Diaries of George Washington*, ed. Donald Jackson (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1976–1979), 2:53, 100–103, 143–144, 190, 236–241 and 3: 21–22, 24–25, 39–41, 44, 63, 71, 94, 138, 165, 210, 249, 264.

[9] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 15 August 1766, 3.

[10] Hazard, "Journal," 404–405. Hazard traveled this route from Port Royal to Williamsburg during May 1777 in just under two and a half days. Kulikoff, *Tobacco*, 47–48; Stilgoe, *Common Landscape*, 61; Lois Green Carr, "Diversification in the Colonial Chesapeake: Somerset County, Maryland, in Comparative Perspective," *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, ed. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 342–388; Earle and Hoffman, "Staple Crops and Urban Development," 7–69.

[11] Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, trans. Howard C. Rice (Williamsburg, Va.: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1963), 2:438; Upton, *Holy Things*, 110–114; and Chappell, "Housing a Nation," 180–182.

[12] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 5 May 1766, 2; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 8 August 1766, 3 and 11 December 1766, 3; and *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 10 October 1766, 3; 27 November 1766, 2; 2 April 1767, 2; 23 April 1767, 2; and 14 May 1767, 3. Petitions to the Virginia Assembly in 1745 and again in 1761 requesting the establishment of a town at Todd's Bridge were rejected by the Burgesses. Still, the bridge community was an active commercial hamlet during the 1760s and 1770s. It was not until almost 1800, though, that the area was incorporated as the town of Dunkirk. A 1796 plat of the proposed town bears witness to the community's previous unplanned development. The new town plat laid out a grid pattern with three streets running north/south. Another three streets ran east/west. The plat gives the location of existing buildings (granaries, a tavern, dwelling house). These existing buildings, though, do not relate to the new town layout. The tavern straddles two lots. Robinson's Granary is located in the middle of a street. Connecting the existing structures drawn on the plat, provides a view of the old country road that existed in the 1760s. From the bridge it moved northeast diagonally across the proposed grid streets of Dunkirk, turning slowly north. James Mason Grove, "The Story of Todd's Bridge-Dunkirk: An Account of the Rise and Decline of An Old Mattaponi River Settlement of King and Queen County, Virginia" (Williamsburg, Va., 1983); and Virginia D. Cox and Willie T. Weathers, *Old Houses of King and Queen County Virginia* (King and Queen Historical Society, 1973), 245–254.

[13] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 27 November 1766, 2. The complete description of Thomas Moore's property and slaves comes from a lottery announcement in *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 3 September 1767, 3. The property is listed in a variety of lots or prizes. It is interesting that Moore divided up his slaves into family groups.

[14] Upton, *Holy Things*, 24–25.

[15] *Virginia Gazette* (Royal), 4 November 1763, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 29 August 1766, 2; 2 April 1767, 3; and 10 September 1767, 2; There is no indication that carpenter James Geddy of King William Courthouse was related to silversmith James Geddy of Williamsburg.

[16] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 4 April 1766, 3. James Robinson managed several factors and their stores for the

firm of William Cuninghame and Company of Glasgow. His letters provided instructions to the factors on the proper management of their affairs. Here, his advice to factors is used to construct the way Govan could have conducted his business. Devine, *A Scottish Firm*, 11, 47, 51, 63, and 66. Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, 180–181, and Kulikoff, *Tobacco*, 99–101 and 120–121, discuss the diversification of agriculture. See also Richard L. Bushman, "Shopping and Advertising in Colonial America," *Of Consuming Interests*, 233–251.

[17] Lieutenant William Feltman, *The journal of Lieut. William Feltman, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, 1781–1782: Including the March into Virginia and the Siege of Yorktown* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Published for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1853, reprint New York: Arno Press, 1969), 5.

[18] Pat Gibbs, "Transcription of Taped Statement on Travel Conditions in Eighteenth-Century Virginia' (Memorandum to Mrs. Barbara Carson, 25 November 1985, Colonial Williamsburg Research Query File). The keeper of the Capahosack Ferry, William Thornton, advised travelers that "on making a Smoak on the other side of the River, the Boat will be immediately sent over." *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), 28 March 1751, 4. Francis Meek's ferry and Monk's Landing operated the same way. He advertised in 1766 that the ferry boat would be sent over immediately if gentlemen made smoke "at the usual place." He offered a shilling discount for those travelers who had to wait for his arrival. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 30 May 1766, 3. In 1725 Hugh Jones noted that "there are ferries at convenient places, over great rivers; but in them is often much danger from sudden storms, bad boats, or unskilful or willful ferrymen; especially if one passes in a boat with horse, of which I have great reason to be most sensible by the loss of a dear brother at Chickohomony Ferry, in February 1723/4." Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 85–86. In 1796 Isaac Weld did not find Virginia ferry service improved. Weld complained that "there is not one in six [ferries in Virginia] where the boats are good and well manned, and it is necessary to employ great circumspection in order to guard against accidents, which are but too common. As I pass along I heard of numberless recent instances of horses being drowned, killed, and having their legs broken, by getting in and out of the boats." Isaac Weld, *Travels Through The States of North America*, ed. Martin Roth (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968, reprint of the 1807 edition), 1:170.

[19] Advertisements provide several good descriptions of the Doncastle's Ordinary property. See *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 20 November 1766, 2; 27 July 1769; 2 November 1769; 2 June 1774 and 30 December 1775.

[20] When Ebenezer Hazard traveled to Williamsburg in 1777 he characterized the road coming down form Doncastle's as "sandy & deep." Hazard also gave a detailed description of the town and its buildings. Hazard, "Journal," 405–410. In the early 1780s Johann David Schoepf described the town set in "a pleasant, open plain, and even from a distance commends itself to the traveler by a particularly cheerful and stately appearance." Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the confederation [1783–1784] from the German of Johann David Schoepf*, trans. Alfred J. Morrison (New York: Bergman Publications, 1968), 78–79. For other descriptions of the town see Reverend Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements In North-America, In the Years 1759 And 1760*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for T. Payne, 1775), 5–7; Baron, Marie François Joseph Maxine Cromot du Bourg, "Diary of a French Officer 1781 (Presumes to be that of Cromot du Bourg, Aide to Rochambeau)," *Magazine of American History* 4 (1800): 205–214; and Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography, Or, A View of the Present State of All the Empires, Kingdoms, States, and Republics in the Known World, and of the United States of America in Particular. Illustrated with Twenty-Eight Maps and Charts*, 3rd ed. (Boston, Mass.: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1796), 186–187.

[21] Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, 66–71; Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 141–193; Sylvia Doughty Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial Virginia* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1977), 1977, 108–135.

[22] Harold B. Gill, Jr., "Artisans in Williamsburg 1700–1800" (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report 1994), chart 5. According to Gill, the occupations and workers peaked in 1775 with more than fifty occupations practiced by 300 artisans. Over the next ten years the trades diminished significantly, a drop most likely caused by moving the capital Williamsburg to Richmond.

[23] "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *American Historical Review* 26 (1921): 745. The traveler approached Williamsburg along the York Road where he reported seeing the "three negroes hanging at the gallows for having robed Mr. Waltho of 300 ps." The General Court—the colony's highest court—tried whites accused of felonies. Local courts judged accused slave felons. On May 5, 1765, York County magistrates tried Sam (belonging to John Brown of James City County), Charles (owned by James Carter Esq. of Williamsburg), and Tom (slave of William Wilkinson of James City County). The three men stood accused of "Feloniously and Burglariously" breaking and entering the York County house of Nathaniel Walthoe, clerk of the council, during the evening of April 21, 1765. Court papers asserted that the slaves stole several pieces of clothing valued at £6 (silk stockings, frize coat, waistcoat and velvet breeches). Also taken were £350 of Virginia Treasury bills. The defendants pled not guilty, but magistrates found them guilty. The court valued the slaves at £70 each, and executed them that very day (May 5). Their bodies were still hanging on the York road twenty-five days later on May 30 when a French traveler noted the site in his journal. Willis, "The Masters' Mercy," 244.

[24] William Hugh Grove, "Virginia in 1732; The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove," ed. Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler III, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85 (January 1977): 21–26; "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America in the Year 1736 (From the London Magazine, July 1746)," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., 15 (April 1907): 222; and Hazard, "Journal," 62: 421.

[25] "Journal of a French Traveller," 741; A[nne] Blair to [her sister Mrs. Mary Braxton, at Newington], 1768, Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, and Whiting Papers, 1765–1890, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

[26] William Byrd, *Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (New York: Dover Publications, 1967), 36; "Journal of a French Traveller," 739–740 and 743–744.

[27] "Journal of a French Traveller," 739; Claim of James Parker of Norfolk, PRO, AO 12/54, 247–271; and Nicholls, "Aspects," 1–24 and 81; Earle and Hoffman, "Staple Crops and Urban Development," 27, 30–31 and 40–44.

Is That a Presbyterian Meeting House in the Historic Area?

by John Turner and Linda Rowe

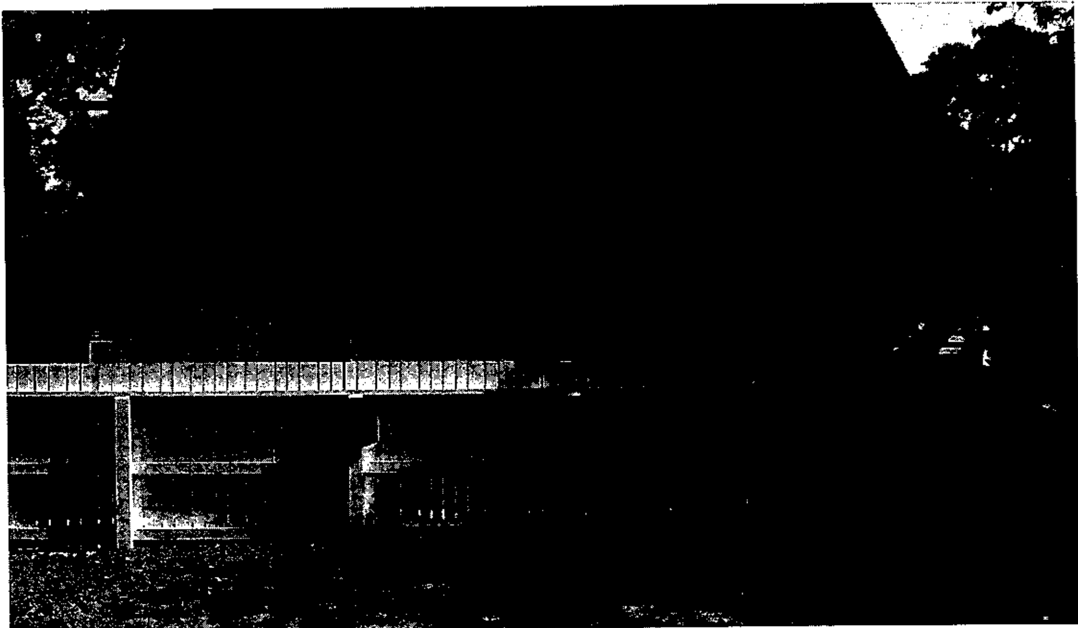
John is program manager for religious studies in the Department of Program Development and a member of the Interpreter *Planning Board. Linda is a historian in the Department of Historical Research and assistant editor for this publication.*

Indeed it is, thanks to a generous grant from Lilly Endowment, Inc. Colonial Williamsburg recently converted the George Davenport Stable (between the Capitol and Christiana Campbell's Tavern) into a meetinghouse. A group of local Presbyterians began meeting on this site in 1765 after filing the following petition with the York County Court:

> *At a Court held for York County in the Town of York at the Courthouse on Monday the 17th day of June 1765 and in the fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Third. These are to Certify the Worshipful Court of York that We intend to make use of a House in the City of Williamsburgh Situate on part of a Lott belonging to Mr. George Davenport as a place for the Public Worship of God according to the Practise of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination which we desire may be Registered in the Records of the Court and this Certification we make according to the direction of an Act of Parliament comonly called the Act of Toleration.*
>
> *P.S. As we are not able to obtain a Settled Minister we intend this Place at present only for occasional Worship when we have opportunity to hear any legally qualified Minister.*
>
> *William Smith* — *Edward Cumins*
> *John Connelly* — *Thomas Skinner*
> *Walter Lenox* — *Daniel Hoye*
> *James Holdcroft* — *John Bell*
> *Robt. Nicolson* — *James Smith*
> *John Ormeston* — *William Brown*
> *James Douglas* — *Jo. Morris*
> *James Atherton* — *Charles Hankins*
> *William Gemmell*
>
> *The above Certificate was produced in Court and on the Motion of the Persons subscribed thereto was Ordered to be recorded.*[1]

This action signaled an important change in the religious landscape of eighteenth-century Williamsburg. Since the town's founding in 1699, Williamsburg had had only one place of public worship—Bruton Parish Church—the center of religious life in colonial Virginia with its legally established, or state, church—the Church of England (Anglican).

In the colony of Virginia, buildings used for worship by Presbyterians or other dissenters from the Church of England could not be referred to as churches, an appellation reserved for the houses of worship of the established Church of England in Virginia. Instead, the "House . . .



Virginia's State Church and Religious Toleration

The Church of England (Anglican church) was the official church of the Virginia colony. Overseen by the bishop of London, the church in Virginia had the royal governor of the colony at its head. The General Assembly passed laws for the "suppression of vice" and set ministers' salaries, fixed parish boundaries, required attendance at Anglican churches, and restricted secular activities on Sundays. Heads of households paid mandatory church taxes levied by Anglican parish vestries to pay ministers, to build and repair church buildings, and to assist the needy. Anglican churchwardens reported violators of religious laws to county courts for prosecution. Formal services from the Church of England's Book of Common Prayer were the rule in parish churches. Over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Quakers, Presbyterians, Moravians, Baptists, and other non-Anglicans, or dissenters, made their way into the colony.

In the 1650s, Virginia authorities persecuted Quakers who could be whipped or fined for worshiping outside the official Anglican church. Colonial officials gradually adopted a more tolerant attitude toward dissenters, allowing them to practice their religion unmolested so long as they voluntarily supported their own clergy and continued to pay Anglican church taxes. In 1699, the General Assembly recognized the English Act of Toleration (1689). Thereafter, in order to preach legally in Virginia, dissenting ministers were supposed to obtain licenses for themselves and their meetinghouses from the General Court in Williamsburg.

(Text panel inside George Davenport Stable.)

Situate on part of a Lott belonging to Mr. George Davenport" would be a Presbyterian meetinghouse, the first legally acknowledged non-Anglican worship space in Virginia's colonial capital.

In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson estimated, somewhat enthusiastically, that two-thirds of the people in Virginia were dissenters in 1776. A dissenter was one who "dissented," or differed in religious opinion and practice from the established church. In Virginia as in England, the established religion was Anglican. Dissenting Protestants in Virginia were allowed to worship undisturbed as long as they followed the terms of the Act of Toleration passed in 1689 under William and Mary. The primary requirements were that dissenting ministers obtain licenses for themselves and their meetinghouses from the General Court in Williamsburg and that dissenters continue to pay taxes for the support of the established Anglican church (which included providing upkeep for impoverished persons in Virginia).

In the seventeenth century, the Virginia General Assembly took steps to limit dissenters in the colony, particularly Quakers, but religious life in Virginia was never purely Anglican. Slaves, too, had some familiarity with dissenting groups from the seventeenth century onward. For example, in 1661, witnesses swore that Mary Chisman, wife of Edmond Chisman of York County, and two or three of Chisman's slaves had attended a Quaker meeting. York County justices ordered Chisman "to see that his Negroes and family keep away from unlawful assemblies."

In spite of efforts to discourage dissenters, burgesses were practical and knew when to make allowances for peaceable coexistence with non-Anglicans. By the 1730s, Presbyterians and other groups actually were encouraged by Virginia authorities to settle on the frontiers of the colony. From the 1740s through the Revolution, Virginia officials reexamined the Toleration Act and its application in Virginia in response to their alarm over Presbyterians like Samuel Davies, who wanted to be licensed to serve several meetinghouses, and "New Light" Baptists who usually refused to obtain licenses at all.

Presbyterianism refers to a form of church organization that generally flows upward from individual congregations rather than downward from a system of bishops. The pattern of government of the church includes the particular congregation consisting of the minister and elders (lay persons); the presbytery consisting of ministers and representative elders of the churches within a prescribed area; synods consisting of members of several presbyteries within a large area; and the general assembly, which is the supreme legislature and administrative court of the Presbyterian Church and consists of ministers and elders commissioned by the presbyteries. Presbyterian doctrine is traditionally Calvinistic. Worship is simple, orderly, and dignified, with an emphasis upon the preaching the Word of God. Unlike the Separate Baptists, they put great stock in a well-educated ministry.

In 1741, an open break occurred in the Presbyterian Church between the Old and New Side preachers. The "Old Side" was made up of conservatives who attacked the revivalist and emo-

tional preaching of the "New Side." New Side preachers withdrew from the Philadelphia Synod and formed the Synod of New York. Samuel Davies was among the New Side preachers sent to Virginia as missionaries in 1747.

During Davies's stay in Virginia, the revival movement later called the Great Awakening reached its height in the colony. Though Davies fueled the movement, a spiritual awakening had begun about four years earlier in Hanover County when Samuel Morris and several other people became convinced that their Anglican minister (the Reverend Patrick Henry, uncle of patriot orator Patrick Henry) was not teaching the true gospel. Morris and others started holding prayer readings in their homes. As word of these readings spread, the gatherings grew, and soon meetinghouses had to be built to hold the congregations.

Presbyterians in Virginia and America

Presbyterianism took root in Scotland under the influence of John Knox in the mid-sixteenth century. It was distinguished by lay control of church government instead of rule by bishops, a Calvinistic church doctrine, a well-educated clergy, and simple, dignified worship that emphasized scriptural teachings. Francis Makemie ministered to a few Presbyterian families in Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, in 1684. Although he obtained a license in Virginia in 1699, Makemie preached and organized congregations elsewhere in the colonies. Makemie formed the Philadelphia Presbytery in 1706, the first in America.

Presbyterians in Virginia remained few in number for decades. Authorities in the colony created new Church of England parishes as settlement spread westward during the eighteenth century. Beginning about 1730, they also encouraged Scots and Ulster Scots Presbyterians to settle in the Shenandoah Valley to help secure the frontier. These traditional, or "Old Side," Presbyterians outnumbered Anglicans in some frontier parishes. A few Presbyterians even served on Church of England vestries, which still were an important unit of local government in Virginia. Vestries were the legal administrators of social welfare paid for out of Anglican church tax receipts.

In the 1740s, an evangelical, or "New Side," form of Presbyterianism took root in Hanover County, seventy-five miles northwest of Williamsburg. Dissatisfied with the dry formulaic sermons of their local Church of England minister, several Hanover County families stopped going to required Church of England services and studied the Bible and religious writings in their homes. The emotional preaching style of ministers sent by the New Side Presbyterian Synod of New York to the fledgling congregation in Hanover raised the ire of both Anglican and Old Side Presbyterian ministers. Itinerant New Side preachers alarmed colonial officials by challenging the status quo when they sometimes refused to obtain the required licenses and preached wherever they found willing hearers.

New Side minister Samuel Davies became the permanent Presbyterian minister in Hanover County in 1747. Davies's fervent yet dignified preaching, willingness to obtain the license to preach before he began his ministry in Virginia, and impassioned recruitment sermons during the French and Indian War won the goodwill of Virginia's governor and Council. During Davies's twelve-year stay in Virginia, Patrick Henry regularly heard him preach and from him learned "what an orator should be." Davies repeatedly sought to clarify the rights of dissenters in the colony. He debated Peyton Randolph, speaker of the House of Burgesses, over religious toleration and registering meetinghouses. Davies actively ministered to slaves in Hanover County. He taught them to read the Bible and obtained religious books and hymnals from his friends in England. Davies also proposed a plan of education for Native Americans. Davies left Virginia in 1759 to become the president of the College of New Jersey, later Princeton University.

In spite of increased toleration for dissenters by 1776, the free exercise of religion in Virginia was still a long way off when the American Revolution began. In the 1770s Presbyterians and Baptists repeatedly petitioned the General Assembly demanding repeal of laws that restricted dissenting worship and payment of the Anglican church tax. Dissenters kept the issue of religious freedom in the public mind during the Revolution and the years following. Their sustained effort was essential to James Madison's successful drive in 1786 to secure passage of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, written in 1777 by Thomas Jefferson.

(Text panel inside George Davenport Stable.)

Presbyterians in Williamsburg

Presbyterian minister Reverend Samuel Davies was a familiar sight in Williamsburg. He came to the General Court at the Capitol to obtain licenses and had personal connections to the town. Davies's second wife, Jane Holt, was the daughter of a merchant and former mayor of Williamsburg, and the Davies and Holt families exchanged frequent visits between Hanover County and Williamsburg. Davies published religious poetry in the *Virginia Gazette* newspaper printed in Williamsburg.

On June 17, 1765, a group of Presbyterians successfully petitioned the county court for permission to meet in a house in Williamsburg. The seventeen men who signed the petition were mostly Williamsburg tradesmen including a carpenter/joiner, blacksmith, hatter, printer/bookbinder, stay maker, cabinetmaker, wheelwright, two shoemakers, and two tailors. Two were former assistants to the keeper of the Public Gaol, and several served regularly as petit jurors in the county court. Solid members of Williamsburg society, they dissented from the established Church of England to worship as Presbyterians in staunchly Anglican Williamsburg.

Without a regular minister of their own, Williamsburg Presbyterians periodically received licensed Presbyterian ministers from elsewhere in the colonies. In 1767, Presbyterians in Pennsylvania and Delaware appointed Andrew Bay and Jacob Ker to minister to the Williamsburg Presbyterians for as long as they were needed. James Waddel, a student of Davies, received his license in 1763 from the General Court in Williamsburg. The Hanover Presbytery appointed Waddel to preach in Williamsburg two Sundays in 1767 and sent a Reverend Wallace to Williamsburg in 1777.

(Text panel inside George Davenport Stable.)

Davies's emotional, yet dignified, style of preaching attracted many, including Patrick Henry and his mother. Henry later acknowledged that Davies's delivery had greatly influenced the development of his own oratorical method. This period of rapid growth led to the formation of the New Side Presbytery of Hanover in 1755, which eventually encompassed all the Presbyterian ministerial activities in Virginia. Besides their hold in eastern Virginia, the Presbyterians claimed the religious allegiance of a majority of settlers beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains and, by 1776, dominated that region's political and social life.

By continually challenging the narrow interpretation put on the Act of Toleration by those in power, Samuel Davies was able to broaden religious toleration in Virginia. Upon his departure in 1759, there was no one strong enough to take his leadership role, and the Presbyterians, with their natural conservatism, settled down to a quiet existence. They had paved the way, however, for other dissenters who ultimately demanded liberty rather than mere tolerance.

Initially, the Presbyterian Meetinghouse opened only on Thursday and Friday afternoons, from 2 to 4, with character interpreter Bryan Simpers portraying the Reverend James Waddel, a Presbyterian clergyman, sent to minister to the Williamsburg congregation in the 1770s. For the summer, Mrs. Ann Wager (character interpreter Toni Brennan), mistress of the Bray School, and other characters will join the Reverend Waddel in the meetinghouse on Tuesdays between 3 and 5:15 P.M., and the Reverend Waddel will continue to be there on Thursday and Friday afternoons. Information panels will be installed in the near future after which the building will be open seven days a week for self-guided tours except when special programs are in progress.

[1] York County Records, Judgments and Orders 4 (1763–1765), 412.

Arts & Mysteries
Sleep, Work, Eat, Drink, Sleep: Hans-Joachim Voth's Study of the Structure of Daily Life

by Noel B. Poirier

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

There is no question that when apprentice carpenter William Bolton arrived at James Gardner's shop on Prince George Street in August of 1773, he was wearing a pompadour coat and jacket, a pair of osnabrug trousers, linen or osnabrug shirt and an old pair of shoes. Bolton's physical appearance is also well known. He had light-colored, curly hair, had lost his upper front teeth, was eighteen years old, and five feet six inches tall. Even his personality is documented, Bolton being a chronic swearer and liar who carried with him a sullen expression. While all of this is very clear, and there are equally vivid descriptions of other tradespeople, there is a great deal of everyday information about William Bolton that is lacking. For example, what time did tradespeople like Bolton get up in the morning? When did they come to work, take their meals, and go home? Were they drinkers (a very important point)?

The absence of information relating to the everyday existence of Williamsburg's tradespeople is unfortunate, but there are sources one can examine to obtain a fairly accurate picture of the common activities of eighteenth-century tradespeople. To do so, one must be willing to make some assumptions about the Williamsburg in which William Bolton lived and worked.

Foremost, one must assume that the practices and traditional work schedules of Williamsburg tradespeople were similar to those found in the trade shops of Great Britain, specifically in London. Given the frequency and emphasis with which shop owners advertised the arrival of new tradespeople who had been trained in Britain, it is not too difficult to accept that traditional attitudes toward daily schedules made the voyage with them. One also must accept as probable that there were similarities between Williamsburg and its British urban counterparts, both in seasonality of work and in the composition of its skilled work force. On the other hand, there were substantial differences between the skilled labor pool in Williamsburg and in Great Britain, particularly the presence of enslaved hands. It is also important to note the climatic and geographical differences between Williamsburg and British locales. However, if one accepts these general assumptions (and one very well may not), then they can serve as very valuable sources that can illuminate the everyday schedule by which Williamsburg's tradespeople organized their labor.

Time and Work in England, 1750–1830, published in 2000, is a challenging read for even the most motivated student of history. The author, Hans-Joachim Voth, has accumulated an impressive data set from which he explored the daily life of England's working class. Relying on witness accounts from more than 2,800 different sources, he extracted a variety of information about the "whens" of the average working person in England. Using court records from a variety of areas, the author also dissected the frequency and diversity of crimes committed in the period under examination. The most relevant aspects of *Time and Work in England* for a study of Williamsburg's tradespeople is found in the author's descriptions of the structure of daily life for the average workingman and -woman.

Statistical history can make for plodding reading, and Voth's study certainly fits the mold. However, what the author's writing may lack in excitement, it makes up for in content. The work is filled with statistical data and charts, the prose is choppy, and the use of the twenty-four-hour-clock format tiresome. The author seems to assume that the reader is grounded in the basics of statistics, frequently making reference in the notes to the formulas used to obtain the conclusions. In spite of these shortcomings, hidden in the text are the rewards of careful reading.

The section dealing with the structure of the working person's day is incredibly interesting and can shed light on the Williamsburg workday. While there is no doubt that the structure of the workday for a Williamsburg tradesperson would vary from Voth's model, as did some of his own samples, the scheme provides a better understanding of the general organization of William Bolton's day or that of any other Williamsburg tradesperson.

If Bolton's day was anything like his English counterparts', he probably arrived at work around 6:50 A.M. (the average arrival time given by Voth), shortly after he had managed to wake himself. While a handful of tradespeople in En-

"Industry and Idleness—The Fellow 'Prentices at their Looms" (1947-478,1). In Plate I of Hogarth's satiric look at two apprentices, the engraving illustrates a weaver's workroom with the young men positioned at their looms. Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

gland were at work as early as 3 or 4 A.M., the vast majority arrived at their respective workplaces no later than 8 A.M.[1] Nearly two hours or so after his arrival, Bolton or his English counterpart, would have taken his breakfast in the workplace. Workers, upon finishing breakfast, returned to work until dinner. Voth's data samples place the average working person's dinnertime at around 1 or 2 P.M.[2] There is very little evidence in Voth's study of the average working person enjoying the late afternoon practice of "taking tea." When tea was taken in the shop or servant's hall, according to Voth, it was usually just before workers left for home in the evening.[3]

The average end of an English tradesperson's day arrived around 6:50 P.M., according to the study. Skilled artisans (those who served formal apprenticeships) occasionally would work a longer day, not leaving their benches or forges until 7 or 8 P.M.[4] This would seem to confirm, mealtimes inclusive, the customary concept of the twelve-hour workday for most tradespeople. Upon his arrival at home or at his master's house, Bolton would have settled down for his supper around 9 P.M. One of the author's subjects, a household servant, commented that his supper consisted of "bread and cheese plus a pint of beer"[5]—a meal likely well thought of in trade shops even today!

While the staff of a shop might forgo the drinking of tea, the same was not true of their consumption of alcohol. According to Voth, "the mid-eighteenth century's 'happy hour' begins at 18:00 [6 P.M.]," nearly an hour before the end of the workday. However, the majority of drinking took place just before supper, between 6:30 and 9 P.M.[6] This pattern of drinking is most apparent in the city of London (and one could assume Williamsburg as well) where pubs and taverns were readily accessible. The availability of alcohol in taverns and public houses meant that the urban tradesperson's consumption of alcohol need not end with supper. Voth's study indicates that, had Bolton so chosen, he could have been drinking well into the early hours of the next day.[7] This information would seem to counter the argument that the natural light available dictated daily life. The city of Williamsburg, like London, offered workingmen and -women ample opportunity to extend their activities, though probably not work, well into the evening hours.

Hans-Joachim Voth's *Time and Work in England, 1750–1830* provides enormous insight into the everyday existence of eighteenth-century tradespeople. While his samples are English not Virginian, one can still make accurate assumptions about the daily practices of Williamsburg's working class. One thing is clearly evident from Voth's study, eighteenth-century tradespeople were not slaves to daylight. They may have occasionally begun their workday before sunrise, but when the day ended, they enjoyed the nightlife as much as any modern Colonial Williamsburg artisan.

Social history has a great deal to teach the student of traditional technology, particularly about the lives of the men and women who practiced our trades two hundred or more years ago. *Time and Work in England* is worthy of any tradesperson's time in exploring the day-to-day lives of their eighteenth-century predecessors.

[1] Hans-Joachim Voth, *Time and Work in England, 1750–1830* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 2000), 72–73.

[2] Ibid., 77–78.

[3] Ibid., 79.

[4] Ibid., 74.

[5] Ibid., 79.

[6] Ibid., 80.

[7] Ibid., 81.

"Slowtime" (1955-124). This English print shows a tavern bar where patrons are refreshing themselves. The clock against the rear wall is inscribed "Slowtime, Clockmaker, London." Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

Women and Education in Eighteenth-Century Virginia

by Linda Rowe

Linda is a historian in the Department of Historical Research and assistant editor for this publication.

In eighteenth-century Virginia, education for the young was a family responsibility, not a legal entitlement to standardized instruction for all children.[1] Parents and guardians up and down the economic scale were left to provide girls and boys with the level of schooling the family could afford and judged appropriate. That wide latitude in the education of children was customary and expected in Virginia is borne out in statutory requirements designed to protect estates of propertied orphans. For example, Virginia law stipulated that orphans with assets receive a literary education in line with what the income from their estates could sustain. In other words, propertied orphans received only that level of instruction that would not reduce the value of their estates.[2] Orphans with no estate or whose inheritance was so small that it could not accommodate a "book education" were bound out to learn a trade. Free children from the bottom rungs of society were fortunate to be taught very basic skills in reading and writing; slaves rarely got that much. Moreover, it was not thought necessary or proper to educate girls, even the daughters of the gentry, to a level on par with their brothers.

Colonial society at large professed to admire women of wit, culture, and strength of character, and, as we shall see, it was generally expected that women would play a role in the earliest stages of education for both girls and boys. Nonetheless, the evidence shows that young Virginia women received a more limited education than their brothers, even in gentry households. Preparation for marriage figured large in the type and quality of education young women in Virginia received. Marriage took on special significance in an age that offered women few comfortable alternatives to the relative security of a home and family of her own. The prospect for making a good marriage and the success of that marriage was thought to rest in large part on the adaptability and resourcefulness of wives. Elizabeth Foote Washington was forthright in her diary about the importance of cultivating these qualities in young women. Upon her impending marriage to Lund Washington in the early 1780s, she confided to her diary that

> *as there is a probability of my living in Houses not my own for some time—may the divine goodness assist me, so that I may study to live in peace & friendship with the family where I live.*[3]

"The Good House-wife" (1958-357). This idealized view of an 18th-century wife includes an inscription, "Woman, when virtuous, free from sloth & Vice,/Greater by far, than Rubies is her price://Heaven crowns her Labour with a plenteous Store,/To feed her Household, and relieve the poor." Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

Well-to-do families saw to it that their daughters acquired an education that included practical, literary, and ornamental skills. These included cooking, sewing, and household management; reading, writing, and perhaps a little arithmetic and French; and a number of other niceties such as polished manners, musical training, dancing, drawing, and fancy needlework. Parents from the middle range of Virginia society concentrated their daughters' training on domestic skills useful to running a household or a family business such as keeping tavern for which some proficiency in reading and writing would also be an asset. In imitation of the gentry, up-and-coming tradesmen and merchants sometimes paid for music and dance lessons for their daughters. Further down the scale, poor free parents trained their daughters and sons to whatever job was at hand as soon as they were old enough, a welcome addition to the family labor pool. There was likely little time to spend on teaching the rudiments of reading, even if one or both parents knew their letters. Slave

"Maternal Advice" (1962-287). An older woman dispenses advice to her seemingly less-than-interested young companions. Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

women were trained in the skills that would be most useful to their masters; literacy was seldom among them.

Outside of any formal schooling they might receive, free women learned housewifery skills and household management from their mothers and other women in their homes or neighborhoods. Nelly Calvert recalled that her mother taught her the mysteries of housewifery during her girlhood in Norfolk in the 1750s.[4] Tutor Philip Vickers Fithian described the Carter girls practicing housewifery at Nomini Hall in the early 1770s. By pretending to spin, knit, scrub floors, and mimic pregnancy by stuffing rags under their clothing, they took the first steps toward acquiring those important domestic skills they would need to run their own homes later in life.[5] Girls in reduced circumstances who were apprenticed in York County during the last half of the eighteenth century were usually to be trained in domestic skills by the women in the households that took them in.[6]

For children whose parents could pay for it, formal schooling began at about six or seven years of age for girls and boys. There was a wide variety of educational arrangements that parents and guardians could make for the girls and boys in their charge. For example, Elizabeth (Betsy) Nicholas and Edmund Randolph, both born in Williamsburg in 1753, learned the elements of reading at the same local school.[7] This was likely a school of the type James Blair described in 1724 as "Little schools where they teach to read & write and arithmetic are set up, wherever there happens to be a convenient number of Scholars." Instructors in these schools were often Anglican parish ministers who needed to supplement their ministerial salaries, divinity students from the College of William and Mary awaiting ordination in England, or newly ordained ministers arrived from England who had not yet found employment in a Virginia parish. Blair counted four of these schools in Bruton Parish in 1724.[8] Betsy Nicholas's experience may have been similar to that of Lucy Nelson (née Grymes) of Yorktown. Recalled her daughter:

> *Of her Childhood I know very little, except that she went to school to the Revd. Mr. William Yates, the minister of I believe Gloster or Middlesex . . . She had quite a liberal education, for the times. She was a most uncommon Arithmetician, very fond of reading, and learned to play on the Harpsichord.*[9]

These "little schools" came and went, dependent as they were on independent instructors and the local pool of students as well as the family finances and seasonal chores of prospective pupils. How long girls and boys remained in them is an open question, but perhaps a reasonable estimate is one to three years for girls and working-class boys, longer for boys headed for a college education. Catechism classes held by Anglican ministers in the colony, often during the Lenten season, were also integral to the education of girls and boys in their early teens.

Nelly Calvert Maxwell's education followed a different path from Betsy Nicholas's. Nelly remembered that at age six in 1756 she was put with an elderly woman in her Norfolk neighborhood to be taught her letters, spelling, and reading, including reading from the Bible. Ann Wager taught similar lessons to about a dozen white students (probably girls and boys) in Williamsburg in the late 1750s. Nelly Maxwell later learned needlework from another neighbor lady in Norfolk before her father arranged for her to study the higher branches of English and one foreign language with a schoolmaster from Scotland. (Nelly admitted that as a teenager she was too fond of talking and doing nothing to get her lessons, as a result of which, she deemed her education imperfect.)[10]

Perhaps the best-known educational arrangement in colonial Virginia was that of a southern family tutor, made familiar by the published journal and letters of Philip Fithian. Five of the seven children under Fithian's supervision at

Nomini Hall in Westmoreland County in 1773 and 1774 were girls.[11] Landon Carter's daughter Maria wrote to a cousin in 1756 about her days with a tutor. She was awakened early and began her lessons as soon as she was dressed and before breakfast. After breakfast, she went back to school again. She was allowed perhaps an hour to herself before dinner in the afternoon. School continued then until twilight, leaving Maria only a small amount of time to herself before going to bed. She claimed this routine went on 365 days a year![12] As described below, the Lee sisters studied with their brothers' tutors at Stratford Hall.

Different educational goals for girls and boys were evident when fathers, gentry and middling level alike, made provision in their wills for the education of their minor children. Often quite specific about their sons' educations, fathers could be vague or altogether silent about schooling for their daughters. For instance, Matthew Hubbard of Yorktown, clerk of York County court, specified in his 1745 will that his three sons be kept to school and educated in the best manner their estates could afford until they arrived at age sixteen, but he made no provisions for educating his three daughters.[13] Some fathers set aside funds for educating both sons and daughters, though not equally. In his will written in 1762, Charles Carter of Cleves (died 1764) stipulated that his sons learn "languages, Mathematicks, Phylosophy, dancing and fencing" and that they be put with a practicing attorney until "they arrive at the age of twenty-one years and nine months." Carter's daughters, on the other hand, were to be "maintained with great frugality and taught to dance."[14]

Guardian accounts for propertied but not wealthy orphans living in eighteenth-century York County show that books and other educational materials ordered for boys were more varied and advanced than those for girls. Girls got primers and spelling books, Bibles and prayer books. Boys also got simple beginner texts, but accounts listed more advanced books such a Greek grammar book and dictionaries. Surveyors' instruments were among specialized materials purchased for boys, while charges for purchase and repair of musical instruments appear for girls. York County guardian accounts show charges for one to three years' schooling for orphaned girls depending upon the size of their inherited estates and instructions left by their parents.

A similar bias in favor of more advanced curricula for boys usually prevailed when tutors

"The Story of Pamela, Plate I" (1968-280, 1). Elite women in 18th-century Virginia would have had access to education and books, but only to the level that their parents thought suitable for their daughters' future roles as wives and mothers. Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

were hired to instruct the children in gentry families, even though girls and boys in these households received instruction from the same tutor, often in the same schoolroom. Girls learned the English language (both reading and writing) and possibly ciphering (simple arithmetic). As they grew older, they were put to reading popular literature such as *The Spectator.* Sons also studied English as well as arithmetic, but they took up Latin and Greek as they matured. Children of both sexes in gentry households got music and dancing lessons.

Some fathers paid particular attention to their daughters' education in order that they would be well prepared for the world they would enter as adults. Girls in the well-to-do merchant Prentis family in early-nineteenth-century Williamsburg were taught to read and write at an early age. Their father, Joseph Prentis, Sr., a widower living in the Prentis House, looked upon the "enlargement" of his daughters' minds as very important. Prentis educated both his sons and daughters well, but his uppermost concern, when he thought his death was imminent, was that he would leave his daughters before they were adequately prepared for the world.

Alice Lee and her sister Hannah Lee received an unusually extensive education at their childhood home at Stratford Hall in Westmoreland County. Alongside their brothers in the nearby brick schoolhouse, they studied with outstanding private tutors hired by their father, Thomas Lee. Hannah read works on law, politics, history, literature, and religion.[15] Samuel Hill of York County, a man of more modest means than Prentis or Lee, earmarked two equal amounts of cash in his 1769 will for the education of his daughters and sons, though there was only enough for about three years of basic reading, writing, and arithmetic for them all.[16]

The Lee sisters' extensive education notwithstanding, there were usually limits to what girls could expect. For example, Eliza Custis, granddaughter of Martha Washington, grew up in Virginia in the 1780s. She learned spelling and reading from her mother and cousin, and her stepfather eventually secured a private tutor for her. The tutor was told that Eliza "was an extraordinary child & would if a Boy, make a brilliant figure." When she wanted to learn Greek and Latin, however, neither the tutor nor her stepfather would permit it, explaining that "women ought not to know those things."[17]

Women in colonial Virginia spent considerable time with their children of both sexes between birth and the age of five or six. The literate among these mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and female cousins often took first responsibility for teaching the alphabet and the rudiments of reading to the girls and boys in their households, and some went further than that. John Hartwell Cocke described women's daily work that included children to teach as well as cloth to weave, poultry to raise, and kitchens, dairies, and dining rooms to manage.

Anne Blair, a young woman living in her father's house in Williamsburg in 1769, commented in a letter that her ten-year-old niece Betsy Braxton, who lived with the Blair family, was proceeding with her education. Anne listened to her read twice a day, and when Anne was not available, reading lessons were handed over to her sister-in-law.[18] Thomas Jefferson wanted a solid education for his daughters so that, when they became mothers, they would be able to educate their own daughters. They might even need to direct the course of their sons' education, if their husbands should die or become disabled—or were just inattentive.[19]

Mothers and other family women likely used printed materials already in their homes or purchased at little cost to start a girl or boy learning to spell and then to read simple phrases. Bibles, prayer books, and primers often appear in colonial store accounts, in orders to London agents, and in local Williamsburg store and shop advertisements. First readers were inexpensive and readily available. These and other children's books such as *A Little Pretty Pocketbook* reinforced religious values and acceptable behavior as they taught the basics of spelling and reading. John Page (b. 1744; governor of Virginia, 1802–05) once referred to "all the little amusing and instructing books" that his grandmother put into his hands when she was teaching him to read.[20]

Virginians of both sexes acknowledged their mothers' roles in their early education. Elizabeth Foote Washington confided to her diary that a mother's advice generally carried great weight with her daughters. John Page gave his grandmother considerable credit for her role in his education. In his words: "I was early taught to read and write, by the care and attention of my grandmother." She "excited in my mind an inquisitiveness which, whenever it was proper, she gratified." Page became so fond of reading that he went on from the simple books his grandmother provided to the many other books in his father's and grandfather's libraries.[21] If Page's grandmother instilled in him a love of reading and the curiosity that led him into his father's library, George Wythe's mother went even further. Widowed young, Mrs. Wythe undertook her children's early education herself at their home in Elizabeth City County in the early-eighteenth century. Contemporaries of Wythe later

remembered that Mrs. Wythe had taught him the Greek alphabet and possibly Latin.[22]

Numerous women, such as Nelly Maxwell's neighbors and Ann Wager in Williamsburg, earned a living by teaching. They stressed the polite accomplishments and light reading and writing over academic subjects for girls. In 1752, John Walker and his wife (of London) advertised instruction for boys and girls at their house on Capitol Landing Road in Williamsburg. Walker offered boys reading, writing, arithmetic, and classical studies as well as ancient and modern geography and history, but girls learned only needlework from Mrs. Walker.[23] In Williamsburg in the 1780s, girls acquired "all Miss Hallams airs and graces" at Sarah Hallam's dancing school.[24] Alice Lee Shippen, raised at Stratford Hall in Westmoreland County at mid-century, was an accomplished letter writer, yet she emphasized other skills over reading and writing for her daughter, Nancy. Needlework, said Alice, was one of the most important branches of female education. She also told Nancy that learning to hold utensils properly, to make a curtsey, to enter and leave a room correctly, and to sit and walk properly were of the utmost importance.[25]

Parents' concern that their daughters acquire these socially important skills is not hard to find, and they often applied modern-sounding emotional pressure on their daughters. In frequent letters from Philadelphia to her daughter Nancy at boarding school in the late 1770s, former Virginian Alice Lee Shippen scolded Nancy for breaches of etiquette and often tried outright bribery to insure that her daughter excelled. To quote Shippen: "I have sent for some very pretty things which I can either bestow upon you or dispose of in another way if you should not answer my expectations."[26] To guarantee that his daughter Martha would apply herself diligently to her studies, Jefferson was not above exerting serious emotional pressure: "If you love me then, strive to . . . acquire those accomplishments which I have put in your power, and which will go far towards ensuring you the warmest love of your affectionate father."[27] Nor were eighteenth-century tutors and parents above offering more tangible inducements that also have a modern ring. William Byrd II (died 1744) whipped Susan and William Brayne, his niece and nephew living at Westover, for failing to learn to read and do their lessons. In 1774, Fithian paid Harriet Carter half a bit for saying a good lesson.[28]

Women were better prepared to run their households more efficiently if they could read, write, and do simple arithmetic. Writing letters provided one of the few ways for friends and family to keep in touch. Often one woman in the family served to keep the others informed more regularly than anyone else. Letters of Anne Blair, Sarah Trebell, and Susan Bowdoin of Williamsburg kept correspondents abreast of such news as births, deaths, and marriages. Sarah Trebell's husband was "not fond of writing" and considered his wife's correspondence in the 1760s with their family and friends to be the same as if he himself had written.[29]

Literate women kept diaries for pleasure and other purposes. Frances Baylor Hill of King and Queen County noted that she had a bad memory and wrote in her journal because it gave her pleasure at the end of the year to read back over her record of who she had seen and what activities she had been employed at during the year.[30] She also noted whether the sermons she heard during her regular attendance at church were "good," "tolerably good," or "rather indifferent."[31] Sarah Nourse's diary, kept between 1781 and 1783, was a similar record of visits and activities, which she probably used to keep her oft-absent husband abreast of events at home. Sarah also kept regular notes about the illness that sapped her energy for much of the time.[32]

To be literate meant also being able to read for pleasure and information. A number of books and other printed matter were available. In 1811, Bishop James Madison of Virginia recommended history, geography, poetry, moral essays, biography, travel accounts, sermons and other religious materials to his about-to-be-married daughter to "enlarge your understanding, to render you a more agreeable companion, and to exalt your virtue."[33] Anne Nicholas noted in passing in 1784 that she kept abreast of current events by reading newspapers.

Colonial women were sometimes admired for their intelligence. Fithian was much impressed with Frances Carter's breadth of interests and the well-informed nature of her conversation. For instance, on a Sunday when the weather kept everyone from church, Fithian and Frances Carter engaged in a lengthy conversation on religious matters, including the different denominations of Protestants.[34] In 1773, the vestry of Bruton Parish asked Anne Nicholas and her sister Mary Ambler to testify to what they knew about the Reverend Samuel Henley's orthodoxy; their testimony about his religious opinions contributed to vestry's rejection of Henley's bid for the Bruton pulpit.[35]

As noted earlier, there is another side to this coin. For every man who admired an accomplished woman for her breadth of knowledge, there were others who felt very differently. The rejected Reverend Samuel Henley wrote that women had no business commenting on ques-

tions of theology that had bewildered men in all ages of the Church.[36] Thomas Mann Randolph found too much education in a woman disagreeable and could not see that education was of any intrinsic value to women.[37]

Evidence about education for colonial women has come down to us mainly through reports by the women themselves, in their letters and diaries, and recollections of their contemporaries as well as their husbands, children, and other kin. Of course, that picture becomes less distinct as we descend through the ranks of the hierarchical Virginia society where the legal code and court records provide only the barest details. Lacking the kind of information that lends itself to scientific analysis or quantification, we are left to piece together a picture of the learning experience for colonial girls.

For every gentlewoman such as Anne Nicholas, whose letters to her sister in England were admired by English gentlemen for their high style and beautiful penmanship,[38] there was a young woman of lesser status such as Maria Rind, who wrote nearly illegibly and labored to express herself in crudely constructed sentences.[39] For every girl who learned very basic reading or knew how to sign her name, there were myriad others who lived quite comfortably in that largely oral society without being able to read or write. In Williamsburg, for every free black or slave girl at the Bray School who learned to speak properly and to read the Bible and navigate the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, there were many more who could not read. From their mothers and African-Virginian adults, they learned the ins and outs of the work and master-approved behaviors that would dominate their lives.

In some sense colonial girls of nearly all ranks spent a great deal of time learning the finer points of housewifery or the basics of household work. Most could have agreed, at least in some measure, with Mary Jones who wrote to her cousin Frances Bland on the eve of her marriage in 1769 that the cares of a family and domestic business "deprived thought of its native freedom" and made thinking about anything new impossible.[40]

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[1] Thomas Kirby Bullock, "Schools and Schooling in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" (Ed.D. diss., Duke University, 1961), 20.

[2] Bullock, pp. 191–195; William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols. (Richmond, Va.: 1809–23; repr. ed., Charlottesville, Va., 1969), 1: 416–417.

[3] Linda Eileen Parris, "'A Dutiful Obedient Wife': The Journal of Elizabeth Foote Washington of Virginia" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984).

[4] Charles B. Cross, ed., *Memoirs of Helen Calvert Maxwell Read* (Chesapeake, Va., 1970).

[5] Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: Tutor of the Old Dominion*, ed. Hunter Dickinson Parish (Williamsburg, 1975), 20, 189, 193.

[6] *Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter* 2 (July 1981): 1–2. Other than apprenticeships, schooling outside the home for children from poor families was unusual. Free schools for poor children, usually funded through a bequest in a local resident's will, reached only a few students (mostly boys) in the immediate area of the school, and then only when parents could spare the child to attend. The Bray School in Williamsburg took free and enslaved girls and boys.

[7] Edmund Randolph, letter to his children, 1810, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; typescript in John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, single transcripts file.

[8] William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (n.p., 1870–78; repr. New York, 1969), 1:300.

[9] Susanna Nelson Page, April 10, 1835. Dr. Augustine Smith Papers, 1779–1843, Special Collections, Rockefeller Library, CWF.

[10] William Maxwell, "My Mother Myself, words as written from his mother's lips," *Lower Norfolk County Antiquary* 2: 25–26.

[11] Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 20.

[12] Maria Carter of Sabine Hall (daughter of Landon Carter) to her cousin Maria Carter of Cleve, March 25, 1756, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 15 (1907–08): 432.

[13] York County Wills and Inventories 20, pp. 7–8.

[14] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 31 (1923): 62–63.

[15] Louise Belote Dawe and Sandra Gioia Treadway, "Hannah Lee Corbin, the Forgotten Lee," *Virginia Cavalcade* 29 (1979): 70–77.

[16] York County Wills and Inventories 21, pp. 483–485.

[17] Eliza Custis, "Self-Portrait: Eliza Custis 1808," William D. Hoyt, Jr., *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 53 (1945): 93–94.

[18] Blair, Bannister, Braxton, Horner, and Whiting Papers, 1765–1890, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary; typescript in Special Collections, Rockefeller Library, CWF.

[19] Thomas Jefferson to Nathaniel Burwell, 1818, in John P. Foley, ed., *The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia* (New York, 1967), 274.

[20] Memoir of John Page, *Virginia Historical Register* 8 (1850): 144–146.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Lynda Rees Heaton, ed., "Littleton Waller Tazewell's Sketch of His Own Family" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1967).

[23] *Virginia Gazette*, 17 November 1752, p. 2, c. 2.

[24] *Lower Norfolk County Antiquary* 3: 48.

[25] Tori Eberlein, "To Be Amiable and Accomplished: Fitting Young Women for Upper-Class Virginia Society, 1760–1810" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1982), 38–39.

[26] Ethel Armes, ed., *Nancy Shippen Her Journal Book* (Philadelphia, 1935).

[27] Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, Annapolis, November 28, 1783, in Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, N. J., 1950–),6: 359–360.

[28] Maude H. Woodfin, ed., *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1739–1741* (Richmond, Va., 1942),

204, 295; Fithian, Journal and Letters, 82.

[29] Letters, Sarah Trebell to John Galst, Martins Hundred, January 16, 1767, Special Collections, Rockefeller Library, CWF.

[30] Frances Baylor Hill, "The Frances Baylor Hill Diary of 'Hillsborough,' King and Queen County, Virginia, 1797," *Early American Literature Newsletter* 2 (1967).

[31] Ibid.

[32] Sarah Nourse, "The Diary of Mrs. Sarah Fouace Nourse, 1781—1783." Alderman Library, U. Va.; typescript in Special Collections, Rockefeller Library, CWF, TR 34.

[33] Bishop James Madison, "The Duties of a Wife: Bishop James Madison to His Daughter, 1800," ed. Thomas E. Buckley, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 9 (1983): 98–104.

[34] Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 61.

[35] Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1982), 230–235.

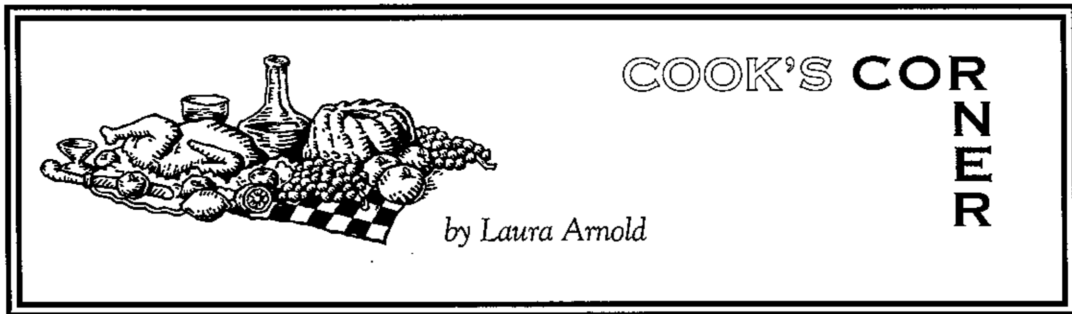
[36] Samuel Henley, *A Candid Refutation of the Heresy Imputed by Ro. C. Nicholas Esquire to The Reverend S. Henley* (London, 1774), 13–15.

[37] Thomas Mann Randolph to Ann Cary Randolph, May 7, 1788, Nicolas Philip Trist Papers (#2104), Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

[38] Sally Cary Fairfax to [Anne Cary Nicholas], September 4, 1775, Public Record Office, London, CO 5/40.

[39] Eberlein, "To Be Amiable and Accomplished,"10.

[40] Mary Jones to Frances Bland, May 10, 1769, Tucker-Coleman Collection, Special Collections, Swem Library, W&M.



COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery

Laura is a member of the Interpreter *Planning Board.*

When Martha Washington destroyed the correspondence between herself and George Washington, she unknowingly deprived historians of the personal, feminine view of the events that turned her world upside down. Fortunately for food historians, she did not destroy the handwritten cookbook belonging to the family of her first husband, Daniel Parke Custis. In 1799, she presented this treasure to her granddaughter Nelly Custis at the time of her marriage to Lawrence Lewis, and a treasure it is.

The small leather-bound manuscript volume (now owned by the Pennsylvania Historical Society) is actually two books, *A Booke of Cookery* and *A Booke of Sweetmeats*, legibly copied by one person in a form of italic handwriting that scholars attribute to the second half of the seventeenth century. Karen Hess, respected American food historian, transcribed the original manuscript, added historical notes and annotations, and produced a cookbook that is an accurate description of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century foodways. Too often, readers ignore the Introduction and Appendices in a given work, but to do so when approaching *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery* is to deny oneself the fascinating story behind the origin of this family treasure.

An inscription on the manuscript states that it was written by Frances Parke Custis, the mother of Martha Washington's first husband, and was given to her daughter-in-law. Careful checking of dates revealed that whoever wrote the inscription (probably sometime in the nineteenth century) was perpetuating a myth rather than stating facts. Frances Parke Custis died in 1715 when her son, Martha's future husband, was four years old and sixteen years before Martha was born. The comparison of a surviving signature of Frances Custis with the handwriting of the manuscript and her known reputation as an indifferent, ill-tempered hostess was sufficient proof to Hess that someone other than Frances had compiled the cookbook. But who was that someone? Despite careful research, Hess could not definitively identify the writer. Other clues, however, indicated that the manuscript had been copied in the 1650s perhaps by Frances's grandmother.

The fascination of a manuscript cookbook to a food historian is the challenge of deciding how it was compiled. When handwriting indicates that recipes have been copied by more than one person, the document is a *collected* cookbook. The name of the person who shared a recipe and often the date it was given appear in individual

entries, simplifying the job of the researcher.

When, however, the recipes are obviously written by one hand, as in the case of the Washington manuscript, the cookbook represents a collection by *accretion* that has been accumulated and changed over a period of time. A daughter copying her mother's recipes may have made changes based on her own cooking experience, and her daughter would then follow the same pattern as she copied the cookbook in its entirety for her own use. Recopied recipes could have been handed down in the family, copied from other cookbooks, or given to the copier by a fellow cook.

Tracing the origin of recipes in an accretive cookbook and matching them with other cookbooks and culinary techniques require the determination and the skills of a detective. Fortunately, the terminology, word spellings, ingredients, and equipment used in the recipes provide the researcher with the means to date many of the individual entries. Hess, proving to be the Sherlock Holmes of food historians, convincingly attributed the origins of recipes in *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery* to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the original manuscript, the index is found at the beginning of each of the two sections of the cookbook. The recipes, loosely arranged by category, are listed in numerical order. As in many sixteenth-century English cookbooks, almost half of the recipes in *A Booke of Sweetmeats* are for medicinal purposes or preserving food. Hess literally transcribed the recipes but also provides modern equivalents and cooking suggestions in many of her commentaries. She cautions her readers about using ingredients that today are considered harmful and offers suggestions about recipes that are historically interesting but not worth reproducing for consumption.

The grease-spattered pages and the small amount of fire damage to the original manuscript indicate that it was well used, probably until around 1715. Hess believes Martha Washington looked upon it as a family heirloom. Cookbooks by Hannah Glasse and E. Smith were popular in mid-eighteenth-century households, but again, their culinary traditions were rooted in the kitchens of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.[1]

If Martha Washington did not actually use the cookbook bearing her name, why is it such an important document for food historians? Hess answers that question in her carefully researched commentaries. The rich cuisine of colonial Virginia with its abundant use of butter, sugar, "exotic" spices, herbs, imported fruits, and expensive wines repeats the pattern established for the enjoyment of the wealthy upper class in England. The great houses with a large staff of servants were copied on the plantations built along the rivers that emptied into the Chesapeake Bay. The servants who toiled in the kitchens of the English manor houses were replaced here by slaves, who eventually added their own culinary heritage to what is now known as *southern* cuisine. The changes in American society after the American Revolution affected eating habits as well as the political and social landscape. By the time Martha Washington gave her family cookbook to her granddaughter, the wealth it represented in the ability to afford the finest of ingredients had been diluted by the growth of the middling class. We can be grateful to Hess for making it possible to look back at the foodways that are the basis for our American cuisine and for giving us a cook's view of Martha's world before it was turned upside down.

The following recipes are examples from each section of *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery*. The first, a simple shrimp dish, reflects the plentiful supply of seafood in the Tidewater region. The second is for Jumbals, a cookie-type confection that closely matches a recipe in Thomas Dawson's 1586 cookbook *The Good Huswifes Jewell*.[2]

A detail from the frontispiece of The British Housewife *(Special Collections) shows food being cooked in an 18th-century kitchen.*

#183 *To Butter Shrimps*

First take yr shrimps after they are boyled, & set them on coles till they are verry hot, then melt yr butter, & beat it very thick & poure it on them when they are served up, & strow on some pepper.

Hess's commentary explains that the sauce is what later came to be known as drawn butter, that is, melted butter whipped into the consistency of a sauce, often with a little water added. She also notes that the butter "does provide a lovely richness, uncomplicated by anything but a good whiff of freshly ground pepper, just what shrimps need."

#191 *To Make Jumbals*

Take a pound & halfe of fine flowre & a pound of fine sugar, both searced & dryed in an oven, 6 youlks & 3 whites of eggs, 6 spoonfulls of sweet cream & as much rose water, fresh butter ye quantety of an egg. mingle these together & make it into a stiff paste. work it a quarter of an houre then break it abroad, & put in as much annyseeds or carraway seeds as you shall think fit, & put in A little muske & ambergreece. roule them into rouls & make them in what forms you please. lay them on pie plates thin buttered, & prick them with holes all over. then bake them as you doe diet bread. If this quantety of eggs will not be enough to wet ye flowre & sugar, put in 3 or 4 more, but noe more cream, butter nor rosewater.

Hess provides approximate quantities: 4-1/2 cups unbleached pastry flour; 2 cups sugar; 6 egg yolks and 3 whites; 6 tablespoons each of fresh heavy cream and rose water; about 4 tablespoons of butter; anise or carraway seeds as you please. *Searced* means "sifted"; omit the instruction to dry the flour and sugar in an oven. In a previous recipe, Hess warned that the possession of musk is illegal in the United States and "under no circumstances should you use any of the various substitutes, as they are not meant to be ingested." Ambergris is now a substance only used in making perfume. The "rouls" are pencil-shaped knots entwined into the shape of a figure eight. Hess suggests baking this confection in a 350° oven.

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[1] Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery, Made Plain and Easy* (London, 1747); and Eliza S[mith], *The Compleat Housewife; or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* (London, [1727]).

[2] Thomas Dawson, *The Good Huswifes Jewell* (London, [1585?] 1586).

Nicholas Cresswell's Journal, 1774–77

Nicholas Cresswell (1751–1801) of Derbyshire, England, came to the colonies hoping to acquire land and settle permanently. He visited Barbados, Maryland, Virginia, western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Philadelphia, and New York before returning to England at the beginning of the Revolution. In a journal that he kept along the way, Cresswell recorded notes about the people and places he encountered. The following excerpts from Cresswell's diary continue his new world adventures. (See the spring 2002 issue of the Interpreter *for the beginning of the story.) Thanks to Lou Powers, historical research, for editing this addition.*

[Friday, July] 15th [1774] . . . Mr. Kirk and the Doctor advises me to take a short Voyage to Sea as the only method to reestablish my health. I have wrote to my Father informing him that I have drawn upon him for Thirty pounds. I am not able to go to Sea without a Supply of money. This money I believe will pay my Funeral expenses.

18th. Confined to my room. Sick of the Bloody Flux. I am in a most miserable condition, so weak I can scarcely get across the room and afflicted with a most excrutiating pain in my bowels. I believe my Death is approaching very fast. I am wholly resigned to the will of Heaven and submit to my fate without repineing. My conscience does not accuse me with any wicked or unpardonable crimes, therefore I hope to find mercy in the sight of a Just and merciful God. I have not yet drawn a Bill upon my Father, and if it pleases God to take me out of the world, I have effects sufficient to bury me decently. If I Die, I hope Mr. Kirk will send this Book home. He behaves to me like a parent, and hope he will not refuse the request of a Dieing man.

Alexandria—Virginia—July 19th 1774. The virulence of my disorder begins to abate, I find myself surprisingly better to day. Am singularly obliged to Mr. Kirk for his great care of me, he advises me to go to Sea as soon as possible. I believe I will take his advice, and go the first Vessel that goes out of port if I am obliged to be carryd aboard.

20th. Able to walk about the house. But I appear more like a Skelleton than a man. Agreed with a Certain Captn. Speak to go to Barbados in a small Schooner. Sold my hardware to Mr. Kirk of whom I bought 33 Brlls. Sea Bread which

"Evening" (1962-122, 3). The third in a series of four prints dealing with ships at sea, "Evening" depicts the beginning of a storm and recalls Cresswell's August 2–3 entry: "Squally weather and a heavy rolling Sea. Begin to be Sea sick." Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

I intend to take as a venture. Got my Bread a Board, and if the wind answers we sail to-morrow. A Certain Mr. Dundass advises me to drink Port Wine—Am affraid I have drank too much.

Schooner John Potowmeck River July 21st Slept very well and undisturbed last night. Find myself pretty well, only wea[k.] Early this morning the Captn. sent for my Chest and Bed. About 9 O'Clock I went on Board the Schooner John, Francis Speake, Master Bound for Barbados. Fell down to the mouth of Broad Creek, where we came to an Anchor.

22nd. Slept very well last night. I believe the Flux has entirely left me. Fell down with the Tide to Stumpneck Point. The Captn. went a Shore and Bought us some Stock. Much fatigued with the motion of the Vessel, scarce able to stand

23rd. Able to walk the Quarter Deck. Fell down to Cedar Point. A Severe Gust of Thunder, Lightning, and the Largest Hailstones I ever saw and the hardest, like pieces of Ice cut some of the peoples Faces till the Blood came. Mr. Richard Brooks another passenger came on board. He is an Invalid.

Schooner John Potowmeck River July 24th-74. Sunday. Fell down to the Maryland Office. Went A Shore with the Captn. to Clear out his Vessel. Lodged Ashore at the Office The Gentleman refuses to do any business on Sunday.
25th. Fell down to St. Mary's River. Went A Shore with the Captn. to the Office All Vessels are obliged to Clear out at both Offices. I am now perfectly well but very weak.

26th. At Anchor with a Contrary wind. About noon a Pilot Boat came alongside to invite the Captn. to A Barbicue. I went with him and have been highly diverted. These Barbicues are Hogs, roasted whole, this was under a large Tree. A great number of Young people met together with a Fiddle and Banjor play'd by two Negroes', with Plenty of Toddy which both Men and Weomen seems to be very fond of. I believe they have Danced and drunk till there is Few Sober people amongst them. I am sorry I was not able to join them. Got on [board?] late.

Schooner John—St. Mary's River July 27th—74 Still at Anchor with a Contrary wind. After Dinner went a Shore and bought some Stock. In attempting to get A Board again, was very neare overseting the Boat. Obliged to lodge A Shore at Mrs. Miles-Herberts. People chiefly Roman Catholics.

28th. Got on Board before five O'Clock this morning. Weighed, and got into the Bay. Calm, obligd. to come to an Anchor.

29th. Early this morning Got underway with the wind at N.N.W. and stood down the Bay with an easy Breese. I am now able to walk the Deck for an hour together.

30th. At 10 this morning A Breast Cape Henry Latd. 37°–00" North. Longd. 75°–24" West, from whence we take our Departure.

31st. Sunday. This morning the Captn. killed a Jew Fish with the gig. It weighed 74 lbs. and measured 5 Feet long something like a Cod eat very well. Fair Wind and pleasant.

Schooner John, Towards Barbados. August 1st, 1774. Squally weather, with Calms.

2nd and 3rd. Squally weather and a heavy rolling Sea. Begin to be Sea sick.

4th. 5th. Yesterday at M. Begun to blow very hard from the N.W. Before 2 P.M. It hauled round Eastwarly to the S.W. when we were obliged to Lay her Too under her close reefd F. S. At 10 P.M. Obliged to Furl the F.S. and Scud under Bare pole. At 12 P.M. Broke the Tiller, and gave up all for lost. Expecting the Vessel to Founder before we could Rigg another. About 2 A.M. got a new Tiller the weather begun to moderate. But our Vessel made a great deal of Water. At 8 A.M. set the F.S. and Jibb still blowing very hard and a Monsterous Sea At 6 P.M. Set the Mainsail more moderate But a very great Sea. Very Sick these two days.

Schooner John towards Barbados. Aust. 6th. Fine pleasant weather. This is very agreeable after such rough Sea.

7th. Sunday. Pleasant weather and Light winds. Crossed several Rippling currents, about 100 Yards broad, Seting to the S.W. What they are our Capt. is neither Sailor nor Philosopher sufficient to determine. At 10 P.M. Hove Too for fear of the Rocks of Bermudas.

8th and 9th. Cloudy, Hazy weather with Sauall's [sic] of Rain. Wee are now in the Horse Latitudes. The Sailors are possess'd with a notion that it is impossible to cross them without Rain and Squally weather. I am now (Thanks to the Almighty) as well as ever I was in my life only weak, but I have a good stomach and hope I shall recover my strength shortly.

Schooner John—towards Barbados—Aust. 10th—1774. Squally with Rain, contrary wind.

11th. 12th. and 13th. Light Breeses and Clear Hot weather. Calm this evening and heavy Rain.

14th. Sunday. Quite Calm and smooth water the people bathed in the Sea. They had not been on board half an Hour before A Shark came a Longside. Wee bated a hook but he would not take it Appeared to be abo[ut] Ten Foot long of a Brown Coloure. There was a Pilot Fish with it. This is a beautifull Fish, About a Foot long, Variegated with Stripes of Black and White, quite round the Body. Generally accompany the Sharks.

15th. Light winds with Clear Hot weather.

16th. Morning Light breeses—This evening blows Fresh and has carry'd away our Main Croggik Yard.

Schooner John—toward Barbados Aut. 17th, 1774. Pleasant weather but hot. We have been in the Trade winds ever since we Cross'd the Tropick. They allways blow from N.E. to S.E. but generally to the Northwd. of East.

18th. Saw Three Tropical Birds, they appear to be about the size of Rooks but Milk white with Long Feathers in the Tail of a very singular appearance.

19th. Moderate Breeses and pleasant weath[er] Catched a Dolphin. This is one of the most Beautifull Fishes I ever saw, About three Foot long, Adorned with every Colour of the Rainbow. After it is taken out of the water, it changes its Colour every instant til it Dies when it is of a Light Blue inclineing to a purple. The Flesh is very white but eats dry.

Schooner John towards Barbados Aust. 20th. Pleasant weather but excessively Hot.

21st. and 22nd. Strong Gales of wind and Hazy weather. Pay'd a bottle of Rum for my footing in the Tropic. I aught to have pay'd it according to custom when we cross'd the Tropic of Cancer. But I believe the people had forgot.

23rd. and 24th. Fresh Breeses and Cloudy weather.

25th. Fresh Breezes with Squally Hazy weather. Saw Five Land Birds about the size of Ducks, of a Brown Colour. I believe the call them Boobies. By my Reckoning Barbados Bears S.S.W. Distance 102 Leagues At Meridian.

26th. Fresh Breeses, with showers of Rain and Hazy weather. At M. Saw a Sail standing to Eastward.

Schooner John towards Barbados Aust. 27th 1774. Light winds and Calms. Saw a great number of Boobies.

28th. Sunday. Light winds with Clear and Hot weather. Took a Dose of Salts. Not had a Stool for Fifteen Days I have enjoyed as good a state of Health all the time as ever I did in my Life. Could eat and sleep very well. But a continual bad taste in my mouth.

29th. Fresh Breeses and Clear weather. At M. in

the Latd. of Barbados the Captn. is A Shore by his Reckoning, I want 10 Leagues. Saw a great number of Land Birds and something flote A Longside which we suppose to be the Body of a Man.

Schooner John towards Barbados Aust. 30th 1774. Fine pleasant weather. At M. made the Island from the masthead Distance about 5 Leagues. At 3 P.M. abreast the N.E. End of the Island and one of the beautifulest prospects I ever saw. High Land like one entire Garden interspersed with Gentlemens Houses and Windmils in a Delightfull manner. At 9 P.M. Abrest Bridgetown Lay'd Her too till morning.

Bridge Town, Barbados, 31st. At 8 this morning run into Carlisle Bay and came to an Anchor in Eight Fathom Water. A Passage of 41 Days from Alexandria. More'd the Ship, and went A Shore with the Captn. to Bridge Town Dined with Mr. Charles Willing the Merchant that the Vessel was cons[i]gned to. Slept on Board.

Bridge Town—Barbados September 1st, 1774. Went A shore and saw my Bread Landed. Have attempted to sell it but find I cannot get first cost such quantities are arived from Philadelphia. Have Stored it with Mr. Willing in hopes the price may rise a little before we sail—Dined at Mr. Willings who appears to be a Genteel man. Gave me a general invitation to his house. Agree'd with Captn. Speak to live on Board find it too expensive for me to live a Shore. They ask Half a Joehannes pr. week for Board. Excessive hot.

2nd. By accident met with M. Thos. Blackits, a Relation of Mr. Perkins, who invited me to Speights Town where Mr. Perkins is. Dined with Mr. Hazlewood. After dinner went to Speights Town in one of the Markit Boats, found Mr. Perkins ill in Bed. Lodged at Mr. Blackit's.

Speights–Town Barbados, Septbr. 3rd 74. Last night it blew a hurricane. Drove several ships from the moorings, and has continued raining all day.

4th. Sunday. Early this morning Bathd in the Sea, which is very refreshing in this hot Climate. After Breakfast vewed the town. It is small, and dirty, has a pretty Church but very little frequented the People amuse themselves with Shooting on Sundays. In the evening went with Mr. Perkin to see Mr. Kid's Plantation. The Sugar works and Rum Distilleries are very extensive. The juice of the Cane is ex[illeg.]d. between two Iron rollers which are turned by the wind and then Boiled into Sugar or made into Rum. The Cane is planted in Hills, is ripe about Christmas. It's preasent appearance is like large Sedge Grass. It is all tended by Negro Slaves with Hoes. never use plows.

Bridge Town, Barbados—September 5 74. Some prospect of selling my Bread to a little proffit, but the person is not at home. Went to Bridge Town in the Market Boat. Dined A Board with the Captn. in the evening. No prospect of selling or Bartering here to any advantage must go to Speigstown.

6th. After dinner went to Speighst Town. Called at Hole Town. This is a small Village with a Church. This evening as Mr. Perkin and I walked along the Shore were attacked with a Shower of Stones from a Mangeneel Grove by some Negroes but were not hurt. Thes Negroes are very rude in the night to people unarmed. Lodged at Mr. Blackets. Gave Mr. Perkin the Knives his Uncle had sent him and the letter from Miss R.

Bridge Town, Barbados—Septm. 8th. 1774. Cannot sell my Bread at Speighs Town got to Bridge Town to dinner. Most intolerably Hot.

9th. Sold part of my Bread but cannot get the first cost, the other part I have exchanged for Cotton. this Article sells well in Virginia, hope to make up my loss by it.

10th. Got my Cotton on Board. Wrote home and to Sam Jackson put the letters on Board a Ship for London.

11th. Sunday. Took a Ride with Mr. Iffil, one of Mr. Willings Clarks to his Father's about 10 Miles from Bridge Town. The road is very bad and Rocky Where it is level the land appears very rich a Fine Black Mould. But I am in a new world I know neither Bush nor Produce. Dined on a Roasted Kid. And lodged at Mrs. Iffil's.

Bridge Town—Barbados—September 12th 1774. Got to Town to Dinner very well pleased with my jaunt.

13th. Went A Shore and saw a Cargo of Slaves landed. One of the most shocking sights I ever saw. About 400 Men, Women, and Children, Brought from their native Country, deprived of their Liberty and themselves and posterity become the property of cruel strangers without a probabillity of ever enjoying the Blessing of Free-

dom again, Or a right of complaining, be their sufferings ever so great. The Idea is Horrid and the Practice unjust. They were all naked except a small piece of Blue Cloath about a Foot broad to cover their nakedness and appear much dejected. Suped and spent the evening at Mr. James Bruces.

Bridge Town—Barbados—September 14th-1774. Captn. Thos. Bragg & Richard Rouse [Datin?] Esqr., A Merchant in town, dined on Board. In the evening went A Shore with them to the Jews Synagogue. To see one of their Grand Festivals called the opening of the Five Books of Moses. The ceremony was begun before we got there, they were just bringing out the Books under Canopy's of Green Silk something like Umberellas adorned with small Bells of gold or brass, they caryed them into the middle of the Congregation, where the Rabby or Chief Priest made a Long and Loud talk in Hebrew. He had a long Black Gown like a Surplus and a Large Fur Cap, with Venerable long Beard. The Jews worship Standing and their Hats on with a Long piece of White Silk or Fine Linin (according to the persons Circumstances), like a Towel with the ends tied together they put their Arms through it and the loose part lies across their back. They appear to perform their Religious Ceremonies with great Solemnity. The Building is neat and Ellegantly finished within. Spent the evening at Captn. Braggs' in Co. with Eight Young Lady's, very merry.

15th. Went a Shore and Dined at the Five Bits Tavern, what they call a Bit is a Pistereen or Sixpence sterling. This is one of the cheapest Taverns in town. I believe, there is only two other houses that you can get dinner or anything to eat. Captn. Bragg, Mr. [Datin?] and Four other Gentlemen Suped and spent the evening on Board the Schooner.

Cresswell Correction

In the "Journal of Nicholas Cresswell" on page 31 of the spring issue of the *Interpreter* there is an error when Cresswell is describing the election. Charles Broadwater's shortened name was transcribed as "Bedwater." The original was written as "Brdwater." Samuel Thornely, in his 1924 edition of the "Journal," made the same mistake, as did Dr. Riley in his transcription. Thanks go to Harold Gill for bringing this to our attention. Gill is finishing an annotated edition of the complete journal that will be published later this year.

Bridge Town—Barbados—September 16th, 1774. This Island is one of the most Windward or Easward of the West India Islands, situated in Latd. 12°–58" North., Longd. 58°–50" West—About 20 Miles long and 12 Broad. Contains about 20,000 White Inhabitants and 90,000 Blacks. Exports about 20,000 Hhds of Sugar and 6000 Hhds. of Rum Annually. They are supplyed with the greatest part of their provisions from the Colonies, and all their Staves and lumber comes from there with Horses and Live Stock of all kinds. In exchange for which They give Rum, Sugar and Cotton but very little of the last article. It is a hig[h] rockey Island and Reckoned the most healthy Island in the West Indies. I suppose ther is one Eights part of the land too Rockey for Cultivation. the roads are very bad. It is nothing uncomon to see twelve Yoke of Oxen to draw one Hhd. of Sugar but their Cattle are very small. Their chief produce is Sugar, Indigo, Pimento and Cotton. The Pimento grows on large Trees like small berries, the Cotton on Small bushes which they plant annually. The Indigo is planted in the same manner—Here is a great variety of Fruits—Pine Apples, Bananas, a fruit like a Large Bean Pod very sweet. Plantains something in the same shape these when roasted are a good substitute for Bread. Alligeta Pear. Or Vegetable marrow, this is exactly the shape of a Pear but has a large stone in it. the flesh has the taste and appearance of real Marrow. These all grow on Trees, except the Pine Apple. Tammarinds Grows on very large trees, the Bodys of the trees are full of priccks like a Brier. Shaddocks are a large Fruit, like an Orange, but much larger. Limes in plenty. Oranges and Lemmons are very indifferent here. Guavas are a small fruit something like a Lime but have a sickley taste they make a fine Jelly from them. Mamme Apples are larger then an Orange with a Stone in them the flesh has the appearance of a Carrot and eats something like it. The Mangineel Apple has the Smell and appearance of an English apple, but small, Grows on large trees Generally a long the Sea Shore, they are Rank poison I am told that one apple is sufficient to kill 20 people. this poison is of such a Malignant nature that a single drop of Rain or Dew that falls from the tree upon your Skin will immediately raise a blister. Neither Fruit or Wood is of any use, that I can learn. The Cabbage tree is very beautifull, Grows very lofty, the Bark of a Fine Green and remarkable smooth, the Fruit is good pickled as Cabbage but does not appear like it on the tree. The Coco Tree grows to an amazeing height some of them 80 Foot, with only a Tuft of Leaves at top. The Fruit grows at the root of the leaves, as some are ripe others is blossoming so that they are never

without Fruit. It is surprizeing with what agillity the Negroes climb these trees. There is a number of other Fruits I am not acquainted wt. Yams are like our potatoes but much larger.

This is the chief Town in the Island and was pretty large. But a Great part of it burned down in the Year 1766, and is not yet rebuilt. Here is a Good Church Dedd. [dedicated] to St. Michael, with an Organ The Church Yard is planted round with Coco Trees which [makes?] a pretty appearance. The houses are built of Stone, but no Fire places in them only in the Kitchen. The Heat of the Climate renders that unnecessary only for Cooking. Indeed it would be insupportable was it not for the Sea Breese which blows all Day, And from the Land in the Night. All the S.E. part of the Island is Fortified with Batteries the Windward part of the Island is fortifi[ed] by nature. No Garrison or Soldiers her[e] only the malitia which are well deceplined to keep the Negroes in Awe.

The Planters are in general Rich, but a set of Dissipating, Abandoned, and Cruel people. Few even of the Maried ones but they keep a Mulatto or Black Girl in the house or at lodgings for certain purposes. The women are not killing Beauties nor very engageing in their conversation but some of them has large Fortunes which covers a mulltitude of imperfections. The Brittish nation famed for humanity suffers it to be tarnished by their Creolian Subjects—the Cruelty exercised upon the Negroes is at once shocking to humanity and a disgrace to human nature. For the most trifleing faults, sometimes for meer whims (of their Masters) these poor wretches are ty'd up and whiped most unmercifully. I have seen them tied up and flogged with a twisted piece of Cow Skin till there was very little signs of Life, then get a dozen with an Ebony sprout which is like a Bria[r] this Lacerates the Skin and Flesh, lets out the bruised blood, or it would mortify and kill them. some of them dies under the severity of these Barbarities, others whos spirits are too great to submit to the insults and abuses they receive put an end to their own lives. If a person kils a Slave he only pays his value as a Fine. It is not a Hanging matter. Certainly these Poor Beings meets with some better place on the other side the Grave for they have a Hell on earth. It appears that they are sensible of this, if one may judge from their behaviour at their funerals. Instead of weeping and wailing, They are danceing and singing and appear to be the happyest Mortals on earth. Went with Mr. and Mrs. Dottin to see the Funeral of Mr. Stephenson, a Capital Merchant in Town. Most part of the men were Drunk. No tears shed but by Mulatto Girls. Spent the evening at Captain Braggs.

17th. Dined at Mr. Willings, got all our Cargo on Board. Drank Tea at Mr. Dotins who is desireous of keeping a correspondence with me. At 8 in the Evening Weighed Anchor and stood out of the Bay with a Stout Breese at E.N.E.

Schooner John towards Virginia—Septbr. 18th. Fresh Breeses and Clear weather. Saw Martinico it appears high land. At 8 P.M. Saw a rainbow by moonlight.

19th. Fresh breeses at 2 P.M. Saw Monserrat at 4 P.M. A Breast Desseada Latd. 16°–20" North Longd. 60°–10" West from whence we take our departure. Sea sick.

20th. 21st. 22nd. 23rd. and 24th. Pleasant weather but a great deal of Thunder and Lightning.

25th. Pleasant weather but a foul wind and more Lightning, but no Thunder.

26th. 27th. 28th. 29th. and 30th. Moderate breeses and pleasant weather Mr. Brook, the other passenger, I don't expect to live till morning, the Captn. has treated him most barbarously. The Captn. and I has quarreled about it. (Mem. To give him a drubing when I get a Shore.)

Schooner John—towards Virginia—Octbr. 1st—1774. Fine pleasant weather—Saw the Body of a man flote a Longside. Calm this evening.

2nd. Sunday. Pleasant weather. Mr. Brooks begins to mend a little but is in a most Shocking condition.

3rd. A remarkable Whirlwind this morning which put the Vessel about in a Minuit and then fell Calm for 2 Hours. At 4 P.M. Blew very hard at N.E., Obliged to Lay the Vessel too under Her Fore Sail.

4th. By our Reckoning we are pretty near Cape Hatteras. Still lyeing Too under F. Sail. Blowing very hard at N.E. Shiped several heavy Seas. One of which has carryed away our Starboard Quarter Rail[s] with thre bags of Cotton two of them belongs to me. This is all my venture, I am now a Beggar. This is a stroke of fortune I can bad bear at present but must submit. Blows very hard and a great Sea.

Schooner John—towards Virginia—Ocbr. 5th, 1774. At 4 A.M. The wind came to the Southward made Sail under Fore Sail and Jibb. Have

been obliged to eat raw meat the last two day[s.] Very uneasy, but must submit to the Frown of Fortune. Catched a Dolphin, in his belly found a Fish of a peculiar shape. It was about 2 Inches long something like a Frog but neither Fins or Feet of a whitish colour and covered over with small priccles like a Hedghog—Saw a number of Flying Fish one of them light on board the Vessel Shapd like a Trout and about that size. the Shoulder Fins are long and thin with these it is able to fly as long as the fins keep wet and then the[y] dip in the Sea. By this method they elude the Dolphin which preys upon them.

Schooner John—towards Virginia—October 6th. 1774. Pleasant Breeses and Clear weather.

7th. Fine weather at 8 P.M. Hove the Lead, got Ground at 15 Fathom Sandy Bottom.

8th. At 8 this morning got abreast of Cape Henry with a Fine Breese. At 7 P.M. Came to an Anchor off the Tanjeir Islands.

9th. Sunday. Calm, diverted ourselves with catching Crabs.

10th. Last night it came to blow and obliged us to Bear away for the Rappahannock River. Came to an Anchor in Fleets Bay. Went A Shore with the Mate to buy stock in the Character of a Sailor, and have been highly deverted with the Frolic.

11th. Went a Shore to Colnl. Fleets who gives us very bad accounts of their proceedings in the Colonies nothing but War is talked of. Captn. Botson of the brig Two Betsys Dined with us. Fair wind this evening got out of the River.

Schooner John—St. Mary's River—October 12th—1774. Came to an Anchor in St. Mary's. Went a Shore with the Captn. Pleasant weather.

13th. Got up to Cedar point. The Captn. gone to Port Tobacco for Orders.

14th. At Anchor. The Captn. returned this evening.

15th. Got into Port Tobacco Creek. The Vessel is to discharge her Cargo here.

16th. Sunday. Went to Port Tobacco Church. Dined in town. Nothing talked of but War with England. After dinner caled at Doctor Brown's who proffers to sent a Boy and Horse with me to Alexandria. Oblig'd to lodge at a little House along Shore could not get on board this evening. [J. H.?]

17th. Company on board spent the evening very merryly.

18th. Sent Mr. Knox some Sweetmeats and Coconuts by the Captn. who is gone to Nanjemoy. Left the Vessel and went to Doctor Browns.

Alexandria, Virginia—October 19th, 1774. This morning settled with the Doctor who has charged me 14 Guineas and has the impudence to tell me it is very cheap. I was obliged to comply with it, and gave him an order on Mr. Kirk. Got horses and a Boy from him. Din'd at Piscataway. Arived at Alexandria in the evening. Mr. Kirk condoles with me on my misfortune. But seems very glad to see me return in good health. He tells me that he never expected to see me alive a gain and had defered writeing home till the Vessel arived, supposing that it would bring news of my death.

20th. 21st. and 22nd. Settling my accounts which will not turn out to my satisfaction.

23rd. Sunday. Went to Church and heard a very indifferent Sermon.

Alexandria Virginia—October 24th—1774. This morning, ballanced my accounts and find myself in debt to Mr. Kirk £47:10:2 Virginia Currency without one Sixpence in my Pocket. I am under the Disagreeable Necessity of Drawing on my Father for £50.00 Sterling. I have no orders for this but as I have not wantonly squandered away what he gave me, think it better to trust to his paternal regard than be in debt without prospect of pay[ing] this gives me much uneasiness but Necessity absolute necessity, compels me to do it. Everything here is in the utmost confusion. Committees are appointed to inspect into Characters and Conduct of every tradesman to prevent them Selling Tea or buying British Manufacture[s.] Some of them has been tarred and Feathered others, had their property Burned and destroyed by the populace. Independent Companies are raiseing in every County on the Continent, appointed Adjutants and train their men as if they were on the Eve of a War. A General Congress of the different Colonies met at Philadelphia on the 5th. of last mont[h] are still siting, but their businiss is a profound Secret. Subscription are raising in every Colony on the Continent for the relief of the people of Boston. The King is openly Cursed, and his authority set at defyance. In

Carlyle House. On November 18, Cresswell drank coffee at John Carlyle's impressive Alexandria dwelling built in 1753 (now restored and open to the public). Courtesy, Carl Lounsbury.

short every thing is ripe for Rebellion.

The New Englanders by their Canting, Whineing, Insinuating Tricks have perswaded the rest of the Colonies that the Government is going to make absolute slaves of them. This I believe never was intended but the presbyterian Rascals have had address sufficient to make the other Colony's come into their Sche[me.] By every thing that I can understand, in the different Co. I have been in, that Independence is what the Massachusets people aim at. But am not in the least doubt but the Government will take such salutary and speedy measures, As will entirely Frustrate their abominable intintions. I am affraid it will be some time before this hubbub is settled, and there is nothing to be done now. All trade is allmost at a stand every one seems to be at a loss in what manner to proceed. For my own part, did I not think this affair wo'd be over in the spring I would immediately return home. But I am very unwilling to return in a worse Condition than I was when I came out and be laughed at by all my friends If I return now and matters are settled they will never consent to my leaveing England again. And I am very sinsible from what I have allready seen of the Country that I can with a small sum make a very pretty fortune here, in a little time if I am any ways fortunate As a Farmer. Mr. Kirk advises me to stay till spring and take a Tour in the back Country gives me every possible encouragement and offers me every assistance in his power. I will take his advice, Am determined not to return til I can do it with credit, without those Rascals do persuade the Colonies into A Rebellion.

Alexandria—Virginia—October 25th—1774. This day agree'd with Mrs. Fleming to Dine at her house every day at 1s. pr. Day Vir Currency. I Breakfast and sup at Mr. Kirk's must live as cheap as possible.

26th. and 27th. Exceedingly uneasy in mind I do not know what to do or in what manner to proceed for the best.

28th. Suped and spent the evening with Mr. William Horner a Merchant from Liverpool.

29th. The Schooner Arived, got my Chest A Shore and payd £20 Vir Currency for my passage.

30. Sunday. Went to Church a pretty Building and large Congregation but an indifferent Parson.

31st. Mr. Kirk to make my time agreeable but find myself very Low spiritd. Drank ~~Tea and~~ Coffee at Captn. Sandfords.

Alexandria Virginia—November 1st—1774. This evening went to the Tavern to hear the Re-

solves of the Continental Congress read A Petition to the Throne and an addres to the people of Great Britten. Both of them full of Duplicity and false representation. I look upon them as insults to the understanding and dignity of the British Sovereign and people. Am in hopes their petitions will never be granted. I am sorry to see them so well received by the people and these sentiments so universally adopted. it is plain proof that the seeds of rebellion are allready sown and have taken very deep root. But am in hopes they will be eradicated next summer. I am obligd to act the Hypocrite and extol these proceedings as the wisest productions of any assembly on Earth. But in my heart I Despise them and look upon them with Contempt.

Alexandria Virginia—November 2nd—1774. Writeing to my Friends at home. Obliged to put the best side outwards and appear a little Whigified, as I expect my letters will be opened before they get to England.

3rd. Saw the Independent Company Exercise. The Effigy of Lord North was Shot at, then carried in great parade into the town and burned.

4th. and 5th. Wrote to Mr. Champion. It is very hard that I cannot write my real sentiments.

6th. Sunday. Went to a Presbyterian meeting these are a set of Rebellious scoundrels nothing but Political discourses instead of Religeous Lectures.

7th. Drew a Bill upon my Father for £50 Stg. in favour of Mr. Kirk payable at Messrs. Greaves, Lofters & Brightmores, to Messrs. Broomhead. Forty days after sight. I hope it will be duly honoured or I am for ever ruined. The Thought makes me miserable.

Alexandria—Virginia—November 8th—1774. Wrote to my Father. But dare not inform him what my intentions are in staying here.

9th. 10th. 11th. and 12th. Exceedingly uneasy and low spirited. Mr. Kirk gives me some hope of getting a Commission for purchaseing Wheat.

13th. Sunday. Went to Church But won't go any more to hear their Political Sermons Captn. Buddecombe's Brig sailed today, by her, I sent my Letters and a Box with some sweetmeats and Coco-nuts to my Friends.

14th. 15th. and 16th. Exceedingly unhappy.
17th. Went on some business for Mr. Kirk to Bladensburg in Maryland about 20 Miles from Alexandria. This is a Little town of considerable trade but the Land about it is sandy and Barren returned in the evening.

Alexandria—Virginia—November 18th—1774. Drank Coffee at Colnl. John Carliles, a Gentleman from Carlisle in England.

19th. 20th. 21st. 22nd. 23rd. and 24th. Waiting in expectation of geting a Wheat Commission but am disappointed. Great quantities of this Article is brought down from the back Country in Waggons, To this place as good wheat as I ever saw in England and sells from 2/9 to 4/6 Sterling, Pr. Bushel, it is sent to the Eastern markets. Great quantitys of Flour is likewise brought from there, but this is generally sent to the West Indies. And sometimes to Lisbon and up the Streights. I am doing nothing here. Am determined to take a Tour immediately.

25th. Hired a Horse and intend to set out for Berkeley County tomorrow.

Jennifer Jones Named Historian/Manager of Digital History Lab

On July 15, Jennifer Jones assumed new duties as historian and manager of the Digital History Lab in the Department of Historical Research. Jennifer has worked for the Foundation in several capacities for more than a decade. She began in archaeological research as an apprentice and worked up to project archaeologist by 1993. A year later, she joined Historical Research as the database manager for the grant-funded project, "Provisioning Early American Towns: The Chesapeake—A Multidisciplinary Case Study." In 1998, Jennifer was named digital library project manager. After a stint as acting manager of master scheduling for the Historic Area, she became the IT coordinator of electronic resources for the Research, Collections and Museums Divisions in 2001. She will now divide her time between managing the lab and providing the research, training, and editorial services expected of our senior historians. Jennifer will receive her Ph.D. in history from William and Mary later this year.

Q & A

Question: How much did the population of Williamsburg swell during "Publick Times"?

Answer: "Publick Times" has become a catch phrase in both the interpretation and promotion of Colonial Williamsburg. To colonists it meant only that the General Court (April and October) or the Court of Oyer and Terminer (June and December) was in session in Williamsburg. The Meeting of Merchants usually coincided with court dates. Special events and activities such as horse races, dances, assemblies, theatrical performances, and auctions were scheduled to coincide with Public Times.

Large numbers of people came to town for the General Court and to conduct business and participate in the other activities, but probably on the level of several hundred visitors, not several thousand. The population of the city surely did not double or triple. Taverns were busy during this time, of course, as these visitors had to eat, drink, and sleep. An anonymous Frenchman who visited Williamsburg during the 1765 court wrote that he and his party "had great Difficulty to get lodgings but thanks to mr sprowl I got a room at mrs. Vaube's tavern, where all the best people resorted." This same traveler reported—probably with a good deal of exaggeration—that "there might be 5 or 6,000 people here Dureing the Courts." While it may be that the Stamp Act turmoil of the time brought that many people to the capital city, it is difficult to believe that little Williamsburg could accommodate such crowds during every Public Times.

Ironically, increased activity during Public Times did not translate into a significant retail upsurge for the town. Store records show that business remained steady throughout the year, with no upswing during the court sessions. This conclusion, however, is based on surviving credit accounts only; records of cash transactions, which may have increased, do not survive. Perhaps a few craftsmen did sell more goods or had more commissions during these periods. Milliner Catherine Rathell, for example, often inserted her advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette* during the times that the court convened, indicating, perhaps, that she expected to pick up additional trade. Other likely but undocumented scenarios might involve a planter bringing a broken clock from his country house to be repaired by Mr. Geddy during the court session or a bookish merchant from a rural county checking over the books for sale at the printer's office. Likewise, we cannot gauge how many gifts might have been purchased by visitors on such infrequent trips to the "metropolis."

It is important to keep Public Times in perspective. Four times a year, two courts and the merchants convened, obviously bringing in a "bed-and-board business" and some special trade. However, these weren't the only occasions for visits to Williamsburg. The Assembly met for long periods—sometimes for months at a stretch. The comings and goings of college professors and students, militiamen, governor's petitioners, Indians, attendees at the county and city court sessions, and farmers carting in goods for market days kept up a lively traffic through Williamsburg all year.

(Condensed from information from Mark Howell, director of Program Planning, and Emma L. Powers, historian, Department of Historical Research)

Question: Was it explicitly illegal for women to vote in colonial Virginia?

Answer: Yes, it was expressly forbidden for women to vote in the colony. Virginia may be the only colony prior to the Revolution that specifically prohibited women from voting by exclusionary statutes. The two statutes, one from 1699 and the other from 1762, do not speak to what men can do on election day, rather they speak to what women CANNOT do on election day. In other words, these laws deny a woman the vote not because she is not a man, but because she is a woman. These are specific exclusions by law for a specific segment of the population:

> **1699:** *"Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act that no woman sole or covert, infants under the age of twenty one years, or recusant convict being freeholders shall be enabled to give a vote or have a voice in the election of burgesses anything in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."*
>
> **1762:** *"And be it further enacted, That no feme, sole or covert, infant under the age of twenty one, recusant, convict, or any*

person convicted in Great Britain or Ireland, during the time for which he is transported, or any free Negro, mulatto or Indian, although such persons be freeholders, shall have a vote, or be permitted to poll, at any election of burgesses, or capable of being elected."

(Phil Shultz, instructor, Historic Area Training)

Question: Did the vestry or the court determine people guilty of adultery and what was the punishment?

Answer: Remember that Virginia had an established, or state church—the Church of England (Anglican Church). Under this system, the Virginia General Assembly passed laws that regulated church life. Parish vestries, composed of twelve men from each parish who served for life, ran church affairs, but they also performed functions that are today the responsibility of civil authorities, such as levying and collecting mandatory church taxes out of which they paid ministers and repaired and built churches. Vestries used most of this revenue, however, for what we today call welfare or social services. No other body in colonial Virginia was charged with providing temporary or permanent upkeep for people unable to provide for themselves.

Parish vestries played a role in enforcing laws passed by the General Assembly to encourage moral behavior. In England, ecclesiastical courts had jurisdiction over breaches of moral laws, but there were no such courts in Virginia. Hence, county courts and vestries worked in tandem in colonial Virginia for the "suppression of vice." Two church wardens, annually elected from within the ranks of each parish vestry, gathered information throughout the year about people who failed to attend church, bore bastard children, or committed adultery and other moral offenses defined by law.

Churchwardens laid the evidence of sexual and other "moral" misdeeds before the full vestry, which usually met once a year in the fall. Cases with merit proceeded to the county court grand jury that met twice a year. If the grand jury found the evidence credible, the accused person was bound over to the county court justices for trial. The churchwardens took part in prosecuting the case.

In 1705, the General Assembly passed "An act for the effectual suppression of vice, and restraint and punishment of blasphemous, wicked, and dissolute persons." This law provided punishment for swearing, cursing, drunkenness, non-attendance at church, working on Sunday, and the matters at hand—adultery (sexual intercourse of a married person with someone other than the offender's husband or wife) and fornication (intercourse by unmarried persons). An illicit relationship between a married person and an unmarried person involved both adultery and fornication.

Part of another 1705 law, titled "An Act concerning servants and slaves," dealt with bastardy (begetting an illegitimate child).

After trial and conviction in a county court:

An adulterer paid one thousand pounds of tobacco (approximately 7 or 8 shillings) or received twenty-five lashes on the bare back "well laid on" at the public whipping post.

A fornicator paid five hundred pounds of tobacco (approximately 3 or 4 shillings) or received twenty-five lashes.

(Linda Rowe, historian, Department of Historical Research)

Question: Were there additional punishments for parents of children born out of wedlock?

Answer: If a servant woman delivered a bastard child fathered by a free man, her servitude to her present master was extended by one year unless she paid her master one thousand pounds of tobacco. Few servant women had the resources to pay such a fine. The father of the child (if he could be identified) was to provide for the upkeep of the child to save the parish the expense of doing so.

If a servant woman delivered a bastard child fathered by a servant man, her servitude to her present master was extended by one year unless she paid her master one thousand pounds of tobacco (most could not pay), and the servant-father was to make satisfaction to the parish for costs of upkeep of the child after he served out his own term of service to his own master.

If the servant woman's master fathered her bastard child, she did not owe the master-father extra time, but upon expiration of her servitude to the master, she either paid one thousand pounds of tobacco to the parish where the birth occurred (master-fathers sometimes paid this sum for the servant woman) or the churchwardens could "sell" the woman (that is, sell her time) to a new master for a period of one year. Either the one thousand pounds of tobacco she paid the parish or the amount the churchwardens got for selling one year of her time was to be applied to parish expenses.

If a servant woman had a bastard child fathered by a "negro or mulatto," she served out her time of service to her present master, then

paid one thousand pounds of tobacco to the parish where the birth occurred. If she did not pay, she could be sold by the churchwardens into five years additional service with proceeds to be applied to parish expenses. The mixed race child of this union was bound into servitude until the age of 31 (later reduced to 21).

If a free white woman had a bastard child by a "negro or mulatto" man, she was to pay to the churchwardens of the parish where the child was born £15 current money of Virginia within one month of the delivery or be sold into service for a period of five years. Again, proceeds from the sale were to be used for parish expenses. The mixed race child of the union was bound out to servitude until the age of 31 (later reduced to 21).

(Linda Rowe)

Question: Was there public confession in church if illicit sexual behavior was proven?

Answer: Yes and no. Yes, if we are talking about seventeenth-century Virginia up to about 1662. During that period, county court justices in Virginia prescribed fines, corporal punishment, and extended terms of service for sexual offenders. Since there were no ecclesiastical courts in Virginia, county justices also occasionally employed ecclesiastical sanctions—such as penance—against the offenders. Penance in seventeenth-century colonial Virginia consisted of a formal, public apology that functioned as a ritual purification. Dressed in a white sheet and carrying a white wand, the sinner was forced to confess his or her fault several times in front of the parish congregation during Anglican Sunday services. Such a punishment was intended to both shame the offender and formally gain reacceptance of the guilty man or woman into the community of the God-fearing.

No, if you are talking about post-1662 Virginia. As the result of legal reforms related to changes in English law and practice about 1662, local Virginia courts no longer employed penance in the punishment of sexual misconduct.

(Linda Rowe)

Q & A was compiled by Bob Doares, instructor in Historic Area Training, and a member of the Interpreter ***Planning Board.***

"A Woman Swearing a Child to a Grave Citizen" (1936-80). William Hogarth's engraving shows a young woman in the process of identifying the father of her unborn, illegitimate child.

The Bothy's Mould

by Janet Guthrie

Janet is an interpreter C at the James Geddy House and Foundry. In addition to her other duties, she is garden specialist on the site and is responsible for the Geddy kitchen garden. Janet, a member of the Garden Writers of America Association, recently had a short story, "Flowers that Broke the Sound Barrier," accepted for publication in Green Prince. *The* Interpreter *staff thanks her for being a guest writer for this column.*

In April, I had the opportunity to visit Monticello and Tufton Farms as a guest of Peter Hatch, director of the gardens and grounds since 1977. The Thomas Jefferson Center for Historic Plants was a special treat. Its headquarters and nursery are a behind-the-scenes working area that is not open to the public.

It was a fine spring day. I was especially interested in Thomas Jefferson's kitchen garden—a 1,000-foot-long terrace garden. The vegetable garden has been carefully restored in the last twenty years as a result of archaeological excavations and historic documentation. The fruit garden was equally impressive. Jefferson experimented with plants and documented everything from weather conditions to the size, color, and quality of fruit. His garden was enclosed by a 10-foot-high, solid-poled fence with a gate as the entrance. He began planting the south orchard with 170 varieties of fruit trees two years before construction started on his house. Jefferson originally owned 5,000 acres, but today there are only 2,500 acres. Two beagle deer dogs protect the gardens.

In the vegetable garden Jefferson grew more than 250 varieties of vegetables and assigned seven slaves to work in it. One interesting vegetable that caught my eye was sea kale, a cabbage-like vegetable that was usually blanched and eaten like asparagus. It was said to have a bitter taste. It grows wild along the coast of Great Britain and is grown today as an ornamental in English gardens.

I think it is interesting that Jefferson reserved the word garden for his vegetable garden. He had great respect for vegetables. Though not a vegetarian in the strictest sense of the word, he actually consumed a moderate amount of meat in relation to a large quantity of vegetables. His granddaughter wrote, "He lived principally on vegetables. . . . The little meat he took seemed mostly as a seasoning for his vegetables." Jefferson wrote on that same subject in a letter to Vine Utley in 1819, "I have lived temperately, eating little animal food, and that . . . as a condiment for the vegetables, which constitute my principal diet."

It was also enjoyable seeing the oval flowerbeds, roundabout walks, and perennial borders. At the time of my visit, the wildflower known as the "twinleaf" was in bloom. Its small white flower appears around April 13—Thomas Jefferson's birthday. This plant—*Jeffersonia diphylla*—was named in honor of Jefferson in 1792 by Benjamin Barton. The other flowers in the perennial border included a collection of varieties of interest to Jefferson, and botanical curiosities of his time. He seemed to have great enthusiasm for the fragrances that certain flowers offered, often mentioning it in his correspondence. For example, in a letter to Francis Eppes in 1786, he wrote of the heliotrope, "The smells rewards the care." Writing to W. Hamilton in 1806, he said, "I remember seeing in your greenhouse a plant of a couple feet height in a pot the fragrance of which (from its gummy bud if I recollect rightly), was peculiarly agreeable to me."

In 1809, he emphasized the importance of flower fragrance to W. Fleming, "I have received safely . . . the foliage of the Alleghany Marathon. A plant of much beauty and fragrance will be a valuable addition to our flower gardens." It seemed the perfumed flowers ranked highly with Jefferson. He evidently wished his flowers to gratify not only his sense of sight, but also his sense of smell seeking beauty in form, color, texture, and odor. "The greatest service which can be rendered any country," he wrote, "is to add a useful plant to its culture."

Notes from the Museums

by Jan Gilliam

Jan, associate curator for exhibits and toys in the Department of Collections and Museums, is a member of the Interpreter *Planning Board.*

Two major textile exhibitions open this year at the museums. The first, *Made in America: Coverlets from the Collection of Foster and Muriel McCarl* opened at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum in May. *The Language of Clothing,* opening at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum in October, will highlight objects from Colonial Williamsburg's superb collection of antique clothing.

Colonial Williamsburg is fortunate to have the support of many donors who appreciate and admire what we do, both in the Historic Area and through exhibitions in our museums. Their generosity allows us to share objects with our visitors that might otherwise remain private. Foster and Muriel McCarl of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, have a genuine love of American history and folk art that has driven them to build an excellent collection of coverlets acquired over more than forty years. In the past, they have given AARFAM numerous coverlets and lent several more.

Because of their interest in coverlets and their desire that many people be able to view them, the McCarls collaborated with the museum to mount the exhibition *Made in America,* which features sixty-two coverlets, most on loan from their extensive private collection. The rest, part of AARFAM's permanent collection, are past gifts from the couple. The McCarls also funded the research and publication of a catalog to accompany the exhibition. *American Coverlets and Their Weavers: Coverlets from the Collection of Foster and Muriel McCarl* by coverlet scholar Clarita Anderson was jointly published by Colonial Williamsburg and Ohio University Press.

Figured and fancy woven coverlets were a common feature of nineteenth-century American homes. Those on view in the exhibition were made in the United States between 1824 and 1862. Referred to as "figured and fancy" because of their curvilinear designs and descriptive lettering, these woven bedcoverings were produced by professional weavers working on hand looms equipped with special patterning devices. The coverlets provided warmth and added color to the homes of many middling Americans. By the end of the Civil War, hand-woven figured and fancy coverlets were out of fashion. Later ones, such as those made as souvenirs for the 1876 Centennial, were woven on power looms in factories.

Because American figured and fancy woven coverlets were often marked with the name of the weaver and the client, locality, and date, they help tell the stories of the people who made and used them. The designs and motifs often reflected the interests and concerns of their makers and owners. Foster McCarl, Jr., once said, "When you have a coverlet with all of this information, you have found an undisputable piece of American history."

The exhibition explores many aspects of these colorful, patterned bedcovers. People unfamiliar with the pieces can learn about the various weave structures and the types of looms on which they were woven. The professional weavers were often men who supplemented their incomes by working as farmers or by undertaking other tasks. Coverlet production was concentrated in the Middle Atlantic and Midwestern states. Examples from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, and Indiana are shown. The exhibition also features a section on clients. Sometimes the weaver incorporated the owner's name into the design.

As the name "figured and fancy" implies, these objects are highly decorative and colorful. Combinations of blue, red, green, and white/cream cotton and wool threads were woven together to create boldly patterned coverlets that often were reversible. There is a great variety of designs as well, some copied from pattern books owned by the weavers. Flowers, ani-

mals, and patriotic motifs are just some of the wonderful decorative elements that make each coverlet worth exploring. Different patterns in the centerfield, border, and corner blocks enhance the impact of each piece.

The exhibition offers visitors a chance to see some delightful objects that are part of our American past. Families can explore the exhibition together using a printed guide that focuses on some aspects of what they see and suggests fun activities to do at home. The exhibition runs through September 1, 2003.

On view at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum through February 17, 2003, is *Jefferson and the Capitol of Virginia*. If traveling south, look for *Furniture of the American South* in Atlanta, Georgia, until September 2. It then moves to the Mint Museum in Charlotte, North Carolina, and then to the North Carolina Museum of History in Raleigh. If your travels take you north, look for *The Innocent Eye: American Folk Art from Colonial Williamsburg* at the Katonah Museum in Katonah, New York, and *Degrees of Latitude: Maps of Colonial America from the Colonial Williamsburg Collection* at the New-York Historical Society in New York City. Both of these exhibitions are on view from October 2002 to January 2003.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *New at the Rock*

Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Buying Respectability

Beckerdite, Luke, ed. *American Furniture 2001*. Milwaukee, Wis.: Chipstone Foundation, 2002. [NK 2200 .A43]

The eighth volume in an annual series, this title is the place to look for the latest research on American furniture. Whether your interest is in regional identification, construction techniques, style precedents, individual cabinetmakers, historic furnishings, marketing, or ownership, this journal offers articles that are heavily illustrated and well documented.

Hunter, Robert, ed. *Ceramics in America*. Milwaukee, Wis.: Chipstone Foundation, 2001. [NK 3700 .C47]

The first volume in the companion series to *American Furniture, Ceramics in America* has articles that range from slipware to porcelain, from technological process to factory history. Why did Wedgwood resist producing pearlware in 1776? What does Dutch shipping have to do with a Chinese export porcelain wine cup found at Jamestown in a circa 1610 setting? What single book answers the most questions about delftware? Find all the answers here.

Redefining Family

Frank, Robin Jaffee. *Love and Loss: American Portrait and Mourning Miniatures*. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 2000. [ND 1333 .N49 Y354 2000]

Creating a substitute for absent loved ones, whether living elsewhere or deceased, frequently accounted for the production of portrait miniatures. While full-scale portraits presented a public image to the world, portrait miniatures were more intensely personal and private. Beyond using them as records of costume details, one can see them as social documents used to commemorate births, engagements, marriages, and deaths.

Choosing Revolution

Brumwell, Stephen. *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755–1763*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2002. [E 199 .B89 2000]

Arguing against the stereotype of a savagely disciplined British army, composed of a downtrodden rank and file recruited from the bottom rung of the social ladder, commanded by arrogant and unprofessional officers from the aristocracy, this book attempts to define the army in more realistic ways. The author admits to evidence supporting the negative view, but nevertheless effectively uses a number of primary sources to suggest that the British redcoats contributed more toward winning the Seven Years' War than they are usually credited with. Brumwell also

shows that the army in America in many ways performed unlike the British army in other settings by learning to fight both Old World "conventional" and New World "irregular" warfare.

Harvey, Robert. *Few Bloody Noses: The American War of Independence*. London: John Murray, 2001. [E208 .H37 2001]

Taking the stance that the American Revolutionary War was a more complex event than usually portrayed, the author argues that economics and demography were more important to the colonists than fighting for liberty against oppression. Harvey makes the point that a number of Americans and Britons were divided over the idea of independence, with many in the colonies favoring loyalty to the crown and many in Britain favoring independence in preference to bloodshed.

Freeing Religion

Brown, Katharine L., and Nancy T. Sorrells. *Christ Church: Lancaster County, Virginia*. 3rd rev. ed. Irvington, Va.: Foundation for Historic Christ Church, 2001. [NA 5235 .I783 B76 2001]

The glebe and churchyard, the architecture and silver, the worship and motivation, the parishioners and ministers—in short, the setting, the event, and the participants in the creation of Christ Church in Lancaster County. The first building's contractor was John Carter, and his son Robert "King" Carter was the primary benefactor of the second (and current) building.

Gulevich, Tanya. *Encyclopedia of Christmas: Nearly 200 Alphabetically Arranged Entries Covering All Aspects of Christmas, Including Folk Customs, Religious Observances, History, Legends, Symbols, and Related Days from Europe, America, and Around the World. . . .* Detroit, Mich.: Omnigraphics, 2000. [REFERENCE GT 4985 .E45 2000]

"Virginia and the South" only takes up about a page in the "America, Christmas in Colonial" chapter of this book. Other useful information can be found, however, under several headings, such as "Advent," "Barring Out the Schoolmaster," "Boxing Day," "Candlemas," "England, Christmas in," "Epiphany," "King of the Bean," "Twelfth Night," "Twelve Days of Christmas," and "Yule Log." This book helps provide a better understanding of the English sacred and secular traditions of Christmas that were transplanted to the colonies.

Gwynn, Robin D. *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*. 2nd rev. ed. Brighton, Eng.: Sussex Academic Press, 2001. [BX 9458 .G7 G99 2001]

Robin Gwynn initially conceived *Huguenot Heritage* as a way to present the story of the Huguenot immigration into Britain to a general audience. This second edition acknowledges that the footnotes and bibliography have been enhanced to encourage historians to continue to research the contributions of these French-speaking Calvinists—a "seriously neglected minority." Chapters address specific settlements, churches, trades, and assimilation into British society. Driven initially by religion, "their potentially profitable connections, their exceptional degree of motivation, their liquid capital and the new craft skills and techniques they brought with them, their preparedness to experiment, and to migrate anew" all made Huguenot contributions to British society significant.

Enslaving Virginia

Menard, Russell R. *Migrants, Servants and Slaves: Unfree Labor in Colonial British America*. Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 2001. [E 446 .M46 2001]

Written by one of the acknowledged experts in the field of colonial economic history, the eleven essays reprinted in this volume were chosen to reflect the author's interest in "the transition of a workforce dominated by English indentured servants to one dominated by African slaves." The individual essays more specifically address migration among indentured servants, how slave purchases were financed, and the demographics of unfree workers, recently freed servants, and slaves. Menard describes the transition as an economic process (an argument he says is "no longer fashionable") with racism a consequence, not a cause. Not until the Revolution, he suggests, was slavery widespread enough in the Chesapeake colonies to be out of a developmental stage.

Taking Possession

Bedini, Silvio A. *With Compass and Chain: Early American Surveyors and Their Instruments*. Frederick, Md.: Professional Surveyors Pub. Co., 2001. [TA 521 .B43 2001]

Beginning with a general discussion of surveying in America and the tools used by the "mechanicks," this book then turns to brief biographical essays of more than seventy instrument makers, cartographers, and surveyors. Of particular local interest are instrument makers Thomas Marshall and Goldsmith Chandlee, cartographers Captain John Smith and Augustine Hermann, and surveyors William Mayo, Joshua Fry, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson. Rarely does one find a nearly-800 page book that one wishes were longer, but this is the exception.

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

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

Military Laws (Richmond, Va.: Shepherd & Pollard, 1820).

This book contains extracts from the federal and state constitutions, a synopsis of the organization of the state militia, military laws of Virginia and the United States, articles of war, U. S. army regulations, U. S. army uniform descriptions, and sample formats for selected military documents. It is autographed by a former owner: Daniel C. Butts, major of the First Regiment of Cavalry, First Division, Virginia Militia.

Chimney-Piece Maker's Daily Assistant, 2 vols. (London: H. Webley, 1766–69).

These volumes contain a treasury of designs for chimneypieces, including the plain and simple as well as the grand and magnificent in the antique, modern, ornamental, and Gothic taste. Volume 1 includes fifty-four copperplates from drawings by architects Thomas Milton, John Crunden, and Placido Columbani. Volume 2 has thirty-two plates from drawings by architect Robert Baldwin.

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

The Interpreter's Corner

Every interpreter has at some time been asked a question by a visitor that made the interpreter stop and think. However, the thoughts that can be published are: What is this visitor really asking? How can I answer a very complicated question in a short period of time? How can I answer this question without embarrassing myself or the visitor?

Many interpretations involve answering visitors' questions. A question can be an opportunity for the visitor and the group to learn some new information that is of interest to them while still allowing the interpreter to maintain the focus on the site's or program's interpretive objectives.

When considering your response to a visitor's question, here are some ideas to keep in mind.

- Most visitors have had a variety of experiences at other museums or theme parks and with other ways of acquiring historical information before they come to Colonial Williamsburg. These experiences may make a question sound odd. If you are not sure what the person is asking—what they really want to know—tell them you don't understand and ask them to repeat or rephrase the question. Before you can answer someone's question, you need to understand what he or she is asking.
- Once you understand what the visitor is asking, you need to select an appropriate response. Take into consideration such things as the time you have to answer the question, whether the visitor wants a short or more detailed answer, and, if the question was poorly asked, how to answer without humiliating or embarrassing the visitor. If you don't know the answer, tell the visitor, "I don't know," then follow by saying, "but let me see if I can find the answer," or send them to a site, shop, or fellow interpreter who is likely to know the answer.
- When answering the question, determine if the visitor wants a short, direct answer or seems willing to hear more details. Giving more details can provide the interpreter with an opportunity to expand the question to other topics of interest or, if the question is not related to the topic being discussed, to bring the interpretation back in focus.
- Once you have responded to the visitor, make sure that you have answered their question by asking, "Does that answer your question?" or some other appropriate statement that lets you both know that the question has been answered and understood.

These are just a few suggestions for answering questions. If you need some additional help with appropriate ways to respond to visitors' queries, talk to your coach or supervisor to find out what other ideas they have.

Submitted by Kate McBride, manager of site interpretation in the Department of Hitoric Interpretation.

EDITOR'S NOTES . . .

A Cautionary Tale

Author Linda Rowe offers a clarification for St. James's Day in "Sacred and Secular: The Calendar for 1774" in the last issue (Spring 2002) *Interpreter.*

Although St. James's Day is always July 25 (one of the immoveable feasts in the church year), the July calendar in the *Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1774* published by Purdie & Dixon contains misleading entries for July 25 and 26:

25	mo	Dog Days beg
26	tue	St. James

The editors of the *Gazette* may have reversed the entries by mistake. Another explanation is that they simply lacked the space to list both the beginning of Dog Days and St. James on July 25.

The entry should have read:

> *July 25/Mon. St. James. One of the twelve original disciples of Jesus.*
> *Students in the philosophy and divinity schools at the College of William and Mary begin vacation. Did not apply to students in the Grammar School.*

Office Address Change

The staff in the Department of Historic Area Training (including the editor of this publication) has moved offices from the James Anderson House on Duke of Gloucester Street to the William Finnie House on Francis Street. Inhouse mail should be marked **WFH.** The outside mailing address for the *Interpreter* is now:

The *Interpreter*
c/o Nancy Milton
The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
William Finnie House
P. O. Box 1776
Williamsburg, VA 23187-1776

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

Editor: Nancy Milton
Copy Editor: Mary Ann Williamson
Assistant Editor: Linda Rowe
Editorial Board: Cary Carson, Ron Hurst, Betty Leviner, Emma L. Powers
Planning Board: Laura Arnold, Harvey Bakari, Bertie Byrd, John Caramia, Bob Doares, Jan Gilliam, Noel Poirier, John Turner, Ron Warren, Pete Wrike, Terry Yemm
Production: The Print Production Services Department

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