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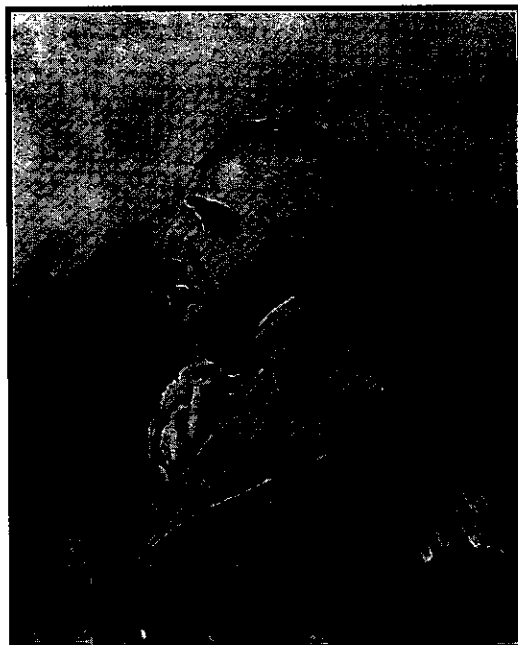
Is It True That Benedict Arnold Was in Williamsburg in 1781?

by Thomas T. Hay

Tom is sites supervisor, Courthouse, Capitol, Gaol Ensemble, in the Department of Historic Sites.

Yes! It is true that Benedict Arnold was in Williamsburg in 1781. A multitude of British and American sources amply document his presence in Williamsburg from late in the day on April 20, 1781, to sometime early on April 22.

British Brig. Gen. Arnold and his army sailed into the Chesapeake Bay in December 1780, catching Gov. Thomas Jefferson and the Virginians completely unprepared. The secondary literature on Arnold and the 1781 British campaign in Virginia usually described his depredations up and down the James River, including heavy damage inflicted on Richmond in January 1781. Destruction of the American shipyard on the Chickahominy River in April 1781 is also well known, but Arnold's two-day occupation of Williamsburg in the same month is generally overlooked.



Benedict Arnold (1741–1801), 1894 reproduction of a painting by John Trumbull. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-68483.

In late March 1781, British Maj. Gen. William Phillips joined Arnold in Virginia with 2,000 troops, which he combined with Arnold's army of 1,500 men. General Phillips took charge, and Arnold was second in command. All of the sources agree on the following points:

On April 18, British forces left Portsmouth where they had been in winter quarters since January 1781. By the end of the day on the 19th, they were in a position to attack a small American position at Burwell's Ferry on the James River near Carter's Grove. The next morning they attacked, driving away the American defenders. The Americans under Colonel Innes retreated through Williamsburg, stopping only to gather up twenty wagons loaded with stores, upwards of 100 sick and wounded men, and ten field pieces. Fifteen sick American soldiers were left behind and presumably captured.

Meanwhile, the British split up; Generals Phillips and Arnold went to Williamsburg with part of the army, Colonel Simcoe went to Yorktown, and the remainder to the Chicka-

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homony River. Late in the day on April 20, the main British force entered Williamsburg. Captain Graham and Colonel Innes wrote of a small inconclusive skirmish that occurred near the college some time after midnight, apparently without anyone on either side being injured. A number of James City County militiamen were also captured; some were forced to help the British and some voluntarily went with them.

The British forces that burned the Virginia State Navy Shipyard on the Chickahominy River at four o'clock on April 21 were likely commanded by Lieutenant Colonels Abercrombie and Dundas, who had been detached for that purpose. Arnold reported that his force left Williamsburg to meet them on the Chickahominy on April 22.

British sources for Arnold in Williamsburg:

- A brigadier general in the British Army, the most obvious source is Arnold himself. Brigadier-general Arnold to Sir Henry Clinton, Petersburg, May 12, 1781,

On the 18th of April, the light infantry, part of the 76th, and 80th regiments, the Queen's Rangers, yagers [light infantry], and American Legion, embarked at Portsmouth, and fell down to Hampton Road. On the 19th, proceeded up James River to Burrell's Ferry. On the 20th Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, with the light infantry, proceeded up the Chickahomany [sic], in boats; Lieut.-Colonel Simcoe with a detachment to York, Lieut.-Colonel Dundas with another detachment landed at the mouth of the Chickahomany; and Major-General Phillips and myself landed with part of the army at Williamsburg where about five hundred militia were posted, who retire[d] upon our approach. The militia at York crossed the river before the arrival of Lieut.-Colonel Simcoe, who made a few prisoners, spiked and destroyed some cannon, and next day returned to Williamsburg.

On the 22d, the troops marched to Chickahomany.

- K. G. Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783* (Colonial Office Series. Dublin, Irish University Press, 1979), 20: 142.

- Col. John Graves Simcoe of the Queen's Rangers noted:

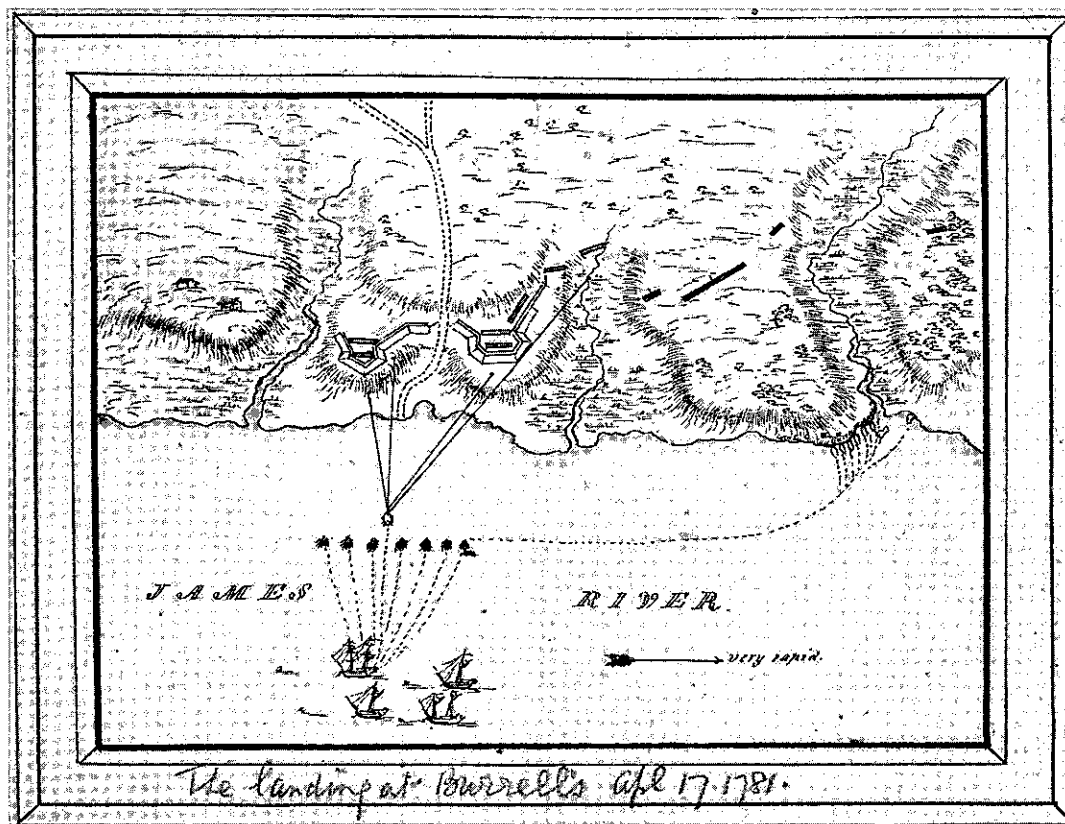
The troops arrived off Burrell's ferry on the 19th. Lt. Col. Simcoe was directed to

land in such manner as he thought proper. The enemy had thrown up entrenchments to secure the landing, and these appeared to be fully manned. The boats were assembled at the small vessel on board Lt. Col Simcoe was, which anchored about two miles from the shore. Near a mile below the ferry was a small creek which ran a little ways into the land, from James river; and at the point formed by this separation, it was determined to land. . . . The boats, preceded by the gun-boat, moved directly towards Burrell's ferry: on a signal given, they all except the gun boat, turned and rowed rapidly towards the point, where the landing was to take place. Assisted by the wind and tide. . . . The troops disembarked as intended; Lieut. Col Simcoe met no opposition in his march to Burrell's ferry, from whence the enemy fled with precipitation, and where Gen Phillips with the army immediately landed. . . . Gen. Phillips ordered Lt. Col Simcoe to proceed to Yorktown. . . . He marched accordingly with forty cavalry, . . . the infantry of the Queen's Rangers proceeded with the army to Williamsburg. . . . Upon the hearing of cannon at Williamsburg, the party returned thither; and it appeared, that there had only been a skirmish at the outpost of that place, where the troops had arrived the preceding evening without molestation: Quarter-master M'Gill, with some of the huzzars of the Queen's Rangers, having charged and dispersed the only patrol of the enemy who had appeared in the front.

John Graves Simcoe, *A Journal of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers from the End of the Year 1777, to the Conclusion of the Late American War.* (Exeter [Eng.]: Printed for the author, [1787]).

- According to the memoir of British General Graham, who was in Williamsburg as a young captain in the 76th Regiment:

At Williamsburg a picquet guard of the 80th [British] was posted at a point on the high road where two roads branched off [near today's Merchants Square]; on one side of the road was a tavern with a piazza in front, on the other a ditch from which the earth had been thrown out, forming a parapet and serving as a fence to the college garden. At the fork where the picquet was posted, the ground was covered with trees except where they had been cleared away from the road, As usual at outpicquets, a large fire was made, round



In sketch plan, "The Landing at Burrell's Ferry, April 17, 1781." Lt. Col. John Graves Simcoe Papers, MS 30.6, Special Collections Section, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

which the soldiers not on duty as sentinels were lying. It had begun to rain, and the lieutenant in command of the 80th ordered the men to stand to their arms, and had just moved them to the shelter afforded by the piazza, when a volley was fired in the direction of the blazing fire from the brushwood under the trees, a company of young men, students at the university, composing a volunteer corps, having managed to creep into the thicket unobserved. The lieutenant, with great presence of mind moved his picquet across the road, leaping the ditch and forming them behind the parapet, he fired in the direction from whence the shots came, but, whether any of the young men suffered is unknown, but not a British soldier, not even any of the sentinels, who manfully kept their posts, were hurt.

James J. Graham, ed., *Memoir of General [Samuel] Graham with Notices of the Campaigns in Which He Was Engaged from 1779 to 1801* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1862).

American sources for Arnold in Williamsburg:

- In his 1833 pension statement, William Longley remembered them going to Williamsburg in Virginia where they were stationed in the barracks for several months, and from wherein parties of our cause were detained to hold the British forces under Arnold in check. After being stationed here one month, declarant does not recollect the precise time, the British forces landed at Burrell's ferry at the mouth of the James River, where about 200 of our men and declarant one of them, were stationed. We stood our ground and fired upon the enemy until our cartridges were exhausted, each man of us having fired near 30 rounds, when we were so far outnumbered that we had to retreat. We retreated to Williamsburg, 6 miles from the above named ferry and on reaching there all our troops retreated from town

and the British marched in and occupied our barracks that night. We had retreated only a mile or two into the woods from there, after night set in we marched back to town and attacked the enemy, drove in there pickets, and fired on them until outnumbered and drove from the field.

William Longley, "Declaration to Obtain the Benefit of the Act of Congress Passed June 1832," State of Tennessee, sworn 3 June 1833. See http://tngenweb.org/polk/p_pensns.htm#Longley.

- Nathaniel Burwell of Carter's Grove to Colonel Davies of the State of Virginia, February 1, 1782 noted:

[M]ost of our [James City County] recruits have absconded; owing in a great measure to the following circumstance Our draft took place on Tuesday the 17th of April last [1781], & on Friday in the same week Gen's Philips & Arnold entered Williamsburg & York & carried off with them some of the recruits & others of them through choice joined the British.

William P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (Richmond, Va.: James E. Goode, 1883), 3: 50.

- A series of short letters written by Col. James Innes to Gov. Thomas Jefferson tracks the progress of the British forces under Generals

Phillips and Arnold: The first dated April 18, 1781, Williamsburg 4 p.m., says that Innes had received word that eleven British vessels passed Newport News on their way to Burwell's Ferry on the James River. At six o'clock on the 19th, Innes wrote that nine flat-bottomed boats full manned, two armed ships, a brig, and a schooner were in sight of Burwell's Ferry. On the 20th, Innes wrote a total of four notes, detailing the arrival of more vessels, the landing at Burwell's Ferry, the passage of some vessels upriver, and some slight skirmishing. Innes's last note, from Allen's Ordinary six miles above Williamsburg, notes that the British were a mile from Williamsburg. On the next day (Saturday, April 21) at three o'clock, Innes told Governor Jefferson he was at Hickory Neck Church, and that at twelve the previous night "Major Armstead with 150 men & Capt. Keely with 50 riflemen were ordered down & had a skirmish with the enemy which terminated rather in our favor." The next note, datelined April 22 Frank's Tavern, 24 miles from Williamsburg, seven o'clock a.m., informed Governor Jefferson that the British had "possessed themselves of the Ship Yard [on the Chickahominy] about 4 o'clock yesterday [April 21] and I am apprehensive from the fire discovered in that Quarter last night they have totally destroyed it."

Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 2: 52-53, 54-55, 59-60, 65.

Jamestown 1607–2007: Is Jamestown Eclipsed in the History Books?

by James Horn

Jim is vice president for research and Abby and George O'Neill Director of the Rockefeller Library.

What do most people know about Jamestown? Plymouth is associated with the Pilgrims and New England with Puritans, but what of the settlers of Jamestown? Capt. John Smith and Pocahontas are probably the best known. And yet their story is completely misunderstood. She was only 11 or 12 when she met Smith, and he was 28. They certainly knew one another, perhaps were fond of each other; but they were not in love. Smith never had the slightest intention of marrying her, and although she married an Englishman called John, it was John Rolfe not Smith.

Then there is Jamestown of the "death, disease, and starvation" variety. Consider this comment from Nathaniel Philbrick's current book *Mayflower*: Jamestown, he writes, "could hardly be counted a success. During the first year, 70 out of 108 died. The following winter came the 'starving time' [he means 1609–1610], when 440 of 500 settlers were buried in just six months." Then, he adds ominously, "the most lethal days in Jamestown were yet to come." Whereas Plymouth conjures up rosy images of hardy, God-fearing men and women, the first Thanksgiving, and friendship with local Indians, Jamestown is depicted as a depressing chronicle of carnage, greed, and failure in which it is hard to find any enduring lessons. It is an American foundational story we would rather forget.

The relegation of Jamestown, and Virginia's history itself, has a long history. Following the Civil War, the political ascendancy of the North led to New England's foundation myth almost completely eclipsing that of the South and becoming in time synonymous with America's founding. For a century after 1865, the South lagged well behind the North in economic, urban, and cultural development. Successive generations of professional historians, mostly trained in northern universities, constructed a national history (memory) that emphasized the centrality of New England Puritanism to

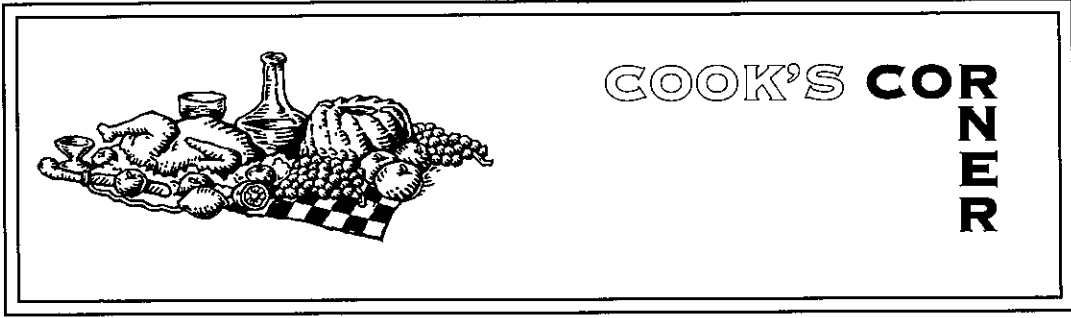


Pocahontas Saving Capt. John Smith, print, ca. 1626–1627

the nation's cultural roots while depicting the history of the South as largely irrelevant to modern America. In this rewriting, Virginia's importance as England's first successful colony, as the wealthiest and most populous of British mainland America, and as having a key role in leading the thirteen colonies into revolution was ignored.

New England was not the beginning of English America, of course. Virginia had been in existence for thirteen years before the *Mayflower* landed at Plymouth, and those years were critical. At Jamestown the hard lessons were learned about how to sustain a colony—the establishment of stable political and social institutions such as the church, representative government, private property, local communities, and family life—lessons that were quickly applied by settlers of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and other English colonies.

With the 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, we have a unique opportunity to recover Virginia's forgotten history and present to the public a different story of our nation's beginnings, a story at times conflicted and tragic but one that ultimately laid the foundations of modern America.



by Laura Arnold

Laura is a member of the Interpreter Planning Board and volunteer for this publication.

The depiction of life at Jamestown in 1607 is full of surprises for first-time visitors to this year's commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the first permanent English settlement in North America. Many of them have experienced the comfort of twenty-first-century cruise ships and are amazed at the size of, and the lack of amenities in, the three small ships that brought the emissaries of the London Company to these shores.

Imagine existing for weeks on shrinking supplies of moldy ship's biscuits, dried meats, and stale water. Then imagine again seeing for the first time the streams and woodlands surrounding Jamestown teeming with fish and wildlife that promised an end to the meager shipboard diet.

Much has been written about the abundance of food sources in Virginia and the Chesapeake area. How then did the "starving time" of 1609–1610 happen? Explanations for the "starving time" have included weather (a seven-year drought affected the area from 1606 to 1612), disease, inexperienced and ill-prepared settlers, and inept governance by the colony's leaders. Recent archaeology has shed new light on the colonists' efforts, but assistance from the Powhatan Indians, whose own crop yields suffered in the drought conditions, was the main reason the struggling colony survived this ruinous combination of circumstances. Help in the form of food was given in exchange for metal tools, weapons, and bright trinkets.

Much has *not* been written about the foodways of the Native Americans whose help was so important to the survival story at Jamestown. Native Americans did not leave behind diaries or compile cookbooks. Food historians rely on the wealth of information uncovered by archaeologists and firsthand accounts of encounters with the native population written by European settlers as they moved in every direction to claim land on the North American continent. Unfor-

tunately some of the past interpretation of primary sources falls into the category of folklore, a distortion of facts that has been corrected by two new books in the Rockefeller Library: *American Indian Food* by Linda Murray Berzok and *Cooking in America, 1590–1840* by Trudy Eden.

American Indian Food is the first volume in the *Food in American History Series* written by food historians in their specific fields of expertise. The format of each volume follows an easy-to-use pattern that provides accurate, reliably researched information. Linda Murray Berzok divided Native American cultures into six regions with six foodways and listed the dominant tribes within a region as well as their culture, geography, and environment.

Maize, beans, and squash were staple foods in every region, and differences occurred because of the diversity of geography and climate; for example, shellfish that were available to tribes living along the Eastern Seaboard did not appear in the diets of Plains Indians or Indians of the Southwest.

The chapters on "Foodstuffs," "Food Preparation," "Preservation and Storage," and "Food Customs" are necessary preludes to the chapter on "Food and Religion." Berzok's emphasis is always on the Native Americans' reverence for their sources of food and their stewardship of the land that nourished them. She also wisely states that there are no "original" Indian recipes. The few recipes she does include are adaptations of "formulas" handed down by oral tradition within a tribe and recorded by European settlers. She explains how the influence of the explorers from England, Spain, France, and the Netherlands was not confined to the boundaries of the six regions she identified, but rather overlapped as explorers and Indians both moved beyond a particular area.

Berzok also discusses the assimilation of European food customs (and European diseases) by the native populations and how political decisions by the American government caused profound changes in the Indian way of life. Native Americans today are trying to preserve the tribal foodways that were threatened with

extinction by their eviction from traditional lands, their relocation to unfamiliar territory, and their acceptance of technological advances. *American Indian Food* is the overview of Indian foodways long missing from the cultural history of Native Americans and is a welcome resource for anyone seeking basic information about this aspect of the life of the "first Americans."

The first section of *Cooking in America, 1590–1840*, "Native Americans," is most relevant for the Jamestown story with its emphasis on the Powhatan Indians and other Eastern Woodland tribes. Without minimizing the importance of the assignment of males to hunt and fish, Eden focuses on the role of women in growing, gathering, preparing, and preserving food. She describes the work schedules of women, the division of duties, and the physical strength needed to perform their tasks.

Women also made baskets, earthen pots, and storage containers from animal hides. They dug baking pits that were lined with hot stones and fashioned spits and grids for grilling fish and meat. The cooperative effort and variety of skills exhibited by Indian women is documented by the English and Dutch settlers who wrote about their experiences.

Fortunately, for anyone researching foodways in the Jamestown story, Eden includes food-related citations from John Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* and Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. Smith, one of the leaders at Jamestown, wrote about native foods he found in Virginia, but Hariot's accounts are even more important for foodways historians.

Hariot, a sixteenth-century astronomer and mathematician, accompanied Sir Richard Grenville on his 1585 expedition to explore the area now known as the Outer Banks of North Carolina. While Hariot recorded his impression of the natives he met, another member of the expedition, artist John White, sketched the people and landscapes Hariot described. White's drawings, later engraved by Theodor de Bry, are considered the most accurate and useful illustrations of sixteenth-century Native Americans.

Eden includes three of the twenty-eight de Bry engravings in her book. "The browyllinge of their fishe ouer the flame" shows the composition of a grid for broiling fish; "Their seetheynge [boiling] of their meate in earthen pottes" shows

how an earthen pot is supported from below and surrounded by flames; and "Their sitting at meate" shows how a couple have spread a mat on the ground before seating themselves and arranging their food around them. These three illustrations are merely a taste of the complete feast within Hariot's book.

In the summer of 2007 people everywhere can take part in the 400th anniversary commemoration whether or not they come to Jamestown. Summer is the season for outdoor grilling, corn on the cob, and fresh fruits and vegetables, the same kinds of foods the Powhatan Indians shared with those hungry Englishmen whose survival allowed the Jamestown story to unfold. When you light up your grills take a moment to remember that this popular American culinary tradition is the twenty-first-century version of Native American foodways.

Sources:

Berzok, Linda Murray. *American Indian Food*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Eden, Trudy. *Cooking in America, 1590–1840*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Hariot, Thomas. *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia. The 1590 Theodor de Bry Latin Edition. Facsimile edition accompanied by the Modernized English text*. Charlottesville: Published for the Library at the Mariners' Museum by the University of Virginia Press, 2007. For more than four hundred years, scholars from an array of disciplines have recognized that Theodor de Bry's 1590 edition of Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* shaped not only European perceptions of North America at the time but influenced research on that period for centuries thereafter. In time for the 400th anniversary of the founding of our nation, this extremely rare edition of de Bry's book owned by the library at the Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia, is published in a handsome and accessible facsimile. The book includes a modernized English version of the text followed by a facsimile of de Bry's exceptional hand-colored engravings; an introduction by Susan Berg, former director of libraries at Colonial Williamsburg and former vice president and director of the library at the Mariners' Museum; and essays by Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Silver Professor of History at New York University, and Peter Stallybrass, Annenberg Professor of Humanities at the University of Pennsylvania.

———. *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972.

Smith, John. *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1966.

New at the Rock



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

Baptist Manual: A Selection from the Series of Publications of the Baptist General Tract Society. Philadelphia: Tract Depository, 1835. As the extended subtitle explains, this compilation was "designed for the use of families." Topics covered form an exposition of the distinguishing tenets and sentiments of the denomination.

Barnwell, P. S., Claire C. Cross, and Ann Rycraft (eds.). *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York.* Reading, Eng.: Spire Books Ltd., 2005. This work includes chapters on altar ornaments, ministers, choral music, and the life of a sixteenth-century priest in the parish of York. Materials were gathered by members of the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York for a reenactment of a requiem mass using the rites current in the sixteenth century.

Rees, John F. *Art and Mystery of a Cordwainer, or, an Essay on the Principles and Practice of Boot and Shoe-making, etc.* London: Gale, Curtis & Fenner, 1813. This book is an essay on the prin-

ciples and practice of boot- and shoe-making and contains copperplates illustrating the cutting of men's and women's footwear.

Richards, Raymond. *Old Cheshire Churches: A Survey of their History, Fabric and Furniture with Records of the Older Monuments.* London: P. T. Batsford, 1947. This detailed and comprehensive study surveys the history, fabric, furniture, and records of the older monuments in churches in this English county. It features 365 colored and black-and-white illustrations.

Washington Family Archive. MS2006.4 This collection of more than 120 letters, documents, and receipts from, to, and between members of George Washington's family dates largely from the nineteenth century. Included is a September 15, 1779, letter from Fielding Lewis Sr. to his son Capt. Fielding Lewis.

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

Titles Relating to Jamestown in the Janice McCoy Memorial Collection for Youth John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library

Bruchac, Joseph. *Pocahontas.* Orlando, Fla.: Silver Whistle, 2003. Told from the viewpoints of Pocahontas and John Smith, this book describes their lives in the context of the encounter between the Powhatan Indians and the English colonists of seventeenth-century Jamestown, Virginia.

Campbell, Elizabeth A. *Jamestown: The Beginning.* Boston: Little Brown, 1974. Campbell describes the founding of Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in North America.

Coleman, Brooke. *The Colony of Virginia.* New York: PowerKids Press, 2000. In picture-book format, Coleman introduces important people and events from the early years of the Virginia colony.

Collier, Christopher. *The Paradox of Jamestown, 1585-1700.* New York: Benchmark Books, 1998. Collier discusses the circumstances surrounding English colonization of Virginia and the evolution of slavery in that colony.

Dougherty, Karla. *The Legend of Pocahontas*. New York: Children's Classics, 1995. Originally titled *The Princess Pocahontas* by Virginia Watson, this updated version is part of the Children's Classics Series.

Fishwick, Marshall William. *Jamestown: First English Colony*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965. This is part of the American Heritage Junior Library Series written with the assistance of Williamsburg author Parke Rouse Jr.

Fritz, Jean. *The Double Life of Pocahontas*. New York: Puffin Books, 1983. This biography of the famous American Indian princess emphasizes her lifelong adulation of John Smith and the roles she played in two very different cultures.

Hermes, Patricia. *Our Strange New Land: Elizabeth's Diary, Jamestown, Virginia, 1609*. New York: Scholastic, 2000. Nine-year-old Elizabeth keeps a journal of her experiences in the New World as she encounters Indians, suffers hunger and the death of friends, and helps her father build their first home.

Hudson, J. Paul. *A Pictorial Story of Jamestown, Virginia: The Voyage and Search for a Settlement Site*. 1957. Drawings, maps, and prints used to illustrate this volume make it a useful reference tool.

Karwoski, Gail. *Surviving Jamestown: The Adventures of Young Sam Collier*. Atlanta, Ga.: Peachtree Publishers, 2001. Sam Collier, a twelve-year-old, serves as page to John Smith during the relentless hardship experienced by the founders at the first permanent English settlement in the New World.

Knight, James E. *Jamestown, New World Adventure*. Mahwah, N.J.: Troll Associates, 1982. Two English children are told the story of their grandfather's experiences as one of the original Jamestown colonists of 1607.

McDonald, Megan. *Shadows in the Glasshouse*. Middleton, Wis.: Pleasant Company Publications, 2000. While working as an indentured servant for a Jamestown glassmaker in 1621, twelve-year-old Merry uncovers a case of sabotage.

Mello, Tara Baukus. *John Smith: English Explorer and Colonist*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2000. Biography of the colonist and explorer who helped lead the struggling Jamestown colony through its early years and helped found Virginia.

Quasha, Jennifer. *Jamestown: Hands-on Projects about One of America's First Communities*. New York: PowerKids Press, 2001. This introduction to the first English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, includes step-by-step instructions for a variety of related projects such as a topographical map of the settlement, a model Jamestown house, and wooden spoon puppets.

Raphael, Elaine. *Pocahontas: Princess of the River Tribes*. New York: Scholastic, 1993. Part of the Drawing America Series, this book is a biography of the Indian princess famous for her role in the settlement of Jamestown.

Rosinsky, Natalie M. *The Powhatan and Their History*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Compass Point Books, 2005. Rosinsky describes Powhatan villages and tribal leaders, their spirit world, the end of their strong nation, and the Powhatan today.

Sewall, Marcia. *James Towne: Struggle for Survival*. New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 2001. Sewall discusses the settlers of Jamestown, Virginia, including John Smith, and the difficult early years in the colony.



Q & A

Question: *During the American Revolution, didn't the Iroquois and Ohio Valley Indians side against the colonials? (Submitted by Jonathan Owen, Department of Architectural Research.)*

Answer: By the 1770s, most leading Virginians, with the possible exception of George Mason, had given up hope that Virginia could claim land west and north of the Ohio River. However, Virginians did claim what is now West Virginia and Kentucky. Some settlers had moved down the Ohio to the general area of what is now Wheeling, West Virginia, while others were moving into the Greenbrier and New River areas of present-day West Virginia. The first settlers of the bluegrass region of Kentucky arrived there in 1775, although land surveyors could be found on the lower reaches of the Kentucky River in the early 1770s. Dunmore's War against the Shawnee was to force them to give up their claims on Kentucky.

The Indian story during the Revolutionary War is a complex one. First, not all the Iroquois fought against the Americans. The Oneida sided with the new United States, for example. In the Ohio country, the Shawnee in the Scioto River region immediately sided with the British. The Mingo on the upper Ohio River and Wyandots of the Sandusky River basin next joined the Shawnee. The Delaware on the Muskingum River tried to remain neutral. But by 1779-1780, they too joined the war against the Americans. These groups were the main players, but there were a lot of Indian groups throughout the Old Northwest Territory of which most at some point fought against the Americans. —Kevin Kelly, historian, Department of Historical Research.

Question: *Do we have any biographical information about any Indians in Williamsburg in the eighteenth century, not just John Nettles, but others?*

Answer: See Kevin Kelly's article about John Montour beginning on page 13 of this issue of the *Interpreter*.

Question: *Why did some of the founding fathers grow hemp? Was it being produced in early America for the narcotic effect?*

Answer: Once again the question of marijuana use by our founding fathers has cropped up in some interpretations, and with assistance from former orientation interpreter Peter Friesen, I would like to put this particular interpretive myth to final rest.

Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) is a plant native to Asia that has been grown primarily for its strong fiber for thousands of years. Hemp production continued in the New World as a fiber crop for producing rope, clothing, sails, twine, sheeting, toweling, bed ticks, and sewing thread, just to name a few, and was a huge industry in colonial Virginia. Both George Washington and Thomas Jefferson grew hemp in abundance and promoted its industrial value. However, there was no "marijuana" use in the colonies; in fact the word wasn't even in use until the late nineteenth century. The myth arises with the misconception that hemp is always "marijuana." Moreover, today the term marijuana has specifically recreational as well as medical meanings.

Peter Friesen researched the subject in depth while studying for his master's degree, producing a final project titled "Hemp, History and Museums: Public Policy and the Interpretation of Hemp." He has kindly allowed me to quote from his work:

Many people try to justify marijuana use by stating that George Washington or Thomas Jefferson grew marijuana, which they did not, they grew hemp. Both men advocated for the production of hemp for various reasons from national defense to self sufficiency. . . . Yet with all that is written about hemp by these two men, there is not one mention of using the plant other than for fiber purposes (p. 28).

So isn't all hemp marijuana? No! But all *Cannabis sativa* is hemp! Here's the difference: Not all hemp contains the *delta-9-tetrahydrocannabinol* (THC) levels (which produce the narcotic effect) necessary to make it "mari-

juana." Furthermore, the cultivation of hemp to produce the long, strong fiber is not conducive to yielding the minimum 0.3 percent THC to qualify. The cultivation of the plant for each use is different, and the two goals are mutually exclusive. What makes good fiber makes bad marijuana and vice versa.

During the colonial period, the plant was grown only for its industrial use; the recreational cultivation had not yet been introduced from the Old World. The only references for nonfiber production use that I have seen are two for hemp (not marijuana!) in official medical pharmacopoeias that recommend using only the seed. *The New Dispensatory* by William Lewis (London, 1753, p. 104) suggests boiling the seeds "in milk or triturated with water into an emulsion against coughs, heat of urine, and the like." This advice is repeated practically verbatim in *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory* (Edinburgh, 1794, p. 126).

As good stewards of eighteenth-century history, we need to keep these differences in mind when interpreting the colonial use of hemp and to use the proper terminology. And remember: "the 'founding fathers' were not 'pot' farmers" (Friesen, p. 29). —Susan Pryor, *apothecary*, *Galt and Pasteur Apothecary Shop, Department of Historic Trades*.

Question: I found an article online about Thomas Schlesinger, a former director of Colonial Williamsburg. It says: On Nov. 26, 1961, in *The Globe*, Mr. Schlesinger wrote of "the most expensive walk in history," in which he described "a moonlight stroll through Williamsburg which cost John D. Rockefeller Jr. \$62 million, and restored the city to its eighteenth-century glory." Did Rockefeller really call his introduction to Williamsburg "the most expensive walk I ever took," or was that just attributed to him after the fact? (submitted by Anthony Carter, supervisor in the Department of Guest Service and Orientation)

Answer: The website www.allbusiness.com/specialty-businesses/non-profit-businesses/401427-1.html attributes the quote to Rockefeller: "[The Reverend W.A.R.] Goodwin invited Rockefeller to visit the town and experience for himself the deep sense of history that clung to it. Rockefeller would later recall that tour as 'the most expensive walk I ever had.'" Likewise, a booklet called *Memories of John D. Rockefeller* by late Colonial Williamsburg president Carl Humelsine states that Rockefeller told a local audience: "I have heard of being taken for a ride. Dr. Goodwin took me for a walk." Nothing in my files confirms or contradicts either of these statements.

The first question is: "What walk?" The first time Mr. and Mrs. Rockefeller visited Williamsburg, March 29, 1926, they drove up from Hampton Institute (now Hampton University). Goodwin met them at the east side of town, got in the car, and narrated the tour. They went to William and Mary, Jamestown, and Yorktown. Rockefeller asked whether anyone had thought of saving Williamsburg's old homes. Goodwin deflected the question. No walk.

The second time Mr. Rockefeller visited, November 27, 1926, was for the dedication of Phi Beta Kappa Memorial Hall. Goodwin borrowed a car from a Norfolk judge to show Rockefeller around town. They visited the Wythe House and Bassett Hall, where they walked in the woods past the ancient oak tree. According to Goodwin, Rockefeller asked "to walk alone over the ground on which they had ridden, to study the houses and grasp the situation." It was nearly a year later before Rockefeller decided to fund the restoration. A solitary walk.

Mr. and Mrs. Rockefeller came back May 21, 1927, on their way home from Florida. They saw the Phi Beta Kappa building and then went to the Wythe House with Goodwin to see the William Perry sketches as well as the blueprints, photographs, and historic data. Rockefeller and Goodwin walked around Palace Green, down to the Ludwell-Paradise House, and back to the Wythe House. After lunch at the college, Rockefeller returned to the Wythe House for discussions.

That evening, Rockefeller asked Goodwin to have Perry draw a layout map of Williamsburg showing the size and location of strategic lots. When the map was done, Goodwin was to start purchasing those lots. Rockefeller suggested Goodwin and Perry call in consulting architects. At last a walk linked to a decision to spend money. But no moonlight.

The second question is: "When would he have said it?" Perhaps years after these events, when the scope of the undertaking was plain. But why would he reference an early visit when he had been to town so many times afterwards and had participated in events that had more to do with buying lots? The November 22, 1927, meeting in New York, when the restoration was launched, comes to mind.

The third question is: "Why would he have said it?" The quote is akin to words in the 1937 *National Geographic* article about the restoration published under Rockefeller's name, and no doubt approved by him, but almost certainly ghostwritten. It has the ring of something one of his staff—"associates," he called them—would have produced to "humanize" the boss. Kenneth

Chorley was particularly good at public relations quotes. It would not be surprising to learn that someone else said, "That was the most expensive walk Mr. Rockefeller ever took," and that, in the course of time, the words got put in Rockefeller's mouth.

Finally: "To *whom* would he have said it?" As often as I've heard the quote, I can't recall hearing to whom the words were supposed to have been said. It's been a long time since I've read through Goodwin's papers, but I don't think the quote is in there. The bottom line is

that, though I'm skeptical, I can't say whether Rockefeller did or didn't use the words. If I were giving an orientation tour, I'd not use the quote with guests since I am not sure of it. —*Dennis Montgomery, editor, Colonial Williamsburg: The Journal of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and author of A Link Among the Days: The Life and Times of the Reverend Doctor W.A.R. Goodwin, the Father of Colonial Williamsburg.*

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

John Montour: Life of a Cultural Go-Between

by Kevin P. Kelly

*Kevin is a historian in the Department of Historical Research.
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In the stories of Indian-white relations in the colonial era, the Indian headmen and the colonial governors are given a prominent role. And they were key figures. They were the players who signed the treaties, and they were the people who had to persuade their communities to abide by the agreements reached.

But in the shadows behind these chiefs and governors were other individuals who were equally essential to the success of the relationship between these two very different peoples. In eighteenth-century documents, they are called interpreters because they literally translated the speeches of each into the language of the other. But they did much more. They guided colonists to Indian villages and escorted Indian delegations to colonial capitals such as Williamsburg. They carried news from place to place. They would advise both sides of the cultural divide on what would be acceptable to the other. In other words, they were cultural go-betweens, brokers, mediators, and negotiators.¹

In the best of times, the cultural go-between was a true bridge between the Indian and colonial worlds. But tension between the two mounted during the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s. As attitudes of distrust and contempt hardened, the role of the cultural go-between who hoped to keep a foot in both camps grew problematic and perhaps, in the end, even impossible. This is the story of one such go-between. His name was John Montour.

He was born in 1744. His father was Andrew Montour, a well-known métis (a person of American Indian and European ancestry) who had Iroquois and French ancestors. His mother was a Delaware, the granddaughter of Sassoonam.² Andrew Montour married twice and possibly three times. His was a large family. Late in the Revolutionary War, reports indicated that John was one of seven brothers or half-brothers.³ The English names of two are known: Debby, who



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John Murray, earl of Dunmore by Charles Harris. Courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.

was schooled in Philadelphia, and Thomas, who was killed during the Revolution. John Montour also had at least two sisters. KayodaghsCroony, or Madelina, was living with the Delaware in 1756, and Polly was cared for in Philadelphia in the late 1750s and early 1760s.⁴

John's father, Andrew Montour, was one of the most important interpreters and negotiators in the Virginia and Pennsylvania backcountry in the 1750s and 1760s. Authorities in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia employed his services. In the 1750s, Andrew Montour believed it was possible for go-betweens such as himself to truly live in both the Indian and white worlds, and he hoped that his children could, too.⁵ To that end, Andrew Montour enrolled his ten-year-old son in the Brafferton School

at the College of William and Mary in 1754 and 1755. John received further education in Philadelphia. As a result of his schooling, Montour could both read and write English and speak it correctly.⁶ Undoubtedly, he could speak his native tongue, Delaware, and, because of his close dealings with the Wyandot and the Mingo during the Revolutionary War, he probably spoke those languages as well. Most important, after his many years living with Anglo-Americans, John Montour knew their ways well.

Montour had left Philadelphia by 1762 when his father announced he and John intended to open a trading store at Shamokin on the Susquehanna River. He traveled to western Pennsylvania with his father in 1770.⁷ By the mid-1770s, John was living on an island, named Montour's Island, about five miles below the forks of the Ohio. John claimed the island by virtue of his father's claim to it.⁸

When war came to the upper Ohio country in 1774, the demands on cultural go-betweens grew in intensity. John Montour's life as a go-between



John Montour attended the Indian school at the College of William and Mary.

during the war certainly demonstrates the complexities these individuals faced. Furthermore, his wartime career seemed full of contradictions.

It started simply enough during Dunmore's War. After gathering his troops at Pittsburgh, Lord Dunmore set off down the Ohio in September 1774. The Shawnee had led Dunmore to believe they would meet him at the mouth of the Hochoching River. But when he arrived there, only White Eyes, a Delaware chief, and John Montour were waiting for him. They accompanied Dunmore during the resulting assault on the Shawnee.⁹

John Montour next appeared at the Pittsburgh Treaty negotiations in the fall of 1775. On September 15, the negotiators learned that two men wearing hunting shirts had shot at White Mingo, one of the important chiefs in attendance. Because this was a serious and dangerous incident, Captain James Wood, John Walker, and two other American delegates were sent out to investigate. Simon Girty and John Montour accompanied them as interpreters.¹⁰

These activities were not unusual for go-betweens, and they point to Montour's early willingness to assist the colonists. But the situation was very different in July 1776. In the opening year of the war for independence, the Americans were very concerned that the Indians of the Ohio country remain neutral. To that end, William Wilson, an agent for Congress's Indian Commissioners, was dispatched in July to invite the Wyandot to the second Pittsburgh Treaty negotiations scheduled for the fall of 1776. White Eyes agreed to escort Wilson to the Wyandot village near Detroit. As they passed through Wingenund's town, John Montour joined them.

They all continued on to Detroit, where British Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton confronted

the travelers. He tore up the letter from Congress that Wilson was carrying and cut up the wampum belt Wilson was to give the Wyandot. Hamilton then insulted White Eyes and ordered him and Wilson to leave Detroit without delay.

Montour was given no such order. He may have come to Detroit with White Eyes and Wilson, but he did not share their mission. As Hamilton reported, Montour "brought me a great Belt of friendship addressed to his Majesty by the Delaware Nation."¹¹

The reason Montour delivered this belt is unclear. At the very least, he signaled his current acute resentment of the Americans. In early spring 1776,

while Montour was away from home, Colonel William Crawford surveyed Montour's Island for John Marvie, Charles Syms, and Captain John Neville. This action alarmed the Delaware chiefs because they believed it was in clear violation of the 1768 Fort Stanwix treaty. Richard Butler, the American Indian agent at Fort Pitt, feared that when Montour found out what had happened, he would "paint it [the survey] to our disadvantage."¹²

Delivering a belt to Hamilton certainly put Montour at odds with White Eyes. White Eyes, who favored neutrality, was the war chief of the Turtle clan and a powerful figure in the Delaware council at Coshocton. One did not want to earn his displeasure foolishly. However, that Montour presented "a great Belt" indicated that he spoke for more than just himself. Wingenund, who later openly backed the British, may have sent Montour to inform Hamilton that he and many other Delaware, such as Captain Pipe, war chief of the Wolf clan, were not part of the pro-American faction.¹³

In any case, Montour remained in the northern Ohio area along the Sandusky River for the next year and a half openly supporting the British.¹⁴ Two events during that time make this clear. In the spring of 1777, a Daniel Sullivan, in the pay of Virginia, traveled to the Ohio country on an intelligence-gathering mission. By the end of April 1777, Sullivan had arrived at Detroit. While there, he was recognized by a Mingo Indian who suspected he was an American spy. The Mingo reported his discovery to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton. At this point, Montour stepped forward and confirmed Sullivan's identity. Sullivan was immediately imprisoned and was soon sent to Quebec.

Again, Montour's motive for backing the Mingo's charge is unclear. But it is worth noting that in 1763, young Sullivan had been captured by the Delaware, who adopted him and raised

him for nine years. Moreover, Sullivan's cover story during his travels in the Ohio country was that he had moved back to his Delaware relatives at the start of the war. Montour's action against Sullivan may have stemmed from incidents in their common Delaware past.¹⁵

The second key event occurred in November 1777. In April of that year, Hamilton had received permission to openly urge the Ohio country Indians to attack the American frontier. The Mingo, who had been raiding western settlements for more than a year, stepped up their attacks. Other groups, such as the Wyandot nation, were not yet willing to declare war. However, encouraged by Hamilton, individuals and small groups of Wyandot began to raid along the frontier on their own initiative.

When the Moravian missionaries among the Delaware heard of such planned attacks, they readily passed that information on to the American military at Fort Pitt. On November 16, 1777, the Reverend David Zeisberger wrote Gen. Edward Hand that on the eighth of that month, fourteen Wyandots and two white men passed through Coshocton on their way to raid Wheeling. Zeisberger also felt compelled to note that John Montour was "in their company."¹⁶ Montour seemed solidly in the British camp.

But suddenly he was not. In late April 1778, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton informed Sir Guy Carleton that in late January of that year, John Montour helped three Virginia prisoners escape from Detroit. They were pursued and recaptured. Had they not been surprised, Montour and the prisoners might have succeeded. They were armed and prepared to defend themselves. The Virginians, "having made so bad a use of the indulgence shown them," were again placed in irons and were to be sent to Quebec. Montour was also confined. Hamilton released him after several weeks only because of the "earnest" solicitation of the Wyandot and Mingo chiefs that he do so.¹⁷

Why would Montour take such a risk? Even if he had succeeded and had not suffered imprisonment, he would have lost what trust Hamilton placed in him. Perhaps part of the answer can be found in the identity of one of the prisoners. The evidence strongly suggests that John Dodge, an American trader in the Sandusky villages, was one of the escapees.

In his narrative of his capture and treatment, Dodge states he was captured on January 15, 1776. After several months of close confinement, he was allowed the liberty of the prison. He further states that on January 25, 1778, he and two other gentlemen had traveled out to visit some Sandusky-bound merchants camped

about two leagues (five to ten miles) from Detroit. Although Dodge claims he was on his way back to Detroit, he and the two gentlemen were surrounded by thirty to forty soldiers, seized, and returned to the jail in Detroit. On May 1, 1778, he was shipped off to Quebec.¹⁸

Although Hamilton did not name the prisoners he claimed Montour helped, the timing of their escape (visit?), the number arrested, and their fate corresponds with what Dodge related. The connection is important because John Montour and John Dodge were friends. When, in January 1779, Montour learned that Dodge had finally escaped from the British, he reportedly jumped for joy, and declared, "My friend, Dodge is alive yet."¹⁹ When Dodge and Montour had become friends is not known, but they had known each other long enough to have developed mutual acquaintances in Detroit.²⁰ For Montour, the obligations of friendship apparently outweighed the wrath of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton.

John Montour's imprisonment certainly soured him toward the British. In June 1778, Zeisberger wrote Col. George Morgan, the American Indian agent at Pittsburgh, that John Montour had returned to the Delaware villages on the Muskingum River where he was doing much good. He now spoke in favor of the United States. He especially spoke against Hamilton "everywhere."²¹ Montour did not, however, stay near Coshocton. He returned to the Sandusky River Valley to live with the Wyandot.

The simplest explanation for his return to the Wyandot villages was that he hoped to keep open a line of communication between the Indians and the Americans. For example, Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, General Hand's replacement, wanted to march against the British at Detroit in the fall of 1778. To do that, McIntosh would need Wyandot permission to cross their territory.

In the spring of 1779, Montour was instrumental in getting the Wyandot to abandon the British for a while. Meanwhile, the Wyandot were very much at war with America. They assaulted Fort Donnally in western Virginia in May 1778 and later laid siege to Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas River in the winter of 1779.²² Montour was again living with the enemy.

There may have been other reasons why he was living with them. For example, if his wife were a Wyandot, it would be natural for him to seek alliances with her relatives.²³ He may also have been fearful that his past support for the British made it too dangerous for him to live near Pittsburgh. His friend John Dodge wrote Montour in early January 1779 that his fears

were groundless; if he returned to Pittsburgh the Americans would treat him "as a friend now." John Killbuck (Galalemend), the principal chief of the Delaware, told Montour the same thing.

Montour may have believed there were other Delaware at Coshocton who wished he were somewhere else. White Eyes would have remembered his action at Detroit in 1776. In fact, it may have been that conduct that the Delaware chiefs deemed "foolish" and for which they said he was made an outcast from the Coshocton villages.²⁴

There is a third possible reason for Montour to live with Wyandot on the Sandusky River: He may have been fulfilling a family or a clan obligation. If so, it began in February 1778. In that month, American General Hand set off on an expedition to destroy some British supplies stored at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, but an early thaw prevented him from reaching his goal. As the army was returning to Fort Pitt, it fell upon a Delaware village, Kuskusky, on Beaver Creek, where an old man, four women, and a young boy were killed. Relatives of Captain Pipe were among the dead. Although Captain Pipe refused to take revenge then, another Delaware did.

The Delaware chiefs told George Morgan that Ché Chéas, who was driven away from Kuskusky by General Hand, was a "foolish Fellow & for revenge went & joined the Wiandot." Furthermore they identified him as John Montour's brother. At a council held in Detroit in June 1778, a Captain James took up the war ax against Americans from Lieutenant Governor Hamilton for himself and for the sixty Delaware living in his village. George Morgan just assumed that John Montour had persuaded Ché Chéas and Pey,mau,coo,sect, Montour's half brother to join him, but it probably had been the other way around.²⁵

For whatever reason Montour chose to live with the Wyandot, he was playing a dangerous game. It seems that he was forced to prove his commitment to the Wyandot by participating in their siege of Fort Laurens. In late January 1779, John Heckewelder informed Col. John Gibson, the commander at Fort Laurens, that he had heard that when



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Montour received Dodge's letter telling him he would be welcome at Pittsburgh, Montour remarked that it arrived too late, for if he were to back out of what had been agreed to it would have cost him his life.

Montour himself wrote that he could not have gone to Pittsburgh in the winter of 1779 because "the Mingoes were against me." In May 1779, well after the siege of Fort Laurens ended, the Delaware chiefs pointedly informed Col. George Morgan that the fort had been besieged by 180 Indians, mainly Wyandot, Mingo, Muncee, and only four Delaware, whom they identified as the three Montour brothers and a nephew of Captain Pipe.²⁶

The Wyandot called off the siege of Fort Laurens in March soon after news of George Rogers Clark's capture of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton reached the Muskingum River area. At home in their villages, the Wyandot began to assess their situation. The Americans had finally shown some military strength, and the British were not the all-powerful protectors they professed to be. It was during these reconsiderations that Montour's long connection with the Wyandot began to bear fruit.

In late March 1779, Montour accompanied the Wyandot to Detroit where he helped them deliver a message to the new British commander. The Wyandot told him that unless the British provided them the strong assistance promised, they would not continue to fight the Americans. In early May, Montour carried letters and speeches as well as three peace belts from the Americans to the Wyandot. On May 28, 1779, he arrived at Coshocton with the news that the Wyandot were willing to make peace with the Americans.

Montour's activities among the Wyandot had not gone unnoticed by the British. When he departed for Coshocton, soldiers were sent out to capture him, but gave up after tracking him for nine days without success.²⁷

Although the Wyandot did not actually travel to Fort Pitt until September—a delay that called their sincerity into question—the new military commander at Fort Pitt, Col. Daniel Brodhead, did not hold the delay against John Montour. In June, he told John Heckewelder that he trusted Montour's "fidelity." Because of that trust, Brodhead began to use Montour more aggressively in the American cause.

In late June 1779, Brodhead learned that tory Simon Girty and seven Mingoes had passed through Coshocton on their way to raid nearby Holiday Cove on the east side of the Ohio River. Brodhead dispatched a party of men under Captain Brady and John Montour to intercept Girty.

Unfortunately for the Americans, Girty was able to elude his pursuers.

Although the Wyandot had agreed to a nominal peace, the Mingo had not. They and some Muncies (a group closely affiliated with the Delaware) continued their raids against the frontier settlers. To punish them, Colonel Brodhead decided to strike at the Mingo villages along the upper Allegheny River and recruited Montour to guide the September 1779 campaign.²⁸

By 1780, the good effects of Clark's victory at Vincennes began to wear off. The inability of the Americans to adequately supply the Ohio country Indians strengthened the British position. There were, after all, trade goods at Detroit. Throughout 1780, the Wyandot began to renew their ties with the British.

The situation among the Delaware was also growing tense. When Captain Pipe relocated his followers to the upper Sandusky region early in 1779, they provided the center around which the anti-American faction could form. During 1780, this growing faction was increasingly vocal. The Delaware who wished to stay neutral lost a strong proponent of peace when White Eyes died in the fall of 1779. Had the authorities at Fort Pitt not covered up the fact that he had been murdered, the neutralists would have been quickly undone.

As it was, leadership of the peace faction fell to John Killbuck, chief of the Turtle clan. Although his position made him first among the chiefs, his authority was not strong. This was caused, in part, by the war, which increased the influence of the war chiefs. But Killbuck's continued reliance on the Americans also made him look weak because it was becoming obvious to Indians and whites alike just how weak the American forces were.²⁹

Killbuck's loss of influence had begun in the spring of 1779 when, bowing to the hectoring of Colonel Brodhead, he agreed to allow individual Delaware to fight with the Americans against other Indians. Montour undoubtedly approved of the new policy because he took advantage of it. What Killbuck permitted, however, broke with a long, unwritten understanding that Ohio country Indians would not attack each other at the behest of the French, British, or Americans.³⁰

Many Delaware were uncomfortable with this new policy and their discontent festered. In December 1780, Killbuck and those still loyal to

him on the council at Coshocton took an even more drastic step: They openly sided with the Americans and declared war on the Mingo.

Montour, now very much on the side of Killbuck, was chosen to lead the attack, but he did not aim solely at the Mingo. On December 7, 1780, Colonel Brodhead wrote, "Captain Montour is now in pursuit of another party of Indians . . . supposed to be either Tory Delaware or Muncies."³¹ Delaware were now fighting Delaware.

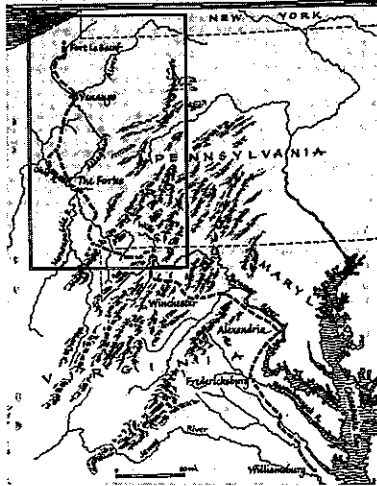
If Killbuck had hoped his declaration would silence his critics, he badly misjudged their reaction, which rapidly undercut what little authority he had left. His impotence can be seen

in the Henry Bawbee affair.³² In the fall of 1780, Bawbee, a Wyandot, arrived at Coshocton claiming to have valuable information he wanted to give to the Americans. Because of his long association with the Wyandot, Montour knew that Bawbee was no friend and was, in fact, a spy.

After Montour unmasked Bawbee, Killbuck had Bawbee delivered to Colonel Brodhead at Fort Pitt. There he was jailed to await trial for espionage. But in January 1781, Bawbee escaped. He returned to Coshocton where he openly damned Killbuck and Montour with "the most horrid threats." Brodhead was irritated that Killbuck did not have Bawbee retaken and returned to Fort Pitt. But Heckewelder replied that Killbuck could not have laid hold of Bawbee; in fact, had he so much as touched Bawbee, Killbuck would have been killed.³³

In January 1781, Killbuck was forced to step down as chief of the Turtle clan. His absence from the Coshocton council gave Captain Pipe the opportunity to persuade the Coshocton Delaware to join the British against the Americans. Word reached Fort Pitt by March 4 that the Delaware were at war and that three war parties were ready to move against western settlements. John Montour, the bearer of this information, told Brodhead that he had been pursued by eight warriors and just barely avoided capture. Montour remained at Fort Pitt, while Killbuck took refuge with the Moravians.³⁴

Colonel Brodhead decided to go on the offensive immediately. On April 7, 1781, he set off from Fort Pitt with 150 continental soldiers. Montour and four other loyal Delaware went with them. At Wheeling, Brodhead was joined by 150 militiamen. With Montour as his pilot,



The Forks of the Ohio

Brodhead marched his army toward Coshocton, where he took the town with little difficulty, capturing fifteen Delaware warriors and upwards of twenty old men, women, and children. When the warriors could not prove their loyalty to America, Brodhead had them executed. The village of Coshocton was put to the torch.³⁵

Upon learning that Brodhead had taken and burned Coshocton, Killbuck left the Moravians and joined the Americans. On the way, he encountered a group of Delaware returning from a raid. In the resulting skirmish, Killbuck killed one of the raiders and brought the scalp to Brodhead. Homeless and facing the certain knowledge that the warring Delaware would seek revenge, Montour had little choice but to join Killbuck and thirty loyal Delaware who sought asylum at Pittsburgh. For the time being, Montour had burned all his bridges to the Ohio country Indians.³⁶

Montour, a captain since 1779, continued his military service after his return to Fort Pitt. His duties for the rest of 1781 and the winter of 1782 are not known. There was probably little for him to do. The continental forces at Fort Pitt were too weak to mount any full-scale campaigns; routine patrolling was probably the extent of his service.

However, on April 13, 1782, Capt. John Montour and five other soldiers addressed a petition to Brig. Gen. William Irvine that indicated they had been in a recent fight with the Indians during which several brother soldiers had been killed. They specifically requested permission to seek revenge on the "savages" who had caused them harm.

General Irvine, unlike Fort Pitt's former commander, Colonel Brodhead, distrusted Montour because he had once been in the British service. In addition, Irvine found Montour far too cunning and went so far as to conclude it had been "very ill-judged to give such a fellow a commission." Rather than granting Montour permission to take revenge, Irvine, on April 16, ordered him to wait on the secretary of war in Philadelphia.

Irvine recommended that Montour be sent to New York to serve with the Oneida. Irvine's principal worry was that Montour's superior knowledge of the upper Ohio country would make him extremely dangerous if he returned to the British. It would be safer if Montour were stationed in unfamiliar territory.³⁷

Irvine had good reason to suspect that Montour would switch sides. On March 7, 1782, Pennsylvania militiamen murdered more than ninety Delaware Indians at the village of Gnadenhutten on the Tuscarawas River in the

Ohio country. Eighty-eight were Moravians, and more than half of those were women and children. The Delaware were outraged. Even those who held little respect for Christianity, such as Captain Pipe, swore they would seek revenge. News of the massacre spread rapidly. There can be little doubt that Montour had heard what happened at Gnadenhutten by April 13, 1782. Furthermore, because of his earlier close association with the Moravian missionaries and their Delaware congregations, he too would have been angry with their killers.³⁸

Irvine also had reason to suspect that Montour may have wanted revenge not against the "savages" as he requested but on the frontier settlers. Col. David Williamson, who commanded the militia that killed the Moravian Delaware, had led an earlier expedition against the Moravian villages in the fall of 1781. When he arrived at them, he found that nearly all the Moravian Delaware had abandoned their towns. Williamson made prisoners of the few Indians who remained and jailed them at Fort Pitt. Because they had committed no crime, they were soon released. Frontier lore records that one family was killed soon after its release. The family was that of a "Mr. Montour," probably a kinsman of John.³⁹

Irvine's fears were realized. Montour did not travel to Philadelphia as ordered. Instead, he went to the lower Sandusky villages where, on April 24, 1782, he gave the Moravians more details of the Gnadenhutten massacre. In November 1782, John Montour and his brother brought four scalps and three young female prisoners to the British at Fort Niagara. Montour's victims had lived in the Susquehanna River Valley northeast of the old Indian town of Shamokin. He stated that he had taken revenge upon Pennsylvania settlers because five of his brothers had been killed during the war. For the second time within a year Montour severed ties with a group with which he had earlier cast his lot.⁴⁰

After 1782, John Montour's name dropped out of the public record. Indian agents and the military establishment in the 1780s make no mention of him. There is also no clear evidence of where he may have lived. He may have returned to Montour's Island, but the island was no longer his. In 1783, the Pennsylvania Assembly granted preemptive rights to the island to Brig. Gen. William Irvine. Furthermore, given the frontiersmen's deep hatred of all Indians, especially those who had killed white settlers, living close to Pittsburgh would have been extremely dangerous for a renegade like John Montour.

He may have lived among the Miami Indians in the Indiana territory. The Piankashaw, a group affiliated with the Miami, invited Delaware Indians displaced by the Revolution to live on their land along the White River. Montour may have accepted their offer, or he may have sought refuge with relatives. His great-aunt had lived with the Miami early in the century, and, in 1785, a Piankashaw chief named Montour attended a council held at Louisville, Kentucky.

In any event, John Heckewelder provides closure on this period in Montour's life. On a trip to visit the old Moravian settlements on the Muskingum, Heckewelder learned that two people he had known well had died. One was a Pittsburgh printer, who had hanged himself. The other was John Montour, who had been murdered by some Mingoes while he was out hunting in the winter of 1788. It was not inevitable that Montour would die at the hands of Mingoes, but it is not surprising. John Montour had made enemies.⁴¹

What are we to make of the strange wartime career of John Montour? Pro-British, anti-American; pro-American, anti-British; friendly with the anti-American Wyandot and anti-American Delaware Wolf clan; loyal to the discredited John Killbuck; a captain in the American army; a vengeful raider on the Pennsylvania frontier. The nature of the Revolutionary War in the Ohio country provides some explanations. Very quickly prewar alliances among the Indians and between Indians and colonists collapsed. The war became what historian Richard White has labeled a contest between villages, both Indian and white.⁴² Under the constant pressure to choose sides, even villages fragmented into competing factions.

In this world of raids and counter raids and persistent apprehension, neutrality—the ability or desire to walk the middle course—was foreclosed.⁴³ Yet such a space was essential for a cultural go-between. As the war progressed, John Montour's room to maneuver between Indian and Americans disappeared.

In the chaos of war, where a wide range of options are eliminated, older core values assert themselves and influence how one acts in a confusing situation. Despite Andrew Montour's hope that his son would continue his dream and be at home in both the Indian and white worlds, it was not to be.

John Montour remained at his cultural core an Indian. The telling point was when he sought permission to seek revenge. A soldier does not seek revenge, but a warrior does. Sensitivity to slights, reciprocal loyalty to friends, but most importantly, the demands imposed by kin and

clan obligations, drove Montour's actions. In a way, it was fitting that he died engaged in a winter hunt. It was a tradition that had defined Delaware men for generations.

¹ James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York, 1999), 19–41.

² *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1851–53), 7: 95 (Hereafter, *Pa. Col. Recs.*).

³ Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge, 1995), 280.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th ser. (Philadelphia, 1852–), 7: 58, 53 (Hereafter, *PA*); Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* (Kent, Ohio, 1991), 228; *Pa. Col. Recs.*, 7: 95; *PA*, 8th ser., 5: 48, 59–60, 7: 5853.

⁵ Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 75–77. In 1756, the reason given for sending Montour's children to Philadelphia was that they could “be independent of the mother.” In Delaware society, it was the mother's family who was responsible for raising the children. Removing the children from the mother clearly implies that Andrew Montour did not want his wife's Delaware brothers instructing his children. See *Pa. Col. Recs.*, 7: 95.

⁶ Karen A. Stuart, “‘So Good a Work’: The Brafferton School, 1691–1777” (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), 85; James H. Merrell, “The Cast of His Countenance: Reading Andrew Montour,” in Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Frederika J. Teute, eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997), 38. On speaking, see “Monforton to Leronet, 7 May 1779,” *Illinois State Historical Library Collections* (Springfield, Ill., n.d.), 1: 435 (Hereafter, *Ill. Hist. Colls.*); “John Montour to John Dodge, 28 May 1779” in Louise P. Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778–1779* (Madison, Wis., 1916), 346.

⁷ Merrell, “The Cast of His Countenance,” 38.

⁸ “Richard Butler to Col. James Wilson, April 9, 1776,” in Peter Force, comp., *American Archives*, 4th ser. (Washington, D. C., 1837–53), 5: 817–818.

⁹ Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *A Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison, Wis., 1905), 302.

¹⁰ Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–1777* (Madison, Wis., 1908), 28.

¹¹ Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1940), 192–193; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 202; “Hamilton to the Earl of Dartmouth, Sept. 2, 1776,” *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 10: 269–270 (Hereafter, *MPHC*).

¹² “Butler to Wilson, April 9, 1776,” in Force, comp., *American Archives*, 4th ser., 5: 817–818.

¹³ For information about factionalism among the Delaware during the war, see Gregory E. Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, 1992), 68–83; C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1972), 282–328.

14 "David Zeisberger to Col. George Morgan, July 7, 1777" in Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison, Wis., 1912), 19.

15 "Sullivan's Deposition, Fort Pitt, March 21, 1778," Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 230-233.

16 Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 164.

17 *Ibid.*, 280-281; Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 82.

18 "A Narrative of the capture and treatment of JOHN DODGE, by the English, at Detroit," [J. Almon], *The Remembrancer; or Impartial Repository of Public Events For the Year 1779* ([London], 1779), 74, 79-80.

19 "Narrative," *Remembrancer*, . . . 1779, 81; "John Heckewelder to Col. John Gibson," Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 222.

20 "John Montour to John Dodge, Cooshacking, May 28, 1779," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 346.

21 *Ibid.*, 82.

22 Louise P. Kellogg, "Historical Introduction," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 16-17; "David Zeisberger to Col. George Morgan, June 9, 1778," *ibid.*, 82; "Col. George Morgan to John Jay, May 28, 1779," *ibid.*, 343.

23 For mention of his wife, see "William Irvine to Maj. Gen. Lincoln, April 30, 1782," in C. W. Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence* (Madison, Wis., 1882), 168-169.

24 *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, 1: 380; "Galalemend to John Montour, January 18, 1779," *ibid.*, 379; "Col. George Morgan to John Jay, May 28, 1779," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 343.

25 Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 77; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991), 385; "Morgan to Jay, May 28, 1779," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 343; MPHIC, 9: 442-452.

26 Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 222; "John Montour to John Dodge, Cooshacking, May 28, 1779," *ibid.*, 346; "Morgan to Jay, May 28, 1779," *ibid.*, 343.

27 Downes, *Council Fires*, 222-223, 238-240; MPHIC, 10: 328; "Gulle Monforton to Mr. Belanger Larnoult, Huron Village, May 7, 1779," *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, 1: 435; "John Heckewelder to Col. Brodhead, Cooshocking, May 28, 1779," PA, 1st ser, 7: 516-518.

28 Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 359; Consul Willshire Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (1890; repr. Columbus, Ohio, 1950), 97-98; "The Recollections of Capt. Jesse Ellis," in Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (Madison, Wis., 1917), 58; "Daniel Brodhead to Timothy Pickering, Sept. 16, 1779," in Neville B. Craig, ed., *The Olden Time: A Monthly Publication Devoted to the Preservation of Documents . . .* (1848; repr. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1876), 2: 309-311.

29 Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 36-39, 59-60; Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 312-314; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 78-83; Downes, *Council Fires*, 262-265.

30 Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 78.

31 Craig, *Olden Time*, 2: 378.

32 It is possible that Henry Bawbee was the "son of the famous Bawbee," that Dr. Thomas Walker placed at the Brafferton School in November 1775. He was back in the Ohio country in 1779, where he spread unfavorable reports about Virginians; John Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware . . .* (1820; repr., New York, 1971), 206.

33 "John Heckewelder to Col. Daniel Brodhead, February 26, 1781," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Retreat*, 337-338; "Brodhead to the Council at Cooshocking, Nov. 19, 1780," *ibid.*, 295; "Col. Brodhead to John Heckewelder, Jan. 21, 1781," *ibid.*, 321.

34 *Ibid.*, 339, 343.

35 "Col. Daniel Brodhead to Pres. Reed, May 22, 1781," PA, 1st ser., 9: 161-162; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 82-83.

36 Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 314-315; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 82-83; "Brodhead to Reed, May 22, 1781," PA, 1st ser., 9: 161-162. "A few days after the return of Brodhead from Coshocton, eighty hostile Delaware came up the Tuscarawas in search of Captain Killbuck and his band, breathing destruction to all of them," C. W. Butterfield, "Narrative of Brodhead's Coshocton Expedition," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Retreat*, 380.

37 Jack M. Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783* (New York, 1967), 134-137; "To the most excellent James [William] Irvine, . . ." Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 169; "Irvine to Lincoln, Fort Pitt, April 30, 1782," *ibid.*, 168-169.

38 Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 309-328.

39 Alexander Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare: or, A History of the Settlement by Whites of Northwestern Virginia* (repr., 1895; new ed., 1970), 313, 318. If this was actually the family of John Montour, at least one child survived to visit the Moravians in the early nineteenth century. See "John Montour," in Carl John Fliegel, comp., *Index to the Records of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America*, vol. 1 (New Haven, Conn., 1970).

40 Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 280, citing the Haldimand Papers, Addl. MSS, 21762:213. One of the captive women noted seeing a General Otter of Sunbury on the march with 200 militiamen. See also, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 28, 1782, for a report from Sunbury, Pennsylvania, of a raid that took four scalps and three prisoners on the northeast branch of the Susquehanna in late July 1782.

41 Charles Hanna concludes that he did live on Montour's Island during the 1780s. Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), 1: 246, 200; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 1, 1783; "William Clark to the Indian Commissioners, Oct. 5, 1785," *Papers of the Continental Congress*, M247, r69.156, p. 297; John Heckewelder, "A Short Account, . . ." in Paul A. W. Wallace, ed., *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1958), 220, 222. On the hatred of frontiersmen toward Indians, see White, *Middle Ground*, 387-396.

42 White, *Middle Ground*.

43 Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 30-32, 36-39.



Bothy's Mould

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

Naming Nature

by Wesley Greene

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

As the British Empire expanded around the globe in the eighteenth century, thousands of new species of plants poured into England, overwhelming the archaic nomenclature that relied on individual collectors assigning ponderous polysyllabic descriptions that resulted in the same plant having different names in different collections. A new system of classification was needed to bring about what the Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation describes as "order from chaos."

The earliest roots of our modern nomenclature can be traced to Theophrastus (circa 370–285 BCE) a Greek philosopher, student of Plato, and friend to Aristotle, who is often referred to as the father of botany. After Aristotle was forced to leave Athens circa 322, Theophrastus was appointed as his successor, inheriting his manuscripts and garden. Some consider his garden at the Lyceum as the first botanic garden. He is credited with hundreds of works, but only two survive: *Historia Plantarum* (*Research on Plants*) and *De Causis Plantarum* (*On the Causes of Plants*). Theophrastus classified plants into four groups—herbs, undershrubs, shrubs, and trees—describing about 500 species. He also recognized many floral components that are still used to classify plants such as corolla types, ovary positions, and arrangement of inflorescences.

Theophrastus's work was lost from the beginning of the first millennium until the Renaissance, so his work did not shape premodern taxonomy. That role was played by a Greek physician and military surgeon under the Roman

Emperor Nero, Pedanios Dioscorides (circa 40–circa 90 CE) who wrote the famous *Peri Ulês Iatrikês* (*De materia medica* in Latin, *Treatise on Medicinal Products*). This work including about 600 plants, 100 of which were not described by Theophrastus, became the standard work on medicinal plants for the next 1,500 years. That it was considered not only the most authoritative work in pharmacology but in botany, as well, resulted in a confusion between the two disciplines that lasted for more than 1,000 years.

Among the first to distinguish plants through morphological characteristic rather than purely utilitarian use was the German Dominican friar Albertus Magnus (circa 1193–1280). His *De Vegetabilibus* described medicinal plants,



included firsthand descriptions of plants, and provided the earliest classification of plants based on stem structure. Magnus differentiated between monocots (embryo or seedling with single leaf and parallel leaf veins) and dicots (embryo or seedling with two leaves and reticulated or crossed veins). This distinction, though somewhat muddled by modern taxonomy, is still the basic starting point for separating the plant kingdom into distinct classes.

After the fall of Constantinople in May 1453, many Byzantine scholars migrated to the West, particularly to Italy. Among them was Theodoros of Gaza (circa 1400–circa 1475), who translated many Greek works into Latin. One of his translations revealed the lost works of Theophrastus. Italian scholar, printer, and publisher Aldo Manuzio (1449/1450–1515) produced the first printed edition of Theophrastus's work from the original Greek text.

During the Renaissance, many scientific texts arrived from Byzantium in their original languages. Comparisons of the original Greek works to medieval Latin translations, many of

which had been corrupted over time, revealed many mistakes. By pointing out similarities between newer works of Latin authors and older Greek works, these comparisons revealed many of the Latin works as little more than translations from the Greek. Scholars proposed that the later derivative works be abandoned in favor of the originals.

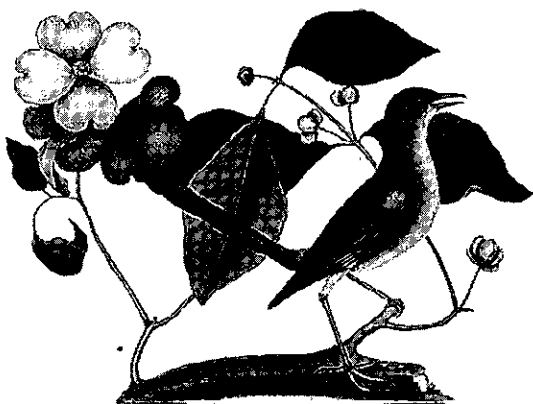
In the field of botany, this meant that Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica* had to be preferred over Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, which had become the major reference work on natural history during the Middle Ages. This thesis was proposed by the Italian physician Nicolao Leonicensio (1428–1524) whose 1492 *De Plinii et Aliorum in Medicina Erroribus* (*On the Errors of Pliny and Other Authors in Medicine*) provoked widespread dissent and confusion.

This period also marked a turning point in the study of botany during which personal observations from nature began to augment and replace the reliance on Greek and Latin texts for plant classification. At Montpellier, students of medicine did fieldwork as early as the 1540s, while the universities at Pisa and Padua created botanical gardens for students to observe plants. Ultimately, facilitated by the invention of the printing press, this resulted in the age of the great herbals.

This new system of study was furthered by the Italian Luca Ghini (1490–1556), who is credited with the invention of the herbarium—the pressing of plants onto sheets of paper for display—which provided a reference library that could be studied at any time. Herbarium specimens remain one of the most important tools of the modern plant taxonomist.

In 1583, Andrea Cesalpino (1519–1603), an Italian botanist, published *De plantis libri* classifying 1,500 plants using a downward system that marks the first step in the development of the modern classification system. Cesalpino's system started with large, easily recognizable classes such as trees, shrubs, and herbs and then subdivided them based on morphology such as leaf shape or arrangement and flower type in much the same way that families are subdivided to genera and then to species today.

In the sixteenth century, the center of botanical study shifted from Italy to Germany and produced some of the most outstanding and beauti-



ful herbals in the historic record. Otto Brunfels's (1464–1534) *Herbarium vivae eicones* (*Living Images of Plants*) was the first elaborately illustrated work to which hand-colored woodblocks of plants reproduced from nature were added. Jerome Bock's (1489–1554) *Neu Kreuterbuch* was another illustrated work with early attempts at classification. Valerius Cordus's *Historia plantarum* (completed in 1540 but not published until after his death in 1561) described 446 species of plants and was considered one of the greatest pharmacopoeias of the time.

The most famous and widely published German author of the sixteenth century, however, was Leonhard Fuchs (1501–1566). In his first work, *Errata Recentiorum Medicorum. LX Numero, Adjectis Eorundem Confutationibus in Studiosorum Gratiam* (*Mistakes of Recent Physicians, 60 in Total, with Their Refutation, for the Use of Scholars*, 1530), he adopted Leonicensio's methodology, applying it to other treatises and correcting their mistakes. He then published his magnificent and original herbal, *L'Histoire des Plantes* (1542). In this work, he reproduced Theophrastus's system of classification in four categories (trees, shrubs, undershrubs, and

herbs) and largely reproduced Dioscorides' descriptions of plants. However, like Brunfels's work, the illustrations were exact reproductions of specimens collected by the author, often including imperfections, such as broken leaves, and avoiding the stylized illustrations characteristic of earlier herbals.

At the same time, a Flemish school developed, best represented by Rembert Dodoens (1517–1585). In his *Cruydeboek* (1554), Dodoens moved away from Fuchs's alphabetical listing of plants



and instead grouped them by their properties and affinities. His *Stirpium Historia Pemptades Sex Sive Libri* (1583) divided plants into twenty-six groups, comparable to modern plant families.

In the seventeenth century, stimulated by the wave of New World plants entering Europe, the first classification systems that led to the adoption of our modern taxonomy began to emerge. In 1623, Swiss botanist Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624) published *Pinax theatri bonanici*. By providing the first complete listing of plants using all of their names given by various botanists, this work started codification of the classification system. Bauhin's work was also the first catalog that used some binomial nomenclature to group species into genera. His listing of 6,000 species remained a standard reference for the next century.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), a French botanist, published *Institutiones rei hervariae* (1700). In this work, he arranged 9,000 species into 700 genera and was the first to use an artificial system of classification based around the reproductive organs of a plant rather than general morphology. This system was similar to the one developed by Linnaeus later in the century.

The emergence of great botanists in England lagged behind the rest of Europe. William Turner (1510–1568) wrote Part I of *A New Herball* in 1551, but this, like the earlier European works, focused exclusively on medicinal properties rather than morphological features. The most famous and widely read of the English herbals was John Gerard's *The Herball, or General History of Plants* (1597). A large part of this work actually plagiarized Dr. Robert Priest's translation of Dodoens's *Stirpium Historia*. Gerard, however, added 182 plants not listed by Dodoens, including the first English description of the potato.

The first great English taxonomist was John Ray (1627–1705). Of his many works, the most significant were *Methodus plantarum nova* (1682) and *Historia plantarum* in three volumes (1686–1704), both monumental works. The last edition of the *Methodus* contained 18,000 species. Ray's system relied heavily on outward appearance, and any small variation would define a new species, resulting in a proliferation of types.

The use of morphology to classify plants, pioneered by earlier writers and refined by Bauhin,

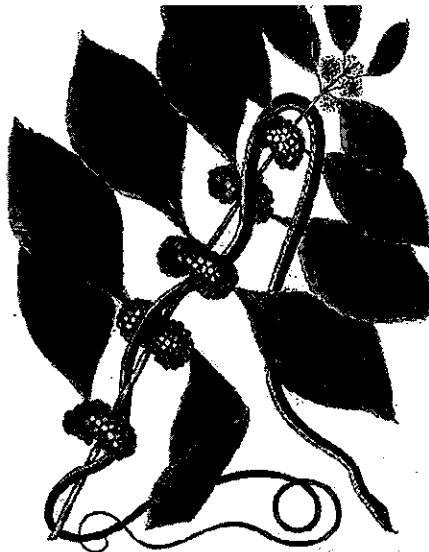
represented an important advancement toward the modern classification system. Indeed, many plants that outwardly resemble each other are grouped together in families today. The great difficulty in all of these systems was that they all employed long, ponderous species descriptions, known as *polynomials*, which attempted to indicate all of the individual features of a plant.

Botany students today, who struggle to remember the binomial Latin names of the Linnaean system, would be stunned when faced with pre-Linnaean polynomials. As an example, John Clayton of Gloucester County described the whorled rosinweed as *Silphium foliis amplis rigidis integris quadratim positis* using the old polynomial system. The same plant is identified by Linnaean taxonomy simply as *Silphium trifoliatum*.

Carl von Linné (Latinized as Linnaeus, 1707–1778), born in Råshult, Sweden, became the most renowned botanist of the eighteenth century. He entered the University at Lund in 1727 to study medicine and then moved to the University of Uppsala in 1729 where he was introduced to Professor Rudbeck, a professor of botany. Linnaeus established himself as a botanist of note during an expedition to Lapland in 1732. In 1735, he finished his medical degree at the University of Harderwijk in the Netherlands and became personal physician to George Clifford, a wealthy banker who had one of the most extensive botanic gardens in Europe. In *Hortus Cliffortianus* (1736), a catalog of Clifford's gardens, Linnaeus laid the basis for his later botanical work in classification. In 1741, he returned to Sweden to become professor of medicine and botany at the University of Uppsala, a position he held until his death in 1778.

In the early 1730s, Linnaeus developed the idea of using the reproductive structures of flowering plants as the basis for his classification system. *Systema naturae* (1735) presented his system of classification in outline form. Two years later, he published *Genera plantarum* providing the first modern description of genera, and in 1753, he published the first edition of his seminal work *Species plantarum*, a two-volume catalog of plant identification, listing 8,000 plant species from around the world.

In the *Species plantarum*, he divided plants into twenty-four classes based on number, union, and



length of stamens. Each of the first ten classes was named according to the number of stamens, beginning with *Monandria* (one stamen), *Dian-dria* (two stamens), etc., up to *Decandria* (ten stamens). The flowers in the eleventh class, *Do-decandria*, have twelve to nineteen stamens. The following four classes are characterized by both the number of stamens and by their position; the next four classes have stamens united in a bundle; the next three classes have stamens and pistils in separate flowers, known as dioecious plants today. The twenty-fourth class, *Cryptogamia*, describes plants without proper flowers, such as the fig. Each plant had a generic name, a polynomial descriptive phrase that served as the species, and a trivial name or specific epithet. For example, the common German Iris was classified by Linnaeus as: *germanica* 2. *IRIS corollis barbatis caule foliis longiore multiflora*.

In this case *IRIS* is the genus, the polynomial species follows, and in the margin in front of the genus name, is the trivial or specific epithet: *germanica*. *Iris germanica* is then convenient shorthand for describing the plant, and it is the name it is known by to this day.

Linnaeus did not invent this system; similar classification systems had been used by his predecessors. His contribution was to distill the taxonomic knowledge of the time into one, easily understandable methodology that could be applied to any plant on the planet. This allowed botanists from around the world to group plants into an easily manageable system. It was, however, a highly artificial system. Using only stamens to classify plants resulted in seemingly very different plants falling into the same class: cactus and cherries, for example.

While the binomial system Linnaeus codified remains the basic unit of classification for all living organisms today, his methodology quickly fell out of favor. By end of the eighteenth century, most botanists realized that there were natural affinities between plants that were not recognized in Linnaean taxonomy, and the single character classification system was gradually abandoned.

Michel Adanson (1726–1806), a French botanist, began to focus on multiple characteristics and even attempted a mathematical examination to typify relationships. His system used as many individual

attributes as possible and performed a statistical analysis to correlate the number of times like variables occurred in individuals. Since Sir Isaac Newton and other mathematicians had been able to use mathematical analysis to describe physical phenomena, like universal gravitation and laws of motion, it seemed rational to suppose that nature could be described in the same way. Adanson published his system in *Familles des plantes* in 1763 and created families and orders that are very similar to the taxonomic groups recognized today.

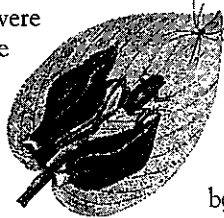
This new taxonomy, referred to as the "natural system," was further refined by another Frenchman: Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu (1748–1836). Jussieu developed a natural system that incorporated Linnaean binomial nomenclature and published *Genera plantarum* (1789) in which he recognized 100 related groups of plants that are now called families. This system was modified and added to over the next seventy years. However, the very foundation

of all biological sciences was turned upside down in 1859 when Charles Darwin published *The Origin of Species*, creating a schism between theology and biology that endures to this day.

Even Linnaeus was not without theological and moral critics. His system was based partly around a study of Sébastien Vaillant's *Sermo de structura florum* (1717), which recognized male and female components of plants. In the typical flower there is, at the center, a pistil or female structure surrounded by five, ten, or thirty or more stamens (males). The idea that a single female would be accompanied by so many males was thought unseemly!

After the 1736 publication of Linnaeus's *Systema Natural* outlining a system based on the sexual parts of the flower, Johann Amman wrote to Sir Hans Sloane, president of the Royal Society and founder of the Chelsea Physic garden, to observe that he doubts "very much if any Botanist will follow his lewd method." In the following year, Johann Siegesbeck wrote, "such Loathsome harlotry as several males to one female would never have been permitted . . . by the Creator."

Even more disturbing, sometime before 1715 at his nursery in Hoxton, just outside of London, Thomas Fairchild had done the unthinkable.





He placed the pollen from a sweet william onto the pistil of a carnation and created a new plant, the world's first manmade hybrid. This was greeted with horror by many because until the time of Darwin, all biologists agreed with seventeenth-century taxonomist John Ray that, "God having finished his work of creation" the number of species is "in nature fixed and determinate."

Darwin's genius was in recognizing that species were not static individuals but evolving or-

ganisms shaped by natural selection. Ironically, in 1781, Charles Darwin's grandfather Erasmus wrote one of the more colorful criticisms of Fairchild's mule, as it was called, being a sterile hybrid. The figure *Caryo* in this poem is a pun on the scientific name of the carnation, *Dianthus caryophyllus*. *Dianthus* represented the sweet william, *Dianthus barbatus*, and the monster-offspring was, of course, Fairchild's mule:

*Caryo's sweet smile, dianthus proud admires
And gazing burns with unallow'd desires
And wins the damsel to illicit loves
The monster-offspring heirs the fathers pride.*

Today, hybrids create very little controversy, and it is likely that every vegetable on the dinner table in the twenty-first century is a hybrid. I doubt that this will keep many from eating their broccoli.

However, to bring this issue into perspective for our guests, I like to ask how they feel about cloning. This is sure to arouse strong feelings, but I imagine that 300 years in the future, cloning probably will have become commonplace, and we will have moved on to other issues. Is there a biblical justification for cloning? Genesis tells us that Eve was created from Adam's rib, which sounds suspiciously like cloning to me. As in many areas of history, and particularly in the history of the natural sciences, the issues seem to remain the same. It is the technology that changes.



Interpreter's Corner

Why Is There a Hole in the Shutter?

by Jim Hollins

Jim is an interpreter in Group Interpretation in the Department of Historic Site Interpretation.

"Why is there a hole in the shutter?" This question is occasionally asked by guests in the parlor at the George Wythe House. I had to admit that I did not know the answer.

Little did I realize that collecting antique tools would lead me to discover the purpose for the hole in the shutter. As part of my collecting, I spent four years compiling a list of eighteenth-century Virginia tools from primary sources. I included scientific instruments on the list, and later familiarized myself with them by referring to books on the subject.

One of the items on my list had what sounded like a modern name—a solar microscope. As I read the description of the device, something caught my eye. This instrument needed to be mounted in a hole cut in a window shutter.¹ My first reaction was to ask myself if this was the purpose for the hole in the parlor shutter.

Simply put, the solar microscope was an eighteenth-century slide projector. When properly mounted through a hole in a shutter for sunlight to be directed by a mirror through the body of

the instrument, solar microscopes projected magnified images from slides onto a screen or wall.

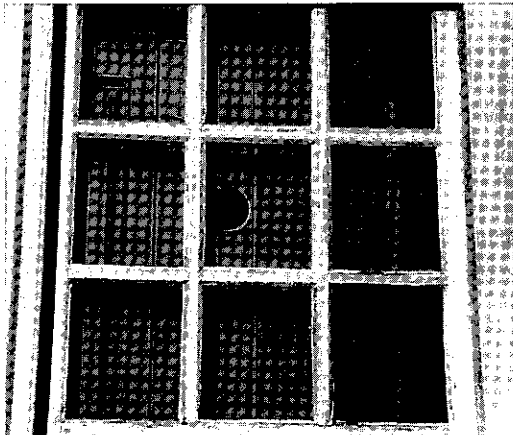
Dr. Liberkhun, a Prussian gentleman, was credited with introducing the solar microscope to England in 1740. This version of the device had no mirror to reflect light. English optician John Cuff was credited with developing improvements to the solar microscope such as the addition of a mirror.²

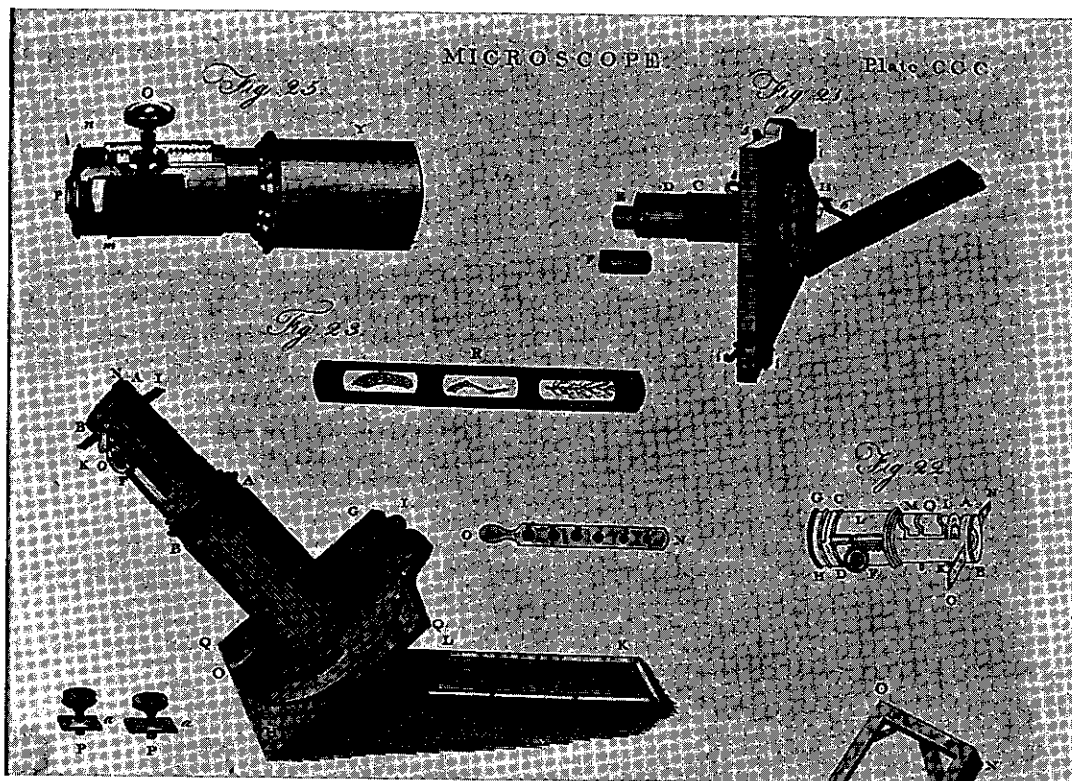
The solar microscope quickly made its way to America. It was such an amazing apparatus that people were willing to pay to see it. In Philadelphia, people paid eighteen pence per person. These viewings took place only on sunny days, of course, and in large rooms where the images could be seen by a number of people at once. The device was advertised as "the most Entertaining of any Microscope whatsoever, and magnifies Objects to a most surprising Degree."³

It allowed people to see things previously unimaginable and opened a world of knowledge to scholars and the curious of the eighteenth century. By permitting several people to view and discuss the same magnified image, the solar microscope was a true advancement in scientific study. Before the solar microscope, scholars had been limited to viewing objects through the eyepiece of a regular microscope "one person at a time" and in a much smaller field of vision.⁴

The solar microscope came in several styles. A typical instrument was made of brass and equipped with a square plate so that it could be attached to a wooden window shutter with screws. In this way, the mirror part of the device protruded to the outside through the hole in the shutter to gain access to sunlight. The part of the device on the room side of the shutter, the body of the microscope, had an area for mounting a slide and was adjustable. This version of the

Author's photographs showing exterior and interior views of the Wythe House parlor window.





"Solar Microscope," in Supplement to the Encyclopedia, or, A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature. Philadelphia, 1803. Special Collections Section, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

device could only be used to project transparent objects such as a feather or insect's wing. Because there was a need to project opaque objects such as a beetle or flea as well, a practical opaque solar microscope was eventually developed by Benjamin Martin.⁵

After initial research, I concluded there was a good chance that George Wythe used a solar microscope. My next step was to see if there was any documentation of his owning or using one. To date, I have found none. However, I have developed several ways to examine the Wythe House and other sources that could help substantiate the use of a solar microscope there, even if I find no documentation from Wythe himself.

Eighteenth-century references indicate the characteristics of the room where a solar microscope could be used. The room should have windows equipped with interior shutters, and the room should be dark when all the shutters and the door are closed. A hole about three inches in diameter would be cut in the shutter of a window that gets direct sunlight.⁶

With this information, I went to inspect the parlor at the Wythe House. To my surprise, I also discovered a hole in a shutter in the lumber room. The holes in the shutters in both of these

rooms were 3.75 inches in diameter, and both rooms go dark if the shutters are closed and the doors shut. Direct sunlight strikes the parlor windows in the morning and the lumber room windows in the afternoon.

While at the Wythe House, I decided to analyze the placement of the shutter holes to determine if they were in the proper position for the optimal functioning of a solar microscope within the room. Both holes were centrally located for easy manipulation of the device and optimal placement of the projected image centrally in the room.

The next thing was to determine that the shutters were in place in the eighteenth century. According to the architectural report, the shutters on both windows were original.⁷

The next logical step was to track down early photographs of the front of the Wythe House that showed the holes were there prior to the restoration. Visual Resources located a couple of photos taken between 1890 and 1900. Although these images were far from "crystal clear," it certainly looks as if there was a hole in the parlor shutter.

Ed Chappell and Jeff Klee of the Department of Architectural Research were intrigued by this promising explanation for the holes. During

microscopic paint analysis at the Wythe House in 2007, Chappell proposed to include a check of the paint at the edges of the holes. "It should be possible to determine their relative age with some certainty," said Chappell in a memorandum to the author in September 2006.

Another approach was to determine if any close associates of George Wythe had solar microscopes. If so, Wythe was probably familiar with the device whether he owned one or not. Wythe's friends and associates William Small, Francis Fauquier, and Thomas Jefferson all had solar microscopes. Small purchased one for the College of William and Mary in 1767,⁸ there was one was in Francis Fauquier's estate,⁹ and Jefferson owned one made by an English instrument maker named Dollond.¹⁰

I found no reference of Wythe's associates actually using solar microscopes or any evidence of them having holes in their shutters. However, Ivor Noël Hume, author and former Director of Archaeology for Colonial Williamsburg, provided circumstantial evidence for the possibility of there being holes in the Palace shutters. He tells of a loyalist at the Palace a couple of weeks after the Gunpowder Incident. James Parker writes about seeing loopholes cut in the Palace.¹¹ *Loopholes* are defined as slots cut in a wall through which weapons can be fired.¹²

Could it be that he actually saw holes in the shutters left from Fauquier's solar microscope installation? Sunlight strikes the front of the Palace practically all day. If today's Palace is on the exact location of the original one, then Governor Fauquier had an excellent opportunity to install the device in any of the shutters at the front of the Palace.

After examining the available information, one may conclude that Wythe used a solar microscope in the parlor and lumber room at his home in Williamsburg. That someone at a later time cut holes in the shutters for a completely

different reason, yet perfectly matching the requirements for mounting a solar microscope, is extremely unlikely.

If I had my choice, I would rather have the holes in the shutters than documentation for Wythe's ownership of a solar microscope. As it is, we have written evidence that his associates had the device but only one location—the Wythe House—with holes in the shutters. Today these holes create an air of mystery and with the solar microscope provide a much more dynamic interpretive topic.

¹ Anthony Turner, *Early Scientific Instruments Europe 1400–1800* (London: for Sotheby's Publications by Philip Wilson Publishers, Ltd., 1987), 119.

² Henry Baker, *The Microscope Made Easy* (1769; repr., Lincoln, Ill.: Science Heritage, Ltd., 1987), 21–22.

³ *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (1744; repr., in cooperation with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: Micosurance Inc., 1968), 339.

⁴ Baker, *Microscope Made Easy*, 25.

⁵ S. Bradbury, *The Evolution of the Microscope* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1967), 156, 158.

⁶ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1771, 3:421.

⁷ Singleton P. Moorehead and George Campbell, *George Wythe Architectural Report, Block 21, Building 4* (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1940), 43, 72.

⁸ "Papers Relating to the College," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 16, no. 3 (1908; repr., New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1966): 66.

⁹ Francis Fauquier Jr. to Robert Carter, 31 May 1770. *Miscellaneous Manuscripts*, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

¹⁰ Thomas Jefferson, *Jefferson's Memorandum Books*, James A. Bear Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton, eds. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 1:614.

¹¹ Ivor Noël Hume, *1775 Another Part of the Field* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 147.

¹² *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "loop hole."



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