

● THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

interpreter

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Enslaving Virginia 1999

by Anne Willis

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October 1705

CHAP. XLIX. An act concerning Servants and Slaves

IV. And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That all servants imported and brought into this country, by sea or land, who were not christians in their native country, (except Turks and Moors in amity with her majesty, and others that can make due proof their being free in England, or any other christian country, before they were shipped, in order to transportation hither) shall be accounted and be slaves, and as such be bought and sold notwithstanding a conversion to christianity afterwards.

Source: William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large . . . (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823), 3: 447.

The Enslaving Virginia story is central to our interpretation of the Becoming Americans theme as it explores America's "struggle to be both free and equal." Slavery defined both freedom and liberty for revolutionary Americans.

This year we have the unprecedented opportunity to involve our visitors in examining how Virginia's slave system shaped the private and public lives of all enslaved and free people in Williamsburg. In the Historic Area we will present this community's partic-

ular story of slavery. From the personal interactions within families and households to the public actions of the courts, church, and legislature, our visitors will explore how the institution of slavery influenced the lives of all people and shaped their culture. Virginia's experience with institutionalized slavery will be explained within the larger context of the Atlantic world economy.

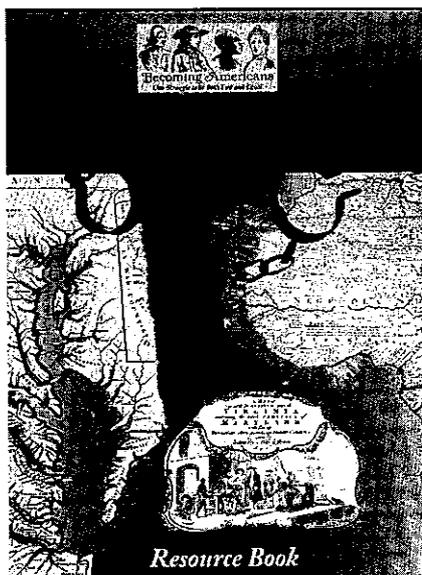
Enslaving Virginia's goal and key points have guided the structure of the Resource Book and the design of the training program. They also inform our interpretive programs in 1999.

Goal

The Enslaving Virginia story line examines the institution of racial slavery in the colonial Chesapeake and explores its pervasive influence on the lives, fortunes, and values of all Virginians and its impact on the development of the new nation.

Key Points

- I. *American Odyssey: Indentured Servitude to Racial Slavery*
The demands of the world economy shaped the emerging plantation cultures, leading to a shift from indentured servitude to racial slavery in America.
- II. *American Diversity: Crucible of Cultures*
The reality of colonial life forced the interaction of diverse peoples and cultures despite the laws and traditions of eighteenth-century Virginia. These interactions had a profound impact on the development of American society.
- III. *American Paradox: Freedom and Slavery*
The enlightened ideas of freedom and equality coexisting with the historical



practice of slavery and racism shaped the thoughts and lives of all Virginians as they moved toward revolution and republican government.

The Headline Events for 1999 provide the opportunity for us to tell the parallel stories of slavery and freedom in Virginia from 1769 to 1776. The year 1769 was chosen to enable us to show the subtle changes in the attitudes of a few Virginians who began to question the morality of slavery and to take some action to moderate the harshness of its influence. April 1775 focuses on the Gunpowder Incident with the consequent fear of slave insurrection and rebellion in Virginia, while November 1775 explores the impact of Lord Dunmore's Proclamation on slaves and masters. May 1776 illustrates how freedom from Great Britain was procured for some Virginians who then had the right to continue to hold others in bondage under the laws of slavery. Through Headline Events and site/tour programs, visitors will come to understand the triumphant human spirit of those who suffered most from the brutality of racial slavery and of those who courageously opposed the system.

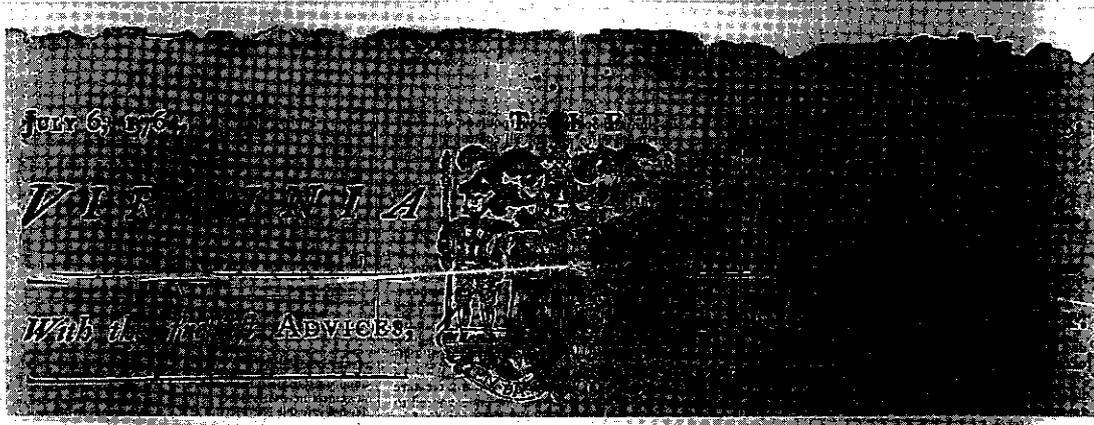
When asked what interpreters considered most important for our visitors to learn

about slavery in Virginia they made the following responses:

- *Slavery was practiced in most past cultures and civilizations.*
- *Slavery corrupts the societies where it is practiced.*
- *The Atlantic world economy embroiled Africa, Europe, and America in the slave trade and in the exploitation of African labor.*
- *Slavery evolved in Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, influencing the lives of all Virginians in complex and contradictory ways.*
- *Visitors need to appreciate the great variety of interdependent experiences and contributions free and enslaved persons had in Williamsburg.*
- *We need to be aware of the legacy of freedom and slavery in the Williamsburg community. Interpreters need to dispel the myths of slavery.*
- *Everyone needs to understand the impact of slavery on the development of racism.*

If, as interpreters, we can consider Philip D. Curtin's statement that "the era of the slave trade is beyond the effective range of moral condemnation—and try to find out what happened and why, rather than placing blame, however well deserved," we can guide our visitors away from judgment to understanding. 🍀





Runaway Advertisements from the *Virginia Gazette*

by Christopher Wyckoff

Chris is an apprentice printer in the Education Division/Midtown Area and is a member of the Enslaving Virginia Story Line Team.

RUNAWAY. The term is descriptive of one who is no longer satisfied with his or her circumstances and sets about making a change in status, environment, or situation. Many slaves who chose to run away from their masters found themselves advertised in one of the *Virginia Gazette*s. By 1775 three different printing offices in Williamsburg published newspapers under the title *Virginia Gazette*. The printing of a newspaper in the colony had been going on since August 1736 and slave masters had long taken advantage of the *Gazette*'s colony-wide distribution to attract as much attention as possible to the fact that a slave had run off. For instance, an issue of the *Virginia Gazette* printed in July 1746 contains seven runaway advertisements.

Runaway ads tell us much more than the fact that a slave ran from his or her master. Even though masters considered their slaves property, they could not advertise effectively for runaways without listing the distinctively human characteristics that would set them apart from the rest of the black population. The variety of runaway ads in newspapers is staggering. Yet the descriptions they contain can be narrowed down to several basic elements. They usually included age (if known), approximate height, distinguishing physical features, trade/duties performed, type of clothing worn, where a slave might be heading or "lurking" (hiding), the slave's status (runaway or outlawed), the reward, and the master's name, or if committed to a jail, the sheriff and location.

Not only did masters run their own ads in an effort to recover their human prop-

erty, but a 1748 Virginia law required that runaway slaves conveyed to a jail be advertised by the jailer for a minimum of three weeks in the *Virginia Gazette*. Thus printing offices in Williamsburg became instruments in an attempt to control the movements of slaves who dared to make an escape to freedom (William Waller Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 8:359). Newspapers were the only means of mass communication in the colony. Tavern owners who subscribed to the *Gazette* thereby provided their customers from all over Virginia not only information about current events, but exposure to advertisements for runaways. Runaway ads also came to the *Virginia Gazette* from other colonies.

Copies of the *Gazette* were received in other colonies as well. The word on runaways was therefore spread over a wide area. *Virginia Gazette*s commonly were traded for *Pennsylvania Gazette*s, and Virginia newspapers also went to Maryland and North Carolina. Rewards provided by law and offered by owners were incentives for bringing the efforts of the entire colony to bear on finding and "taking up," as the laws described it, fugitive slaves and conveying them to their owners or to county jails or the Public Gaol in Williamsburg. In 1765, allowances by law were five shillings for taking up a runaway, and four pence per mile for the distance traveled by the "taker up" to convey the slave to his or her master or to a jail. The reward was to be paid by the owner upon receiving a certificate from the



justice of the peace, certifying that the distance traveled from courthouse to owner or to jail was accurate. In 1769, the rewards were raised to ten shillings for taking up and six pence per mile.

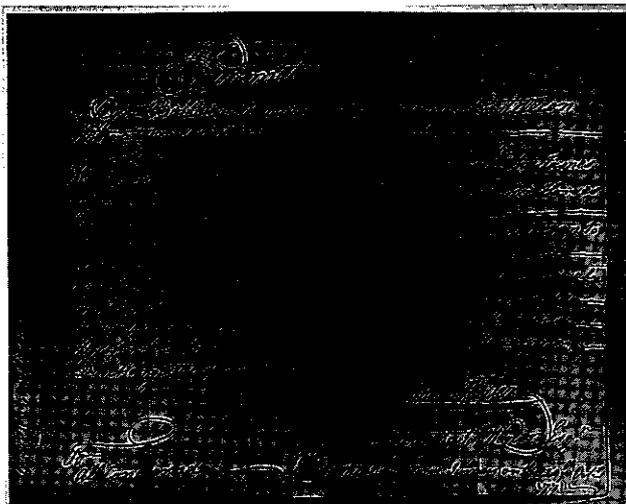
Before a newspaper came to Virginia in 1736, hand-written notices about runaways were posted in public places such as the parish church. The 1726 Act concerning Servants and Slaves required "the sheriff or under-sheriff of the county to whose custody the said runaway shall be committed, shall forthwith cause notice in writing of such commitment, to be set upon the courthouse door of the said county, and there continued, during the space of two months . . . a copy of such notice to be sent to the clerk or reader of each church or chapel within his county . . . setting up the same [notice] in some open and convenient place near the said church or chapel, on every Lord's day, during the space of two months from the date thereof" (Hening's *Statutes*, 4:169). Newspapers and printed warrants, summons, proclamations, hues and cries, and other broadsides allowed information about fugitive slaves to be communicated over a wider area than ever before.

In spite of the forces marshalled against them, slaves could move with a certain amount of ease within eighteenth-century Virginia society. They made up nearly half of Virginia's population by the time of the Revolution. Slaves on the streets and roads of Virginia were commonplace. Masters sent slaves on legitimate business, sometimes over great distances, and issued passes enabling them to travel legally. Many ads indicate that when the runaway was literate, he or she might forge a pass in order to gain freedom of movement.

More than a few slaves ran errands for their masters to Joseph Royle's printing office in Williamsburg. Francis Fauquier's Jack, Thomas Jefferson's Jupiter, Robert Carter's Sam, William Trebell's Jimmy and Billy, Jane Vobe's Nan, Reverend John Camm's Bob, and Mrs. Grimes's Mars sent by Miss Hannah Potter are recorded in Royle's 1764 record book. They came to the shop for such items as pamphlets, quills, books, and playing cards. Blacks walking or working on the streets of Williamsburg were not unusual. The capital city afforded them the opportunity to make contact with other slaves, and gather news from far and near concerning family, friends, and events.

The social skills and networking abilities slaves developed enabled them to make out-of-the-ordinary or unlawful activities seem normal. Possessing such skills as reading and writing could also make a big difference. Even the possession of the tools of a particular trade made passing as a free person easier.

A sheriff advertising a captured slave might give much the same information as a master would. He



Slave Pass

Rockefeller Library Special Collections

would also include a request that the owner claim his or her property and pay the charges. Charges included paying the reward and mileage compensation set by law as well as advertising costs of the *Gazette* and the jailer's charges for keeping and maintaining the runaway.

There are far too many runaway ads to mention them all. Each one can captivate today's reader with the vivid and fascinating word pictures of those to whom the ads refer. The following are just a few examples of some of the remarkable notices found in the *Virginia Gazettes* produced in the printing offices in Williamsburg.

In a July 4, 1751, William Hunter *Gazette*, John Stith advertised for his mulatto man slave by the name of Tom. Tom had been taken up several times, but had escaped each time before he could be brought back to his quarter. The last time Tom escaped, he had been "shackled, handcuffed, and an Iron collar about his neck with Prongs." It seems Tom was a regular escape artist. A Hue and Cry appears in the *Gazette* of William Hunter, August 28, 1752, for slave Dick of Northumberland County who attempted to murder his master with a broad ax. He is described as a "well set, artful, and cunning fellow, 40 years of age, five feet seven or eight inches high, broad shoulders, large hips, a small waist, Bow leggs, and flat feet, his Teeth very open before, has some grey hairs in his head and beard, and several scars on his head; he understands going by water, shoe-making, carpenters work, and sawing." Based on this information, one can assume that Dick was middle aged, with distinctive physical features, and was a rather valuable slave with knowledge of several trades whom any master would hate to lose. William Hunter devoted space in his *Gazette* to this slave for at least two weeks, because an article concerning the matter appears in the newspaper one week before the Hue and Cry. The Hue and Cry was still being printed in the paper on September 22, 1752.

In the same newspapers, William Lightfoot of Charles City offered a reward of a pistole for Jasper, if taken in the province and five pistoles if taken out of the province, above and beyond what the law allowed. Jasper had been brought in from New York, but was a native of the West Indies. He was described as having "acquired their particular way of speaking." Even earlier in 1752, another Hue and Cry was printed in the paper for Caesar, a Virginia-born Negro, who talked with a lisp, had inflamed, extremely red eyeballs, was six feet tall, of a yellow complexion, and had filed teeth. He had been rescued from the Prince George County jail. His master, Nathaniel Harrison, was suspected of freeing him. Caesar was said to be able to write a little and read very well. He also understood some of the shoemaker's trade. The authorities suspected that with this knowledge Caesar had attempted to pass as a free person.

In Hunter's September 5, 1755, *Gazette*, John Norton of Yorktown advertised for his fifteen-year-old slave Mingo, who was of a yellow complexion and slim made. All he was said to be wearing when he went away was a light-colored Russia drab coat. Norton said that Mingo took with him a Bay horse and was seen about Hampton pretending that he had been sent down to wait upon a gentleman. Norton offered a half a pistole reward, besides what the law allowed. The advertisement first appeared in the *Gazette* on August 27, 1755.

In Alexander Purdie and John Dixon's paper from June 20, 1766 there were four runaway ads. In many of Purdie and Dixon's *Gazettes*, woodcuts of a running man were positioned beside the ad for the runaway. Bowler Cocke, Jr., advertised for Phil, "who has been gone since last December." Phil had been purchased from Mann Page the previous November. Cocke was informed that Phil had been lurking about some of Mann Page's plantations and Mr. Fox's where Phil had a wife. Forty shillings besides what the law allowed was the reward. Robert Brown advertised for Quamony, "who has been away since last May." Quamony had a white head and beard and spoke poor English. Twenty shillings was the reward.



George Thomas of Hanover advertised for Josee, said to have a more yellow than black complexion, with a face pitted from smallpox. He was about twenty-seven years old, well over five feet tall, well made, had a sour countenance, and pretended to be a Spaniard who, by Josee's own account, was born at Comana. He was said to be used to going by water and, it was supposed, would endeavor to get on board some vessel. The reward was five pounds taken within the colony and ten pounds outside.

One Philip Kearny, of Perth Amboy, New

Jersey, advertised for a mulatto woman named Violet who ran away in October of 1762. She pretended to be a free woman with the story that she was "being imposed upon by being sold a slave for life, run away, which is only an invention of her's for she was born a slave." The subscriber said in the ad that he had purchased Violet for ninety pounds. She was thought to have been somewhere in Maryland, Virginia, or North Carolina, as she had been taken up, but then escaped from the jail in Frederick, Maryland in 1764. Kearny wanted Violet either brought home or sold where she was apprehended.

The case of Philip Kearny was not unusual. Other masters from outside of Virginia had reason to advertise in the *Virginia Gazette*. In a Purdie and Dixon *Gazette* from February 25, 1773, John Gaillard of St. Stephen's Parish in South Carolina offered a three hundred pound reward, or in proportion if taken outside of the province, for Will, George, Sylvia, and one Thomas West. Will was a cooper and rough carpenter, described as "about 25 years of age, five feet eight inches high, of yellowish complexion, slim made, a little knock kneed, his teeth filed, and has his Country marks on his face." George was described as "very artful" and used to taking care of horses. Sylvia also had filed teeth. One hundred and fifty pounds was offered for their return. Thomas West was an overseer on Gaillard's plantation, and was thought to have taken the three slaves into North Carolina, Virginia or Maryland in order to sell them. Another one hundred pounds was offered for information that led to West's capture and conviction.

John Mercer advertised Temple who took a gun with him when he ran. Temple was suspected of being harbored near Bull Run in Fauquier County. He was bought with his mother and sister twenty years before from an estate sale in Williamsburg. The ad states that he spent two years on board the *Wolf*, sloop-of-war, in the West Indies and he carried the marks of discipline he underwent on board. Mercer also advertised two indentured servants, in a rather lengthy advertisement, which cost him more than the minimum three shillings for the first week. He did not offer a specific reward, however. He simply offered satisfaction in proportion to the distance and extraordinary trouble the taker up might be put to, besides what the law allowed.

In a later *Gazette* from the same printers dated December 2, 1773, Peter Pelham of Williamsburg advertised that Tom from Cumberland was in the Public Gaol. He was described as "five feet ten inches high, remarkably black, his Face much scarified with his Country marks, both ears bored, his right with four Holes and his left with five, appears to be upwards of forty years old, and cannot speak to be understood." There can be little doubt that this person had been brought in from Africa.

In the March 17, 1774, *Gazette* of Clementina

Rind, Augustine Logan advertised "a half Indian fellow who calls himself Jack Brown, about 40 years old, 5 feet six inches high, pretty light for the sort, and has a crooked nose, likely caused by a blow. He also has rotted out teeth and is extremely fond of liquor." He had escaped once before for three years and passed as a free man. Isaac Younghusband advertised Jacob, also about "40 years old and about 5 feet eight inches high and of middle size." He was described further as "a sensible fellow who has waited on gentlemen all over the country and is known among Negroes in most of the towns. He has run off before from Henrico Co., and was taken up at Annapolis, Maryland, where he passed as a free man."

The following advertisement mentions a mulatto man slave and an indentured servant woman running off together. Sancho and Elizabeth Beaver of Cumberland County made their escape from Joseph Calland. Sancho was about forty years old and Elizabeth was about twenty years old. Sancho was a carpenter and cooper by trade and was said to stoop a great deal. Elizabeth's hair was described as being cut in a very uncommon manner, short but long about the temples. They were expected to try to pass as a free husband and wife. The reward for them was six pounds if taken in Virginia and ten pounds if outside of the colony, besides what the law allowed. Sancho was also outlawed.

Joe of Prince George County ran from Peter Binford. He was six feet tall and had small legs, one of which was very "lumpy." His reward was twenty shillings besides what the law allowed. A Virginia-born Negro man by the name of John Hedgeman, about twenty-three years old, had been committed to the jail of Prince William County. He said he belonged to Mary Wharton of Hanover County. Imprisoned in Gloucester County on February 8 (the *Gazette* is from the week of March 17) was a Negro man, by the name of Harry Perfume, who said he had no master. His chief residences had been at Philadelphia and at Norfolk and he had made several voyages to London. Another Negro, whose name was not mentioned, at first denied that he had a master, but then admitted that his owner lived in Lancaster County. On March 1 both of these men broke out of jail and a thirty-shilling reward was offered for their return.

John and his son Robin ran away from William Griffin of King and Queen County. John had been coachman to the late speaker of the House of Burgesses John Robinson. Griffin learned that the two were seen together at Mr. Peter Lyons's in Hanover, and passed as if on an errand for Griffin to Richmond. Griffin offered only what the law allowed for a reward.

This last set of advertisements is among the most interesting. They were printed in the supplement to Alexander Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* from November 10, 1775. This, of course, was around the time of Lord Dunmore's Proclamation. Another



er runaway in this period was from James City County. Harry was described as "a young Negro man who can read and write." Harry had had smallpox, and likely had pockmarks on his body. Especially interesting is the fact that Harry was purchased from James Donald who brought him from Scotland, where Harry had lived for many years. This slave spoke "Scotch" and could sing "Scotch" songs. Perhaps he wished to make his escape to Dunmore, with the hope of finding refuge with the Scottish lord.

Ned, a Virginia-born Negro, ran from James Edmondson of Essex County the middle of July 1775, and was still being advertised as of September 10. The ad states that Ned was about eighteen years old and five feet tall. He had a scar on one of his hands from a burn, which caused some of his fingers to grow together. He was described as having a flat face and long head that was remarkably sharp at the top.

Another Ned ran from James Jones of Gloucester County, and had been gone since May 14. He was nineteen or twenty years old, five feet two or three inches tall. He had a tawny complexion and ringworms on his face. He also had white hairs on his head. Ned was purchased for Mann Page, Jr., and was believed to be headed for one of Page's quarters in King William County or to Richmond, where his mother lived with a Mr. Thomas Booth. James Jones, Ned's former owner, ran the advertisement, but Mann Page, Ned's new owner, was responsible for paying the reward of forty shillings.

The Norfolk jailer advertised several slaves in this 1775 *Gazette* supplement. Harry, owned by

Phillip Rootes of King and Queen County, ran away and was suspected of being harbored by some of the Negroes of Colonel Thomas Moore of West Point, probably because he had friends or relatives there. He had been mortgaged to the Hon. William Nelson of Yorktown. Harry was in Yorktown when he ran away. Mike of West Point in King William County ran from John West December of the previous year. Mike was about twenty-two years old, six feet tall, and stuttered. Davy was committed to the Norfolk jail on the eighth day of the previous March and said he belonged to William Stith of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. William Parrot, on the other hand, stated that he was a free black born about a mile outside of Williamsburg. He was committed to the jail on September 10 of the previous year. The jailer wrote "His owner (if any) is desired to take him away, and pay charges." How tragic for this man to have lived free, only to be put in jail as a suspected runaway and possibly auctioned into slavery because no one would claim him or come to his defense.

A wide variety of clothing was listed in all of these notices. Types of material varied as well as the amount of clothing carried off by the runaways. John Mercer's Temple ran away wearing a blue double-breasted jacket with horn buttons. George Thomas said only that, "Josee carried cloths with him that were new last fall, also some other old clothes." In a Purdie and Dixon *Gazette* from October 18, 1770, James Smith advertised Cuffey as a Jamaica-born slave who "speaks English tolerably, had on a lightish colored Newmarket coat, a red short jacket, old blue breeches, an old felt hat much torn, and old shoes with pewter buckles." He was brought from North Carolina and was suspected of heading that way.

Mann Page advertised Jack. He was suspected by his owner of changing his name to John Wilkinson and "could easily pass for a white man, as he is a very light mulatto." He had gray eyes and dark brown hair, which he wore tied in the back. Jack was said to be much addicted to drinking. He had on a brown fustian coat, canvas waistcoat, and light colored cloth breeches. Three pounds reward was offered for him.

Inglis and Long were willing to pay three

pounds for Will Morris if he was brought back to Norfolk. A reward of forty shillings for securing him in any jail in the colony was also offered. Morris ran from the schooner *Amelia* lying at Portsmouth. He wore "an old white flannel waistcoat, short white trousers, mixed worsted stockings, soled shoes, and a greasy flapped hat." The ad for Sancho and Elizabeth Beaver listed many pieces of clothing, so many in fact that Elizabeth was suspected of wearing a man's hat because Sancho took two with him. Ads that do not list clothing usually described slaves who had been gone for quite some time.

It is quite possible that the size of the reward offered for runaway slaves reflected the degree to which the master wanted to recover the slave or possibly a reflection on the economic circumstances of the master. A runaway could be a very expensive loss, considering the amount of clothing, tools, knives, guns, horses, boats, and other property taken by runaways, not to mention the losses in production and profits due to the absence of a skilled worker. Consider that Phillip Kearny paid ninety pounds for Violet (Purdie and Dixon June 20, 1766). Then add to this three shillings, minimum, for the first week and two shillings for each week after for advertising in the *Virginia Gazette*. Include, also, the five pounds reward that was offered. This was paid in addition to what the law in Virginia allowed at this time, which was five shillings for "taking up" the runaway and four pence per mile for the distance traveled to get the runaway to a jail or to his or her master. Add to this the charges for upkeep while the slave was kept in jail. This could add up to an astronomical amount of money, considering that this slave had successfully eluded capture since 1762, and that the owner felt it necessary to advertise the runaway in another colony.

What shall we say, then, about the runaways themselves? It is easy to see their motivation for running away. Many advertisements reflect the wishes of these people to renew their emotional and physical ties with family members and friends. Seth Ward's Primus, advertised in William Rind's *Gazette* for January 3, 1771, ran away November 10, 1770. He was thought to have run to Mr. Allen Cocke's in Surry County, where he was said "to be well acquainted with Cocke's Negroes." Ward made the interesting statement that Primus was married into his (Cocke's) family, giving the impression that the Negroes on Cocke's plantation were more to him than just property. Two years later in February 1772, Seth Ward advertised again for Primus in Rind and Purdie and Dixon's *Gazettes*. Primus was also described as "being a preacher since the age of sixteen."

In both notices we can see that Ward did not care much for Primus's preaching, because he had whipped Primus for it. Primus "stirred up the Negroes with his preaching" as some would say, for



RUN away from the subscriber, in Halifax, on the 13th ult. a negro fellow named CUFFEY, about 25 years old, five feet six inches high, a slender built fellow, very sensible, speaks tolerable good English, though Jamaica born; he had on when he went away a lightish coloured Newmarket coat, a red short jacket, old blue breeches, old felt hat much torn, old shoes, with pewter buckles. He was formerly the property of Mr. Joseph Williams, in Duplin county, North Carolina, on the waters of Cape Fear, and it is supposed will endeavour to make his escape that way, with an excuse that he now belongs to Mr. Williams, and is going to where he formerly lived. Whoever apprehends the said negro, or that he ever may get him again, shall have 20 l. reward, and a chain in Carolina 1770, besides what the law allows.

JAMES SMITH.

he was said to have "caused much mischief in the neighborhood." Was his motivation for running away spiritual in nature? If Primus considered himself an evangelical preacher and felt motivated to spread the gospel, then there is nothing that really could have kept him from leaving and fulfilling what he considered his call by God to the ministry.

George Noble advertised for an entire slave family in the October 1, 1767, *Gazette* of Purdie and Dixon. Jupiter, alias Gibb, his brother Robin and their mother, Dinah, who was described as "an old wench who is six feet tall" had run off.

Jupiter, like Primus in the previous ad, had been whipped at Sussex courthouse, "having been tried there for stirring up the Negroes to an insurrection, being a great Newlight preacher." Runaway slaves described as Baptist preachers and teachers or fond of preaching and singing hymns were not uncommon.

Charles, a runaway owned by Charles and Sarah Floyd of Charles City, was on the run for approximately seven years. Ads paid for by Charles Floyd appeared for him in Rind's October 27, 1768, *Gazette*, in Rind's

February 16, 1769, *Gazette* paid for by Sarah Floyd, and in Purdie and Dixon's April 18, 1771 *Gazette*. The Rind ads specify that the slave ran away February 16, 1765, and was absent nearly two years. He may have been caught and ran off again. Charles, too, was described as a great preacher who read very well. He was also a sawyer and shoemaker by trade and carried with him shoemaker's tools.

Peter, advertised in a January 1767 Purdie and Dixon *Gazette*, ran away on Christmas Day 1765 and was first advertised January 1, 1766. He was recently brought from North Carolina, where he had been a runaway for four years. The ad stated that he had a wife and children there. More than a few fugitive slaves had a history of running away. An example of this comes from Hunter and Dixon's newspaper for February 14, 1777. James ran away from Hunter's Ironworks on the falls of the Rappahannock. He had been gone since August 12, 1776. He passed as a free man on board the *Scorpion*, a privateer, changing his name to John James. This man and many others were able to move about and manipulate the system to allow them to remain free for years, if not for the rest of their lives.

For their white owners, runaways represented a major economic loss. Runaway slaves who were tradesmen or those who were the personal servants of their masters caused an inconvenience and a disruption to daily life when they left. Slavery was a way of life for the owners who depended on these men, women, boys, and girls for everything from working the fields to producing goods, cooking meals, and setting out the next day's suit of clothing.

With the issuance of Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, a seemingly safe haven was provided

for the first time to slaves willing to fight for the British. Yet before November 1775 the many runaways listed in the papers suggest that these persons believed that there was always somewhere for them to go, a place where they could start another life as free people. Those who heard a gospel of liberation proclaimed by slave preachers knew that an opportunity to be free would come someday. Those who ran may have become impatient of waiting for the "year of Jubilee," and simply took the chance of making a life for themselves and



their families outside of the bonds of slavery.

The printing offices in Williamsburg became instruments used by slave owners to carry out the laws of the time. These laws aimed for the control of slaves and servants by spreading the word to the public at large throughout colonial Virginia and other colonies that "property" was running from its owner. Yet the advertisements themselves convey a poignant and courageous truth, that these were real human beings trying to reclaim their dignity and their freedom.

On the eve of the Revolution runaway slaves and their masters reflected the paradox that was slavery. One part of Virginia's population was openly crying out for the rights of man, freedom from tyranny, and what they considered to be "a wretched and miserable state of slavery" by being taxed without representation in the British Parliament. Another portion of the society by running away from their masters proclaimed the right to change their state of being and the condition of their lives. Runaway slaves claimed their God-given right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Their actions proclaimed on a profound human level "Give me liberty or give me death!"

"Smallpox for Their Bounty and Starvation for Their Wages":¹ Yorktown's Forgotten Army

by Robert M. Dunkerly

Bert is a former historical interpreter in the Education Division/Capitol Area and is currently employed by the National Park Service.

Our understanding of African-American perspectives of major events is limited by the lack of written records. Historians are often forced to infer slaves' thoughts and actions through the writings of masters and owners. Actions speak louder than words, however, and the defection of slaves in large numbers to the British during the Revolution reveals much about the hopes and aspirations of Williamsburg's enslaved residents. The massive earthen fortifications ringing Yorktown and Gloucester Point across the York River were built in large part by an army of runaways who were then turned out, abandoned to their fate during the siege.

Slaves in all the colonies had a long history of both silent and active resistance. Never entirely submissive, they were always watching

for opportunities to improve their conditions. The outbreak of the Revolution presented such an occasion. In 1775, before the opening of hostilities, Lord Dunmore issued a proclamation offering freedom to servants and slaves of rebels who would fight for the British. Although many flocked to the royal governor's forces, some could not or hesitated, deterred by "prudence, caution, fear, and realism."² Though not a central issue during the Revolutionary War, slaves in Williamsburg looked to both sides for opportunities and followed events with great interest.³

In subsequent years, the British made repeated offers of freedom to runaway slaves, actively recruited them, and raided the Virginia coast in search of supplies and manpower. The British offer was tempting to the capital city's slaves, most of whom were better educated and closer to whites and, therefore, more able to obtain news. At first reluctant to arm blacks, the Americans were late in recruiting African-American soldiers, and efforts met limited success in the southern colonies. By 1781, the war had dragged on for six years, and British armies controlled most of the large cities. When Lord Cornwallis's army marched through Virginia, virtually at will, many slaves on the Peninsula took advantage of the chance to join them.⁴

Johann Ewald, a German officer, described the blacks during the British march that summer:

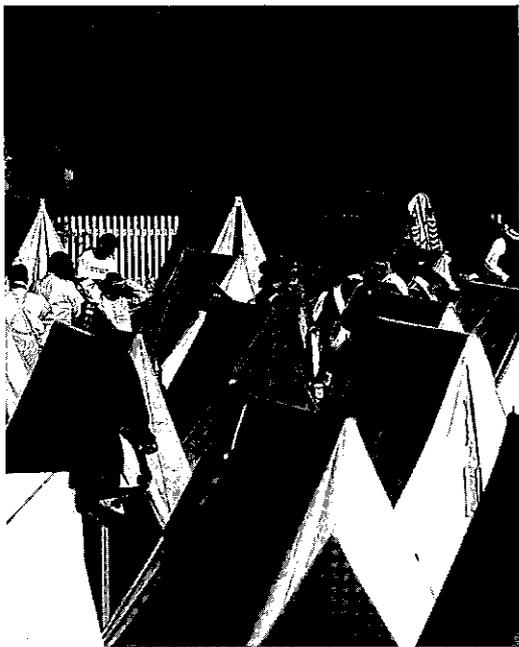
What made this . . . so comical was the motley clothing of the black people. . . . These people were given their freedom by the army because it was actually thought this would punish the rich, rebellious-minded inhabitants of Carolina and Virginia. They had plundered the wardrobes of their masters . . . divided the loot, and clothed themselves piecemeal with it. For example, a completely naked Negro wore a pair of silk breeches, another a finely colored coat, and a third a silk vest without sleeves, a fourth an elegant shirt, a fifth a fine churchman's hat, and a sixth a wig.⁵

Some served British or German officers as servants, maids, and cooks. This collection of runaways

By his Excellency the Right Honourable JOHN Earl of DUNMORE, his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governour-General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice-Admiral of the same:

A P R O C L A M A T I O N .

AS I have ever entertained Hopes that an Accommodation might have taken Place between Great Britain and this Colony, without being compelled, by my Duty, to this most disagreeable, but now absolutely necessary Step, rendered so by a Body of armed Men, unlawfully assembled, firing on his Majesty's Tenders, and the Formation of an Army, and that Army now on their March to attack his Majesty's Troops, and destroy the well-disposed Subjects of this Colony: To defeat such treasonable Purposes, and that all such Traitors, and their Abettors, may be brought to Justice, and that the Peace and good Order of this Colony may be again restored, which the ordinary Course of the civil Law is unable to effect, I have thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, hereby declaring, that until the aforesaid good Purposes can be obtained, I do, in Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given, by his Majesty, determine to execute martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Colony; and to the End that Peace and good Order may the sooner be restored, I do require every Person capable of bearing Arms to resort to his Majesty's S T A N D A R D, or be looked upon as Traitors to his Majesty's Crown and Government, and thereby become liable to the Penalty the Law inflicts upon such Offences, such as Forfeiture of Life, Confiscation of Lands, &c. &c. And I do hereby farther declare all indentured Servants, Negroes, or others (appertaining to Rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining his Majesty's Troops, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper Sense of their Duty, to his Majesty's Crown and Dignity. I do farther order, and require, all his Majesty's liege Subjects to retain their Quitrents, or any other Taxes due, or that may become due, in their own Custody, till such Time as Peace may be again restored to this at present most unhappy Country, or demanded of them for their former Salutary Purposes, by Officers properly authorized to receive the same.



accompanied the British, assisted in plundering and scouting, and looked forward to their freedom with the crushing of the rebellion. As Ewald notes, "Any place this horde approached was eaten clean, like an acre invaded by a swarm of locusts."⁶ Throughout the summer, the British army had been free to maneuver at will across the colony; with the arrival of General George Washington's main army and Count de Rochambeau's French contingent, this ended.

Once in Yorktown on August 1, Cornwallis began to fortify his position in the town and at Gloucester Point. Soldiers and slaves alike immediately began work on massive earthworks reinforced with logs.⁷ Although the sand was soft and easy to dig, the humid days took their toll.⁸ The former slaves were organized into a corps of "Negro Pioneers" or were dispersed among various German and British regiments. After completing the lines at Gloucester Point, those blacks north of the river were transferred to work on the Yorktown defenses. On August 25, Cornwallis directed his regimental commanders to return all blacks in their units to the Negro Pioneers.⁹ Work continued on the fortifications all day and into the night by the light of lanterns. Other projects included building an abatis obstruction of sharpened stakes and brush to hinder attackers and clearing brush for a clear field of fire for Cornwallis's infantry.¹⁰

Washington and Rochambeau arrived

before Yorktown on September 28, carefully deploying their forces to surround the British garrison.¹¹ Cut off by land and also by a French fleet in the Chesapeake, Cornwallis found himself isolated from reinforcement or resupply. A force of 7,500 British and Germans, with their several thousand African-American laborers and servants, found themselves facing a combined allied army of 16,000 fresh troops with ample heavy artillery.¹²

These extra hands, invaluable in constructing the massive earthworks, were nonetheless a major drain on Cornwallis's limited food supply. On September 3, he ordered the commissary to suspend distribution of flour to the blacks and issue them peas instead.¹³ Conditions deteriorated rapidly as the army was crowded into an ever smaller space, soon to be subjected to the relentless bombardment of a numerically superior enemy. During the last week of September, fearful of his dwindling supplies, Cornwallis ordered the former slaves turned out of his works, essentially abandoning them to their fate. Many were ill-clad, malnourished, and had contracted smallpox. The African-Americans now found themselves between the lines of the two armies.¹⁴ The allies began digging siege lines and erecting batteries to pound the British positions. The bombardment began on October 9, and allied artillery superiority made its impact felt on the trapped garrison.¹⁵ One week later Johann Ewald observed that

we drove back to the enemy all of our black friends, whom we had taken so long to despoil the countryside. We had used them to good advantage and set them free, and now, with fear and trembling, they had to face the reward of their cruel masters. Last night I had to make a sneak patrol, during which I came across a great number of these unfortunates. In their hunger, they lay between two fires, they had to be driven out by force. This harsh act had to be carried out, however, because of the scarcity of provisions, but we should have thought about their deliverance at this time.¹⁶

American and French night patrols also encountered these refugees between the lines.

General Washington found that some of his officers were taking the slaves to use as personal servants and issued a stern order

halting the practice.¹⁷ Not all of the African-Americans were expelled by the British, for later accounts mention casualties from the bombardment, which began after the expulsion order. How many remained within the works and under what circumstances remains unknown.¹⁸

After storming the British outer works and consolidating them into a new advanced position on October 14, the Allies shelled Cornwallis at point-blank range and rendered his position untenable. He offered to surrender on October 17, and the British laid down their arms two days later.¹⁹ Many American soldiers and officers commented on the runaways in the days after the fighting. Years later Private Joseph P. Martin recalled that

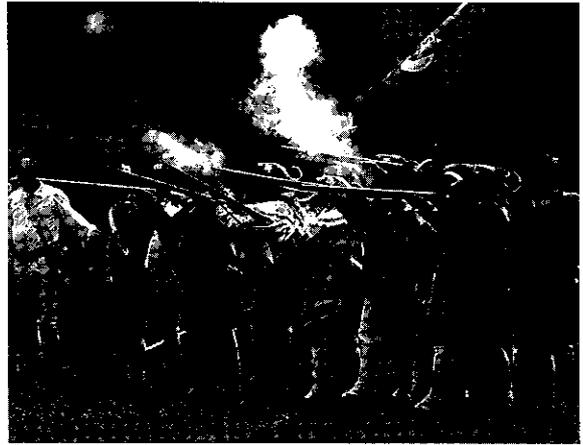
*we saw in the woods hundreds of Negroes which Lord Cornwallis . . . had turned adrift, with no other recompense for their confidence in his humanity than the smallpox for their bounty and starvation and death for their wages. They might be seen scattered about in every direction, dead and dying.*²⁰

Their ordeal was not over with the close of the engagement, however.

After the siege, American forces marched the British and German prisoners north to camps in Maryland and Pennsylvania, the earthworks were leveled, and residents slowly returned. As for the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of African-Americans roaming the woods, Private Martin observed that

*many of the owners of these denuded creatures came to our camp and engaged some of our men to take them up, generally offering a guinea a head for them. Some of our Sappers and Miners took up several of them that belonged to a Colonel Baniester; when he applied for them they refused to deliver them to him unless he would promise not to punish them. I saw several of those miserable wretches delivered to their master. . . . He told them that he gave them the free choice either to go with him or remain where they were, that he would not injure a hair of their heads. . . . Had the poor souls received a reprieve at the gallows they could not have been more overjoyed.*²¹

Other accounts mention patrolling the woods



after the siege and rounding up runaways.²²

Washington had these blacks gathered and placed under guard in one of the captured redoubts. Those who could prove they were free were released, the rest were held until owners came to claim them. Unclaimed slaves were sent to area plantations, and Washington ordered newspaper advertisements posted in hopes of reaching their owners. By the end of October, the remaining runaways were sent to Williamsburg, where officers with supplies received them. Some managed to escape with French officers, who took them as servants in the West Indies. The majority were returned to slavery.²³

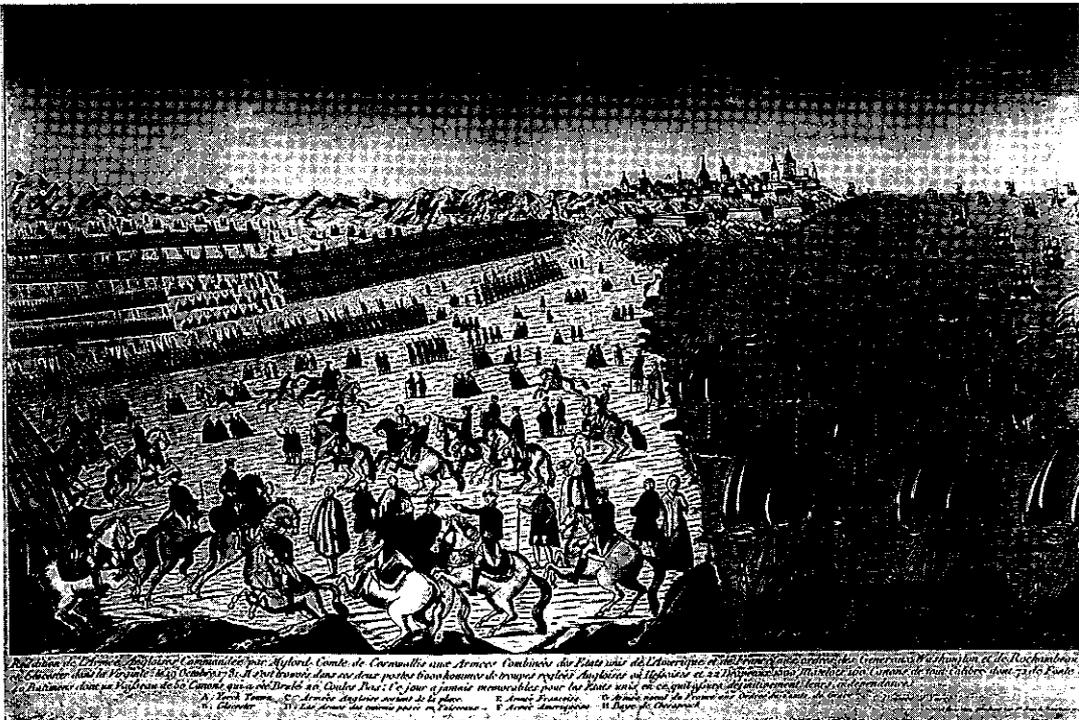
Accounts mention that the runaways' miscellaneous collection of clothing proved wholly inadequate as the summer of 1781 turned into autumn. For two months, they labored on fortifications, then were turned out without provisions. For two more weeks, they languished between the lines until the siege ended. How many there were we may never know. Estimates range from one thousand to five thousand with two thousand being the most likely figure. Why they left their owners remains equally uncertain. As they left no accounts, their voices are absent from the written record. Freedom motivated some; many saw the opportunity to join with the side that appeared to be winning—the redcoats marching unopposed past their plantations. Used as scouts and as laborers who toiled in the oppressive heat to build fortifications and erect batteries, these men and women were repaid by being abandoned.

Slaves and their status were a peripheral issue for the armies of the British and Americans. The blacks were simply a tool used by

both sides.²⁴ Yet as the Yorktown campaign demonstrates, slaves were ready to exploit opportunities and make risky decisions when they could. Eighty years later, two armies again converged on Yorktown. May 1862 found Union troops besieging Confederate defenders in the old port town. Federal Gen-

eral Phil Kearny recalled meeting an elderly slave who had heard the guns of the first siege, *more than eighty years earlier*.²⁵ Perhaps this individual lived to see another remarkable event, African-American soldiers patrolling the streets of Union-occupied Yorktown just two years later.

- 1 Joseph P. Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, ed. George F. Scheer (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1962), 241.
- 2 Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 169.
- 3 Thad W. Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1965), 118, 120, 127; Peter H. Wood, "Liberty Is Sweet," in *Beyond the American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism*, Alfred F. Young, ed. (de Kalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993), 152, 162, 166.
- 4 Tate, 120, 124, 127; Frey, 166; Wood, 66.
- 5 Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*, trans. and ed. Joseph P. Tustin (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979), 305.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 Burke Davis, *The Campaign That Won America: The Story of Yorktown* (New York: Dial Press, 1970), 131.
- 8 Broadus Mitchell, *Road to Yorktown* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1971), 65.
- 9 Ensign Dennis, *Orderly Book* 15, 35. Manuscript at Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Va.
- 10 Davis, 140.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 189.
- 12 Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881), 111.
- 13 Erwin N. Thompson, *Historic Resource Study: The British Defenses of Yorktown* (Denver, Colo.: National Park Service, 1976), 172.
- 14 Davis, 202.
- 15 Johnston, 138.
- 16 Ewald, 335-336.
- 17 Thompson, 173; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931-1944), 202-203.
- 18 Ludwig Closen, *The Revolutionary Journal, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 115.
- 19 Johnston, 151.
- 20 Martin, 241.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 241-242.
- 22 Johnston, 172.
- 23 Thompson, 173-174.
- 24 Tate, 120, 124.
- 25 William B. Styple, ed., *Letters from the Peninsula: The Civil War Letters of General Phillip Kearny* (Kearny, N.J.: Belle Grove Publishing Co., 1988), 52.



Surrender of Cornwallis

The Gentlemen's Paradox

by Antoinette Brennan

Toni is a character interpreter in the Education Division/Capitol Area.

The Enslaving Virginia story line addresses three key points: America's odyssey from indentured servitude to racial slavery, the diversity of the American cultures, and the paradox (to late twentieth-century Americans) of freedom and slavery coexisting in colonial America. Let us take a closer look at the last of these points, the paradox.

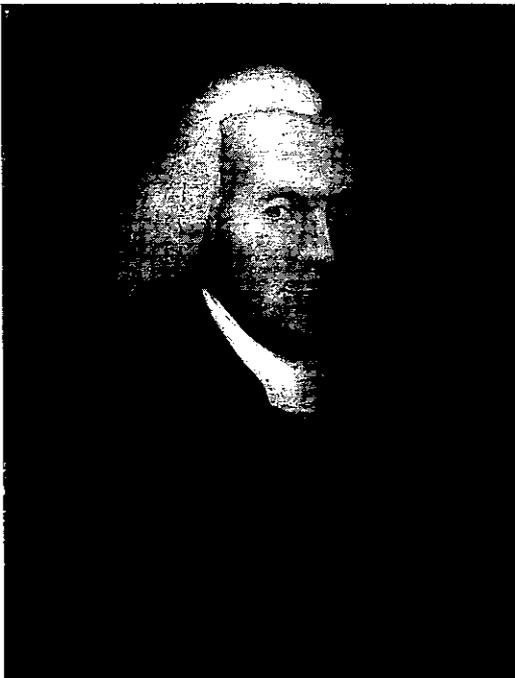
In 1775, Thomas Paine asked how Americans could complain so loudly of Britain's attempts to enslave them while they held so many thousands in slavery. At the time the colonists declared independence, one out of every five Americans was enslaved. The institution was legal in each state of the newly established United States. The incongruity of maintaining slavery in a society founded upon freedom and liberty was beginning to be recognized and criticized by some members of that society. Nowhere is that paradox more evident than in a study of the known views of some of the gentlemen who helped shape our nation.

As prosecuting attorney and then presid-

ing justice for Caroline County, Edmund Pendleton was quite familiar with the justice system for slaves in eighteenth-century Virginia. Severe restrictions were imposed in order to keep them subjugated. Patrols ensured that slaves did not assemble, night walk, or own weapons. Even minor opposition to whites was not tolerated.

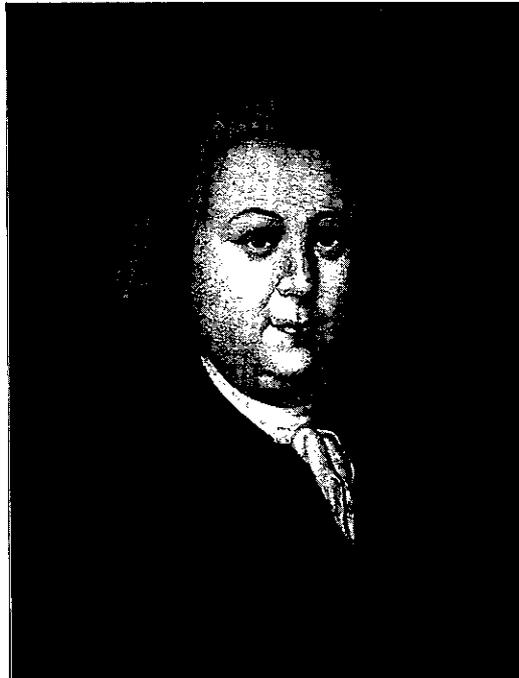
Blacks in Caroline County constituted more than half of the population. Many slave cases came before Pendleton's court of oyer and terminer, which could inflict capital punishment without a defending attorney, jury, or appeal. In one case, a slave was transported out of the colony in spite of having been acquitted of the crime for which he was tried. Yet Mr. Pendleton, a slave owner, wrote the resolution calling for Virginia's delegates to the Continental Congress to propose a declaration of freedom of the colonies from Great Britain, the preparation of a declaration of rights, and a plan of government to secure liberties to the people. PARADOX

Peyton Randolph did not leave a diary or letters that reveal his thoughts about slavery, but surviving court records reveal his active participation in a legal system that afforded little protection for slaves. As a justice of the peace, he, like Pendleton, sat in judgment on slaves accused of crimes. By 1773, Randolph had traveled from Wil-



Colonial Williamsburg Collection

Edmund Pendleton, artist unknown



Colonial Williamsburg Collection

Peyton Randolph after Charles Willson Peale

Williamsburg to Yorktown to sit on the bench for at least fifteen slave trials before the York County oyer and terminer court, yet, like his father before him, he appears to have taken care to keep groups of slaves together on his plantations, and mothers and children were bequeathed as units in his will. PARADOX

Patrick Henry left no doubt as to his views on slavery. He addressed the matter openly, in January 1773, in a letter to Robert Pleasants, a Quaker who was later the president of the Virginia Abolition Society. Henry questioned how a country based on liberty and freedom could abide a practice so totally repugnant to humanity and destructive to liberty. He further stated that Christianity—a religion that teaches its followers to be mild, meek, gentle, and generous—was at variance with a legal system that sanctioned slavery. Henry admitted that he, too, was at fault in owning slaves, but he could not foresee the system being reformed at that time. Rather, he advocated leniency and gradual progress toward justice. He did not want Virginia to import more slaves, preferring to rely on artisans and workers of German, Dutch, and Scottish descent as Virginia expanded westward. He advocated granting these groups permission to practice their religion as they saw fit as an incentive to come to America. PARADOX

If you were to visit George Washington's

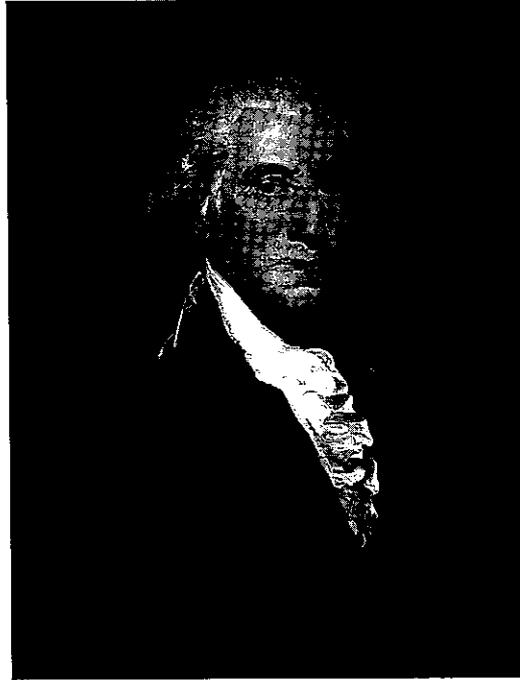
noble house perched high above the Potomac, your eyes would also take in rows of humble cabins that provided shelter for the many scores of slaves who toiled for him. But Washington came to the realization that it was wrong to hold blacks in bondage. Meanwhile, he resolved to sell none of his slaves.

In a 1786 letter to Robert Morris (Philadelphia merchant and superintendent of finance under the Articles of Confederation), Washington wrote that there was not a man living who wished more sincerely than he did for the abolition of slavery. But Washington and some other Virginia slaveholders believed that there was only one proper way to accomplish this and that was by legislative action. When his old friend Lafayette purchased an estate in the French colony of Cayenne (French Guiana) for the purpose of emancipating the slaves living there, Washington commended him, expressing the desire that such an attitude find its way into the minds of slaveholders in the United States. He admitted, however, that few in Virginia were likely to follow Lafayette's example.

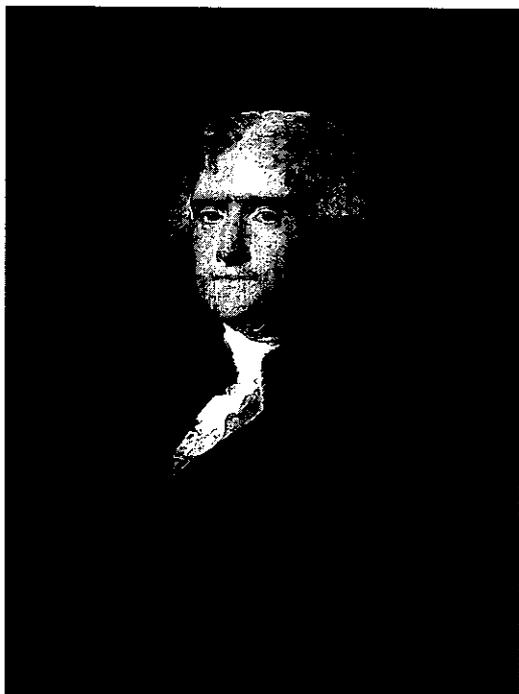
In spite of his growing misgivings about slavery, Washington was a man of his time. In 1791, when the French Minister to the United States asked for aid to put down a slave revolt in the French colony of San Domingue (later Haiti), then President Washington furnished money as well as arms



Colonial Williamsburg Collection
Patrick Henry by Thomas Sully, 1815



Colonial Williamsburg Collection
George Washington by Gilbert Stuart, 19th century



Colonial Williamsburg Collection
Thomas Jefferson by Gilbert Stuart, 1805



Colonial Williamsburg Collection
James Madison by Gilbert Stuart, 1804

and ammunition without hesitation and lamented the rebellious slaves' actions. As president, Washington was in a position to exert influence on his countrymen toward manumission, but he chose to leave this problem to future Americans, fearing that ending slavery at that time might destabilize the infant republic. But, at his death in 1799, he specified that his personal slave, Billy Lee, be freed immediately, that all slaves at Mount Vernon be freed at Mrs. Washington's death, and that the aged and young were to be supported and taught to read (*Enslaving Virginia Resource Book*, p. 496). PARADOX

Thomas Jefferson began his political career, in 1769, by seconding Richard Bland's motion to grant "certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws" to slaves. In 1770, Jefferson defended a mulatto, Samuel Howell, who believed he had a right to his freedom. Jefferson's famous 1774 *Summary View of the Rights of British America* stated that "The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was, unhappily, introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa." His words in the Declaration of

Independence of 1776, "that all men are created equal," seem the culmination of these ideas.

Yet during this time Mr. Jefferson owned some two hundred slaves. He, too, felt the institution should be ended, but how? He summed up the problem for us so well when he wrote that "we have a wolf by the ears; we can neither hold him nor let him go. On one side is injustice, the other, self destruction." PARADOX

James Madison leaves us a clear record of his opposition to the institution of slavery. In a letter written to his father, in 1783, he stated that he could not punish one of his slaves by transporting him "when that same slave merely coveted that liberty which we have proclaimed . . . to be the right, and worthy pursuit, of every human being." During the Constitutional Convention, Madison accepted the clause (article I, section 9) that delayed the prohibition of the slave trade by twenty years in order to compromise with South Carolina and Georgia. If the new federal government permitted the importation of slaves for another twenty years, the old imperial government would have permitted the practice forever. Though Madison saw the former as a defect in the Constitution, he felt it was counter-

balanced by the guaranteed cessation of the slave trade in 1808.

Yet, at his death, Madison owned some one hundred slaves. He was unwilling to free them because of his concern for the future financial security of his much younger wife. Madison doggedly clung to the hope that all that was necessary "for a rapid erasure of the blot [slavery] from our republican character" was to find outlets, such as the new colony of Liberia on the

west coast of Africa, for freed slaves. This was a patently unworkable solution. That Madison clung to it is suggestive of his unresolved conflicted feelings about slavery. Again, PARADOX.

Thus, all six of these gentlemen, proponents of liberty and individual freedom, ultimately justified the practice of slavery by accepting the status quo. To students of history at the end of the twentieth century it seems indeed a paradox!

Williamsburg's James Madison and the New Republic's George Washington: Bishop Madison's Oration at Bruton Parish Church

by David L. Holmes

Dr. Holmes is professor of religion at the College of William and Mary.

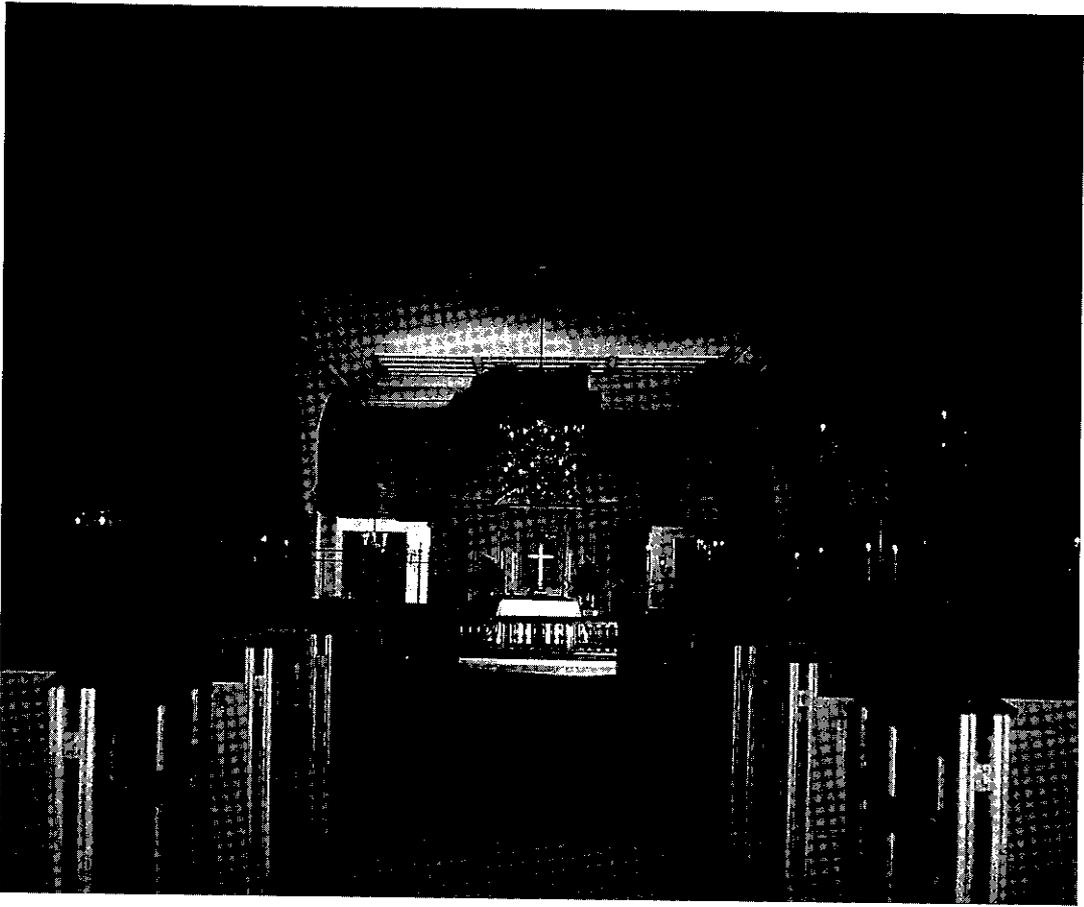
Early in 1999, as part of its commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the death of George Washington, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association will issue a new edition of the most reprinted oration delivered during the period of national mourning for Washington. American evangelist Billy Graham, who has served as spiritual counselor to several American presidents, has written the foreword. Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg was the site for the oration delivered by James Madison, eighth president of the College of William and Mary and first bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. Citizens of Williamsburg and college faculty and students formed the audience.

When George Washington, who had led the United States into independence and served as its first president, died in December 1799, the new nation experienced the greatest grief it had yet known. In keeping with a resolution of Congress, President John Adams proclaimed the following February 22 (the anniversary of Washington's birth, which Americans had celebrated unofficially since the 1780s) as the official day for nationwide mourning. From Washington's death through February 22, 1800, specially selected



*Colonial Williamsburg Collection
General Washington Memorial by Oliver B.
Goldsmith, 19th-century mourning picture*

orators in towns from Maine to Mississippi delivered a known total of more than three hundred discourses in memory of Washington. On the day of commemoration, for example, President Timothy Dwight of Yale College spoke in New Haven. In Baltimore the citizen selected to speak was Roman Catholic bishop John Carroll. In Alexandria,



Virginia, Dr. Elisha C. Dick, one of the physicians present at Washington's death bed, delivered the oration.

For the citizens of Williamsburg, a town that ranked behind only Alexandria and Philadelphia in its intimacy of association with Washington, the memorial oration was especially relevant. Williamsburg had provided the setting for Washington's sixteen years of service in the House of Burgesses. It had served as the scene for the linking of the American and French armies before the critical Battle of Yorktown. As a young man, Washington had received his surveyor's license from the College of William and Mary; at the time of his death he was chancellor of the college.

The Williamsburg citizen selected to deliver the memorial oration was not only the president of William and Mary but also Washington's bishop. Born in 1749 in the Valley of Virginia, James Madison (1749–1812) graduated with highest honors from William and Mary in 1772. Although he studied law under George Wythe, he never practiced. Instead, he joined the college faculty in 1773 as professor of mathematics. He traveled to England two

years later to be ordained into the Anglican ministry and returned to find Williamsburg and the college torn by the tensions of the Revolution. In 1777, he was elected president of William and Mary in place of the Reverend John Camm, a Tory who left office rather than swear allegiance to the American Revolution.

Although Madison, like Camm, had sworn allegiance to the English monarchy at the time of his ordination, he became an earnest patriot during the Revolution, even serving as captain of the college's company of militia. Always interested in national affairs, he allied himself after the war with the emerging Republican-Democratic forces. The party was led by his friend and frequent correspondent Thomas Jefferson, by his second cousin James Madison, and by his former student James Monroe. During the thirty-six years of Bishop Madison's presidency, no college in America produced as many national leaders as William and Mary.

One of the most prominent American scientists of his day, Madison was not only the leader of the surveying team that extended the Mason-Dixon line into Ohio, but also the designer of a standard map of Virginia. Even

after he was elected and consecrated as first bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, colleges from King's (Columbia) in New York to the College of Charleston to the Presbyterian Washington College (later Washington and Lee) sought to attract him away from William and Mary to serve as their president. Many Virginians viewed him as the most eloquent preacher they had ever heard. In the former capital of Virginia, Bishop James Madison was therefore a natural choice to deliver the funeral eulogy for George Washington on February 22, 1800.

Madison's memorial sermon was remarkably successful. Reprinted eight times by publishers as far away from Williamsburg as Philadelphia and London, it represents a notable example of eighteenth-century American eloquence. Taking his text from a Pauline epistle and beginning with a reference to the nationwide mourning for the dead president, the bishop proceeded to recount Washington's conspicuous achievements. He traced Washington's career as a military leader, as a statesman and chief magistrate, and finally as a private citizen. All the while, Madison extolled Washington's many virtues, including "his temperance, his self-command in the heat of battle, his patience in sufferings, his prudence, his magnanimity, his ardent patriotism."

The discourse ended with Madison urging his listeners to preserve those religious and moral qualities for which the Father of his Country provided an outstanding example—so that at the "awful moment" of death they may, like the Apostle Paul, exclaim, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." As Madison asserted in his dedication "To the students of William and Mary College," George Washington was a model of moral worth, a figure they and other Americans should not only admire but also attempt to imitate.

Technically, an example of the *epideictic* oration (once designed to praise, or—as in Marc Antony's speech over Caesar's body in *Julius Caesar*—to blame), Madison's sermon was written in the high (or grand and inflated) style. Because February 22, 1800, marked an occasion of solemn mourning, the oration displays a "show" rhetoric—the kind orators since Greek and Roman times had traditionally used in *encomia* to summarize the achievements and attributes of a leading figure of their time. Thus Madison's language is formal, learned,

and occasionally archaic; it is full of similes, metaphors, and other figures of speech. Although American speakers and writers tend to use the plainer middle and low styles today, the high style remains familiar. It is the language of Shakespeare, of the King James Version of the Bible, of the Gettysburg Address, and of William Jennings Bryan. It is also the style of President John F. Kennedy's 1961 inaugural address.

Twentieth-century readers approaching Bishop Madison's oration should visualize the scene at Bruton Parish Church on that national day of mourning. Imagine organist Peter Pelham finishing a death march. Conjure an image of the holy table, the pulpit, and other parts of the church shrouded in black. See the hushed congregation of townspeople sitting in the high box pews and the professors and students of the College of William and Mary sitting in the gallery. Imagine Bishop Madison—fifty-one years old and silver-haired—ascending the tall, three-decker pulpit. Because of the national day of mourning, Madison might have been dressed only in his black cassock with white tabs; but, because of his belief in the resurrection, he might also have been wearing his customary white surplice. Whatever his garb, he would have spoken earnestly, as was his custom, with few gestures.

The twentieth-century reader should not so much read Bishop Madison's memorial sermon as listen to it. Listen for the rhythms and cadences of Madison's sentences, for the pauses with which he must have punctuated the sections of his oration, for the rise and fall of his voice. "Nothing could exceed the impressiveness of his reading," President John Tyler wrote (in William B. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*) of the clearness and distinctness of his mentor's enunciation:

The deep tones of his voice and its silvery cadence were incomparably fine. . . . I recollect nothing to equal the voice of Bishop Madison. No word was mouthed, no sentence imperfectly uttered, but all was clear and distinct, and fell in harmony on the ear.

During the two hundredth anniversary of the death of George Washington, it is appropriate that Mount Vernon again makes available this sermon preached at Bruton Parish Church, for it represents perhaps the finest example of oratory delivered in the world during the period of mourning for the first president of the United States. 



COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

Laura is a member of the interpreter planning board and is a volunteer for this publication.

Unlike their masters, slaves in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake did not leave a written record of how they prepared their food. Information about slave foodways is found in slave owners' personal records mentioning the distribution of rations, travelers' accounts,



court records involving the taking of food by slaves, and some nineteenth-century slave narratives. We are left with a murky picture around which myths have been created and assumptions made. Recent archaeology and the research conducted by Colonial Williamsburg archaeologists, Joanne Bowen, Steve Atkins, Marie Franklin, and Ywone Edwards-Ingram have provided further documentation of slave foodways.

Old-fashioned "common sense" is one of the tools used to evaluate scientific results that help reveal elusive details about the diets of slaves. First, and most important, common sense tells us that "rations" did not equal "diet." To assume that slaves did not alter or add to their basic rations of cornmeal and salt pork just because we have no documented slave cookbook or recipes is to assume wrongly that slaves rejected the traditions of their African foodways. Food thus became more than simple sustenance, and the African influence that filtered into American cooking is part of the amazing story of the resilience and adaptation of these beleaguered people.

Grain-based porridges were the staple of African diets, which, in the Chesapeake, took the form of hominy or hoe cakes. According to

Colonial Williamsburg historian Pat Gibbs, in Africa, porridges were served with spicy sauces or combined with fish or fresh greens to make a stew-like dish. Archaeological investigations of slave sites, such as Rich Neck (off Jamestown Road in Williamsburg), have uncovered highly fragmented bones, suggesting that wild herbs, greens, fish, turtles, and small wild mammals were occasionally added to the hominy pot. If the corn of their rations was not as familiar to African slaves as the rice or millet of their native country, the means of adapting it were right at hand.

One of the myths about the diets of slaves is that they had access only to the lesser cuts of meat or little meat at all. Meat was not a large part of the African diet, a fact that no doubt contributed to the popularity of this myth. Again, archaeology linked to a common-sense interpretation of scientific data dispels this myth. Joanne Bowen and Steve Atkins discovered that the variety of bones from domestic animals, game, and fish found on the slave family site at Mount Vernon matched those usually found in a master's house. Closer to Williamsburg, the recent excavations of a slave house at the Rich Neck site uncovered the same variety of faunal remains. When we look at eighteenth-century butchering practices, common sense tells us that when more animals were butchered than could be consumed by the slave owner's household, even the cruelest of masters preferred to have the meat eaten rather than let it spoil. Roast beef and roast mutton may not have been the daily fare of slaves, but variations of these dishes were, on occasion, part of their diet. A visit to Colonial Williamsburg's archaeology lab where you can compare the trays of bones taken from a slave site with those taken from a master's, puts the slave diet into perspective. Archaeology challenges us to re-examine past assumptions, to let scientific methods and new discoveries give a voice to our silent ancestors and shed light into those heretofore murky waters.

Tours of the archaeology lab are given every Tuesday. Joanne Bowen, Steve Atkins, and Pat Gibbs contributed to this article. Interpreters who have not received Pat Gibbs's overview of slave food, "Slave Rations Do Not Equal Slave Diet," should call her at extension 7438.

Am I Not a Man and a Brother: Abolition and Anti-Slavery in the Early Chesapeake

by Martha Katz-Hyman

Martha is associate curator of metals and mechanical arts in the Department of Collections and Conservation, curator of the abolition exhibit, and is a member of the Enslaving Virginia Story Line Team.

The newest exhibit at the DeWitt Wallace Gallery, *Am I Not a Man and a Brother: Abolition and Anti-Slavery in the Early Chesapeake*, opened in February in the Hennage Auditorium lobby. It focuses on the abolitionist and anti-slavery movements in the Chesapeake in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and includes objects from the decorative arts collections, the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, and the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, as well as objects on loan from the DAR [Daughters of the American Revolution] Museum in Washington, D.C., Swem Library, and two private collectors. Through this exhibit, we will be able to add to our visitors' understanding of an aspect of the Enslaving Virginia story line that is usually not associated with Virginia.

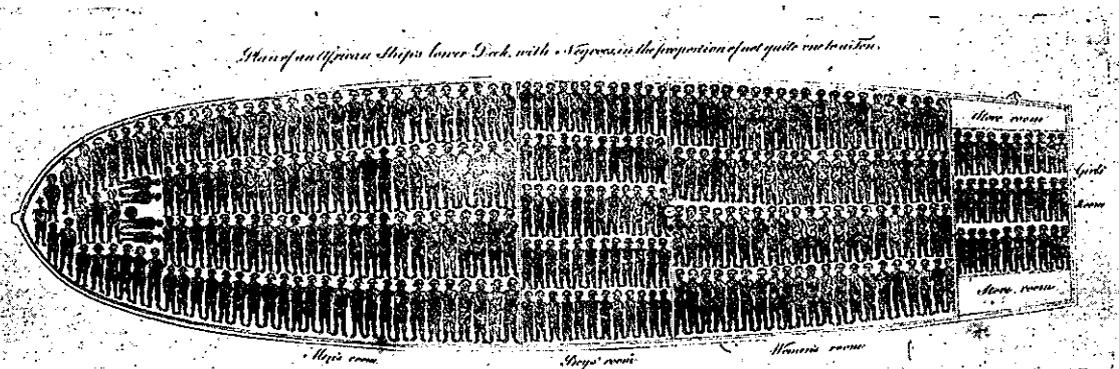
Although abolition and anti-slavery movements would be associated primarily with the North, the issues were inherently Southern. Slavery was a fact of life in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake and most residents of Maryland and Virginia thought there was nothing wrong with holding another human being as property. In keeping with the social philosophy of the period, slavery seemed a natural part of an ordered society. However, even in the South, there were men and women who believed that owning other human beings was philosoph-



Medallion by Josiah Wedgwood; modeler: William Hackwood or Henry Webber, unglazed stoneware, Staffordshire, England, ca. 1787

ically and morally wrong. These men and women were the first voices of a movement that came to dominate the attention of many Americans by the mid-nineteenth century as surely as the civil rights movement did a century later.

In this early period, supporting abolition of the slave trade and advocating elimination of slavery were two different things. One could support abolition of the slave trade—as did Thomas Jefferson and George Washington—yet not advocate the end of slavery. Not until the slave trade was abolished in England in 1807 and in America in



"Plan of an African Ship's lower Deck," ink on paper engraving, Matthew Carey, Philadelphia, 1797

1808 did the focus of those who had opposed the slave trade turn to the abolition of slavery itself.

The earliest and most outspoken advocates of abolishing the slave trade and slavery itself were the Religious Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers, who came to the Chesapeake from England and Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth century. Their mode of worship, pacifist beliefs, and evolving anti-slavery sentiments made them the objects of persecution and scorn. But Quakers continued to hold worship services and to work to end slavery in Virginia and Maryland. They were inspired by the writings of Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, Philadelphia Friends who were well known in America and in England. Benezet and Woolman provided the intellectual foundation for the efforts of Virginia Quakers. After the Revolution, Friends formed the nucleus of the state's small abolitionist societies, supported gradual emancipation, and assisted enslaved African-Americans who brought suit in Virginia courts to gain their freedom.

The Society of Friends was not the only religious group in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake that advocated the abolition of slavery. Initially, Methodists were strong proponents of anti-slavery. John Wesley, who founded Methodism within the Church of England in 1738, believed that owning slaves was a sin. He taught that those who belonged to the denomination must fight slavery. Two ministers (later bishops) of the Methodist Church in America, Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke, traveled throughout the colonies, including Virginia and Maryland, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century to preach the sect's beliefs in universal redemption and religious activism. However, the strong anti-slavery sentiments of Methodist preachers often conflicted with the goal of winning slaves and their masters to Methodist beliefs. Anti-slavery rhetoric angered slaveholders, who could deny their slaves permission to hear the preachers. Thus, the white Methodist conferences of the Chesapeake and the Carolinas gradually retreated from their strong anti-slavery doctrines.

Ideas of the Enlightenment influenced the thinking of many abolitionists and anti-slavery advocates. They were familiar with John Locke's writings on natural rights and the social contract and with Montesquieu's theo-



Needlework Picture with anti-slavery poem, silk and wool needlework on linen canvas, probably England, ca. 1835-1855

ry of a higher law. They understood, as most colonists did not, that these were relevant not only to the struggle against Great Britain but also in the struggle to abolish slavery.

The American abolition movement also found inspiration in the success of its English counterparts. Under the leadership of William Wilberforce, Parliament outlawed the slave trade in 1807. Slavery itself was abolished in Britain in 1838. Throughout this entire process, English and American Quakers and Methodists and others who supported the movement communicated regularly by letter and through a network of friendships and associations that transmitted news and ideas relatively quickly and very effectively. American activists were encouraged by the success of their English counterparts and increasingly grew more outspoken and insistent after 1840.

Abolition and anti-slavery were not issues of importance to most people in Williamsburg in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But some citizens of the city did understand that slavery was an evil whose continuation they might come to regret. One of the most prominent members of this group was St. George Tucker, who advocated the gradual emancipation of Virginia's slaves in his essay, *A Dissertation on Slavery with a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It in the State of Virginia* (1792). He also favored

an early colonization plan, whereby freed slaves would be transported to Africa to live, rather than remain in Virginia or move to another state.

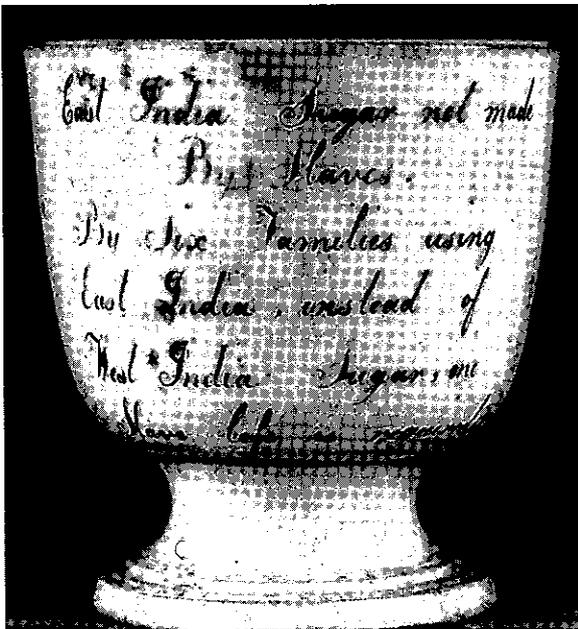
Many of the objects on display in the Wallace Gallery exhibit use the figure of a kneeling slave in chains. This design, which became the symbol of both the English and American abolition and anti-slavery movements, was created for the English Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787. Josiah Wedgwood, the English ceramics entrepreneur and a member of the Society, produced thousands of unglazed stoneware cameos with this image and gave them away to supporters of the movement, including some Chesapeake anti-slavery organizations.

This image of the kneeling slave appeared over and over and was used in countless ways: on English and American tokens to raise money for the cause; on a woman's pinholder; on tea wares and jugs; and in needlework pictures. Even after the slave trade and slavery were abolished in England, the motif was used to show a grateful ex-slave thanking God for liberty. The commercialization of the movement was accepted by activists, who used every means they could to publicize their cause. Even the tactic of refusing to purchase the products

of slave labor was used by these activists in the hope that economic pressure would make slave-dependent industries unprofitable. Manufacturers would then switch to products made by free labor. Although we associate the use of symbols, consumer goods, and the media to support a cause with the late twentieth century, it is fair to say that the early nineteenth-century abolitionist and anti-slavery movements were among the first to integrate elements in the work to end slavery.

Visitors to the exhibit will see a variety of objects. Among these are a transfer print on glass depicting Africa and America; a watercolor on ivory celebrating the end of slavery in England with the verse, "Thank God for Liberty"; a medal struck to honor William Wilberforce; a portrait bust of Reverend John Wesley, the founder of Methodism; a very large Staffordshire jug with three anti-slavery transfer prints on the body (out of a total of ten); the Wedgwood medallion with the figure of the kneeling slave; and a rare sugar bowl with a hand-painted figure of a kneeling female slave on one side and a verse encouraging the purchase of sugar made in the East Indies on the other.

Am I Not a Man and a Brother: Abolition and Anti-Slavery in the Early Chesapeake will be on view through February 2000. 

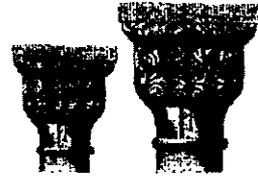


Sugar Bowl, hand-painted bone china, gold leaf, England, 1825-1830



BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE:

News from the Museums



A Closer Look at the Kingdoms of Edward Hicks

by Scott Nolley

Scott is associate conservator of objects and paintings in the Department of Conservation.

If you spend some time in the company of art conservators, you might easily be persuaded to believe that they love what they do because it allows them to handle the artifacts in various collections and sail through doors in museums that say "Do Not Enter." Although this is partially the truth, the relationship between a conservator and an artifact is often one of an intimate dialogue, marked by revelations that speak across oceans of time. Never have I encountered this experience with such vigor and vitality as through my association with the works of art displayed in *The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks*, the newest exhibit at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center. This exhibit offers a unique opportunity to examine and study a considerable range of the artist's work. Revealed through a variety of examination techniques during conservation, details pointing to the strong relationship between Hicks's training and skill in decorative painting and his execution of easel pictures begin to tell the story of a gifted craftsman teaching himself as he created his Peaceable Kingdoms.

The Peaceable Kingdom paintings were a very personal communication for the artist. Inspired by the biblical prophecy of Isaiah, these images represented Hicks's desire for peace and harmony between the two disparate Quaker groups involved in a passionate debate regarding a number of complex issues. Known for a strong metaphorical style in his writing and preaching, Hicks translated this same sense of metaphor visually in the Kingdom pictures. He used animals to repre-

sent human temperaments and to express his yearning for reconciliation and peace.

From a technical standpoint, the challenges facing the artist were similarly complex. Hicks's formal background as a painter was confined to his apprenticeship in decorative painting techniques associated with the carriage building trade and sign painting. In short, this training involved acquiring the knowledge of paint and finish formulation for durable surfaces such as carriage exteriors and an awareness of the styles and designs used in lettering and the decoration of signboards. He also studied easel paintings of academically trained fine arts painters. Many elements in the Kingdom pictures appear to have been careful executions of these academic techniques. Several of Hicks's Kingdom paintings use traditional principles of composition such as atmospheric perspective and foreground-middle ground-background relationships. What is individual to Hicks's work is that these paintings are largely executed using painting techniques he acquired as a sign and finish painter. It was during his apprenticeship that he not only learned to prepare paints and apply them for durability, but also became adept in the general rules of "taste" that governed the use of colors and how they might be combined to greatest effect.

Hicks's training and skill in decorative painting translated directly to his execution of easel pictures in the Kingdom series. He was familiar with glazes and used these to achieve specific optical effects. His paint medium is often characterized as an oil-rich transparent glaze rather than the usual opaque colors of a paste-consistency oil paint. The application of glazes, paint films with considerable medium such as linseed or some other drying oil mixed with a small amount of ground pigment, was often used to detail figures and to define blades of grass, fur, and drapery in the Kingdom pictures. For example, a lion's mane was underpainted in opaque solid color and then

received successive applications of the glaze-like colors. These details are especially rich and deep in optical quality because light passes through the glaze layers to the opaque underpainting and then is reflected back to the viewer. The technique of building up successive layers of near-transparent colors was standard practice for decorative painters associated with the carriage making trade.

This aspect of successive layering can also be seen in the way Hicks composed a painting. In one Kingdom painting, examination using x-radiography revealed that he had rendered a complete sky with clouds and a horizon of hills, and then covered this fully realized background with the foliage of the trees. In academic oil painting the work is usually composed and simultaneously developed as a whole rather than as distinct layers. Microscopic examination of paint layers in cross section further indicates his layering of elements as a deliberate approach to completing a composition. Trapped between paint layers that define the sky and horizon and layers that define the branches and leaves of the tree is a minute layer of accumulated dirt and debris. Apparently enough time passed between the completion of the landscape and sky and the addition of the trees, that dirt from his shop settled on the painting. Time perhaps used by Hicks to consider his next addition to this early Kingdom.

In his earliest Peaceable Kingdom pictures Hicks based ideas for elements and compositions on popular print sources. For the *Peaceable Kingdom of the Branch*, Hicks borrowed the design for the Natural Bridge of Virginia from a published 1822 map of

North America by Henry S. Tanner. The animals and child in the *Branch* kingdom were inspired by an engraving of the Peaceable Kingdom published in a nineteenth-century Bible. By the 1830s, Hicks had completed numerous versions of the scene and had become more familiar with the animals he depicted. He could produce their shapes, poses, and coloring from memory. In the process, his painting of these elements was comfortably accommodated in the decorative and linear style he knew well and preferred to use.

Another example of the integration of Hicks's sign painting techniques with his approach to easel painting can be seen in the comparison of a detail from the lettered border of the *Peaceable Kingdom of the Branch* and the shadow outlining a calf from an 1832–1834 Peaceable Kingdom. He used the drop-shadow technique often employed in the detailing of painted text and other lettering to outline the animals in a number of his Kingdom paintings. When rendering stone or bark, Hicks used techniques that appear to be similar to "faux finishes" or other imitative brushwork techniques, tools that would be familiar to him from sign painting and finish work. The clean, brisk nature of his brush strokes and the calligraphic quality of the smallest details in his paintings indicate that he generally used lettering or sign-painting brushes.

The recent study of Hicks's painting *James Cornell's Prize Bull* revealed that he not only laid out the print source elements on the panel before painting them, but actually used a transfer process. This represents a

departure from the simpler graphite underdrawing he used in other works, underdrawing that served to organize overall compositions. For the *Prize Bull*, he likely made a direct tracing on thin paper of the sheep depicted in the print source, using a soft pencil or similar medium. The paper was then placed with the drawing facedown on the panel. The reverse of the paper was rubbed to transfer the soft graphite to the panel surface.



The resulting transferred image, though faint, was further defined by Hicks with the printed version as his guide. When the painting is examined using infrared reflectography, a technique used to detect underdrawing in paintings, the outlines defining the drawn figures are seen as two sets of lines, one much fainter than the other. This further confirms that he reinforced the transferred lines by adding hand drawn outlines of his own. When examining these figures using x-radiography, it becomes clear that Hicks adhered strictly to this line work as a guide for his subsequent application of paint. The paint is applied up to and not beyond the graphite lines that define the outlines and details of the transferred figures. This method of paint application contrasts dramatically with that used in later Peaceable Kingdoms, where comfort and familiarity with his subject are translated into free and deliberate applications of paint to a composition that appears to have been developed as a whole.

Each of the elements selected from print sources corresponds exactly to its representation in the *Prize Bull* painting. The two sheep from one print, when reversed, match up perfectly with their painted counterparts. Details such as folds and creases in the wool and the line work that defines the hooves and features of the heads correspond to the line work in the print source, mark for mark. The bull, however, presented the artist with a challenge since this particular animal obviously was not represented in any print. For the other elements in the picture, including Cornell's bull, fence posts, the remaining animals, and vegetation, Hicks provided similar complex underdrawings. The artist even went so far as to shade softly and contour the bull's muzzle and jaw, incorporating the appropriate markings of the award-winning animal. He then proceeded to paint the picture within the parameters of the lines drawn. These refinements indicate that he gave considerable care to his picture's composition and details. No evidence indicating the use of this transfer method was found on the other paintings by Hicks that have graphite underdrawing.

Hicks's vigorous talent and passion for easel painting were often at odds with his deep religious devotion.

In addition to the struggle to develop his painting technique using his sign painting skills and to render styles he saw in fine arts paintings, there existed a tension between what Hicks was trained and skilled to do and what the general codes guiding Quaker aesthetics permitted. The use of colors and their intensity as well as the degree of decoration were important issues among Quakers. Neutral tones were usually preferred and extraneous ornamentation was generally avoided. Hicks lived in a rural area among Quakers who usually manifested the greatest simplicity in their dress and possessions. Quakers in that time considered ornamental painting a suitable trade for members so long as it was done within the Society's conservative aesthetic guidelines.

Hicks's vigorous talent and passion for easel painting were often at odds with his deep religious devotion. That conflict notwithstanding, he advanced his own personal linguistic as a painter, overcoming the shortcomings of what may seem to have been his limited technical training. That his work remains infused with a humanism that speaks to us even today makes his struggle to reconcile these conflicts and challenges even more moving.

Curated by Director of Museums Carolyn Weekley, *The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks* is the first major exhibition devoted to the artist's life and work. Weekley is also the author of an accompanying catalog for the exhibit, which presents a landmark summation of what we know about a man who is arguably America's most popular folk painter. This exhibit of the artist's work gathers in one space more than sixty paintings that span the artist's entire career, as well as a number of personal objects including his palette and handwritten memoirs. Many of these artifacts are on loan from other institutions and private owners. On Wednesdays in May, Colonial Williamsburg staff specialists will offer lectures related to Edward Hicks and his art in the Hennage Auditorium at the DeWitt Wallace Gallery. When the exhibit leaves here in September, it will travel to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Denver Art Museum, and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

BRUTON HEIGHTS

UPDATE:

New at the Rock

by George H. Yetter



George is associate curator for the architectural drawings and research collection.

Recently Acquired Materials in the Special Collections Section of the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library

The John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library has recently acquired the rare books and manuscripts listed below in its Special Collections section.

Analectic Magazine (scattered issues from 1813 and 1814).

Arnault, Antoine Vincent. *Vie Politique et Militaire de Napoleon*. 2 vols. Paris: E. Babeuf, La Librairie Historique, 1822-1826.

Gibbon, Edward. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. 8 vols. Philadelphia: William Y. Birch & Abraham Small, 1804-1805.

Hall, S. C., ed. *Selected Pictures from the Galleries and Private Collections of Great Britain*. Vols. 1-3. London: Virtue & Co., n.d.

Laplace, [Pierre Simon] de. *The System of the World*. Trans. J. Pond. 2 vols. London: Richard Phillips, 1809.

Lieber, Francis. *Manual of Political Ethics, Designed Chiefly for the Use of Colleges and Students at Law*. 2 vols. Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown, 1838-1839.

Mallet, [Paul Henri]. *Northern Antiquities: or, a Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the Ancient Danes and Other Northern Nations*. 2 vols. London: T. Carnan and Co., 1770.

Mason, George Henry. *The Costume of China*. London: [S. Gosnell], 1800.

Mazzei, Filippo. *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amer-*

ique Septentrionale. 4 vols. Paris: A. Colle, 1788.

Murphy, Arthur, ed. *The Works of Cornelius Tacitus*. 6 vols. Philadelphia: Edward Earle, 1813.

Nash, Joseph. *Views of the Interior and Exterior of Windsor Castle*. London: T. M'Lean, 1848.

Picturesque Europe. 5 vols. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., [1876-1879].

The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats. Philadelphia: Desilver, Thomas, & Co., 1835.

Robertson, William. *The History of America*. 4 vols. 10th ed. London: A. Strahan, 1803.

Russell, William. *The History of Modern Europe . . . in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to His Son*. 5 vols. Philadelphia: H. Maxwell, 1800-1801.

Saint-Pierre, James-Henry Bernardin de. *Studies of Nature*. Trans. Henry Hunter. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1808.

Sicard, Roch Ambroise Cucurron. *Cours d'Instruction d'un sourd-muet de Naissance*. Paris: Chez Le Clere, an VIII [1800].

Steel, H. M. *Sporting Incidents, being a Collection of Forty-four Plates of Coaching, Hunting, Amateur Races, and Horses in the Show Ring*. New York: Henry T. Thomas, 1893.

Tucker, George. *Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals, and National Policy*. Georgetown, D. C.: Joseph Milligan, 1822.

Devitt, George Raywood, comp. *The White House Gallery of Official Portraits of the Presidents*. New York

and Washington: Gravure Company of America, 1908.

Wither, George. *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne*. London: AM for Robert Allot, 1635.

A collection of the following early newspapers was received:

Boston Evening Post (April 25, 1774)

Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet (Philadelphia), (July 8, 1777)

Franklin Gazette (Philadelphia), (May 11, 1818)

Pennsylvania Gazette (October 25, 1764; July 11, 1765; November 2, 1774; March 22, 1775; November 8, 1775)

Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser (August 17, 1785)

Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser (September 20, 1785; August 10, 1791)

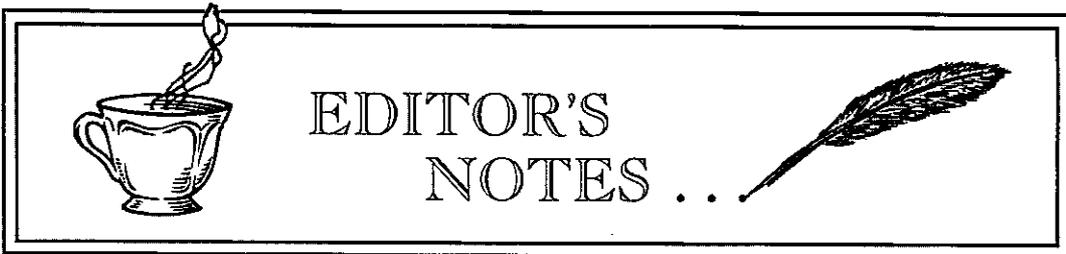
Salem Gazette (October 2, 1783; September 7, 1784)

United States Chronicle (Providence, R. I.), (August 5, 1784; September 23, 1784)

Other donations:

225 colonial-era French coins

Microfilm collection of the Papers of George Washington



Special Edition

In early summer we will publish a special edition of the *interpreter*. The subject will be the Peyton Randolph site and the many changes taking place there physically and interpretively. Thanks to David Harvey, conservator and planning board member, for coming up with the idea and for pulling it together for us. Stay tuned!

Index

A newly revised *interpreter* index is ready for publication. Thanks to Laura Arnold, planning board member, for taking on this enormous project! We hope to have it out by the summer.

The Colonial Williamsburg interpreter is a quarterly publication of the Education Division.

Editor: Nancy Milton

Assistant Editor: Linda Rowe

Copy Editor: Anna Jarvis

Editorial Board: Steve Elliott and Emma L. Powers

Planning Board: Laura Arnold, Bertie Byrd, John Caramia, Jan Gilliam, David Harvey, John Turner, Ron Warren

Production: The Print Production Services Department

New Assistant Editor

This issue of the *interpreter* marks a change in the editorial staff. Mary Jamerson, assistant editor, retired in October. **Linda Rowe**, historian in the Research Department and longtime member of the planning board, has agreed to take on the job of assistant editor. Thank you, Linda, and welcome aboard!

