

Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

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★★★★★ THE ELECTION OF 1800 ★★★★★

It is the year 1800—a new year, a new century. The Declaration of Independence is twenty-four years old. The American Revolution has been over for nineteen years. The United States Constitution has been in effect for twelve years. The country is in mourning for its first president, George Washington, who died seventeen days before the beginning of the new century.

The federal government has very few employees. John Adams is our second president and the first to move into the still unfinished president's house in the new capital city of Washington in the District of Columbia. Washington City is in a heavily forested area with little cultivated land and a great deal of swamp along the Potomac River basin.

Three new states have been added to the original thirteen—Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The population of the United States is 5,308,000. One fifth is enslaved. Two thirds of Americans live within fifty miles of the Atlantic seaboard. Population west of the mountains is approximately 500,000. Only four major roads run through the Appalachians: the wagon road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, the wagon road from the Potomac to the Monongahela, the Virginia Road to the Holston River in Knoxville, and the road through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky.

It is also an election year. Presidential electors cast ballots on December 3. When the votes are counted on February 11, 1801, Federalists John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina receive sixty-five and sixty-four votes respectively. Federalist John Jay receives one. Democratic-Republicans Thomas Jefferson (and current vice president) and Aaron Burr of New York tie with seventy-three votes each. (Currently under the Constitution, the person receiving the highest number of electoral votes is president; the one with the second highest number is vice president.) Because of the tie, the election is thrown into the House of Representatives with lame-duck Federalists in the majority. On February 17, 1801, on the thirty-sixth ballot, Thomas Jefferson is elected third president of the United States. Aaron Burr becomes vice president. On March 4, Jefferson becomes the first president to take the oath of office in Washington, D. C., administered by his distant kinsman and longtime political rival, Chief Justice John Marshall. The revolution of 1800 has been fought and won.

The above information was compiled by Bill Barker and Nancy Milton.



Interview with President-elect Thomas Jefferson on the Election of 1800

(Bill Barker as Thomas Jefferson)

Bill, an expert on the life of our third president, has portrayed Thomas Jefferson throughout the United States and abroad. He has been a character interpreter with Colonial Williamsburg for seven years.

(February 1801)

Mr. Jefferson, Congratulations on your election victory. You termed this victory the "Revolution of 1800." Why?

The "Revolution of 1800," although effected by the sufferage of the people and not by the sword, was as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form; . . . the revolution of 1800 marked the revival of the "spirit of 1776" and a return to its first principles.

(T. J. to Spencer Roane, 9/6/1819)

This election resulted in a peaceable overthrow of the government that had been established after our constitutional convention and which had been in office for more than a decade. That Federalist government was overthrown by a party with a new political philosophy, the Democratic-Republican philosophy. This was without any raising of arms or shedding of blood, but done in a peaceable, successful fashion, as revolutions may be conducted.



Bill Barker as Thomas Jefferson.

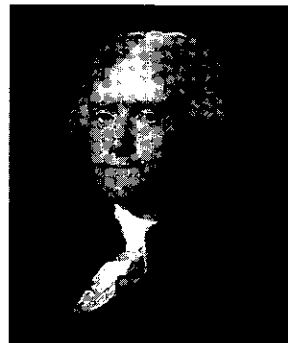
How do you appeal to those Federalists who see you as one who would (and I quote) "destroy religion, introduce immorality, and loosen all the bonds of society"? A Boston newspaper even reported that some of the ladies there hid their Bibles under mattresses on hearing of the election victory of the Virginia "atheist."

Well, they are certainly free to believe what they choose and to express their concerns accordingly. This is a guarantee under our Bill of

Rights. It is the first article in our Bill of Rights, our very first security as Americans, guaranteeing our freedom of speech, our freedom of the press, and our freedom of religion. As the new chief executive, I intend to support that freedom of religion: that the government make no law establishing religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. I do not see that this will incur the destruction of religion or introduce any immorality.

I have always believed that that government governs best which attends directly to protecting people from injury by one another, but otherwise leaving them free to pursue their own industry and their own improvement. Such improvement is the more direct and the more successful when the people are free to pursue their own religious convictions and the improvement of their morality and of their character, without the dictates or dogmas of government imposed upon them.

As far as any claims of my own particular religious opinion, whether I be atheist, infidel, blasphemer or heretic, I have never made comment in public of my religious opinion.



"Thomas Jefferson" by Gilbert Stuart.

Every sect believes its own form the true one . . . but especially the Episcopalians and Congregationalists. The returning good sense of our country threatens abortion to their hopes, and they believe that any portion of power confided to me, will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly; for I have sworn upon the altar of god, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

(T. J. to Benjamin Rush, 9/13/1800)

I inquire of no person's religion, nor do I bother any with my own, for I believe a person's religion is solely between them and their Maker. Be assured that I do carry my communion with my Maker deep within my heart and endeavor each day to do my duty unto my Creator, which is to do good to my fellow man.

It is a subject on which I have been scrupulously reserved. I have considered it a matter between every man and his maker, in which no other, and far less the public, had a right to intermeddle.

(T. J. to Richard Rush, 1813)

Mr. Jefferson, do you personally support news writers in the expression of their opinions?

I have never paid one cent directly to any of the news writers to support my particular principles on the Democratic-Republican platform, but I do support the freedom of the press to express their opinion and particularly news writers to support their own paper, as I have Mr. Freneau and as I have Mr. James Thomson Callender. Unfortunately, Mr. Callender was wont to print mistruths in his pamphlet "The Prospect Before Us" and was, therefore, thrown into jail under the Sedition Acts of the past administration. He has addressed me upon what he considers the injustice of his position, and I would agree. To be thrown into jail for any comments or attacks against the government is not warranted in equal justice to all men and the preservation of our liberty.

But Mr. Callender's request that I bail him out of jail and that I give him monies that he might begin again to write against the Federalist government I certainly cannot abide. He will remain in jail through his imprisonment unless of course the Sedition Acts may be repealed tomorrow. And I will find it incumbent in my sympathies toward him that he might receive some monies to remit his fine of \$200 and would hope he might not consider that a bribe. I do not wish him in his anger to get out of jail and turn against me.

After obviously coming through a very divisive and hard-fought campaign, with slander used freely by both sides, do you think that our late beloved President Washington was prophetic when he warned us about quarreling over section and party? Or do you believe political factions have a place in our republic?

Political factions have a place in our republic, for I believe that the free expression guaranteed under our Bill of Rights is a citation to the people that they are free to voice their opinions even if it is an attack against their own government. Algernon Sidney said a free press is necessary for the freedom of a people and a people have the right to overthrow their government. Should we ignore Mr. John Milton's *Areopagitica*, which guarantees that a free press is essential to the freedom and happiness of a citizen body?

I think well we should reference that the Alien and Sedition Acts that were put forth by President Adams in his administration have served no purpose whatsoever but to agitate against and to harm the freedoms of the citizen body, and I intend very much to repeal them. I

do believe that we should all recognize within the dichotomies of our factions that we are still all devoted to certain principles of this nation—that we are all Federalists and that we are all Republicans and that, therefore, we should recognize equal and exact justice for all men, a jealous right of election by the people, a securing of the states in all their rights, while the states must recognize the security of the federal government in all of its constitutional vigor—that we might all recognize amongst our factions the civil over the military authority and to recognize in this new nation that agriculture should ever receive our first attention, with commerce as its handmaiden.

Political differences are inseparable from the different constitutions of the human mind, & that degree of freedom which permits unrestrained expression.

(T. J. to Thomas Pinckney, 1797)

But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. . . . If there are any amongst us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated; where reason is left free to combat it.

(T. J. First Inaugural Address, 1800)

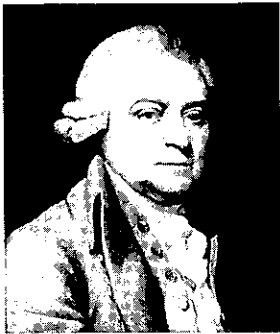
You and Mr. Adams have been friends since the Revolutionary years and yet, now, you and he are political enemies. Can your friendship possibly survive after such a bitter campaign?

I am not assured that our friendship may survive, particularly after Mr. Adams's attention to certain appointments of judges on the highest bench. These "midnight appointments," as they have come to be known, greatly anger me, that he would suggest that the ascension of the Democratic-Republican platform should bring with it an attention to injustice vested in the high courts of justice. I think Mr. Adams's appointments were out of fear alone, and I do not think his fear well justified.

Indeed, it reminds me of the fear Alexander Hamilton has held ever since Daniel Shays's rebellion and a fear that was indeed the concern of President Washington. Have not our citizenry a right to take up arms against their government. Have they not a right to be heard? On the contrary, I think President Adams and President Washington might well have learned, as I voiced to Secretary Hamilton, that a revolution is a good thing every generation or so.

I do not see how a judiciary with any extensive appointment on behalf of one political opinion will prevent such a thing. I do hope Mr. Adams

will recognize that our friendship should be based upon our great respect for one another and not upon differences of opinion in politics or religion—that there might have been two other people standing in our shoes who would have suffered through the very same politics that we underwent in these past several years.



"John Adams"
by Mather Brown.

Though I saw that our ancient friendship was affected by a little leaven, produced partly by his constitution, partly by the contrivance of others, yet I never felt a diminution of confidence in his integrity, and retained a solid affection for him, his principles of government I knew to be changed, but conscientiously changed.

(T. J. to Madison, 1797)

When you received word that you and your vice presidential candidate Aaron Burr had tied for votes in the Electoral College, what were your thoughts? Do you think that Mr. Burr, since he was running with you, should have withdrawn in your favor, and, hence, prevented the election from going to the House of Representatives?

I define this as a neglect particularly of our electoral process, that whereas the Electoral College does serve a purpose to represent all of the states equally, I think it denies more directly the right of the people themselves to elect their chief executive. I would have rather seen all of us who stood for the higher office—not only Colonel Burr and myself, but Colonel Hamilton, and again President Adams and Colonel Pinckney of South Carolina—stand equally in the attentions of the people to have been elected by them directly. I would hope in the future that there might be an amendment made to our constitution that two candidates may stand together on one single platform, one to be elected as the president, the other to be elected directly as vice president.

[Burr] has certainly greatly merited of his country, and the Republicans in particular, to whose efforts his have given a chance of success.

(T. J. to Pierce Butler, August 1800)

Had the election terminated in the elevation of Mr. Burr, every Republican would, I am sure, have acquiesced in a moment; because however it might have been variant from the intentions of the voters, yet I would have been agreeable to the constitution. However, the contrivance in the constitution for marking the votes works badly, because it does not enounce precisely the true expression of the public will.

(T. J. to Thomas McKean, 1801; and T. J. to Tench Coxe, December 1800)

The animosity that exists between you and Mr. Hamilton is known. Yet, he told his Federalist friends that he preferred you as president rather than Mr. Burr; that you were only "a contemptible hypocrite" [crafty, unscrupulous, and dishonest], but Aaron Burr was even worse: "a most unfit and dangerous man." Would you like to comment on this?

Well, Colonel Hamilton has a right to express his opinion, and his opinions as I now heard them as fact, follow directly what I've read in the press, which was certainly free to print this as well. I do not find, however, that Aaron Burr might be considered worse than what Alexander Hamilton considers me. On the contrary, I would think that Mr. Burr has already exemplified himself perhaps as a victim of his own ambition, as he does not seem very satisfied with his election as vice president, nor the fact that after the thirty-sixth ballot the tie betwixt us was to be broken. Whether Colonel Burr will be seen in the near future to be the most dangerous and unfit man for his office I cannot rightly say at present, but allow the future indeed to witness whether I am to be as crafty, unscrupulous, and dishonest as Colonel Hamilton would have me.

Hamilton is really a colossus to the anti-Republican party. Without numbers, he is an host within himself.

(T. J. to James Madison, 1795)

Hamilton was honest as a man, but, as a politician, believing in the necessity of either force or corruption to govern men.

(T. J. to Benjamin Rush, 1811)

I never indeed thought [Burr] an honest, frank-dealing man, but considered him as a crooked gun, or other perverted machine, whose aim or stroke you could never be sure of. Still, while he possessed the confidence of the nation, I thought it my duty to respect in him their confidence, & to treat him as if he deserved it.

(T. J. to William Giles, April 1807)

A slave rebellion led by Gabriel Prosser took place in the Richmond area and was put down by Governor Monroe. Do you see these rebellions as a continuous threat to the democratic principles upon which this nation was founded?

I do not. On the contrary, I see them as very much a fire bell in the night to warn us that within our democratic process we should give a greater attention to the dissolution of this barbarous practice of slavery. When I recall that these efforts before the Revolution were quelled in many regards, that our petitions put forth to His Majesty's government for ending the importation of slaves here were ignored, when my own clause within the Declaration of Independence was struck from that document in reference to calling His Majesty a tyrant for allowing the continued importation of slaves, we must ever take account that as we now hold the reins of this barbarous practice amongst us that we ourselves are most accountable for its future and its dissolution.

Therefore, I hope we may continue, as I expressed in my Kentucky Resolutions, and as I've ever held, to end the importation of slaves and begin an amiable process of emancipation. It will not happen overnight. We must begin not to extend this barbarism westwards. As new states will come into the Union, as we have already seen with Vermont and Kentucky, we must not allow these new states to decide whether they are slave or free, but put an end to such further expansion. Mr. Prosser's example will be well followed in the future if we do not see to an amelioration of this situation at present.

A little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms are in the physical.

(T. J. to James Madison, 1787)

If something is not done, and soon done, we shall be the murderers of our own children. The "neurmura venturos nautis prudentia ventos" has already reached us from San Domingo; the revolutionary storm now sweeping the globe will be upon us, and happy if we make provision to give it an easy passage over our land.

(T. J. to St. George Tucker, 1797)

Mr. Jefferson, what is your vision for this country at the dawn of this new century? Also, any thoughts about the vast lands to the west that your fellow countrymen seem eager to take up?

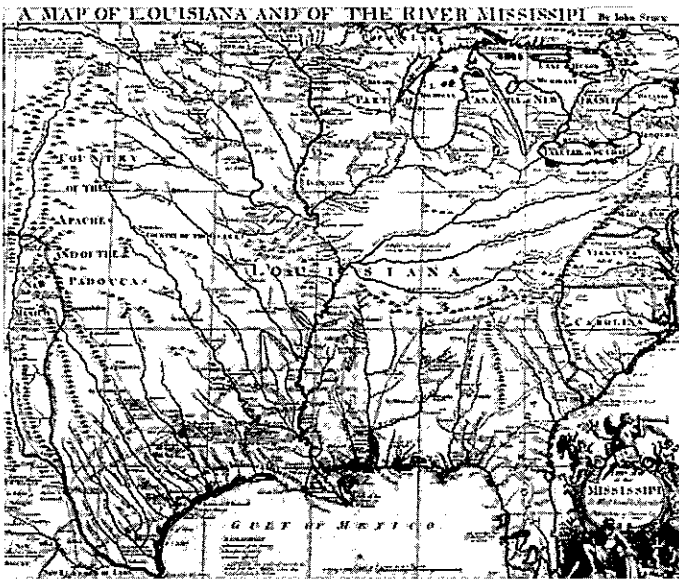
To pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to our union and representative government . . . possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the hundredth and thousandth generation; entertaining a right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry . . . resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them . . . with a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.

(T. J. First Inaugural Address, 1801)

The vast lands to the west are our future; as we now settle closer to the Mississippi River, we must look well beyond it. It appears to be our destiny to settle west of the Mississippi. We desire that the kingdom of Spain will readily recognize our intention to peaceably negotiate with her, particularly in reference to our trade through the port of New Orleans and to recognize further that whoever holds the island of New Orleans will be our natural enemy unless treaties of trade may be peaceably attended there.

I would hope that the aggressions thus far seen of the French generals, in particular General Bonaparte, who almost appears to be a dictator among them, may not preclude peaceable negotiations with his people. I think that the affairs of the French have been recognized the past couple of years as provoking a war amongst them with us, and as I have made no particular comment upon that for further provocation I should remain silent. However, we must not go to war with France, but continue to negotiate peaceably with General Bonaparte; we must not send any further delegation there that might recognize a trade with them to the detriment of the trade with any other European kingdom—nor incur indeed another scandal or embarrassment as the XYZ affair was to bring upon us and hope that we might negotiate for peaceable settlement along the Mississippi.

Our future rests in the easy and amiable acquisition of land, that our citizenry may continue to settle upon lands for generations yet unborn, that the ownership of land might inculcate in our future citizenry the great nobility of the cultivation of the soil wherein we provide for our own sustenance, as well as for our own freedom and happiness. As I said earlier, I believe agriculture should receive our first attentions, with commerce as her handmaid.



Map of Louisiana and the Mississippi River.

After seeing some of the great capital cities of Europe, what is your impression of our new capital city on the Potomac?

In my papers I have the plans of Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, Carlsruhe, Amsterdam, Strasburg, Paris, Orleans, Bordeaux, Lyons, Montpelier, Marseilles, Turin, and Milan. . . . Whenever it is proposed plans for the Capital, I prefer the adoption of some of the models of antiquity, which have had the approbation of the ages.

(T. J. to Pierre L'Enfant, April 1791)

The improvement of Washington must proceed with sure and steady steps, which follows from its many obvious advantages, and from the entertaining spirit of its inhabitants, which promises to render it the fairest seat of wealth and science.

(T. J. to citizens of Washington, 1809)

I am delighted that the peace between Colonel Hamilton and myself was secured by Mr. Madison, to know that with the acceptance of Colonel Hamilton's assumption plan many of the southern states will have to incur again the cost of paying for our late war, but to recognize that indeed the cost has been made to Colonel Hamilton and his associates to seat our federal city upon the banks of the Potomac here in the midst of southern states.

I see for the future of our Federal City a great growth of art and science, as the population will grow. No other city on our continent should be so devoted to these interests than the city which hosts the government itself for

the preservation of our liberties and our happiness. I hope that it may prove to be a great center of trade and commerce with all the free nations of the world and the kingdoms of this globe yet existing, that it will be in its architecture a monument to the greatest elements of providing for our shelter, to lift in these monuments the human spirit, to provide a greater light within the walls of these buildings, and indeed a greater circulation of air, ever to be more conducive to our health as well as to our happiness.

Your inauguration is coming up on March 4 [1801]. Have you planned your address yet?

Yes, I am writing an address through which I hope we might ameliorate the differences between the Federalists and the anti-Federalist factions. As I mentioned earlier, an address in which I might speak to all of us upon one united ground, one platform, for one purpose—that we are all Federalists, that we are all Republicans. We must realize that our greatest advantage is in proceeding together in an open debate. We welcome the further improvement of our government as it ever allows us a greater attention to ascertain truths towards our greater happiness in this new experiment.

Interview and transcription by Bob Doares and Nancy Milton

Bob, an instructor in the Department of Staff Development, is a member of the Interpreter planning board. Nancy, an instructor in the Department of Staff Development, is editor of the Interpreter.



"Washington the Capital of the U— States," early nineteenth-century sketch by Lewis Miller.

Sheriff William Haskins Reports Run-In at Halifax County Burgess Election

Also that the Sheriff of Halifax hath made the following Return, on the Writ for electing Burgesses for the said County.

"Upon receipt of the Writ hereunto annexed, which came to my Hands the eighteenth Day of August last, I caused Copies thereof, endorsed with an Appointment of the Election to be on Friday the fifteenth of September following, at the Court-House, to be delivered to the Minister of the Parish in my County, and to the several Readers of Difficult Church, and Allen's Church, on or before the Sunday next after I received the said Writ, and at the same Time, sent another Copy, with the like Endorsement, to the Reader at Boyd's Church; but he was not there that Day, as I was informed, and the succeeding Sunday the Minister attended on the last mentioned Church himself.

"In order that the Election might be peaceable and fairly conducted, I acquainted Mr Nathaniel Terry, Mr Walter Coles and Mr Isaac Coles, three of the declared Candidates, and many other Persons, a Fortnight at least before the Day, that I would open the Poll by the Hour of eight of the Clock in the Morning, and explained to them my Reason for beginning so early; and desired Mr Terry to inform Mr Lewis, the other Candidate, therewith, which Mr Terry said he would do, if he had an Opportunity. I imagined an early Election would prevent the Confusion and Inconvenience which attended the last; for that being deferred til near the Middle of the Day, by the Throng of the Electors crowding in, the Poll was several Times necessarily interrupted. On the Day appointed, I did not begin at Eight of the Clock precisely, lest I should appear too exact, although Messieurs Walter and Isaac Coles urged me to do so; but at or about Five Minutes after Nine o'Clock, I informed the Candidates, who were all present, that I would then open the Poll, and proceed to the Election, near Half the Electors, in my opinion, if not more, being in and about the Court Yard. Mr Terry asked me why I would not wait till the usual time? I told him that I acquainted him with my Reason for beginning so soon. Mr Lewis said he believed I had no Power to begin when I would. I answered, that I thought it was in my Power to begin when it appeared to be a proper Time, which I conceived that to be; and told both the Gentlemen I had no other Design than that the Election might be in a fair and



"The Polling" by William Hogarth.

peaceable Manner, and that I would keep the Poll open till Sunset, if any one required it; upon which Mr Lewis seemed to be satisfied, and said nothing more on that Subject, as I heard, except acknowledging, that he had Notice of my Design to have an early Election, and that he and his Clerk were ready. Mr Terry then objected, that I ought to have provided a Clerk to take a Poll for him. I confess I had not employed any one to do that Office, the Candidates themselves having usually chosen their Clerks. I told Mr Terry, if he had desired me, I would have provided a Clerk for him, and that, if he required me to do so I would then procure one, which I could easily have done. Several Persons then said publicly, in Mr Terry's hearing, that Mr Terry's Clerk, John Cox, was at the Table in the Court-House, ruling the Columns in the Poll, for the Electors Names; upon which I said, I would read the Writ: And having it open in my Hands for that Purpose, Mr Terry came to me, his Coat and his Waistcoat being stripped off, and his Collar Open, and holding up a large Stick, threatened to cane me, and declared, if I attempted to read the Writ, he would split me down, and did aim, and endeavour several Times to strike me, as I was about to read the Writ (according to what I thought my Duty) with his Stick, which, the Blows being warded off by People between us, did not touch my Person, that I remember, but fell upon the Writ in my Hands. Immediately after this such a Tumult ensued, and the Electors were in such a Temper, and so disorderly, and some of them drank of spirituous Liquors to such Excess, that I was convinced a fair Election could not have been made afterwards on that Day: And therefore I declined proceeding further."

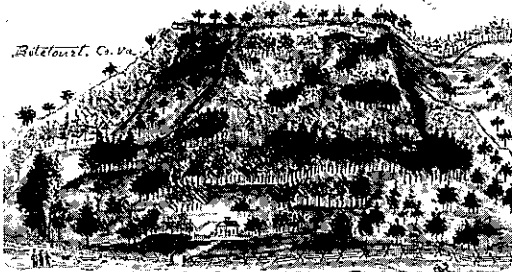
Report from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1766-69, 231.

Travelers to the West

by Kate McBride

Kate is an instructor in the Department of Staff Development.

In May 1775, Philip Fithian, a newly licensed Presbyterian minister, was in Greenwich, New Jersey, making preparations to go to the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia. On May 9, he wrote in his diary: "Must Away to the Westward, over Mountains & Sylvan Wilds; Among I know not what kind of People."¹



"A Rocky Mount, . . . Botetourt County," sketch by Lewis Miller.

Throughout the eighteenth century many people made that journey "to the Westward." Fortunately for us, several of these travelers kept diaries or journals of their trips. These first-hand accounts of life on the frontier detail the variety of people the travelers met as well as the types of accommodations they had along the way. These commentaries clearly reveal the differences between lodgings found in eastern areas of Virginia, like Williamsburg, and those available on the frontier.

Travelers had several options. They could stop at a private home for food and a place to sleep, they could camp in the woods, or they could stay at a public house called a *tavern*, *inn*, or *ordinary*.

The custom of being able to stop and receive a homeowner's hospitality developed in the late seventeenth century and was the concern of a law passed by the Virginia General Assembly in 1663 titled "An act concerning entertainment of strangers." Apparently, some problems had arisen when travelers failed to discuss arrangements upon arriving. The act stated:

Whereas it is frequent with diverse inhabitants of this country to entertaine strangers into their houses without making any agreement with the party what he shall pay for his accommodations which (if the party live) causeth many litigious

*suites, and if the stranger dye lays a gap open to many avaritious persons to ruine the estate of the person deceased, ffor remedy whereof for the future, Be it enacted that noe person not making a poitive agreement with any one he shall entertayne into his house for dyett or storeage shall recover any thing against any one soe enteertayned or against his estate, but that every one shall be reputed to entertayne those of curtesie with whome they make not a certaine agreement.*²

In 1702, Swiss traveler Francis Louis Michel commented on this custom:

*Before I continue my journey I find it necessary to report a good habit or custom which prevails there with regard to strangers and travelers. Namely, it is possible to travel through the whole country without money, except when ferrying across a river. . . . There are few ordinaries or inns. Moreover, it is not a country in which much traveling is done, though the inhabitants visit one another. Even if one is willing to pay, they do not accept anything, but they are rather angry, asking, whether one did not know the custom of the country. At first we were too modest to go into the houses to ask for food and lodging, which the people often recognized, and they admonished us not to be bashful, as this was the custom of rich and poor. We soon became accustomed to it.*³

Governor Alexander Spotswood followed this custom in 1716 during a trip to Fort Christanna, about eighty miles southwest of Williamsburg. The governor took several men with him. John Fontaine kept a diary of the journey in which he described the venture as going to the "outward settlement" on the Southside. On the return trip to Williamsburg, Spotswood and his party stayed at a poor planter's house. Fontaine wrote of their stay:

*They had no beds in the house, so the Governor lay upon the ground and had his bear's skin under him. I lay upon a large table in my cloak, and thus we fared until day which was welcome to us.*⁴

By the 1740s, settlement extended to the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Valley area. In some of the western counties, like Frederick, residents were permitted to operate taverns in their homes. In the late 1740s, a young George Washington was part of a group of men surveying land in the area around Winchester for the Fairfax family. Washington described his stay at



"A View in Giles County, Virginia,"
by Lewis Miller.

the home of a man named Pennington:

Worked hard till Night & then returned to Penningtons we got our Suppers & was Lighted in to a Room & I not being so good a Woodsman as the rest of my Company striped myself very orderly & went in to the Bed as they call'd it when to my Surprize I found it to be nothing but a Little Straw— Matted together without sheets or any thing else but only one Thread Bear blanket with double its Weight of Vermin such as Lice Fleas &c. I was glad to get up (as soon as the Light was carried from us) & put on my Cloaths & Lay as my Companions. Had we not have been very tired, I am sure we should not have slep'd much that night.⁵

The next day, Washington and company went to Frederick Town, later called Winchester. He wrote:

We cleaned ourselves (to get Rid of the game we had caught the Night before) & took a review of the town & then return'd to our Lodgings where we had a good Dinner prepar'd for us Wine & Rum Punch in Plenty & a good Feather Bed with clean Sheets which was a very agreeable regale.⁶

Washington and his companions were doing what most travelers did when they got to a settled area—they got cleaned up, changed their clothes, got some food, then went about their business. In 1750, Thomas Walker did the same thing when he got back to civilization after spending about seven months in the backcountry exploring the area beyond the Cumberland Gap. When he and his party got near the Augusta County Courthouse, Walker wrote: "Hav-

ing Shaved, Shifted and made New shoes we left our useless raggs at ye camp." The men then went to the home of a local resident and spent the night. Walker wrote about a unique problem of providing accommodations to travelers on the frontier: "The People here are very Hospitable and would be better able to support Travellers was it not for the great number of Indian Warriors that frequently take what they want from them."⁷

Early eighteenth-century taverns and those on the frontier were often small, having only one or two rooms. Travelers commonly shared space with the tavernkeeper's family as well as with other travelers. In June 1775, Philip Fithian was in western Pennsylvania, near Sunberry on the Susquehanna River. There, he shared accommodations with a number of boatmen. He wrote, "I slept in a Room with seven of them, & one for a Bedfellow; he was however clean, & civil, & our beds were good & neat."⁸



Fithian frequently commented about how uncomfortable staying with families made him. On one occasion, he wrote, "This going to bed & rising in the same Room, & in full view, of the whole family—This to be sure, puts me often to the Blush."⁹

As a source of information to people in frontier areas, all newly arrived travelers had to deal with questions from local residents. Isaac Weld, traveling through western Virginia in the late 1790s, commented:

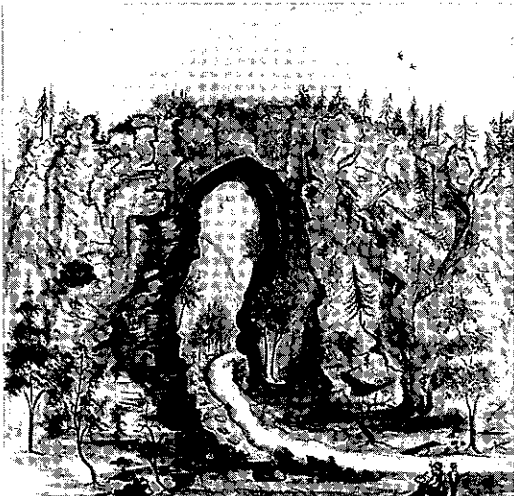
Of all the uncouth human beings I met with in America, these people from the western country were the most so; their curiosity was boundless. Frequently have I been stopped abruptly by one of them in a solitary part of the road, and in such a manner, that had it been in another country, I should have imagined it was a highwayman that was going to demand my purse, and without any further preface,

asked where I came from? If I was acquainted with any news? Where bound to? and finally, my name? . . . A stranger going the same way is sure of having the company of these worthy people, so desirous of information, as far as the next tavern, where he is seldom suffered to remain for five minutes, till he is again assailed by a fresh set with the same questions.¹⁰

The 1780s and 1790s saw a number of foreign travelers visiting the United States. Many came to see what the new country was all about. Several visited Virginia and traveled to its western areas. Weld was one of these, as was the Marquis de Chastellux, a French officer who was at the siege of Yorktown. Following Cornwallis's surrender, Chastellux decided to take a trip to the western part of Virginia before the French army left the state. He was particularly interested in seeing Natural Bridge. Chastellux had a variety of experiences at the taverns and homes where he stayed. On some occasions, he paid for his accommodations; on others, the tavernkeeper or homeowner did not charge him because of who he was.

At Rockfish Gap, west of Charlottesville, he stayed at a tavern recommended to him by Thomas Jefferson during a visit at Monticello. It was not a pleasant experience.

I found the inn that Mr. Jefferson had indicated to me; it is one of the worst lodging places in all America. Mrs. Teaze, the mistress of the house, was some time ago bereft by the death of her husband, and I verily believe that she was also bereft of all her furniture, for I have never seen a more badly furnished house. A poor tin vessel



"The Natural Bridge," by Lewis Miller.

was the only "bowl" used for the family, our servants, and ourselves; I dare not say for what other use it was offered to us when we went to bed. As we were four masters, . . . the hostess and her family were obliged to give up their bed to us. Just as we were deciding to make use of it, a tall young man entered the room where we were assembled, opened a closet, and took out a little bottle. I asked him what it was. "It's a drug," he said, "which our Doctor hereabouts has ordered me to take every day." "And what's your trouble?" I added. "Oh! not much," he replied, "only a little itch." I found this admission appealing in its candor, but I was by no means sorry that I had sheets in my portmanteau. It may easily be imagined that I was not tempted to breakfast in this house next morning.¹¹

The next day, the marquis and his party traveled on and had some better experiences. During the day, they stopped at a tavern owned by a young couple, David Steel and his wife, who also operated a mill. That Steel had been wounded in the fighting at Guildford Courthouse greatly affected the marquis. He wrote of his visit:

Both together could not have made up for the total lack of bread and any kind of drink that they were then experiencing. The bread was just kneaded, but not yet put into the oven. And as for liquors, the house made use of none, and the same brook which turned the mill quenched the young couple's thirst. . . . But these pastoral manners ill suit the convenience of travelers. A few cakes, however, baked over the coals, excellent butter, good milk, and above all, the interest with which Mr. Steel inspired us, made us pass agreeably the time needed to put our horses in condition to complete a long and hard day's journey.¹²

Later that night, after having great difficulty crossing a stream, the group arrived at Paxton's Tavern.

It was now ten o'clock, and the house was closed, or rather the houses, for there were two. I approached the first of them and knocked at the door. It was opened, and I saw five or six little Negroes lying upon a mat before a large fire. I then went to the other house, and there found five or six white children lying in the same manner on a mat before a large fire. Two or three grown-up Negroes presided over each of these little troops. They told me that Mr.

Paxton, his wife, and his whole family, were invited to a wedding, but not far off, and they would go and fetch them. . . . I was . . . chilled by the expectation of seeing our host and hostess come home completely drunk. But I was mistaken; they arrived perfectly sober, were polite and solicitous, and at about midnight we had an excellent supper. Although the rooms and beds were not all we might have wished for, they were better than at Mrs. Teaze's, and we had no right to complain.¹³



"Lexington," by Lewis Miller.

By the 1790s, settlement extended to the Mississippi River. Weld described what he found in the Valley area of Virginia at that time and how travel farther west had improved by then:

Between Fincastle and the Patowmac there are several towns, as Lexington, Staunton, Newmarket, Woodstock, Winchester, Strasburgh, and some others. These towns all stand on the great road, running north and south behind the Blue Mountains, and which is the high road from the northern states to Kentucky.

As I passed along it, I met with great numbers of people from Kentucky and the new state of Tennessee going towards Philadelphia and Baltimore, and with many others going in a contrary direction, "to explore" as they call it, that is, to search for lands conveniently situated for new settlements in the western country. The people all travel on horseback, with pistols and swords, and a large blanket folded up under their saddle, which last they use for sleeping in when obliged to pass the night in the woods. There is but little occasion for arms now that peace has been made with the Indians; but formerly it used to be a very serious under-

taking to go by this route to Kentucky, and travelers were always obliged to go forty or fifty in a party, and well prepared for defence. It would be still dangerous for any person to venture singly, but if five or six travel together, they are perfectly secure. There are houses now scattered along nearly the whole way from Fincastle to Lexington in Kentucky, so that it is not necessary to sleep more than two or three nights in the woods in going there.¹⁴

Travelers in Virginia met a variety of people during their journeys. They also had different experiences with their accommodations—from very comfortable to the worst they saw during their entire trip. But one thing that many commented on was the hospitality of the people of Virginia. Fithian summed up the feeling when he wrote:

The Air of Virginia seems to inspire all the Inhabitants with hospitality—It has long been a Characteristic of the lower Counties—I am sure these Western ones deserve it—Every thing they possess is as free to a Stranger as the Water or the Air.¹⁵

¹ Philip Vickers Fithian, *Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal, 1775–1776*, Written on the Virginia-Pennsylvania Frontier and in the Army around New York, ed. Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Leonidas Dodson (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1934), 1.

² William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. 2 (Richmond, Va.: Printer to the Commonwealth, 1809–1823), 192.

³ Francis Louis Michel, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701–December 1, 1702," ed. William J. Hinke, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (1916): 99.

⁴ John Fontaine, *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710–1719*, ed. Edward Porter Alexander (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 99.

⁵ George Washington, *The Diaries of George Washington*, ed. Donald Jackson, Vol. 1: 1748–1765 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷ Thomas Walker, "The Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1749–1750," in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, Va., 1929), cited in *Taking Possession Storyline Resource Book* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2000), 248.

⁸ Fithian, *Journal*, 1775–1776, 39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹⁰ Isaac Weld, *Travels Through the States of North America*, Vol. 1 (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), 235.

¹¹ *Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, trans. Howard C. Rice, Jr., Vol. 2 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1963), 401–402.

¹² *Ibid.*, 403.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 404.

¹⁴ Weld, *Travels Through the States*, 233–234.

¹⁵ Fithian, *Journal*, 1775–1776, 150.

Questions & Answers

What were some of the colonial treaties made with Native Americans that had an impact on Virginia?

Treaty of 1646

This treaty between the English and the Powhatans gave the English sole control of the lower Peninsula between the James and York Rivers. No Indians were allowed in this area on pain of death. The Powhatans were to pay tribute of twenty beaver skins each year to the governor. All English prisoners, slaves, and guns held by the Indians were to be returned, but Indian prisoners were to be kept by the English and made into servants. Any Indian children twelve years and under were welcome to live with the English.



"A Chief of Roanoke" by Theodore de Bry.

Treaty of Middle Plantation, 1676

This treaty resulted from the disturbances of Bacon's Rebellion in which the Powhatan Indians had been attacked gratuitously. All parties to the treaty acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of England. This treaty protected Powhatan lands by patenting the reservation lands and stating that no English were to settle within three miles of any Indian town. The Powhatans were to pay tribute to the governor each year. All trade with the English was to be controlled by the governor, and all complaints of ill treatment were to be taken to the governor. Today all the tribes of the Powhatans still live under the terms of this treaty.

Treaty of Albany, 1722

Virginia Lieutenant-Governor Spotswood concluded peace with the Iroquois and established the boundaries of Virginia at "the great River of Potowmack and the High Ridge of Mountains." The Iroquois were not to pass east of the Blue Ridge, nor were the Indians under

Virginia's dominion to pass west of the mountains without permission.

Treaty of Lancaster, 1744

This treaty, struck with the Iroquois at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, granted Indians safe passage through Virginia and helped maintain Iroquois friendship in the face of increased tension with the French. It was one of two Indian treaties printed in Williamsburg. Printer William Parks published this one.

Treaty of Logstown, 1752

The Six Nations Indians agreed to allow Virginia settlement on the southeast side of the Ohio River.

Treaty of Winchester, 1753

By the terms of this treaty, Scarouady, an Oneida representing Ohio country Indians, gave permission to build a blockhouse near the forks of the Ohio.

Treaty with the Catawbas and Cherokees, 1756

This effort by Virginia to keep peace between the Catawbas and Cherokees was the second treaty to be published in Williamsburg, this time by William Hunter.

Treaty of Hard Labor, 1768

This treaty, concluded with the Cherokees at Hard Labor, South Carolina, ceded former Cherokee lands to the crown. The treaty line was drawn from Chiswell's mines in southwest Virginia to Point Pleasant (where the Kanawa River enters the Ohio River).

Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768

By the terms of this treaty, the Iroquois ceded to Britain all lands east and south of the Ohio River, including the Kentucky country, with no consideration given to the Shawnees and Delawares who lived in the territory.

Treaty of Lochaber, 1770

This treaty with the Cherokees signed at Lochaber, South Carolina, confirmed additional cessions of certain Cherokee lands in Virginia. According to the treaty, the line was to be drawn from six miles east of Long Island in the Holston River (then in North Carolina, now in Tennessee) in a straight line to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River (now Point Pleasant, Kentucky). Presumably with the agreement of the Cherokees, Colonel John Donelson, sent by Dunmore to run the line, moved it westward to

the Kentucky River then down the Kentucky to the Ohio River, thereby opening up more than half of Kentucky, including the lush bluegrass region, to Virginians.

Camp Charlotte Agreement, 1774

This unofficial agreement ended Dunmore's War against the Shawnees and forced the Shawnees to acknowledge Virginia's rights to territory ceded by the Iroquois in the earlier Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The Shawnees ceded their hunting grounds, which were south of the Ohio, to Virginia. The treaty was never formalized because political events in Virginia in 1775 prevented Dunmore's planned return to conclude negotiations.

How many miles could a traveler cover in a day during the colonial period?

The distances covered in a day by eighteenth-century travelers varied considerably depending on the weather, the travelers' intentions, road conditions, rivers to be crossed, and so on. One person mentioned that he went fifteen miles in a



chair in two-and-a-half hours while his servant, in a chair with luggage and "the old horse," traveled forty-five miles in a day. The same man rode the stage in 1786 from Petersburg to Suffolk (ninety-one miles) in eighteen hours.

William Byrd frequently came to Williamsburg from Westover Plantation in Charles City County, about twenty-five miles up Route 5 today. From his diary entries, we know that it usually took him five hours to make the trip on horseback, unless he stopped to visit along the way. George Washington could make the trip between Mount Vernon and Williamsburg in three days if he made very few stops, but he often took six or seven days for the journey, pausing to conduct business or to visit en route.

The post rider, who around 1738 rode horseback from New Post (the general post office three miles below Fredericksburg on the south side of the Rappahannock River) to Williamsburg each week, left New Post on Thursday mornings and arrived in Williamsburg on Saturday. He allowed between two and two-and-a-half days for the trip, stopping to rest and refresh himself and his horse at necessary intervals.

Andrew Burnaby traveled through Virginia in 1759 and 1760, moving around at a rather leisurely pace. Most days he made between twenty-five and thirty-five miles. On one occasion, he commented that he arrived at Winchester "after a long day's journey of above fifty miles."

Robert Hunter, Jr., a London merchant, thought that the road between Williamsburg and Chickahominy Ferry was "exceedingly pleasant." One traveler observed in 1746 that the Virginia roads were "some of the best I ever saw, and infinitely superior to most in England." Other reports bemoan the condition of colonial roads.

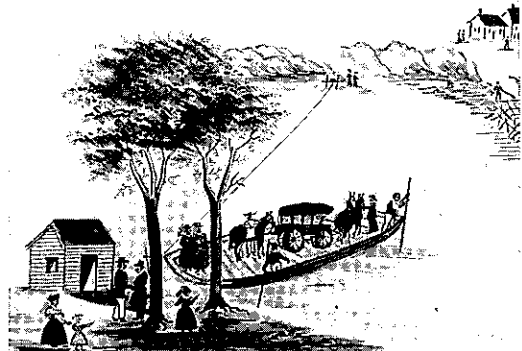
How did common folk move around in the colonial period? Did many people own horses?

Most people walked or rode. The Reverend Hugh Jones wrote, in 1724, that Virginians were "such lovers of riding, that almost every ordinary person keeps a horse." Some vehicles and horses were hired out by tavernkeepers.

Was there public transportation in the eighteenth century?

There was little horse-drawn public transportation in the eighteenth century in the Tidewater and Peninsula areas. For a short time in 1760, a stage ran between Hampton and Williamsburg, a distance of about thirty-two miles.

Ferries, available for a fee to carry travelers over waterways, came with a set of significant, time-consuming complications. A traveler arriving at the shore across from the ferry keeper's base had to attract the keeper's attention by shouting, waving a large piece of cloth, or signaling with a fire. Then the wait began while the ferry crossed the river. If the ferry could not accommodate horses and a carriage at the same time, the traveler would have to wait while the ferry made more than one trip.



This Lewis Miller sketch shows a nineteenth-century ferry in western Virginia.

How much did a ferry ride cost in the eighteenth century?

The charges for ferriage in the eighteenth century were set by law and ferry keepers licensed by the county courts. Prices varied somewhat from place to place, but these for Norfolk in 1747 are typical: four pence for a man; four pence for a horse; two shillings for a coach, chariot, or wagon with driver; one shilling four pence for a cart or four-wheeled

chaise with its driver; eight pence for a two-wheeled chair or chaise; four pence for a hogshead of tobacco or a head of cattle; one penny for a hog; and each sheep, goat, or lamb was charged one fifth of the fare of a horse.

Compiled by Bob Doares, instructor in Staff Development. Special thanks to John Caramia, chair of the Taking Possession Story Line Team, for his input on the Indian treaties.

The Changing Landscape of Williamsburg and Its Environs Through Time

by M. Kent Brinkley, FASLA

Kent is landscape architect in Colonial Williamsburg's Operation's Division. In 1998, the American Society of Landscape Architects honored him for his work by electing him a Fellow.

In 2000, the Foundation's interpretive focus has been on the Taking Possession story line. This story line emphasizes the clash of cultures over ownership and land use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well as the steady movement of English settlement west during that period into what is today West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio. Indeed, what was happening on the frontier was and is a critical and important part of this story, particularly as it relates to Williamsburg's Days in History programming.

However, it's also important to look back at what was happening with land use here in the Williamsburg area during the settlement period and in the years that followed it. Although the act of possessing the land is certainly central to the story line, we also need to talk about why the land was desired; why and to what extent the land was cleared; how it was worked and used, and how it was altered and shaped so that it could become useful. In other words, what was done with the land once it had been acquired, and, more specifically, what happened to the land in and around the city of Williamsburg? What were the catalysts for change over the course of time in Williamsburg's larger "macro" landscape; that is, not just within the city itself and what is today the Historic Area of Colonial Williamsburg, but also in the areas that immediately surround the city? What actions and historical events drove the processes

of physical and visual change in this region of tidewater Virginia?

Most typically, virgin land was first cleared of its tree cover. Possibly, it was graded or shaped. Then the owner usually fenced it, and eventually put it to some form of agricultural use. As decades passed, this process changed and so did the area's look. Coupled with typical, man-made changes to the land, natural forces were (and are) constantly at work through time. Although we might not think about it much, we are at least vaguely aware that nothing remains static in nature. The changing of the seasons and the vagaries of weather, for example, remind us that Mother Nature never stands still outside our windows.

Man-made and natural changes work together to alter the appearance of a landscape over the course of time. This was certainly true of Williamsburg and its surrounding areas. Thus, despite the groundbreaking, monumental efforts of the Colonial Williamsburg restoration in the twentieth century, the city of Williamsburg looks vastly different today from what it did two and half centuries ago, and, indeed, just a century ago.

As a landscape architect interested in the history of the Virginia landscape, I am concerned both with the dynamics of change over the course of time in the larger Williamsburg landscape and with just how much things have changed in this area visually as well as physically. The next logical question to ask, then, might be how can we quantify or qualify these kinds of elusive, ephemeral changes?

For the earliest part of the area's colonial history, vivid impressions can be gained by examining official records of the colony and town, travel accounts, and military billeting maps of the city that were drawn during the American Revolution. More recently, photographs taken in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provide revealing visual evidence of how much the area's appearance has changed over time. By

comparing these older photographs with more recent ones, one gains a better appreciation of how dramatically different Williamsburg's historical landscape was from today's partially re-created Colonial Williamsburg Historic Area.

In the early seventeenth century, the area that we know today as the city of Williamsburg was still a wilderness. Geographically speaking, the tidewater area of eastern Virginia consists of a series of peninsulas separated by a number of large rivers that drain into the Chesapeake Bay. Extending well inland into these peninsulas, especially the southernmost one where Williamsburg eventually came to be sited, were and still are a number of tidal creeks and shallow, silted wetlands. These creeks served the early English colonists as their first means of access to the higher, interior portions of the peninsulas.

Vast forests consisting of pine, gum, maple, poplar, beech, oak, and hickory trees covered nearly all of eastern Virginia, including the future site of Williamsburg. The Native Americans living in the region before the arrival of English settlers had cleared a few areas of forest acreage for agricultural purposes. Once the Indians abandoned or were pushed off these "old Indian fields," the land was quickly appropriated by the English for their expanding farms and pasturelands.¹ Some footpaths that wound through the forests eventually came to be used by the English. These first roads into the interior provided more direct links with other remote English settlements, which, by the mid-seventeenth century, were established along the other tidewater rivers.²

Given the profound differences in culture and orientation toward land ownership and use, it was likely that Native Americans and settlers would come into bloody conflict. Before 1620, the English were somewhat circumspect about appropriating Indian lands for their own. However, after the Indian uprising of 1622, the English considered all Indian lands fair game for acquisition and use. They also became much more concerned about defending themselves from sudden Indian attacks.³

The first major catalyst for change in the area's landscape was the erection of a wooden palisade during the 1630s to serve as a defensive work, literally to wall off the lower peninsula from further attacks by the Indians. Settlers began construction in 1633, by cutting down trees in a six-mile swath across the peninsula between the York and James Rivers. Then they dug a ditch along the path of the cleared area and drove the sharpened stakes of the palisade side-by-side into the ditch. Upon its completion (by

1634), this formidable barrier became the visible, symbolic frontier boundary of the English colony. To have people man these defenses during periods of tension or alarm, the General Assembly offered fifty acres of tax-free land to anyone who would come and settle along the palisade. This period saw the real beginnings of the bold settlement of the interior and the almost constant process of clearing out the dense forests to open up the landscape for agricultural use.⁴

Fifty acres of tax-free land proved an incentive for many English settlers, especially considering the nature of the colony's main cash crop. Tobacco, a lucrative but labor-intensive crop, exhausts the soil within a couple of years of its initial planting. Thus, the acquisition of more high, arable land was always a major concern and priority for ambitious colonists. New English immigrants, arriving in Virginia also sought land-owning opportunities.⁵

Especially important was the highest land on the peninsula adjacent to the palisade. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, this area had become a farming community called "Middle Plantation." By late in the century, most of the forest trees had been cleared from this ridge of high ground except those within the ravines that cut into the area from both the north and the south.⁶ By 1695, Middle Plantation was a small settlement consisting of the then-new College of William and Mary, the small brick church of Bruton Parish completed in 1683, an ordinary or two, and perhaps a dozen or so homes and several large farming enterprises. In fact, the very best quality tobacco in Virginia at that time was grown at Middle Plantation.⁷

In 1699, for a variety of reasons—not the least of which was the good, inland location—the government moved the colony's capital to Middle Plantation and renamed the area Williamsburg. Governor Francis Nicholson soon hired Charles City County surveyor Theodorick Bland to provide a survey of a proposed new town. Bland's survey shows the boundaries of the town proper (encompassing 220 acres of land) and what would become the arrow-straight Duke of Gloucester Street superimposed upon the ridge of high ground and the ravines adjacent to it that had formerly been called Middle Plantation.⁸ Subsequently, the area was divided into half-acre lots for sale and development.

As the city slowly developed during the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, the colony's public buildings were constructed and sited to provide visual "anchors" at the ends of

the streets. Some written evidence suggests that, at first, Governor Nicholson attempted to lay out some of the town's streets in the form of a "W" and an "M," in honor of the reigning English monarchs. But today, despite much speculation as to where, how, and even if this work might have been accomplished, we still don't know very much about this curious bit of historical trivia. In any event, by 1720, as public buildings took form and more private dwellings were constructed in the new city, the streets were finally straightened out and aligned much as we still see them today.⁹

No paintings or other visual evidence survive to indicate what Williamsburg and the surrounding area looked like during the eighteenth century, but at least eight travelers to Williamsburg during that period left written accounts and descriptions of the area. Several of these repeatedly mention that, by the 1780s, Williamsburg was situated upon "a sandy, open plain" and was visible from a considerable distance to travelers approaching it from either east or west.¹⁰

The earliest pictorial impression we have of this area is a panoramic drawing made by James Austin Graham from inside the Public Hospital about 1860, on the eve of the American Civil War. Looking north from a vantage point just south of present-day Newport Avenue, Graham's drawing graphically illustrates that the open character of the landscape mentioned in eighteenth-century travelers' accounts had not changed much by the mid-nineteenth century.

What caused this wide-open landscape? The area had long been an agricultural landscape, and, at that time, farming was obviously still a very important use of the land surrounding the city.¹¹ Decades of continuous clearing of land for agricultural use, initially for tobacco and later for corn and wheat, opened up the landscape. Livestock required pasture and grazing land. Also, consumption of local timber resources had a major effect on the appearance of the landscape. Timber for building materials and the continuous demand for firewood for cooking and heating began as soon as the area was first settled and never lessened for the next 250 years or so. Timber was also a significant export from Virginia. Even before the end of the eighteenth century, timber resources had apparently become so scarce in the Williamsburg area that firewood was being cut on tracts of land in Surry County, conveyed across the James River on barges, and sold at weekly markets held in Williamsburg's Market Square.¹²

Among the landmarks that appear so prominently in Graham's drawing is the tall steeple of

Bruton Parish Church, built in 1769, which still stands near the center of the town. Because of its height and the openness of the surrounding countryside for a considerable distance, the Bruton steeple was perhaps the single most dominant and important visual landmark in this larger landscape for many generations.

During the Civil War Peninsula Campaign in 1862, a rear-guard action was fought just to the east of Williamsburg. Union engineer officer Robert K. Sneed sketched a map of the battlefield with its network of roads and fortifications and illustrated what the surrounding landscape was like. He indicated what was open ground and which areas were covered in timber at the time. Then, he or a fellow officer also drew a panoramic sketch looking over the same area from east to west, showing the most contested portion of the battlefield: the ground around Confederate Fort Magruder, which was built to defend the old main road from Yorktown and Hampton. At that time, one could clearly see the skyline of the city of Williamsburg only a mile or so to the west, including the steeple of Bruton Parish Church and the twin Italianate towers of the College of William and Mary's Main Building (now restored to its eighteenth-century appearance and known as the Wren Building).¹³

Corroborating evidence of the open character of the Williamsburg landscape and the accuracy of that aspect of Graham's drawing, in particular, is graphically provided by late-nineteenth-century photographs of the Magazine. Two of these photographs (Figure 1) give a clear idea of the expansive views and vistas of the surrounding rural countryside once visible to people walking on Duke of Gloucester Street.

Aside from early photographs, a comparison between eighteenth-century maps and some early aerial photography, also dramatically illustrates how much the vegetation of this area has changed within a period of two centuries. Of particular interest is a 1782 map of the area that was drawn by chief French engineer officer Jean-Nicolas Desandrouins (Figure 2).¹⁴ The map's orientation places north (the direction of the York River) on the left and the James River to the south and at the right. The city of Williamsburg is shown in the center. A similarly oriented 1954 high-aerial photo (Figure 2) shows almost exactly the same area and reveals significantly more forest vegetation, as indicated by the dark black areas.

The French were acknowledged as the consummate engineers and cartographers of the eighteenth century, but can we take them liter-

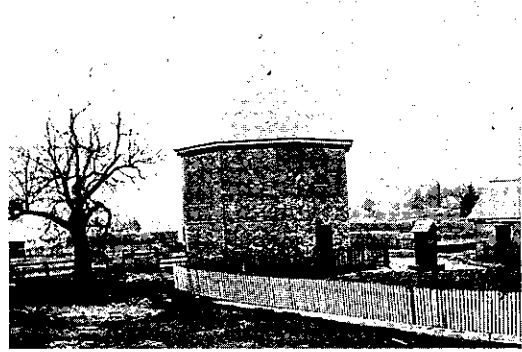


Figure 1. These two late nineteenth-century photos of the Magazine show examples of the clear vistas visible from Duke of Gloucester Street

ally? Do their maps truly represent the actual, physical conditions during that period? A close comparison of Desandrouins's map with this and other aerial photographs helps prove that the eighteenth-century French maps of Williamsburg are very detailed and surprisingly accurate. (See the 1927 aerial photograph of actual conditions on the ground (Figure 3). Today, we typically create accurate maps from aerial and satellite photography. Amazingly, the French did it all with ground-level surveys. Even so, they managed to show all of the topographic features and old road networks with a high degree of accuracy. There is no reason, therefore, to doubt their representations of open fields, wooded areas, and other details.

By the early to middle years of the twentieth century, this entire region had become heavily forested once again. What caused this dramatic change?

Beginning in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, farming and agriculture was much reduced on the land immediately adjacent to the city as well as the surrounding coun-

ties. At an increasingly rapid rate, lands that had formerly been farmed were allowed to go fallow when owners could no longer afford to pay the taxes or hire the laborers necessary to farm them. Predictably, within a few years, the natural vegetation regenerated itself on idle farmlands. By 1955, a large portion of both James City and York Counties had become heavily re-forested.

In 1777, traveler Ebenezer Hazard wrote an account stating that a wonderful view of the entire city could be seen from the cupola of the Main Building at William and Mary. He went on to state that the James River was easily seen from that vantage point, and, on a clear day, one could view the waters of the York River.¹⁵ In December 1988, curious about this description, I tested the view of the area from the Wren cupola. I wanted to do this test specifically at that time of year so that trees in leaf would not obscure my vision. Not surprisingly, I ultimately discovered that, because of the vegetative growth of trees in this area since 1777, today, one cannot even glimpse either river from the cupola.

Figure 2. The 1954 areial photo at the right is oriented to match the Desandrouins map at left. In each case, north (the York River) appears at the left.



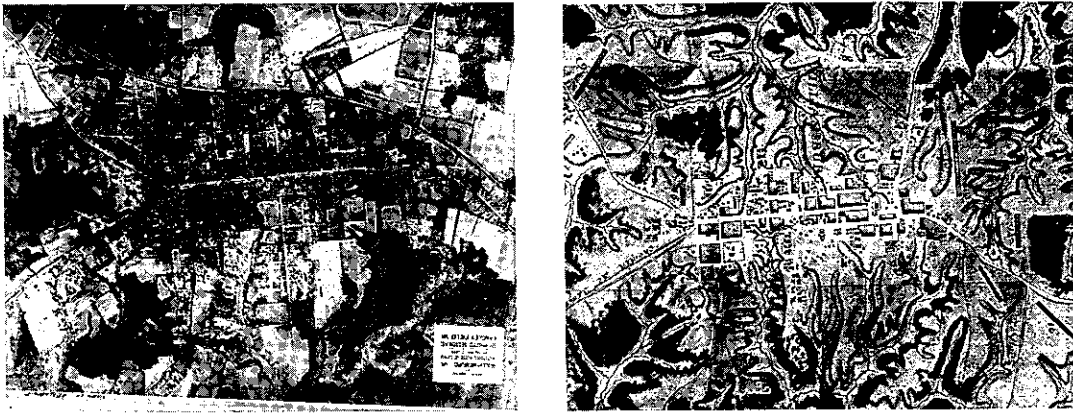


Figure 3. The 1927 aerial photograph at left provides evidence of the accuracy of Desandrouins's map (detail on right).

Other changes in the area's visual appearance were brought about simply by the rapid march of progress after the turn of the twentieth century. In 1917, with United States involvement in World War I, the American military began acquiring huge tracts of rural and forested land near Williamsburg for new army and navy bases. During this period, Fort Eustis and the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station were established.¹⁶ Camp Peary and Cheatham Annex were created during World War II. Predictably, the increasing military presence rapidly brought a large influx of people into the area and created a demand for new housing. Land values began to increase as former farmlands were sold to builders for new housing subdivisions around the city. The resulting real estate development boom has continued unabated until this day. By the 1920s, larger numbers of people with money and influence demanded modern city amenities and services, including paved and lighted streets. Such improvements certainly contributed much to the changes in the area's appearance over time.¹⁷ Even more recently, one of the most profound changes to the town's appearance came about through the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, begun in 1927.

The famous map of Williamsburg drawn by an unknown Frenchman in 1782 (Figure 4) survived into this century.

This map again clearly shows how the town's gridded plan was superimposed over the Middle Plantation landscape, which was cut by several deep, natural ravines. Early town inhabitants simply lived with the inconvenience of streets winding around and through several of these ravines. This condition started to change by about 1720. Eventually, irregularities in Duke of Gloucester Street necessitated removing earth in some places, filling in at others, and building causeways over low areas.

As inconvenient as ravines might once have been for carriages and wagons to negotiate, they had, however, functioned for decades to drain storm water runoff from the center of town to the adjacent creeks and rivers to the north and the south. (Despite some silting, piping, and partial filling, several of these ravines continue to function in this manner today.) When

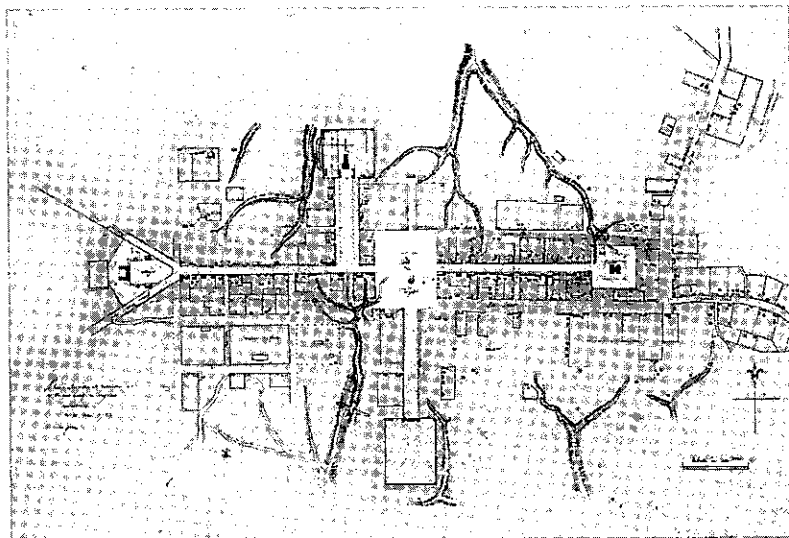


Figure 4. The Frenchman's Map shows Williamsburg's grid pattern superimposed on the landscape.

ravines had to be completely filled in, storm water was channeled into brick culverts built underground to carry the water through these filled-in areas and under Duke of Gloucester Street, then on to open ravines. These would not be simple projects to complete using modern earthmoving equipment. Consider that all this work was done in the eighteenth century using only horses, carts, and manual (undoubtedly slave) labor!¹⁸

This is a historical example of the cause-and-effect relationship that exists between grading and earthmoving and the rainwater that runs off during and after storms. Regardless of changes in a landscape's appearance, each generation must deal with some practical things to make a community more livable and convenient for humans.

An old photograph of Williamsburg, taken about 1888 from the vantage point of the old Bright farmhouse, located behind William and Mary on Richmond Road, shows just how recently some of these changes occurred (Figure 5). Little more than a century ago, Williamsburg still stood on its "open plain," just as travelers to the area had described it earlier! The college buildings are visible off to the right in the photo, and, over to the left, the landmark on the skyline is the Bruton Parish Church steeple. Things began to change dramatically only two or three decades after this photograph was taken. This is the only known, surviving visual evidence of the historical, open, agricultural setting indicated on period maps and referred to in travelers' accounts. Today, the Bright family house serves as headquarters for the William and Mary Society of the Alumni. Subsequent development has filled in formerly open fields that came right up to the oldest part of the town until about 1900.

Photographic documentation within the last century or so provides vivid evidence of how dramatic some of the changes in Williamsburg's vegetation and topography have been. Despite the seemingly "timeless" character that appears to endure from year to year at Colonial Williamsburg, change is still an integral part of the dynamic nature of our landscape. Although our predecessors at Colonial Williamsburg proved that they could arrest certain changes by effectively "turning back the clock," we realize

today that we cannot really escape the effect of time's passage on the landscape or prevent it from happening. All that today's staff can really hope to do is to respond to it in ways that will help us to maintain the ambience and the essential spirit of this very special place.

Our generation, and all future generations, must ever balance the competing needs to grow and evolve and use this land, while attempting to preserve as much of the historical character of old Williamsburg as possible. To do this, our generation will need to keep the impact of more dramatic man-made changes to a minimum. Colonial Williamsburg, the College of William and Mary, and the City of Williamsburg must, together, make this goal a top priority in order to prevent further visual intrusions and to preserve intact for future generations the essential "spirit" of this wonderful, venerable, historic place.

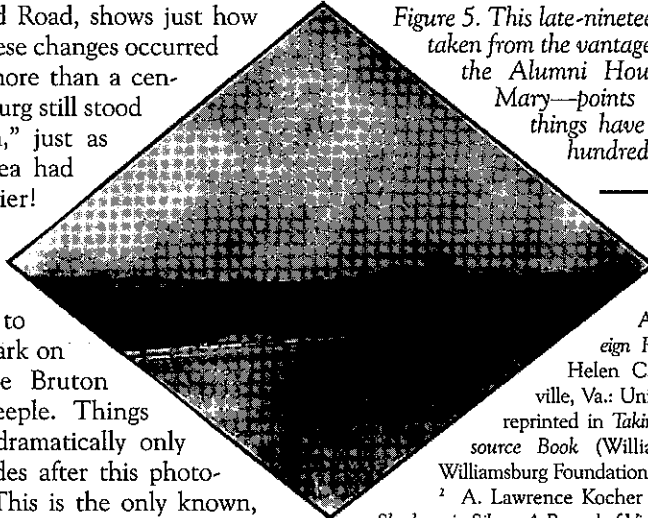


Figure 5. This late-nineteenth-century photo—taken from the vantage point of what is now the Alumni House at William and Mary—points out how drastically things have changed in the past hundred years.

¹ Helen Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English: A Case of Multiple Conflicting Agendas," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500–1722*, ed. Helen C. Rountree (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia); reprinted in *Taking Possession Storyline Resource Book* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2000), 19, 22–23.

² A. Lawrence Kocher and Howard Dearstyne, *Shadows in Silver: A Record of Virginia, 1850–1900 in Contemporary Photographs taken by George and Heustis Cook with Additions from the Cook Collection* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), 43.

³ Rountree, "Powhatans and the English," reprinted in *Taking Possession*, 19, 24, 30.

⁴ M. Kent Brinkley, "An Account of the Development of Middle Plantation and the Early Days of Williamsburg," in *Taking Possession Storyline Resource Book*, 185–186.

⁵ Rountree, "Powhatans and the English," reprinted in *Taking Possession*, 19.

⁶ John W. Reys, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 143. That this cleared, open landscape likely existed by the late eighteenth century is also suggested by the fact that firewood for heating and cooking had by then become a scarce commodity within the local area. See Archibald Bolling Shepperson, *John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell of London and Williamsburg* (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1942), 44, 323, 395–396.

⁷ According to Hugh Jones in his *Present State of Virginia* (1724), "the land in the latitude between these Rivers [York and James] seeming most nicely adapted for the sweet-

scented, or the finest tobacco"; quoted in E. Thomas Crowson, *Life As Revealed Through Early American Court Records* (Easley, S. C.: Southern Historical Press, 1981), 135.

⁸ Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 143–148. Bland's survey also showed the landings at the east and west ends of town and the roads leading to them.

⁹ M. Kent Brinkley, comp., "Eyewitness Accounts of Williamsburg in the 18th and 19th Centuries," in *Taking Possession Storyline Resource Book*, 203–214. For detailed descriptions and analysis of the probable nature of the alterations and improvements, see Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 148–149, 156–170.

¹⁰ Brinkley, comp., "Eyewitness Accounts," in *Taking Possession*, 203–205.

¹¹ For a good, detailed photograph of this panoramic drawing, see George Humphrey Yetter, *Williamsburg Before and After: The Rebirth of Virginia's Colonial Capital* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), 32–33.

¹² Shepperson, *Paradise and Ludwell*, 44, 323, 395–396. References to the sale of timber bringing a good price in the market in Williamsburg indicate that firewood was being transported a considerable distance to town by the late eighteenth century.

¹³ Edward R. Crews, "The Battle of Williamsburg," *Colonial Williamsburg* 18 (Summer 1996): 14–15, 16–17.

¹⁴ Martha W. McCartney, "Jean-Nicolas Desandrouins and His Overlooked Map of 18th-Century Williamsburg," *Colonial Williamsburg* 21 (December 1999/January 2000): 44–48.

¹⁵ Brinkley, comp., "Eyewitness Accounts," in *Taking Possession*, 211.

¹⁶ Will Molineux, "Penniman and the Powder Plant Boom," *Colonial Williamsburg* 22 (Summer 2000): 63–68.

¹⁷ Will Molineux, "Williamsburg Enlists in World War II," *Colonial Williamsburg* 22 (Summer 2000): 70–75.

¹⁸ M. Kent Brinkley, "The Lay of the Land," *Interpreter* 12 (May 1991): 1–4.

The Education of the Native American in Colonial Virginia, with Particular Regard to the Brafferton School

by Terri Keffert

Terri, a former visitor aide in the Historic Area, is now in the Department of Archaeological Research.

each town, city, Borough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certaine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in the true religion and civile course of life—of which children the most tow-wardly boyes in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature, so to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them, that from thence they may be sente to that work of conversion.

First Representative Assembly
Jamestown, 1619¹

From the earliest English settlement in North America, the notion of educating the Indians was commonplace in conversation. To the ethnocentric colonists, education meant civilizing the Indians by converting them to the teachings of the Gospel. This christianization of the Native Americans, colonists felt, was an important agent of acculturation. The Indians would not only learn the philosophies of Christianity, but they would be "encouraged" to wear the clothes of, grow the food of, and learn the language of the Europeans. In doing so, the Indians would see the error of their "savage" ways. Education



"The Indian Mound," sketch by Lewis Miller.

was a two-fold idea, however. It was believed that by persuading them to live in the manner of the incoming Europeans, the Native Americans would be more amenable to the intrusions of this new culture, thus making it easier for the colonists to encroach upon the native land without fear of warfare. These motivations were communicated over and over again in colonial Virginia. But success was usually short-lived.

Early Attempts at Indian Education

As early as 1609, Sir Thomas Gates's expedition to Jamestown, brought special instructions from the Virginia Company regarding the education of the natives.² Later, in 1619, England's King James I authorized the collection of money for the creation of churches and schools for the education of Indian children in the New World.

Henricus Colledge, in Virginia, was to be funded by some of these donations.³

The founders of Henricus Colledge intended to provide formal schooling for the nearby Algonquian tribes. The London Company supported the school by granting one thousand acres of land for this purpose. However, squandering of money, reluctance by the natives to leave their children there, and finally the Indian uprising of 1622 proved England's first attempt at Indian schooling unsuccessful. Henricus Colledge closed without ever having a book, building, teacher, or student.⁴

Benefactors continued to look with interest toward this cause throughout the seventeenth century. One bequest of £300 to "the College in Virginia" stipulated that if the school had fewer than ten Indian students, the funds would go to three men who would "bring up three of the Infidels children in Christian Religion and some good course to live by."⁵ (The sheltering and tutoring of young Indians in colonists' homes was not uncommon in the 1600s, as they often served essentially as indentured servants.)⁶ Brafferton Indian School at the College of



Survey map, Brafferton (Yorkshire), 1855. Courtesy, North Yorkshire County Record Office.

William and Mary in Virginia was also the result of such benevolence.

The Boyle Fund

Robert Boyle, a noted chemist and natural philosopher, was an active member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (also known as the New England Company or S.P.G.) and very interested in missionary work among the Native Americans. Upon his death in 1691, he expressed the desire that part of his estate be put to "pious and charitable uses."⁷ Boyle left £5,400 to be used for this purpose, and the money was invested (as was typical at the time) in an English farm in Yorkshire, known as Brafferton Manor. The profits from the manor were to be split between two colonies and used for the education of Indian children, as directed by Boyle's will. Commissary James Blair of Virginia made sure that Virginia was one of those colonies.⁸

Blair set sail for England in 1691 to secure a charter from King William III for a long-awaited college in Virginia. While looking for support there, he got wind of Boyle's legacy and added a section to his proposed charter dedicated to "the propagation of the Christian faith amongst the Western Indians."⁹ This addition secured a portion of Boyle's much-needed legacy for the newly chartered College of William and Mary. After distributing £90 per year of the profits to



The Christian Faith Society (CFS) was established in England by a bequest in Robert Boyle's will in 1691 to oversee the funds that were to be used to advance the Christian religion amongst the "infidels." This included the administration of yearly rents from Brafferton Manor in Yorkshire, England, much of which was sent to the College of William and Mary. The CFS erected plaques like this above the doorways of dwellings on the Brafferton Estate whose rents went into the Boyle trust.

the New England Company for missionary work and the education of New England Indians at their Harvard school, the trust allotted the rest—£200 per year—to the establishment of an Indian school in Virginia.¹⁰ The Virginia Assembly designated the site of the college as Middle Plantation, which in 1699 became Williamsburg.

The Boyle allotment came with some strings. The executors—Richard Boyle, first earl of Burlington, and Henry Amhurst, treasurer of the S.P.G.—specified in the fund's settlement agreement that a list of student names, numbers in attendance, and representative accounting be sent to them once a year. They also stipulated that the money must be used to furnish lodgings and rooms for the Indian children. The president of the college and his successors must keep the children "in Sicknesse and health in Meat drink Washing Lodgeing Cloathes Medicines bookes and Educacon from the first beginning of Letters till they are ready to receive Orders."¹¹

The Brafferton School Opens

The first Indian students arrived in 1700, two years after the college officially opened.¹² Francis Nicholson, governor at the time, took a personal interest in the school, deciding how old the students should be and what they should learn. He sent mandates out with Indian traders instructing them to make the tribes aware of the school and its visions.

Students should ideally be seven or eight years old, Nicholson felt. They would be taught the three R's—reading, writing, and religion—that became the foundation of the curriculum for the next seventy years of the school's existence. (Vulgar arithmetic was added to that curriculum in the 1727 Statutes of the College.)¹³ Nicholson also desired that the students learn arts and sciences like the "best Englishmen's sons do learn."¹⁴ A fire in 1705, however, consumed the college building and all of its records and furnishings, making it nearly impossible to know what the policies and operations of the school actually were before that time.

During a visit to Williamsburg in 1724, Hugh Jones wrote that, prior to the rebuilding of the college in 1716, Indian students were boarded and lodged in the town, and classes held. He noted that many of the Indians died from "sickness, change of provision and way of life; or as some will have it, often through want of proper necessaries and due care taken with them." Living in close quarters with the English would have intensified the risk of exposure to foreign

BRAFFERTON SCHOOL TIMETABLE

- 1691– Boyle Trust funds secured
92
- 1693 Charter for the College of William and Mary obtained
- 1694 Grammar school started under charter, occupying nearby schoolhouse
- 1697 Two sides of College quadrangle erected
- 1698 College officially opened, despite incomplete building complex
- 1700 First Native American children arrived
- 1705 College building destroyed by fire (Oct. 29). Classes both for grammar students and Indian children held in town, possibly at schoolhouse. (Hugh Jones wrote that prior to 1716, Indian students were lodged in town where classes were held.)¹
- 1705 Governor Nicholson expelled; replaced by Edward Nott
- 1706 Nott died; Edmund Jennings, president of the Council, became acting governor
- 1710 Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood arrived in Williamsburg
- 1714– Indian school operated at Fort Christanna
18
- 1716 Partially rebuilt college building in use
- 1723 College building completed; Brafferton building erected to house Indian students and their schoolmaster, although no students reported that year²
- 1727 First statutes of the College of William and Mary written
- 1729 Original college charter, finally signed; control of college transferred from trustees to president, masters, and professors, as specified
- ca. Library created in Brafferton building
1732
- 1777 Brafferton school closed
- 1787 Boyle funds redirected to the West Indies

¹ Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia from Whence Is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina*, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1956), 114.

² M. R. M. Goodwin, "Historical Notes: College of William and Mary," *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Notes*, Rockefeller Library, 1954, vi–viii; and Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia in Four Parts* (London, 1922), 266.

diseases. Some medical records from the 1730s and 1740s recount treatment of several of the students for illnesses. To date, however, there are no known records or diary notations revealing the thoughts of and interactions between the Indian students and townspeople during the early 1700s.¹⁵

Indian enrollment peaked during the years that Alexander Spotswood stood as lieutenant governor of Virginia. His problems began shortly after he assumed office in 1710. Warring Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina drew his attention to the frontier where settlers feared attack. But Spotswood saw this as an opportunity to promote some of his projects. He had always been an enthusiastic supporter of educating the Indians. He felt that the education of their children kept the Indian tribes friendly with the crown. It was also a means of converting the whole Indian population to Christianity and of encouraging them to live as compliant neighbors to the colonists.¹⁶ This war, and the subsequent Yamasee War, allowed Spotswood to enforce participation in his educational scheme, while looking like a benevolent patriarch. He took it upon himself to oversee two such educational endeavors: the continuation of Nicholson's and Blair's efforts to establish a successful Indian school at the College of William and Mary and the creation of an Indian school farther west at Fort Christanna.

Initially, many of the Brafferton School's Indian students were native children taken in war by remote tribes. Spotswood frowned on such doings. In 1711, he asked that the tributary tribes, in return for protection, to show good fidelity by giving their children to be educated at the College. The Indians, however, needed reassurance of his promise to clothe, care for, and educate their children, since, as Spotswood wrote in a letter to Lord Dartmouth, "they were indeed a little shy of yielding to this proposal, and urged the breach of a former Compact made long ago by this Government, when instead of their Children receiving the promised education they were transported (as they say) to other Countrys and sold as Slaves, but I have had the good fortune to remove any such Jealousie and have convinced them by my freely parting with my own dues that there is no such intention now." (Spotswood offered to remit the annual tribute of twenty beaver skins to the poverty-stricken tribes.)¹⁷

The children were allowed to bring one person along to serve them. Many tribes responded immediately. The Nansemonds, Nottoways, and Meherrins sent two of their chiefs' sons. The

MASTERS OF THE BRAFFERTON SCHOOL¹

Christopher Jackson	1710-16
Christopher Smith	1716-18?
Charles Griffin	
(from Ft. Christanna Indian School)	1718-24 ²
Richard Cocke	1728-29
Rev. John Fox (age 23)	1729-37 ³
Rev. Robert Barret	1737-38
Rev. Thomas Dawson	1738-55
Emmanuel Jones	1755-77
Rev. John Bracken	1777-79?

¹ Karen A. Stuart, "So Good a Work": The Brafferton School, 1691-1777" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), 87, unless otherwise noted.

² Edward Porter Alexander, ed., *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia 1710-1719* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 157.

³ Stuart, "So Good a Work," 36. It became common practice, starting with John Fox in 1729, to select as Indian master "a talented student . . . chosen first to be grammar usher, and then promoted to Indian master as a vacancy occurred."

queen of Pumunkey sent her own son with a boy to attend him, along with two other chiefs' sons, already dressed in the English manner. By 1712, twenty-four students reportedly attended the Brafferton School, representing each of the nine tributary nations.¹⁸

This vast jump in enrollment was more than the Boyle fund could handle. Not wanting to turn anyone away, Spotswood appealed to the General Assembly and then to the bishop of London for additional funds. None were forthcoming.¹⁹ However, enrollment declined the following year because Spotswood's attention shifted to creating an Indian school in the west at Fort Christanna.

An Indian School at Fort Christanna

Fear of retribution by warring tribes generated the need for a fort on the western Virginia frontier. Fort Christanna's secondary role as an Indian trading post helped to establish a successful Indian school. The Indian Trade Act, passed in 1714 by the Virginia Assembly, guaranteed a twenty-year trade monopoly to the Virginia Indian Company, located at the fort. In return, the company had to construct and maintain a schoolhouse. After two years, a percentage of the company's profits would be put toward the school's expenses.²⁰

Fort Christanna, named in honor of Christ

and Queen Anne, was completed in 1715 in what is today Brunswick County. Children from the Brafferton School were transferred to Fort Christanna in 1715, and additional tributary Indian tribes were offered the same remittance-for-children deal as the others received a few years earlier. Spotswood included the incentive of discounted prices on goods at the fort to those agreeing to send their children to the school. Also, any Indian who completed his education at either Brafferton or Christanna would receive shares in the Virginia Indian Company.²¹

The winning personality and warmth of Charles Griffin, the Indian master at Fort Christanna, secured the success of the school. An experienced Anglican lay reader and "A Man of good Family, who by the Innocence of his Life, and the Sweetness of his Temper, [Griffin] was perfectly well qualify'd for that pious undertaking. Besides, he had so much the Secret of mixing Pleasure with Instruction, that he had not a Scholar, who did not love him affectionately," wrote William Byrd. Spotswood felt so strongly about both Griffin and the mission of the school that he paid Griffin £50 a year out of his own pocket. By June of 1715, Spotswood could report seventy children—both boys and girls—at the school. By that fall, many students could recite the Lord's Prayer and Creed, he bragged to the bishop of London.²²

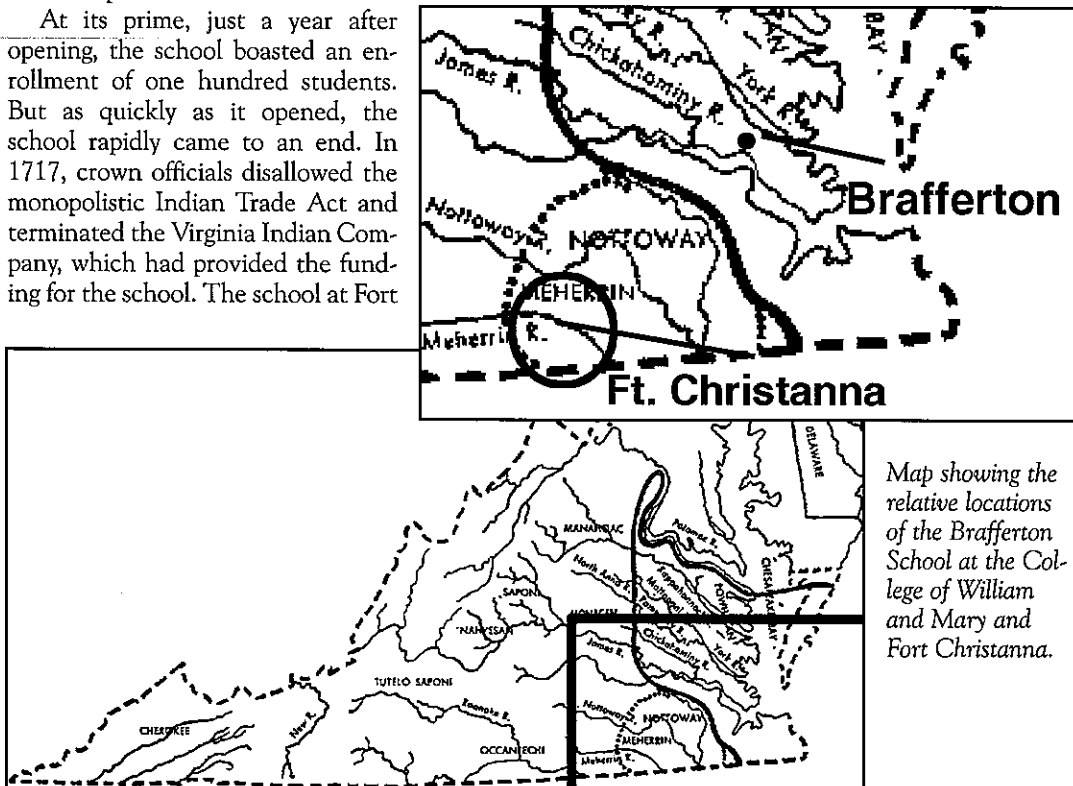
At its prime, just a year after opening, the school boasted an enrollment of one hundred students. But as quickly as it opened, the school rapidly came to an end. In 1717, crown officials disallowed the monopolistic Indian Trade Act and terminated the Virginia Indian Company, which had provided the funding for the school. The school at Fort

Christanna closed, and Charles Griffin was sent to Williamsburg to be Indian master at the Brafferton School.

The Brafferton Building

While the Fort Christanna School existed, the number of Indian students at the College of William and Mary drastically declined, probably because of Spotswood's attentions and enthusiasms toward the frontier. In 1716, after the reconstruction of the college building that had been destroyed in the fire of 1705, newly arrived Indian master Christopher Smith petitioned the college's Board of Visitors to grant him 2,500 pounds of tobacco (roughly £20) per annum, provide him free pasturage for his horse and firewood for his chamber, and permit him to tutor English children as well—unheard of until then—since the number of Indian students was so few. The Visitors agreed, with the provision that "a partition be erected . . . to separate the said English children from the Indians."²³ Even the transfer of Charles Griffin to Williamsburg in 1718 did little to boost enrollment.

Boyle trust funds were accumulating because of the lack of students. Blair, fearing the benefactors in England might redirect the funds to other schools in the North, considered how to use the temptingly large amount in escrow. When, in 1723, renewed enthusiasm for Indian



Map showing the relative locations of the Brafferton School at the College of William and Mary and Fort Christanna.



*The Brafferton, College of William and Mary,
Williamsburg, Virginia.*

education blossomed, Blair ordered the construction of the Brafferton building even though no Indian students were attending the school at the time.

Contemporary accounts of the building describe it as three stories tall and made of Virginia brick. Henry Cary, Jr., may have been responsi-

The Bishop of London, one of the executors of the Boyle trust, wrote to the charity's monetary agent instructing that no further payments were to be made to the College of William and Mary due to the independence of America. This prompted a legal petition to be sent from Williamsburg, claiming rights to the funds. Addressing the High Court of Chancery of Great Britain, the plaintiffs (James Madison, president of the College, George Wythe, Robert Andrews, and Charles Bellini) asked that the Brafferton Estate be sold and the proceeds reinvested in Virginia, where the land was rising in value so quickly that the funds were sure to double in a just few years.

Not surprisingly, the request was denied. In 1794, the Christian Faith Society, which had administered the trust since its beginning, was re-established as the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West-India Islands, after the funds had been redirected to the same.

*(Christian Faith Papers, F3, ff. 132-135,
Lambeth Palace Library,
possibly 15 August 1786)*

ble for its Georgian-period design, but no records reveal its builder's identity. (Records show that the President's House, constructed in similar fashion, was built by Cary.) The Brafferton had four rooms to a floor (including hall), with apartments for the Indian master and students. The Indian master may have resided in two of the smaller rooms on the first or second floor, as was the custom for college professors. The classroom was likely the large room on the first floor, and records indicate a large room above the Indian school served as a library. The students probably slept in the remaining rooms.²⁴

The Brafferton School remained open until 1777, after the start of the Revolutionary War, and educated an estimated 111 Indians. This made it the "longest continually operated school for Indians in the British colonies."²⁵ Thomas Jefferson briefly entertained the idea of reviving the Brafferton School in his reorganization of the College of William and Mary. Any revival using Boyle funds was permanently dismissed in 1787 when Beilby Porteus, the bishop of London and sole trustee of "the Charity of the Honourable Robert Boyle," diverted the whole of the Boyle estate's proceeds toward "the conversion and religious instruction of the Negroes in the British West-India Islands."²⁶

A "Noble Failure"

For all the detail and expenditure, the Brafferton School never fully recovered from its decline in 1713, an experience shared by colonial attempts throughout the eighteenth century to educate the Native Americans. Many have tried to explain the reasons behind this educational system's failure.

As early as 1728, William Byrd expressed his misgivings about the methods of educating the Indians:

*And here I must lament the bad Success
Mr. Boyle's Charity has hitherto had to-
wards converting any of these poor Hea-
thens to Christianity. Many children of
our Neighbouring Indians have been
brought up in the College of William and
Mary. They have been taught to read and
write, and have been carefully Instructed
in the Principles of the Christian Religion,
till they came to be men. Yet after they re-
turn'd home, instead of civilizeing and
converting the rest, they have immediately*

BRAFFERTON SCHOOL STUDENTS¹

Year	Number of Students	Details
1711	10	1 Chickahomony, 2 Meherrins, 2 Nansemonds, 2 Nottoways, 3 Pumunkeys
1712	20	plus 4 "brought years ago"
1713	17	
1721	02	
1723	0	
1732		"in the past as many as 7 or 8 at a time; now can get very few"
1736-42	min. of 3	Will[iam Jeffries], Thomson, Jno. Ward
1743	min. of 4	Scarborough, Stephen, tomkins, Jno. Ward, "two Boys"
1745	min.	Stephen
1754	8	William Cooke, Gideon Langston, John Langston, Charles Murphy (possibly a misspelling of Mursh / Mush), John Sampson, Thomas Sampson, Willam Squirrell (Nansemond), John Montour (mixed Indian / French-Canadian) ³
1755	8	William Cooke, Gideon Langston, John Langston, Charles Murphy, John Sampson, Thomas Sampson, Willam Squirrell, John Montour ⁴
1763	3	
1764	3	John Sampson
1765	3	John Tawhaw
1767	2	
1768	3	
1769	min. of 2	Robert Mush (aka Marsh, Mursh), George Sampson (both Pamunkeys)
1770	5	
1771	5	John Nettles
1772	5	
1773	5	
1774	5	
1775	6	Mons. Baubee, George Sampson, Reuben Sampson (latter two Pamunkeys)
1776	5	James Gunn, Edmund Sampson (both Pamunkeys)
1777	1	

¹ Karen A. Stuart, "So Good a Work: The Brafferton School, 1691-1777" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), 85, unless otherwise noted.

² James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 193. Axtell maintains there were no students in 1721 or 1723. Griffin was teaching English students.

³ Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 170, states that five surnames were Pamunkey; Stuart, "So Good a Work," 58-59. Montour commanded a company of Delaware Indians on the American side in 1782. John or Gideon Langston was probably the grandfather of John Mercer Langston, the first black from Virginia to be elected to the U. S. House of Representatives.

⁴ Stuart, "So Good a Work," 58. Gov. Dinwiddie wrote of two Indian runaways in a letter to Cherokee leaders, thought perhaps to be Cooke and J. Langston.

*Relapt into Infidelity and Barbarism themselves. And some of them too have made the worst use of the Knowledge they acquir'd among the English, by employing it against their Benefactors.*²⁷

Well after the Revolution, American commissioners of a Scottish missionary society did a study of educated Indians that came to similar conclusions: While the Indian child learned some useful knowledge, he was no longer accepted as he once was in his own tribe. "He is neither a white man nor an Indian." To be an equal member of his tribe again, he had to return to his native ways of life, denouncing the "acquired habits" of the English. Among the whites, he was forever reminded of his social inferiority. The commissioners noted that several of the Indians who chose to live in the manner taught them by the English "took refuge from their contempt in the inebriating draught" with "downward progress, . . . rapid, and . . . death premature."²⁸

Comments from the Indians themselves reflected some of their feelings about colonial education. An unnamed Indian chief stated his reasons for not sending his boys to the Brafferton School, perhaps speaking for most: "When they [the Indian students] came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the wood, unable to bear either cold or hunger . . . were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor councilors; they were totally good for nothing." Elsewhere, the Iroquois offered to instead educate white boys in their own Indian manner and "make men of them."²⁹

Why did it all ultimately fail? One historian states that "English classical schooling for Indians fresh from the forest was, in short, the wrong method for the wrong people at the wrong time." The Indians were unwilling to leave their children voluntarily with people they ultimately found to be hostile and untrustworthy. Exposure to the diseases of their European neighbors resulted in illness and death for many of the susceptible children. Those who survived the encounter still had to endure a drastic cultural change. Corporal punishment, strange clothing and living arrangements, and the hostilities spawned by prejudices both outside their race and within, discouraged many. The curriculum and the manner in which it was taught did not excite them. What use was it to learn classical prose and poetry from countries far from their own home? Catechism was taught using abstract question-response methods. None of these made accepting another belief system or another way of life particularly exciting.³⁰

While these provincial attempts at educating the Indian ultimately failed, some earlier methods met with success. The New England "praying towns" of the mid-1600s operated on the theory that Indian children and their parents might be more receptive to education if the instructor was one of their own. Success was further secured by commissioning and publishing translations of fourteen works (including the Bible) into the native Natick dialect. The destruction of these towns during King Philip's War in 1675 ended the experiment.³¹

Jefferson, speaking about the failure of the Brafferton School, anticipated the thoughts of many modern students of history:

*The purposes of the Brafferton would be better answered by maintaining a perpetual mission among the Indian tribes, the object of which, besides instructing them in the principles of Christianity, as the founder requires, should be to collect their traditions, laws, customs, languages, and other circumstances which might lead to a discovery of their relation with one another, or descent from other nations. When these objects are accomplished with one tribe, the missionary might pass on to another.*³²

No "praying towns" existed in Virginia, and there is no evidence of missionaries going to live among the Powhatan villages or helping the Indians to integrate Christianity into their own religion and beliefs. One exception may have been the 1770 proposal to build an academy in New Kent County that would admit both Indian and English students. However, it seems not to have come to fruition.³³

If a universal attempt had been made to go beyond the European ethnocentrism and understand the Native Americans' cultures, the colonists might have regarded the Indians with the respect and dignity that they deserved. Fewer promises would have been broken, and societies might have lived together in harmony. America's turbulent history could have been changed for the better.

¹ Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 41.

² Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 53.

³ Debo, *History of the Indians*, 41.

⁴ Szasz, *Indian Education*, 54; Debo, *History of the Indians*, 41; and James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 180.

⁵ See Debo, *History of the Indians*, 41, for details about other benefactors.

⁶ Peter Nabokov, ed., *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492–1992* (New York: Viking, 1991), 213; and Margaret Connell Szasz and Carmelita Ryan, "American Indian Education," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 4: History of Indian-White Relations, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 285.

⁷ Karen A. Stuart, "'So Good a Work': The Brafferton School, 1691–1777" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), 4–5.

⁸ Szasz, *Indian Education*, 68.

⁹ Stuart, "'So Good a Work,'" 5.

¹⁰ Szasz, *Indian Education*, 68.

¹¹ See Stuart, "'So Good a Work,'" 83, for a complete transcription of the agreement.

¹² *Ibid.*, 6.

¹³ "The Statutes of the College of William and Mary in Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st Ser., 22: 283–296.

¹⁴ Francis Nicholson to Robert Hicks and John Evans, May 1700, in *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. 1: Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Virginia, ed. William Stevens Perry (Hartford, Conn.: [Church Press Company], 1870), 123.

¹⁵ Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia from Whence Is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina*, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1956), 114. For interpretations of the Wharton Apothecary Account Book, see Stuart, "'So Good a Work,'" 43–46.

¹⁶ Alexander Spotswood to Lord Dartmouth, November 11, 1711, in *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710–1722*, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond, Va.: The Virginia Historical Society, 1882–1885), I: 123–125.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Spotswood to Lord Dartmouth, December 28, 1711 in *Letters of Spotswood*, 134–135; and Szasz, *Indian Education*, 69.

¹⁸ Spotswood to Dartmouth, December 28, 1711, in *Letters of Spotswood*, I: 134–135; and Szasz, *Indian Education*, 70. Only three of the nine were descended from the Powhatan Confederation—the Pamunkey, Chickahominy, and Nansemand. The rest were either Iroquois or Siouan.

¹⁹ Szasz, *Indian Education*, 70–72.

²⁰ Leonidas Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood, Governor of Colonial Virginia, 1710–1722* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), 83. The "Act for the Better Regulation of the Indian Trade" also required the Virginia In-

dian Company to "contribute £100 towards building a magazine at Williamsburg, and was to take thence all the powder used in the Indian trade, returning in its place a like supply of fresh powder."

²¹ Szasz, *Indian Education*, 73; and Martha W. McCartney, *History of Fort Christianna [Christanna], Brunswick County, Virginia* ([Williamsburg, Va.]: Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, 1979).

²² William Byrd, *Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, ed. William K. Boyd (Raleigh, N. C.: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929; repr. New York: Dover Publications, [1927]), 118–119; and Spotswood to Bishop of London, October 26, 1715 in *Letters of Spotswood*, II: 138

²³ "Proceedings of Visitors of William & Mary College, June 20, 1716," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d Ser., 8 (1928): 235.

²⁴ Stuart, "'So Good a Work,'" 23–26; and Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, 111. For a more detailed description of the building, see Stuart, "'So Good a Work,'" 23–26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 62, 84–85; and Szasz and Ryan, "American Indian Education," 285.

²⁶ Stuart, "'So Good a Work,'" 71, 73.

²⁷ Byrd, *Histories of the Dividing Line*, 118–119.

²⁸ Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 216–217.

²⁹ Wilford Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale: An Illustrated History of the College of William and Mary* (Norfolk, Va.: Donning Co., 1985), 39; and Nabokov, *Native American Testimony*, 214.

³⁰ Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 216–217; Stuart, "'So Good a Work,'" 46–49. Insight on this question-response method of instruction can be found in *An Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians*, 1740, by Thomas Wilson, an Anglican bishop. This book was originally published to aid in the conversion of Georgian Indians. Twenty editions were printed over a hundred years, and records show that several hundred copies of it were received in Virginia in 1743, already in its fifth edition. Brafferton Indian master William Dawson even wrote a testimonial letter about the book.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 183; and Debo, *History of the Indians*, 47–50.

³² Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. Thomas Perkins Abernethy. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 145, quoted in Stuart, "'So Good a Work,'" 71.

³³ Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 167. Rev. Charles Jeffrey Smith, the originator of the plan, was formerly a missionary from New England.

A Late Summer Storm

by Pete Wrike

Pete, a historical interpreter for Group Interpretations, is the author of numerous books and articles.

On June 13, 1769, the small, two-masted vessel *Fortune* sailed from London for Annapolis, Maryland. The eighty-ton, sixty-eight-foot vessel carried Captain William Roundtree, thirteen crew members, and fifty-seven passengers—all indentured servants to be sold to American masters. The *Fortune* also carried a cargo of British manufactured goods and provisions, which included barrels of water, small beer, bread, salted pork, salted beef, flour, corn, peas, butter, cheese, and munitions for the two four-pound cannon aboard. For their personal use, some passengers and crew brought rum, wine, small quantities of fresh food, and live poultry stowed in coops in the ship's longboat. Captain Roundtree anticipated an uneventful eight-week voyage.

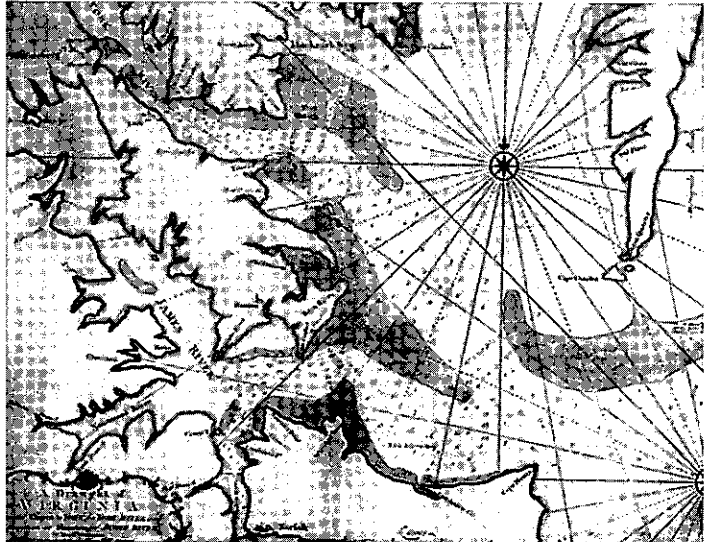
Contrary winds in the English Channel delayed the *Fortune's* passage for more than a week. Once on the North Atlantic, the vessel wallowed, pitched, and rolled in the large waves. In the heaviest weather, Roundtree ordered the cooking fires extinguished and closed the hatches to the passengers' deck area. Battered down below, the passengers had little light, no fresh air, and no hot food. Foul smells rose from the bilge below, and cold seawater rained down from the deck above. On the main deck, the tubs for human waste frequently overturned, spilling their contents. Soon the *Fortune's* passengers fell victim to seasickness, dysentery, hunger, sleeplessness, cold, and fear. As the voyage continued, lice and other vermin spread among the passengers. Clothes could only be cleaned in seawater and dried on calm, sunny days. Eventually, most of the passengers' worn, dirty, and infested clothes were replaced from the sailors' slop chest.

The fresh food and poultry lasted a very short time. The butter and cheese went next. Soon the ship's company consumed the peas and flour not spoiled by dampness. The ship's bread or biscuits were hard but edible once the weevils were removed.

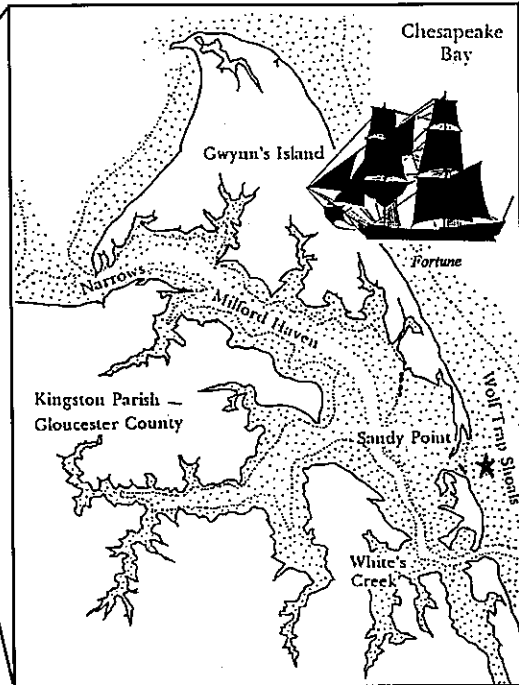
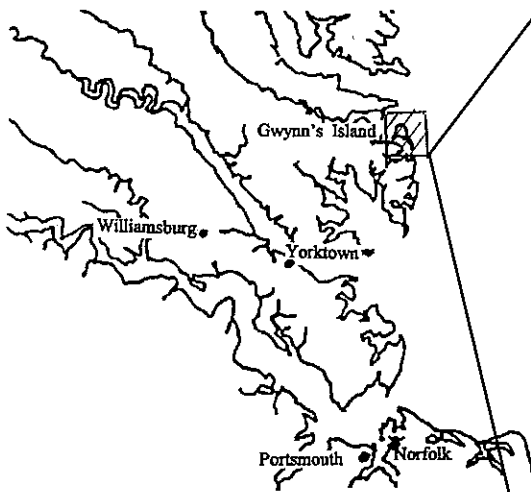
Some of the older casks of pork and beef had maggots, but the meat could be boiled and made edible. The small beer didn't last long, and the water barrels eventually grew algae. The passengers, mostly young and unmarried, grew sicker and weaker as the voyage continued long beyond the usual time. Captain Roundtree held his course to the British North American coast, but even the spoiled provisions and bad water ran out. A chance meeting with two Spanish warships, and later with a merchant ship from Jamaica, prevented a tragedy aboard the *Fortune*. These ships generously supplied the *Fortune* with provisions and water, which Roundtree rationed. In early September, the *Fortune* crossed the Gulf Stream, and, on September 7, those aboard sighted the Capes of the Chesapeake. The *Fortune* had been at sea fourteen weeks. The ordeal appeared to be over.

As the *Fortune* approached Cape Henry, Roundtree watched the weather to the south deteriorate. Clouds swiftly blotted out the sun, and Roundtree took in his topsails as the winds increased. The crew and passengers desperately hoped for a call at nearby Hampton or Norfolk. They were starved, thirsty, weak, dirty, and vermin infested. Roundtree's concerns focused on his cargo of manufactured goods and passengers. Each would be profitable only if delivered safely and swiftly.

Once inside Cape Henry, the *Fortune* headed north and, by late afternoon, passed New Point Comfort. During his brief transit up the bay, Roundtree realized he could not outrun the storm—a hurricane. He weathered Wolf Trap Shoal and anchored in less than three fathoms (eighteen feet) of water just below Gwynn's Is-



Eighteenth-century map of the Chesapeake Bay area.



Inset map shows detail of Gwynn's Island and its vicinity.

land off Gloucester County. As darkness approached, the winds intensified, and Roundtree ordered the *Fortune's* masts and shrouds (restraining rigging) cut away. The crew worked swiftly and soon cleared the masts and debris from the vessel. Roundtree set another anchor, tightened it with his windlass, and prepared to ride out the storm. Below decks, the passengers suffered horribly. Huge waves pitched and rolled the vessel while the shrieking wind carried the prospect of imminent shipwreck and death.

As the *Fortune* labored at anchor, the hurricane's torrential rains and winds moved into Virginia from eastern North Carolina. The storm left massive devastation in its wake. North Carolina Governor William Tryon wrote about the extensive damage in the Wilmington area. "Many houses blown down [along] with the Court House of Brunswick County. All . . . corn and rice leveled . . . fences blown down . . . twenty sawmill dams carried away . . . and scarce a ship in the river that was not drove from her anchor . . . In short . . . the inhabitants never knew so violent a storm." In New Bern, a writer experienced "the most violent Gale of wind and the highest tide that has ever been known since this country has been inhabited. . . . One entire Street, Houses, Store Houses, wharves, etc., to the amount of near £20,000 pounds were destroyed and swept off together with several of the inhabitants. . . . The tide rose in a few hours 12 feet higher than I ever before knew it. . . . Every Vessel, Boat or Craft were drove up in the woods." At Edenton, the hurricane created huge waves on Albemarle Sound, which smashed wharves and drove seagoing vessels ashore. The thirty-five-ton brigantine *Bell*, anchored in Edenton Bay, went ashore among cypress stumps. The hurricane's winds and rains flat-

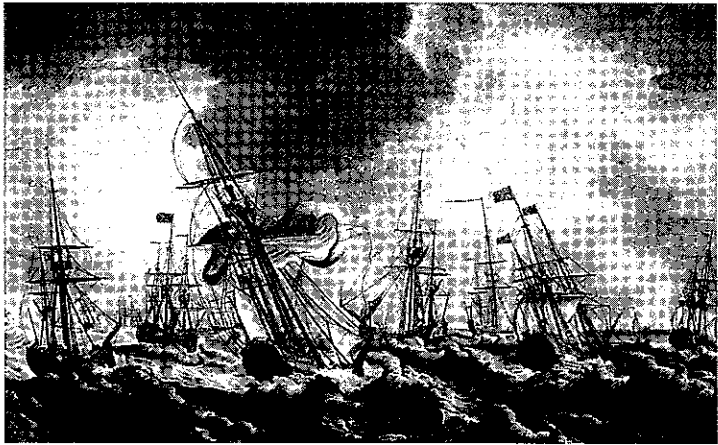
tened crops, blew over homes and outbuildings in the town, and washed out roads and bridges. But, as one traveler from North Carolina remarked, Virginia "had the worst of it."

Along Norfolk's Elizabeth River, "all shipping and small vessels . . . aground, many dismasted, wharves all gone and [or] damaged." On the Hampton River, "all small craft driven ashore." Along the James River, two packet boats sailed regularly between Norfolk, Hampton, and Colonel Burwell's Landing (Carter's Grove Plantation). At the hurricane's approach, Captain Daniel Hutchings's Williamsburg-Norfolk packet boat quickly got underway from his exposed position at Burwell's Landing. The initial, strong easterly and northeasterly winds drove the packet upriver, but Captain Hutchings regained control and, after several hazardous hours, returned to Norfolk. A new Williamsburg-Norfolk packet schooner, *Friendship*, built less than a year earlier by Captain Walter Gwynn, was anchored in the Elizabeth River. It was driven ashore on Sewell's Point. Despite the winds, Captain Gwynn got his sixteen-ton vessel afloat and actually reached the Nansemond River. He was fortunate. Off Jamestown, "a vessel from Norfolk with coal for Williamsburg [was] drove to pieces." Near Lyon's Creek on the James River, floodwaters washed the postboy off his horse. He lashed himself to a tree and survived; the mail and horse were lost. At

Portsmouth, the storm tragically caught several of John Goodrich's slaves fishing offshore. Three bodies, a large flat boat, and an oar marked "J. Goodrich" later washed ashore.

The hurricane continued northward and brought rain and high winds to the Middle Peninsula. A resident near Williamsburg wrote, "perhaps few words can express the constant torrent of water that came down. . . . Every house leaked. [I was] forced to bore holes through my floor for rain to go in [the] cellars. Rain in storehouses . . . rain through brick walls near 3 feet thick. Cannot hear of a mill standing for thirty or forty miles round." Other reports also mentioned "mills carried away . . . vast numbers of houses blown down, trees of all sizes torn up by the roots and cattle, hogs, etc. crushed by their fall. The corn laid level with the ground and the tobacco ruined in many places. . . . [It] blew great guns." In Williamsburg, Robert Carter Nicholas, the colony's treasurer, called the hurricane "the most violent gust of wind and rain that the oldest man I have seen ever remembers . . . most of the ships remaining in the country were drove ashore."

At Yorktown, the hurricane devastated the port's shipping. The storm surges and winds drove ashore many ships, including the *Latham*, Captain William Waterman; the *Friendship*, Captain Thomas Lilly; the *Elizabeth*, Captain Howard Esten; and the *Betsy*, Captain George Banks; as well as the brig *Dale*, Captain John



Martin. Captain William Hamlin of the ship *Experiment* saved his vessel by cutting away her mizzen and foremasts. Captain George Hubbard's ship, *Thomas*, dragged her anchors, but merely touched the river bottom. She was the only vessel in the port not seriously affected by the hurricane.

Yorktown's riverfront businesses suffered terribly. The top of one wharf was carried away and smashed into Mr. Jones's store. The damaged wharf, fortunately, prevented his business from washing into the York River. Small boats on the riverfront washed into the buildings nearby, destroying many. The buildings that survived suffered enormous water damage. Two small sloops ended up on Colonel Diggs's shores. A seventy-ton schooner, carried onshore by the storm surge, "ran her bowsprit into a storehouse of Mr. Savage."

Across the York River at Gloucester Point, Captain Thomas Whiting's schooner went ashore. In Sarah's Creek, four vessels ran aground and suffered badly. Tragically on the York River, "A man bringing [his] family down river put ashore at Mr. [John Foxes] . . . went back to secure [his] vessel, set sail, overturned and drowned."

The hurricane's strongest winds approached the *Fortune* just after midnight. The anchor attached to the windlass failed, leaving Captain Roundtree with no mechanical means to make fast the one anchor still deployed. The *Fortune* swung toward the shore, and Roundtree ordered the remaining anchor cable cut. The ship drifted swiftly for less than a minute. On deck, the crew worked furiously to make ready the ship's boat and find something upon which to float ashore. To the passengers below decks, the minute or so the *Fortune* moved easily and swiftly must have seemed an eternity. Then she struck, stopped, and another wave carried her farther onshore. She stopped for a last time and her bottom

STORM OF '69 WREAKS HAVOC WITH LOCAL ELECTION

Your Committee further beg leave to inform the House, that the Sheriff of James City hath made the following Return, on the Writ for electing a Burgess for Jamestown, "By virtue of this Writ to me directed, I did make lawful Publication thereof, and did appoint Friday, the eighth Day of September, for the Election of a Burgess, but was prevented attending at the Place appointed, on account of its being an uncommon rainy and blustering Day."

Report from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1766-69, 230.*

opened. As water raced into the bilge below, the passengers fled to the deck above.

Under Roundtree's direction, the ship's crew ferried ashore many passengers. Some, too scared to wait, jumped into the surf and five to six feet of water. The waves repeatedly pounded the *Fortune*, filled her hull, and made recovery of the material cargo impossible in the dark. By dawn on Friday, September 8, the *Fortune's* survivors huddled some distance from shore in an area now called "Old House Woods." In the rain and wind, Roundtree first counted crew then passengers. As he feared, twenty passengers

were missing—though not necessarily presumed dead. For them, the *Fortune's* wreck provided an opportunity. On the voyage, these passengers had experienced thirst, starvation, three months on the North Atlantic—fraught with seasickness, sleeplessness, fear, salted food, rancid provisions, weevils, maggots, lice—a terrible hurricane, and a shipwreck. Their final prospect was sale to a master in Annapolis as unpaid labor for the next seven or more years.

By mid-afternoon that Friday the hurricane passed from Virginia northward. The sun came out and the skies were blue. Farther north the

THE CASE OF THE SHANGHAIED APPRENTICE

Although most of Captain Roundtree's passengers had chosen to make the voyage to the colonies, some were more reluctant than others. Joseph Kidd of Williamsburg acquired one of the *Fortune's* young passengers. Kidd served Virginia's governor, the Baron de Botetourt, as an upholsterer. His duties also included painting, lead work, book repair, wallpaper repair, carpet work, household appliance repair, and gilding the governor's postchaise (coach). Kidd's new servant quickly stated that he was already indentured to a William Dolman in England. Dolman had allowed his apprentices a holiday on Whitsuntide, May 15, just past. The apprentice told Kidd he had become "indisposed," probably on gin or beer. In this condition, some unscrupulous persons "Shanghaied" the besotted apprentice and sold him to a Mr. Robertson who bought and sold timber in Houndsditch in London. Robertson promptly placed the new indenture aboard the *Fortune*, then bound for Annapolis. Captain Roundtree now held the indenture.

In light of this story, Kidd planned to sell the indenture quickly, although the contract was for seven years' service. Wisely, Kidd sought counsel from his employer. Botetourt advised Kidd not to sell the apprentice for at least ten months. Shortly afterward, in November 1769, Kidd and his business partner of the last six months, Joshua Kendal, left Botetourt's service. They used (perhaps misused) Dolman's apprentice.

The apprentice despaired of his circumstances in Virginia and wrote to his mother in England. In the fall of 1771, she contacted her son's former master. Dolman, on behalf of himself and the apprentice's "aged mother who is in great trouble," petitioned Lord Hillsborough, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Trades and Plantations. Dolman sought compassion and an order to return the apprentice, "He being very desirous to come home." On December 4, 1771, he wrote Virginia's new governor, Lord Dunmore, with projects, tasks, instructions, and sundry other particulars. Among the items requiring Dunmore's attention was the plight of Dolman's apprentice. Lord Hillsborough enclosed "the young man's original Indenture of Apprenticeship, which may perhaps be of use in procuring his Discharge from his master . . . who is stated to be a person of a cruel temper and bad character."

Meanwhile, Kidd had finally arranged to be rid of his apprentice about the time the young man's mother learned of her son's plight. Kidd contacted Captain Robert Necks, master of the 250-ton ship *Lunn and Lloyd*. Necks, a respected ship's captain who had considerable experience transporting indentured workers or servants, purchased the errant apprentice at a considerable discount. In November 1771, Captain Necks sailed from Yorktown with the apprentice and a cargo of tobacco. The *Lunn and Lloyd* arrived in London in February 1772.

In April 1772, Lord Dunmore responded to Lord Hillsborough's letter and told him of his "many fruitless inquiries after the apprentice." Dunmore also called Kidd a very honest man "who had sent the apprentice, soon after he discovered him to be such," back to England.

devastation continued. Maryland suffered "the most violent storm of wind and rain." John Rowe rose early on September 9 and "found the Storm had done great damage among the shipping, wharfs and other parts of the Town." Similar reports came from Philadelphia, coastal New Jersey, New York City, New London, Newport, Boston, and Portland. The hurricane registered a reading of 29.57" on the barometer at Harvard University accompanied by "great . . . wind, rain, lightning."

In the hurricane's wake, the *Fortune* was a small story in the *Virginia Gazette*. At Yorktown, Captain Esten swiftly got the *Elizabeth* off the York River bottom. Esten also helped Martin of the *Dale* to free his brig. Captain Lilly got the *Friendship* off relatively undamaged. Captain Banks's *Betsy* ended aground below Wormley's Creek with eleven feet of water in her hold. Captain James Mundie's sloop also grounded in Wormley's Creek but had little damage. Captain Waterman got the *Latham* off and seaworthy after almost three weeks. Captain Whiting's schooner at Gloucester Point and one of the four vessels on Sarah's Creek were total losses. Damage in Gloucester County and Gloucester Town included chimneys, houses, and outbuildings.

Farther inland, near Fredericksburg, Scottish merchant William Cunningham saw little damage from the hurricane. "The Triton and sundry other ships at the mouth of Quantico Creek were a little affected . . . few . . . houses were blown down." He also remarked that the rain proved "of vast service with regards to the crops . . . over the Blue Ridge." Cunningham wryly noted "the planter and the seller in the country . . . will make what they can of the circumstances of the storm in order to enhance the value of their commodities and they may possibly succeed." They did succeed.

The hurricane destroyed or damaged much of the tobacco in the Virginia colony's official warehouses. Planters had deposited their tobacco in these warehouses and received tobacco notes, which attested to the colony's stewardship of this important crop. The notes served as bonds for the planters' tobacco. The colony had to make good the loss. That fall, the General Assembly passed an issuance of £10,000 to support the tobacco planters. In the spring, at Accomac and other tobacco warehouse sites, the colonial government reimbursed the planters for losses from the storm.

On September 23, the *Virginia Gazette* carried a runaway notice for the *Fortune*. It listed James Durant, shipwright; Thomas Giles, carpenter, and Mary Giles; Thomas Ruff, carpen-

ter; Edward Lawrence, plasterer; William Clark, surgeon; James Hitchings, sailor; John Thomas, farmer; George Ellar, carver; William Saunders, farmer; Thomas Ratchford, drawer; Thomas Neal, stocking weaver; Ambrose Wilmott, drawer; Robert Wiggenton, turner, and Margaret Wiggenton; James Foster, weaver; Richard Crap, tailor; Elizabeth Hayes; John Davies, wheelwright; and Mary Webb, mantua maker. The advertisement offered a reward of twenty shillings (one pound) per person plus expenses. Roundtree's generous bounty represented approximately two weeks' wages for a skilled trades worker. The ad advised persons who apprehended the runaways to take them to Mr. John Carter at Mr. Mitchel's Swan Tavern in Yorktown or Mr. George Brown's tavern in Kingston Parish, Gloucester County. Captain Roundtree lodged temporarily near Gwynn's Island at Brown's. Roundtree's advertisement noted the runaways had disguised themselves and probably sought work in Gloucester County or other parts of Virginia. Probably few of the runaways, if any, were ever caught. Some may not have survived the wreck. While ashore, Roundtree salvaged from the *Fortune* all usable cargo, ship's hardware, and items of value.

The captain set out to recoup his losses. Colonists with means purchased the indentures of the remaining passengers for as long as seven years. The following spring, Roundtree oversaw an auction of the hull and "what materials are left," hosted by Henry Knight of Kingston Parish.

Epilogue

In 1776, Lord Dunmore, Virginia's Royal Governor, with Royal Army and Navy units, loyal American troops, and a fleet of more than one hundred vessels, occupied Gwynn's Island, Virginia. From there, Dunmore attempted to lead an offensive and regain royal control of Virginia. Patriot forces carefully watched the governor and exiles from nearby shores.

While on the island, Royal Navy officers and loyalists salvaged usable timbers from the *Fortune*'s hull and built a rowing galley. The eighteen-oared vessel mounted a six-pound cannon forward and had high bulwarks along her side that protected the galley's crew. In July, Dunmore was driven off the island and later made ineffective attempts to reestablish a base of operations there. After one sortie by the galley on the Potomac, Dunmore abandoned his attempt to retake Virginia. He scuttled the galley. Perhaps in the Chesapeake's muddy waters near Smith's Island the timbers of the *Fortune* remain.



COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

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

The Foodways staff at Colonial Williamsburg strives for authenticity and accuracy in interpreting how food was prepared and preserved during the eighteenth century. Their cooking skills are matched by their ability to use eighteenth-century terminology when describing a particular dish they are creating while visitors watch them at work. A close working relationship exists between the staffs of the operating taverns and Foodways, since the latter must also anticipate and be prepared to answer questions about items appearing on tavern menus. The following glossary provides definitions of the terms that elicit the most questions from our visitors.

à la daube—To cook meat by braising in a seasoned red wine stock.

arrack—A spirit distilled from the sap of the coconut tree and imported from the East Indies.

barm—A leavening agent made from the froth that forms on the top of fermenting ale. Its modern equivalent is one-half ounce of compressed yeast dissolved in one-half cup of warm water plus one-half cup of warm ale.

castor sugar—Finely granulated sugar. (Castor is the name of the container in which the ground sugar lumps are placed.)

caudle—A warm drink made with wine or ale, spices, and sweeteners thickened with egg yolks and sometimes bread crumbs or a thin oatmeal. This was a common drink for those who were ill.

coffin pastry—A mold made of a flour and water pastry, as for a pie, but not meant to be eaten.

collop—A small, thin slice of meat.

comfits—Small fruits, bits of aromatic root or rind, or seeds preserved with a sugar coating; the equivalent of French dragée.

flip—A spiced and sweetened alcoholic drink made from ale, beer, rum, etc., to which

beaten eggs are sometimes added. Flip is heated by immersing a hot iron into the mixture.

florendine—A large pie made with meat or fruit, which usually has a crust only on the top.

flummery—Originally a dish made of oatmeal boiled in milk. By the eighteenth century, the term meant an opaque or transparent jelly.

forcemeat—Finely chopped and highly seasoned meat or fish, usually used as a stuffing.

fricassee—Meat, usually chicken, rabbit, or veal, that is cut into pieces, fried, then slowly simmered in liquids until done.

gill—of a pint; four fluid ounces in the United States or five fluid ounces British Imperial. Before the British Imperial system was adopted in 1824, a British gill was also four fluid ounces.

hasty pudding—Flour or oatmeal (in America, corn) boiled in water or milk until a thick batter formed, then fried or baked.

isinglass—A form of gelatin made from the bladders of fish, usually sturgeon.

jumbals—A popular sweet cake or biscuit, usually shaped into rings or knots.

ketchup—A rich sauce made from pickled mushrooms or oysters; used as a flavoring for sauces and gravies. The French introduced a tomato-based version around 1800.

manchet—White bread of the finest quality, usually baked at home in the colonies.

marchpane—A mixture of almond meal, sugar, cream, and egg to make a confection.

pasties—Meat pies folded into small round, triangular, or square shapes before baking (not baked in a pan or mold).

penny loaf—In the highly regulated bread baking trade, the quality of flour determined the weight and size of the loaf one could purchase for a penny. The three grades were known as "penny household," "penny wheaten," and "penny white." A loaf of penny household, made of inexpensive

whole-wheat flour, was about double the weight of a loaf of penny white, which used the best white flour.

posset—A drink of hot milk or cream, sweetened and spiced, then curdled with wine, beer, or ale, and served hot.

puff pastry—A fine kind of flour dough made light and flaky by successive rollings and butterings; a pie crust.

quick/moderate/slack oven—Description of oven temperatures gauged by how dark a pinch of flour turned in five minutes. Dark brown signified a quick oven (about 425 degrees), golden brown indicated a moderate oven (about 350 degrees), and light brown identified a slack oven (about 300 degrees).

ragoo—A stew with a thick sauce served with the meat, as opposed to the English method where the sauce was served separately.

roasting—Method of cooking meat on a spit turned before a steady fire either by a jack or by hand.

sack—A dry, fortified white wine imported from Spain or the Canary Islands, often drunk with sugar added.

salmagundi—A dish composed of chopped

meat, onions, anchovies, and eggs.

sallet—A salad of fresh greens usually served with an oil-and-vinegar-dressing.

shrub—A beverage consisting of citrus juice and distilled spirits.

sippets—Small pieces of toasted bread, served with soups or broths or used to dip in gravy.

sweetmeats—Fruits, seeds and nuts, pastries, candies, etc., preserved in sugar.

syllabub—A beverage consisting of milk (often drawn directly from the cow into the mixing bowl) or cream, wine or other fermented beverage, and a sweetener.

Wendy Howell, Jen Thurman, and Robert Brantley of the Foodways staff assisted in the preparation of this article.

Sources

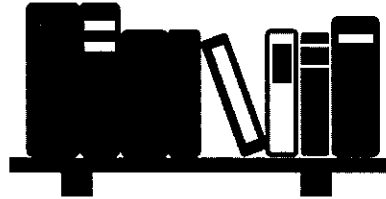
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BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *New at the Rock*



Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Taking Possession

Fischer, David Hackett, and James C. Kelly. *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*. Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 2000. [F 229.F534 2000]*

This book, which provides a study of three stages of migration to, within, and from Virginia, asserts that Turner's frontier thesis was "the wrong answer to the right question." The origin and development of an open society can-

not be found solely in the physical environment of the frontier. They derive from a more complex and continuing process, "driven by cultural imperatives, operating on the acts and choices of millions of Americans."

Morris, Michael P. *The Bringing of Wonder: Trade and the Indians of the Southeast, 1700-1783*. Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, no. 36. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999. [E 78.S65 M67 1999]*

More like a collection of articles than a continuous narrative, this informative but uneven volume sees trade as a tool used by Indians and colonists alike in their attempts to manipulate each other. A particular emphasis is the network of relationships and interdependencies forged between Indian women and European traders. An inadequate index fails to reveal all Virginia references.

Anderson, Fred. *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. [E 199.A577 2000]*

Anderson provides an exhaustive but lively account of the French and Indian War and its influence on the political and cultural landscapes of the American colonies. The removal of the French from the frontier, the resulting uncertainty of relationships with the Indians, and subsequent attempts of the British to reform colonial administration are all portrayed from the perspectives of contemporaries rather than as events leading to a revolution not yet anticipated.

Cashin, Edward J. *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*. Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2000. [E 230.5.S7 C38 2000]*

In his *Travels*, Bartram recorded the natural world of the Southern frontier but omitted any reference to the epochal events leading to the Revolution. Cashin places Bartram in the context of his times and suggests that he hoped to influence the creation of a model society by presenting a more idyllic picture of life on the frontier than actually existed.

Enslaving Virginia

Klein, Herbert S. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. [HT 1322.K54 1999]*

Klein provides a synthesis of recent scholarship dealing with the Atlantic slave trade. He analyzes issues concerning "the origins of the trade; its basic economic structure; its demographic, social, and economic impact; and, finally, the causes and consequences of its abolition." The Introduction briefly explores the historiography of the subject, which goes back to the eighteenth century. A useful Bibliographic Essay surveys the literature of the past quarter century.

Bradley, Patricia. *Slavery, Propaganda, and the American Revolution*. Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1998. [E 210.B73 1998]*

This study of the patriot press finds that slavery was deliberately not discussed, particularly not in terms of the goals of the Revolution. The abolitionist movement was also ignored, while references to slavery were generally prejudicial or alluded to the "enslavement" of the colonies by the British.

Clifford, Mary Louise. *From Slavery to Freedom: Black Loyalists after the American Revolution*. Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland & Co., 1999. [DT 516.7.C57 1999]*

This slim volume by a local author is derived mainly from secondary sources. It follows the journeys of several slaves, including three from Virginia, who joined the British, found refuge in New York, evacuated to Nova Scotia, and eventually emigrated to Sierra Leone.

Redefining Family

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835*. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. [E 99.C5 P3934 1998]*

The author describes traditional Cherokee society in which men and women maintained separate identities: men hunted and fought; women farmed, controlled the domestic space, and wielded most forms of power and authority. In the eighteenth century, the Cherokees adopted some of the practices of European colonists but rejected "civilized" definitions of masculine and feminine. The traditional gender norms served to strengthen resistance to intense cultural change.

Kierner, Cynthia A. *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700–1835*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998. [HQ 1391.U6 K55 1998]*

This volume shows how southern white women participated in the public arena, even in the post-Revolutionary period when domestic roles were emphasized and the "Southern lady" ascended her pedestal. Unlike the colonial era, when some contact with legal and economic aspects of the public sphere were possible, the later period limited public activity mainly to areas of sociability and reform.

Kierner, Cynthia A. *Southern Women in Revolution, 1776–1800: Personal and Political Narratives*. Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1998. [E 276.K54 1998]*

Here Kierner transcribes ninety-eight petitions that women in North and South Carolina submitted to their state legislatures during and after the Revolution. The petitions and the author's interpretive essays reveal how the Revolution affected the women and their families and altered expectations of gender roles in private and public life.

Compiled by Del Moore, reference librarian, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library

*Rockefeller Library call numbers appear in brackets.

New books in Special Collections at the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library

André Félibien, *Des Principes de l'Architecture, de la Sculpture, de la Peinture . . .* (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1697).

John Murphy, *A Treatise on the Art of Weaving* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton, & Co. 1827).

G[eorge] Smith, *The Laboratory; or, School of Arts*, 3rd ed. (London: James Hodges and T. Astley, 1750).

William Edward Winks, *Lives of Illustrious Shoemakers* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, [1883]).

Compiled by George H. Yetter, associate curator of the drawings and research collections.

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EDITOR'S NOTES . . .



Sound Familiar?

The first thing done under our new government, was the Creation of a Vast number of Offices and Officers. A Treasury dilated into as many branches, as invention could Frame. A Secretary of War with an Host of Clerks; and above all a Secretary of State, and all these Men labor in their several Vocations. Hence We must have a Mass of National Debt, to employ the Treasury; an Army for fear the department of War should lack Employment. Foreign engagements too must be attended to keep Up the Consequence of that Secretary. The next Cry will be for an Admiralty.

William Maclay, U. S. Senator for Pennsylvania, 1790

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