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The Glorious Seventy Four

A New Song:

To the tune of Hearts of Oak

Virginia Gazette (*Pinkney*), October 6, 1774
(Selected verses)

COME, come, my brave boys, from my song you shall hear,
That we'll crown seventy four a most glorious year;
We'll convince Bute and Mansfield, and North,
though they rave,
Britons still, like themselves, spurn the chains
of a slave.

CHORUS:

Hearts of oak were our sires,
Hearts of oak are their sons,
Like them we are ready, as firm and as steady,
To fight for our freedom with swords and with
guns.

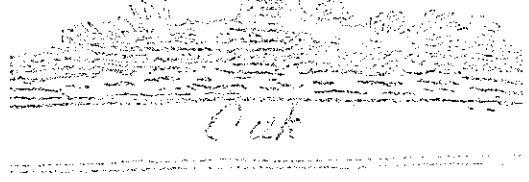
Foolish elves, to conjecture, by crossing of mains,
That the true blood of freemen would charge in
our veins;
Let us scorch, let us freeze, from the line to the
pole,
Britain's sons still retain all their freedom of
soul.
Hearts of oak, &c.

Their tea still is driven away from our shores,
Or presented to Neptune, or rots in our stores;
But to awe, to divide, till we crouch to their sway,
On brave Boston their vengeance they fiercely
display.
Hearts of oak, &c.

With sons, whom I foster'd and cherish'd of yore,
Fair freedom shall flourish till time is no more;
No tyrant shall rule them, 'tis Heaven's decree,
They shall never be slaves while they dare to be
free.
Hearts of oak, &c.

The year is 1774, and, as the words to this song attest, colonists in America are having a bit of an identity crisis! On the one hand there is the heart-felt pride of their English heritage and the freedom it brings, on the other, the warmth of blood that rises in the breast of these colonists at the hint of any abridgement of their liberties and rights. Ah, now perhaps, there is the rub. Is it still those rights as subjects of the crown that are being demanded, or is there a shift to a clamor for rights and liberties as AMERICANS?! For Pete's sake, that might lead to a call for—INDEPENDENCE?!

(Phil Shultz, training specialist, Department of Interpretive Training)



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COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

Laura is a member of the Interpreter Planning Board.

Compiling an African cookbook for American cooks can be a daunting challenge. Too often the result is a cookbook with heavy emphasis on the West African traditions of slave cooks in the American South. As important as these traditions are, the study of African foodways cannot be limited to a single region. Merely looking at a map of Africa suggests that this large continent, with a diversity of topography, climate, and ethnic groups, is an almost limitless source of culinary variety.

Jessica B. Harris, a culinary historian, has written two books that shed new light on how African foodways have become part of an international cuisine. In *Iron Pots and Wooden Spoons: Africa's Gifts to New World Cooking*, Harris uses the influence of explorers during the Age of Discovery to explain how foodstuffs were exchanged in both directions between Africa and the New World.

She also states that the Atlantic slave trade brought slaves "from all areas of the continent" (not just West Africa) to work in the southern colonies of colonial America, the islands of the Caribbean, and parts of colonial Brazil. In each of these three areas a similar relationship occurred between slaves and master, especially in the development of their foodways.

Slave cooks, whether working in the kitchens of rice or tobacco plantations of the American South or the sugar plantations of the Caribbean and Brazil, contributed their familiar African ingredients and cooking techniques to the preparation of often strange but abundant foodstuffs of their new homelands. The recipes in this cookbook reflect a Creole, Cajun, Caribbean emphasis, and the not-to-be missed introduction is a concise historical overview of the development of African foodways.

In *Africa Cookbook: Tastes of a Continent*, Harris expands on the influence of all of Africa on the cuisines of today. The chapter "A Cornu-

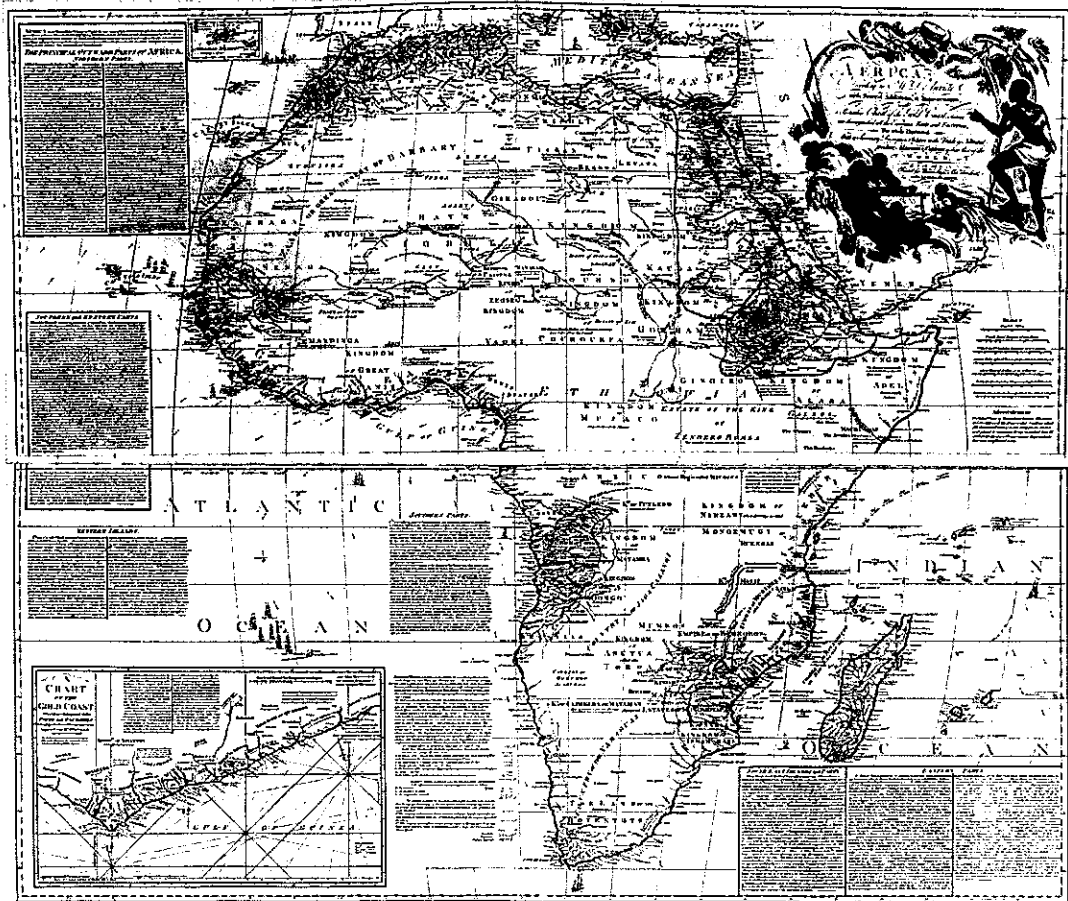
Franklin, Food, and London

Benjamin Franklin's love of food and fine dining was part of the social history of eighteenth-century Boston, Philadelphia, Paris, and London—history that is described in the culinary biography *Benjamin Franklin Book of Recipes* by Hilaire Dubourcq. The commentary accompanying Dubourcq's collection of French, English, and American recipes provides another dimension to Franklin's political and diplomatic reputation as one of the most popular of our founding fathers. To be a guest at his table surely was a privilege as well as an opportunity to be a behind-the-scenes witness to history in the making.

You'll want to be sure to include this book in your background reading if you plan to visit London. The house on Craven Street in which Benjamin Franklin lived while representing the interests of the American colonies has been restored through the efforts of Mary, Countess of Bessborough (who refers to herself as a "fellow American"). Now open as a museum and a center for Anglo-American studies, the house is included in the October 2005 tour sponsored by Colonial Williamsburg Cultural Expeditions, "From Whence We Came—Exploring America's Cultural Origins in England."

copia of Cuisines" divides the continent into four major sections and explains the unique contribution of each area. The foodways of Morocco and Algeria for instance are very different from those of the Congo or South Africa, yet the traditions of each region have traveled to tables all over the world. A map, menus, and "Sources of African Food" supplement the tempting collection of recipes Harris has chosen to best represent African foodways for the twenty-first-century cook.

Like Jessica Harris, Diane Spivey discusses all of Africa in *The Peppers, Cracklings, and Knots of Wool Cookbook: The Global Migration of African*



Africa, According to Mr. D'Anville with Several Additions, & Improvements . . ., printed for Robert Sayer, 1772 (CWF 1993-149).

Cuisine. The chapters relating to African cooks in the Americas from the colonial period to the Jazz Age contain a collection of recipes that will whet the appetite of even the most reluctant cook. Recipes are interspersed with historical fact seasoned with this scholar's delightful sense of humor.

Her humorous touch more than compensates for her occasionally heavy-handed thesis that the influence of African cuisine on the foodways of every world culture has been neglected or falsely credited to other sources. A glossary, sources for specialty foods, and bibliographical notes for each chapter are witnesses to Spivey's meticulous research and determination to produce a cookbook that is truly a treasure chest of African foodways.

Other African cookbooks in the collection of the Rockefeller Library are *Best of Regional African Cooking* by Harva Hachten and *Taste of*

Africa: An African Cookbook by Teberreh Inquai. Each provides recipes adapted to ingredients available to American cooks with examples from all areas of the African continent. In addition, Hachten's introduction (while somewhat dated) addresses the expectations of travelers to Africa with useful advice about dining customs and the availability of authentic African food.

- Dubourcq, Hilaire. *Benjamin Franklin Book of Recipes*. Bath, U.K.: Canopus Publishing Limited, 2000.
- Hachten, Harva. *Best of Regional African Cooking*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1998.
- Harris, Jessica B. *Africa Cookbook: Tastes of a Continent*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998.
- . *Iron Pots and Wooden Spoons: Africa's Gifts to New World Cooking*. New York: Fireside, 1989.
- Inquai, Teberreh. *Taste of Africa: An African Cookbook*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press Inc., 1998.
- Spivey, Diane M. *The Peppers, Cracklings, and Knots of Wool Cookbook: The Global Migration of African Cuisine*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Arts & Mysteries

Joshua Kendall and James Gardner: Urban Carpentry in Virginia's Colonial Capital

by Noel Poirier

Noel, a journeyman carpenter in *Historic Trades*, is a member of the Interpreter planning board.

The construction of the colonial city of Williamsburg, Virginia, involved the labor of hundreds, if not thousands, of building tradespeople. Unfortunately, the locations of the shops of prominent Williamsburg builders—like Henry Cary, Benjamin Powell, and John Saunders—who oversaw large public and private construction projects have never been discovered. It could be said that the reconstruction and restoration of homes of Williamsburg's distinguished colonial residents took precedence over reconstructing the homes and workshops of the men who originally built those homes.

One such industrial location exists in a part of the Historic Area yet untouched by restoration or modern intrusions. The lot, nestled behind the George Wythe House north of the Bruton Parish Church wall, fronts on Prince George Street. It served as a work site for two carpenters and joiners from about 1769 until about 1774. Largely shop-centered, Joshua Kendall and James Gardner oversaw smaller projects.

The work done at that location and nearby building sites gives a good idea of the capabilities and methods of Williamsburg carpenters and joiners in the years preceding the American Revolution. What is known of their lives provides the student of eighteenth-century Williamsburg's industrial history with a window on the lives and work of other Williamsburg builders. The property itself, in spite of the imperfect investigation by archaeologists in the first half of the twentieth century, offers clues about the appearance of the workplace of an eighteenth-century Williamsburg carpenter and joiner.

* * * *

In the early eighteenth century, the land that surrounded the Bruton Parish churchyard, with the exception of the Wythe property itself, was owned by Williamsburg resident John Blair (burgess and auditor general, later president of the governor's Council and acting governor). After 1745, Blair built tenement houses on the properties, which he had subdivided into several smaller lots. The buildings on the Kendall-Gardner lot were erected between 1745 and 1747.¹ Who rented the property between 1747 and

1769 is not clear, but, by 1769, Joshua Kendall and his plumber partner Joseph Kidd had started their business on the lot.

Just who was Joshua Kendall? Little is known about him before his 1768 arrival in Virginia. There is a 1730 baptismal certificate for a Joshua Kendall at the West Yorkshire Records Office in the English town of Halifax, and two persons named Joshua Kendall (although spelled differently) were baptized in Yorkshire, England (1739), and Norfolk, England (1738). If any one of these three became Williamsburg's Joshua Kendall, his age would have been between thirty and thirty-eight years in 1768.²

The first clear reference to Kendall is found in the records of Lord Botetourt. In late July 1768, King George III appointed Botetourt as governor of the colony of Virginia.³ Shortly afterward, Botetourt began to contract with various tradesmen to travel with him to Virginia.

On August 14, 1768, he hired Joshua Kendall to serve as his servant and "joiner-in-residence" in Virginia. Kendall, who was paid £30 for the one-year contract, may already have been in the governor's service. He may have served as a journeyman joiner for architect and builder Thomas Wright, who had been employed at Stoke Park (Botetourt's home north of Bristol) during the 1760s.⁴

Although Kendall may have worked for some time in and around Bristol, an examination of a number of pre-1768 town records, including poll books and city directories, reveals no evidence of a Joshua Kendall residing in that city. Similarly, marriage indexes from County Gloucestershire for the years preceding 1768 offer no references to Joshua Kendall, and the name does not appear in any index of tradesmen employed in the construction of the Georgian city of Bath.⁵

Neither does a Joshua Kendall appear in trades records for the City of London such as apprenticeship lists of the Joiners and Ceilers' Company nor in records of the Worshipful Carpenters' Company.⁶ Unable to determine much about Joshua Kendall's life before his arrival in Williamsburg, we must focus on his life after landing in Virginia.

One of the first public references to Kendall appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* in May 1769. At the time, he had formed a partnership with another Botetourt transplant, plumber Joseph Kidd. The two men advertised that they had "engaged a person from England, well acquainted with the useful branches of" plumbing, glazing, and painting. Four months later the men advertised that they had acquired a "choice collection of the most fashionable paper hangings" and that they offered lead products for sale at their shop "behind the church."⁷

This advertisement, while pinpointing the workshop's location, led to a public chastisement of the partners in the competing *Virginia Gazette* printed by William Rind. The complaint accused the partners of violating the recently passed Association, which prohibited the importation of paper, paint, and glass from Great Britain. Shortly after this reproach, and possibly because of it, the partnership of Kendall and Kidd dissolved, and Kendall went into business on his own.⁸

It would appear that Kendall left the lot on Prince George Street vacant when he left his partner. In January 1770, Kendall advertised in both *Virginia Gazettes* that he had begun to work out of a home "nearly opposite Doctor James Carter, in the back street." He advertised himself as a carpenter and joiner and offered to perform work "faithfully and expeditiously." Kendall also advertised that he would carry out house painting and glazing "in the neatest manner."⁹

During this period, Kendall continued to perform work for Lord Botetourt, producing day-to-day necessities as well as luxury goods. The items included a black walnut knife box, library table, covers for meat tubs, boot-jacks, venetian blinds, and a large birdcage.¹⁰ He also executed occasional government projects, like producing and painting ornaments for the Capitol gates.¹¹

When Botetourt died, Kendall was employed by the estate to produce a number of items, including the governor's black walnut coffin, staffs, and benches for bearing the corpse. Additional funerary work also involved taking up the pews and flooring in the Wren Chapel, framing the arch for the vault, and replacing the flooring and pews. Kendall was also paid for his personal attendance at the funeral, possibly as a member of the funeral party.¹²

Between 1770 and his death, Kendall's name appears occasionally in the records of York County (more than half of colonial-era Williamsburg was in York County in addition to the countryside between there and Yorktown). In May and June of 1770, Kendall sued Edward Westmore, keeper of the Public Gaol in Williamsburg, for a breach of contract and was awarded a total of £53.10s, to be paid in installments.

A year later, Kendall found himself the target of a lawsuit brought by a York County resident, cabinetmaker Henry Mann. In August 1771, Kendall was one of three men assigned to appraise the estate of the late William Cardwell, a messenger for Governor Botetourt. During the same court period, Hampton inhabitant and former William and Mary student Simon Hollier also sued Kendall.

Although he managed to stay out of court for two years, in 1773, Kendall found himself named a co-defendant with Williamsburg cabinetmaker Benjamin Bucktrout in a suit filed by joiner John Johnson. The court sided with Johnson and ordered the defendants to pay Johnson £16.9s. Later that year, local blacksmith James Anderson sued Kendall, but the case was dismissed after Kendall made payment on an apparent debt.¹³

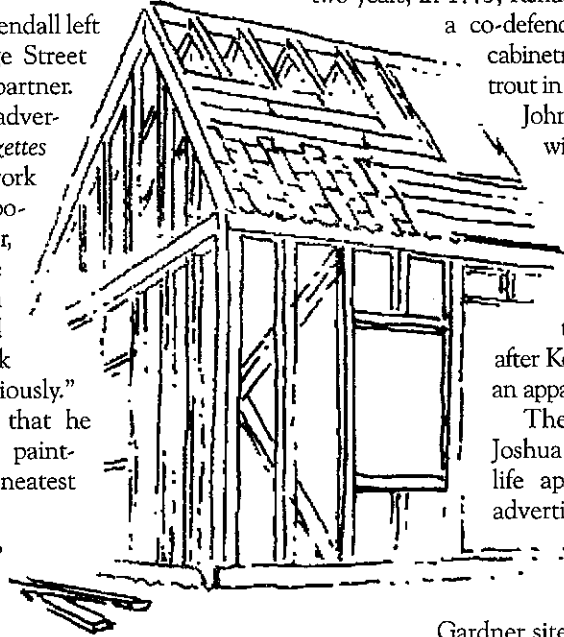
The last reference to Joshua Kendall's Williamsburg life appears in a newspaper advertisement in August 1777 placed by John Holt, who occupied a lot near the Kendall-

Gardner site. In it, Holt stated that

he was selling the tools, household furniture, and clothes owned by the late Joshua Kendall. The sale was held on the doorsteps of the home of Williamsburg resident Donald Ross.¹⁴

By 1771, the site previously occupied by Kendall and Kidd was rented to James Gardner, another Williamsburg carpenter/joiner. Like Kendall, very little is known about the early life of Gardner. Possible candidates include: James Gardner, son of Mary and William Gardner, born and baptized in 1738 at Christ Church Parish in Middlesex County; or the James Gardner who married Ann Smith on July 4, 1749 in Middlesex County; or perhaps he was the young man named James Gardner enrolled in Donald Robertson's school in Drysdale Parish in King and Queen County to learn English for half of the year 1762.¹⁵

A further slight possibility is the James Gardner who arrived in America in 1749 as a convict servant from the town of Churchdown in Gloucestershire County, England (coincidentally, the same county as Lord Botetourt).¹⁶ In the end, not enough information exists to identify any of these James Gardners as the man who occupied the Kendall-Gardner site in Williamsburg during the first half of the 1770s.



The first evidence of carpenter/joiner James Gardner's existence in Williamsburg appeared in a 1771 edition of the *Virginia Gazette*. Gardner advertised that he had opened a carpenter/joiner shop "behind the Church," where he offered "well executed" work and the production of "window sashes, on reasonable terms."¹⁷

His name appeared that year and subsequently, in the account book of Benjamin Weldon. The accounts list Gardner's trade as "joiner," and indicate that he purchased wood from Weldon on occasion. In January 1772, Gardner, who had been renting the lot behind the Wythe House, purchased the property outright from the estate of John Blair for the sum of £133. He also purchased the lot adjoining the property to the north along Prince George Street, which was previously inhabited by tailor John Warrington.¹⁸

Gardner's name, like Kendall's, appeared in the York County records during his occupancy of the Kendall-Gardner site. In June 1772, Gardner was in court as a witness for merchant Matthew Holt in a case against Williamsburg resident James Pride and served as a juror in another case. During August, Gardner sued Richard Dudman for breach of promise and was awarded £7.6s.¹⁹

Less than a year later, in March 1773, Gardner advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for the return of two of his apprentices who had run away. The amusing notice offered a reward of twenty shillings for the return of apprentice Charles Chandler but only a "handful of shavings" for the second apprentice, William Bolton. Apparently only the unwelcome Bolton was returned; he proceeded to run away again in 1773, this time "during divine service."²⁰

Gardner evidently vacated the Kendall-Gardner property in late 1774. In December of that year, he sold the property to James Wilson, steward for the College of William and Mary, for the identical sum that Gardner paid in 1772. Less than a year later, Donald Ross, printer Alexander Purdie, and merchant Robert Nicholson attached debt payments to Gardner's property.²¹

Gardner's whereabouts following the sale of the Williamsburg lot are sketchy at best. A number of individuals named James Gardner appear in Virginia census records following the Revolutionary War. The only surviving will and inventory for one is recorded in Southampton County, Virginia. The papers, dated December 2, 1793, listed the woodworking tools owned by the late James Gardner. Among them were iron wedges, a whipsaw (or pitsaw), a grindstone, a parcel of timber, axes, a crosscut saw, and a saw rest.²²

Did these represent items owned by a carpenter turned farmer or a farmer who also happened

to do occasional carpentry? If this was the James Gardner born in Middlesex County in 1738, he would have only been in his mid-fifties at the time of his death. If, on the other hand, he was the James Gardner who married Ann Smith in 1749, he would have likely been in his seventies in 1793. Regardless, there is no direct evidence to tie the Southampton County James Gardner to the Williamsburg carpenter/joiner of the same name.

* * * *

While information about the carpenters/joiners who worked on the Kendall-Gardner site can be uncovered through the study of historical documents, determining the appearance of the lot requires examination of a number of different sources. Close study of the archaeological record reveals much about the physical, industrialized environment in which Kendall and Gardner worked.

The famous Frenchman's Map of 1782 (see Figure 1), which details the placement of buildings in and around the city of Williamsburg, shows two small structures oriented east to west on the southern portion of the lot. A fence line runs along their southern edges. Another map, drawn about the same time by French cartographer Jean-Nicholas Desandrouins, clearly shows a structure to the west of the Wythe property in almost the same places as the two smaller buildings on the Frenchman's Map.²³

Did Desandrouins simplify his drawing by combining the two small structures into one larger building? Archaeology conducted during the 1930s supports these period depictions of the layout of the Kendall-Gardner site. Colonial Williamsburg archaeologists found two earthen cellars (one with brick steps), which are separated by distances similar to those shown on the Frenchman's Map.

While neither the Frenchman's nor Desandrouins's map shows any structure on the northern portion of the lot, the archaeological survey of the property uncovered the remnants of a building foundation. The rectangular remains, approximately 20 feet by 30 feet in dimension, could be those of a tenement house erected by Blair on the property between 1745 and 1747. This building may have served as a home and shop for tailor James Warrington prior to Gardner's purchase of the two lots. Gardner likely used the structure as his residence during his occupation of the entire property, focusing the labor on the southern portion of the lot.

Another piece of archaeological evidence that assists in determining the layout of the Kendall-Gardner work site is the placement of a pit detail on the southern half of the lot. This pit (4 feet wide, 13 feet long, and 6 feet deep) is located just 20 or so feet north of the church wall. People unfamiliar with the operation of an eighteenth-

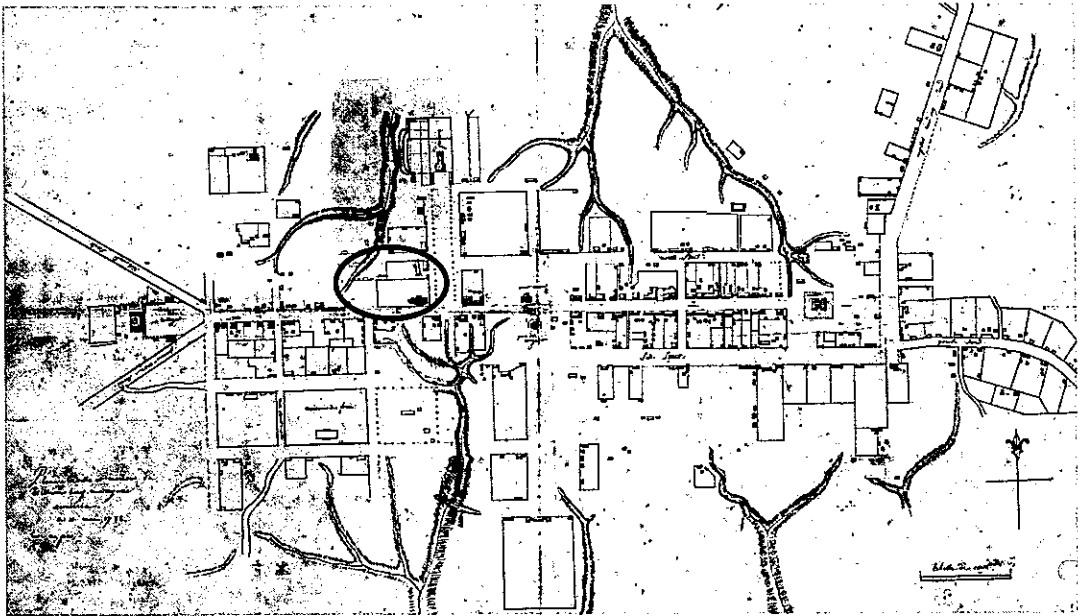


Figure 1: The Frenchman's Map of 1782

century carpenter/joiner shop might assume that this feature was simply a trash pit of some kind. The artifacts in the pit—broken bottles and mugs—are exactly the types of items one would expect to find in a colonial sawpit!²⁴

The historical evidence, when combined with the known physical evidence, confirms the assertion that the lot in question served as the site of an urban carpenter/joiner shop in the period immediately preceding the Revolution. The only question left to answer, and it is a big one, is what did the site look like during those years? Further archaeological investigation will help in this determination, but so will an examination of existing structures as well as period descriptions and illustrations.

* * * *

When George Wythe looked over the fence that separated his property from the Kendall-Gardner site, what did he see? The archaeology done in the first half of the twentieth century offers clues to the locations of buildings, but what of their appearance? To determine the appearance of the Kendall-Gardner site, one must examine surviving structures of the same type, as well as period imagery depicting carpenter/joiner shops. While collectors have amassed large collections of woodworking tools over the last two hundred years, few individuals have attempted to preserve the workshops themselves. Fortunately, some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, preindustrial shops remain standing.

One of the earliest surviving carpentry shops in North America is displayed at the Canterbury Shaker Village in Canterbury, New Hampshire. This 1806 building is a simple, story-and-a-half

structure with the downstairs devoted to shop space and the upstairs used as storage for material. The gable ends of the building include four nine-over-six windows, with two more windows on each face of the building.²⁵

These provisions for light are details found in other carpenter/joiner shops, including two late-nineteenth-century survivals at the Weald and Downland Museum in Chichester, England. Both buildings have entire walls devoted to windows, testifying to preindustrial carpenters' reliance on natural light. Brick piers raise the joiner's shop, originally located in Witley, and allow wood to be stored in an area beneath the building.²⁶

Another example of a carpenter/joiner shop, the Dominy Shop of East Hampton, New York, was relocated to the Winterthur Museum in Delaware. This small, early-American carpenter/joiner shop had space for only two workbenches along each of its long walls. However, even this small shop had large, twenty-five-light windows to provide ample illumination of the workspace.²⁷

As late as the 1880s, carpenters and joiners still relied on natural light for their primary illumination. Two photographs of rural Massachusetts shops depict interiors with benches stretched along the walls to capture as much light as possible flooding in through numerous windows.²⁸

Period paintings and drawings depicting shop interiors can also prove useful in determining the general appearance of workplaces. One such painting, titled *English Joiners* (1816), demonstrates again the need for light in the preelectrified shop. In it, two joiners work at their benches, while light floods in from the twelve-light windows in front of them.²⁹

Another English painting, *The Carpenter's Shop at Forty Hill, Enfield* (circa 1813), portrays a similar shop with one wall consisting of at least three twenty-eight light windows. The detail of this painting also indicates the quality of the glass—poorer “bulls-eye” glass—used in those windows.³⁰

The French encyclopedia craze provided a number of illustrations of carpenter/joiner environments. In *The Joiner II*, Diderot depicted French joiners working in an unfinished building with open walls. His illustration of *The Cabinet-maker* is more practical, showing the men working in a shop with multiple, forty-eight-light windows providing ample illumination for the workmen.³¹

Ultimately, determining the probable appearance of the carpenter/joiner shop on the southern portion of the Kendall-Gardner site will require more thorough archaeological investigation coupled with continued study of the appearance of eighteenth-century work buildings in general.

It will be easier to ascertain the appearance of the building discovered on the northern portion of the Kendall-Gardner lot. As noted, John Blair constructed tenement buildings on the property between 1745 and 1747. Several tenement buildings survive, including the Timson House only a block away on the corner of Nassau and Prince George streets.

The oldest portion of the house, likely built by planter William Timson as a tenement, dates from the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The footprint of the original section of the house is similar in size to the archaeological remains located on the northern half of the Kendall-Gardner site. Williamsburg's Bracken Tenement also has a similar-sized footprint. The architectural details of these buildings, along with surveys of similar Virginia structures, can provide the necessary particulars for the tenement house Blair constructed on the Kendall-Gardner site.³²

The sawpit found on the southern half of the lot, while not the most dramatic feature, is important. Sawpits came in many shapes and sizes, and an examination of other English and colonial sawpits proves a useful study. Their appearance can be gleaned from a variety of sources. In 1737, Blaise Ollivier, master shipwright to the king of France, toured the dockyards of Britain and Holland in an effort to improve French shipbuilding techniques. He made some of the keenest observations about the sawpits found in those shipyards:

They have at their dockyards sawpits which are 22 to 25 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 6 feet deep, situated 3 to 4 feet one from the other. . . . The walls of these sawpits are lined with brick, with two or three small lodging places cut into the walls where the sawyers keep their tools. When they wish to saw up a timber they place it on rollers over one of the pits; the rollers

are blocked with wedges; one of the sawyers descends into the pit, the other stands on top of the timber, and after they have sawn the full length afforded by the pit they slide the timber easily on its rollers with no need of a device other than a crow[bar].³³

Ollivier was impressed enough by the sawing methods used at these shipyards that he drew a sketch of the pits. Similar sawpits can be found in the British colony of Antigua, where His Majesty's ships were often refitted or repaired.³⁴

George Sturt, a turn-of-the-century British wheelwright, described the local sawpits of his youth as an enclosed pit, “five or six feet” deep, with brick sides. The sides of the pit contained open spaces where the pitman could stash wedges and small pots of oil. Sturt remembered the sawpit fondly as a place that provided him with “a sense of great peace.”³⁵

English chairmaker Thomas Hudson described a sawpit as a “rectangular hole dug in the ground with . . . a few boards wedged in the ends to keep the earth from falling in”; and it was “damp and dark.”³⁶ Sometimes, in the mild English summers, sawyers would work in sawpits in the woods, which often had no covering. Only in winter months did they prefer the shelter of a saw house.³⁷

The use of sawpits in America is also well documented. In February 1760, George Washington noted in his diary that “Mike and Tom sawed 122 feet of oak” in the sawpit at Mount Vernon. Thomas Jefferson built a sawpit on Mulberry Row at Monticello as well, adding a structure for wood storage and drying adjoining the pit.³⁸

In some cases, sawpits were enclosed in a house to protect the sawyers and the pits from the weather. In March 1768, a Warwick County, Virginia, landowner advertised that he had a “saw-house for three pairs of sawyers.” The house that covered the sawpits in Antigua was simply a post building with a gable roof and open sides.³⁹

In his book *The Village Carpenter*, Walter Rose provides a photograph of an old, English sawpit, which probably resembled those found on colonial plantations and in timberyards.⁴⁰ In the far larger and more industrial dockyards of Britain, the sawpits were often entirely enclosed in large brick buildings.

* * * *

Joshua Kendall and James Gardner, while not among the “great men” of Williamsburg's past, are nonetheless worthy of our attention. Their contributions to the appearance of the city of Williamsburg, and those of carpenters and joiners like them, are considerable. These men quite literally built Williamsburg.

The grand public buildings, the wallpapered private homes, and the sturdy tenement houses owe their lasting durability to the skills of the men who constructed them. The residents of Williamsburg

relied on men like Kendall and Gardner to provide them with their most basic necessity: shelter.

The location of the Kendall-Gardner site speaks to the truly urban, industrial environment in which Williamsburg residents lived. Just a stone's throw from the fine ornamental and kitchen gardens of George Wythe was a bustling trade shop, with its unique scents and sounds.

¹ H. Bullock, "Historical Report, Block 21 and 22" (orig. title: "Blair's Tenements & Bellini's House"), Colonial Williamsburg Research Report no. 1501 (Williamsburg, Va.: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, 1935), 1.

² References to Joshua Kendall found in Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, <http://www.familysearch.com/Search/IGI/Holding> (accessed 19 April 2000).

³ Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, August 6, 1768.

⁴ Patricia A. Gibbs, "The Governor's Household and Its Operations: A Thematic Paper Prepared for the Department of Interpretive Education," Colonial Williamsburg Research Report no. 218 (Rockefeller Library, 1981); Botetourt Manuscripts from Badminton, Rockefeller Library, Special Collections, Williamsburg, Virginia (Microfilm, M-1395).

⁵ D. Dyer, Bristol Central Library, to author, May 11, 2000; Colin Johnston, Bath Records Office, to author, May 31, 2000.

⁶ Stephen Freeth, Keeper of Manuscripts Guildhall Library, London, to author, May 24, 2000.

⁷ Gibbs, "Governor's Household," 11, 20; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), May 4, 1769, September 28, 1769.

⁸ *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), November 2, 1769; and Gibbs, "Governor's Household," 20.

⁹ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), January 18, 1770.

¹⁰ Gibbs, "Governor's Household," 20; Robert Carter Nicholas Accounts, "Accounts of the Botetourt Estate, 1768-1771," Rockefeller Library, Special Collections (Microfilm, M-22-3; original, Library of Congress), 28.

¹¹ John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1770-1772* (Richmond, Va.: [The Colonial Press, E. Waddey Co.], 1906), 91.

¹² Nicholas Accounts, "Accounts of the Botetourt Estate," 27.

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¹⁵ John Otto Yurechko. Christ Church Parish Register, Middlesex County, Virginia, 1653-1812 (Westminister, Md.: Family Line Publishers, 1996), 104; "Middlesex County Records," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd ser. 10 (1930): 219; "Donald Robertson's School, Drysdale Parish, King and Queen County Virginia, 1758-1769," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 33 (1925): 292.

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¹⁷ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), January 3, 1771, p. 3, c.1.

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¹⁹ "James Gardner," Biographical File, York Co. Recs. Proj.

²⁰ *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), March 18, 1773; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 18, 1773.

²¹ York County Records, Deed Book 8, 466-468; "James Gardner," Biographical File, York Co. Recs. Proj.

²² Inventory of James Gardner, Southampton County, Va., Records, Will Book with Inventories and Accounts, no. 4, 1783-1797, 607-608.

²³ Martha W. McCartney, "Jean-Nicolas Desandrouins and His Overlooked Map of 18th-Century Williamsburg," *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (December 1999/January 2000), 44.

²⁴ Ivor Noël Hume, "George Wythe House Archaeology Report, Block 21 Building 4," Colonial Williamsburg Research Report no. 1488 (Rockefeller Library, 1960), map insert and 5-17, 28-29, 21-28.

²⁵ "Carpenters Shop, 1806," http://www.shakers.org/carpenters_shop.html (September 2000).

²⁶ "Joinery, 19th Century Building Construction Exhibition," <http://www.wealddown.co.uk/joiners-shop-19th-century-building-construction-exhibition.htm> (September 2000).

²⁷ Charles F. Hummel, *With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), 5-10.

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²⁹ George Forster, *English Joiners* (oil on canvas, 1816), in James M. Gaynor and Nancy L. Hagedorn, *Tools: Working Wood in Eighteenth-Century America* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1993), frontispiece.

³⁰ John Hill, *The Carpenter's Shop at Forty Hill, Enfield* (oil on canvas, c. 1813), in Gaynor and Hagedorn, *Tools*, 44.

³¹ Charles C. Gillispie, ed. *A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry, Manufacturing and the Technical Arts in Plates Selected from 'L'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métier' of Denis Diderot* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1987), 2: plates 291, 293.

³² Marcus Whiffen, *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg: A Study of Architecture and Building in the Colonial Capital of Virginia* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1990), 250-251, 67.

³³ David H. Roberts, ed., *18th Century Shipbuilding: Remarks on the Navies of the English and Dutch from Observations made at their Dockyards in 1737 by Blaise Ollivier Master Shipwright to the King of France* (Rotherfield, East Sussex, Eng.: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1992), 75.

³⁴ Jonathan Coad, *The Royal Dockyards, 1690-1850* (Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar Press, 1989), 359.

³⁵ George Sturt, *The Wheelwright's Shop* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 57-58.

³⁶ Elizabeth Seager, ed., *The Countryman Book of Village Trades and Crafts* (London: David and Charles, 1978), 103-104.

³⁷ Sturt, *Wheelwright's Shop*, 29.

³⁸ Donald Jackson, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 1:239; Jack McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988), 85.

³⁹ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), March 7, 1768; Coad, *Royal Dockyards*, 359.

⁴⁰ Walter Rose, *The Village Carpenter* (New York: New Amsterdam, 1987), 29.



Bothy's Mould

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

Black Locust: An All American Tree

by Wesley Greene

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

Our taste in ornamental trees has changed fairly dramatically since the first street plantings were made in Williamsburg in the 1730s. The catalpas that line Palace Green, which may be the first example of a municipal street planting in British North America, are seldom planted today and considered by most horticulturists as little better than a weed tree. The paper mulberry, whose twisted trunks elicit so many comments from our guests, was one of the first Asian trees brought into cultivation as an ornamental in North America. John Clayton first describes the paper mulberry in *Flora Virginica* (1762), and by the end of the century it was a common component of the Virginia plantation landscape. Today, it is nearly impossible to find a paper mulberry for sale at a nursery. The tulip poplars that were found by the homes of many of the eighteenth-century Virginia gentry have been returned to the forest, and the lombardy poplars planted by President Jefferson along Pennsylvania Avenue (called the "grand avenue" at the time) have largely disappeared from the American landscape.

Of all the trees favored by our colonial predecessors, both as an ornamental and as a utilitarian tree, the black locust (*Robinia pseudoacacia*) is perhaps the most significant. It is first mentioned by William Strachey in *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1610). He describes it as "a kind of low tree which beares a cod like to the peas, but nothing so big: we take it to be locust." The name stuck, but it is interesting to speculate what Mr. Strachey meant by a locust.

The locust tree of Europe is the carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*). Because some believe this, rather than the insect, was the food that sustained John the Baptist in the wilderness, the

tree bears the common name of St. John's Bread. It is doubtful that William Strachey ever saw a locust or carob tree, as this Mediterranean plant will not grow in England, but he may have seen the branches of the carob pictured in signs above the doors of goldsmiths. (The large seeds of the carob provided the standard for the carat weight of precious stones.) Both the black locust and the carob are members of the large fabaceae, or pea family, and have similar leaves; this is probably the source of Strachey's confusion.

Botanists feel that the black locust is one of the few examples of trees transplanted by the American Indians from the mountains to the coastal plain for domestic use. When the first colonists arrived, they found black locusts planted "by the dwellings of the savages" (Strachey, 1610).

According to the *Natural History*, attributed to William Byrd II, the Indians used the locust to form their bows: "Locust tree is a very straight, tall and rather thick tree whose wood is the toughest in all the world, and almost cannot be broken; thus the savages usually make all their bows from it." Some historians question the authorship of the *Natural History* and have pointed to parallels between this work and Lawson's *History of North Carolina* (1714). While Lawson is familiar with the tree, his description is quite different: "The Locust for its enduring the Weather, is chosen for all sorts of Works that are exposed thereto . . . We have little or none of this wood in Pampticough."

The extreme resistance to rot is perhaps the black locust's best-known attribute. The first buildings at Jamestown were erected on poles of black locust. One hundred years after the founding of Jamestown Mark Catesby visited the site of the original settlement and recorded "being obliged to run up with all the expedition possible such little houses as might serve them to dwell in, till they could find leisure to build larger and more convenient ones, they erected each of their little hovels on four only of these trees, pitched into the ground to support the four corners; many of these posts are yet standing, and not only the parts underground, but likewise those above, still perfectly sound." The black locust is the most durable American wood for ground contact and it is what we use to line the beds at the Colonial Garden.

The genus name, *Robinia*, is in honor of Jean Robin. Robin was a Parisian apothecary appointed as the King's Arborist to Henry III. He retained the post under Henry IV and Louis XIII. In 1597, he received the commission to lay out the garden for the Faculty of Medicine. This later became famous as the Jardin des Plantes. Linnaeus identifies Robin planting the first black

locust in this garden in 1601. To honor Robin, Linnaeus renamed the locust (*Acacia Americana Robinii*) as *Robinia pseudoacacia*. The original tree, transplanted several times, was alive as late as 1963 in the gardens of the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle.

However, Linnaeus may have misplaced the credit. Robin does not list the black locust in the *Catalogus stirpium* (1601), neither did his son Vespasien in his *Histoire des plantes* (1620). The first French citation for the tree comes in Cornut's *Canadensium plantarum historia* (1635), well after the date Linnaeus gives for the original planting.

The black locust is listed by the Tradescants in their catalog, *Plantarum in Horto* (1634) as "*Locusta Virginiana arbor*." This was a list of plants growing in their garden at Lambeth, just outside of the City of London. John Parkinson records the black locust in *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640) and writes that he has seen "a very great tree of exceeding height with Master Tradescant."

Regardless of who first brought the tree to Europe, it quickly became a favorite ornamental tree for its delicate foliage and the large white, wisteria-like blooms that produce one of the sweetest fragrances of any landscape tree.

While it is widely admired in Europe, it is equally popular in this country. Landon Carter records on May Day, 1766, "I have hitherto my Locust trees to bloom in April, but now their leaves just begin to shade the trees with green." The black locust is given a prominent place at Mt. Vernon by Washington who records in August 1776, "It will not do to Plant the Locust Trees at the North end of the House till the Framing is up."

Its popularity as a landscape tree only seemed to increase during the nineteenth century. William Cobbett, an English publicist, author, entrepreneur, and all-around cantankerous historical figure, grew black locust on his farm in New York in 1817–1819. When he returned to England (after libeling Dr. Rush for killing George Washington) he brought with him bags of locust seeds (as well as the corpse of Thomas Paine). In England he is credited with promoting the sale of more than one million trees. As late as 1946, A. L. Howard recorded in his book, *Trees in Britain*, "The evidence of Cobbett's activity is very marked in the gardens around London and all other cities and towns throughout Great Britain."

In Virginia, Edwin Booth planted a memorial grove of black locust at Carter's Grove in 1881 to commemorate the Yorktown Centennial. In 1892, Sargent wrote in *The Silva of North Amer-*

ica, "No other North American tree has been so generally planted for timber and ornament in the United States and Europe; and no inhabitant of the American forest has been the subject of so voluminous a literature."

The attributes of this tree are seemingly endless: its durability in the ground and the wonderful fragrance of the flowers from which bees make an excellent honey. It has the highest beam strength of any North American tree. It is used to stabilize erosion-prone slopes and to reclaim mining sites. It fixes nitrogen in its roots and is extremely resistant to pollution and for this reason was planted along rail lines in England. The roots have a sweet licorice flavor and a cord of seasoned locust has the same BTU potential as a ton of anthracite coal, the highest fuel value of any American tree.

It is ironic that this thoroughly American tree goes by all European names: locust in comparison to the carob tree, *Robinia*, in memory of a French man and the species name *pseudoacacia* or "false acacia" in comparison to another European tree of the pea family.

We could even make the case that the black locust won the War of 1812. The decisive battle of that war was fought on Lake Champlain. On September 11, 1814, the American fleet commanded by Commodore Thomas Macdonough engaged the British fleet commanded by Captain George Downie (killed in action) in Plattsburg Bay. The Americans won a decisive victory, essentially stopping the invasion forces led by Sir George Prevost. Sir Prevost was recalled to England to face a court martial for his actions but died before the trial was convened.

One of the reasons circulated for the British navy's defeat was that English ships were built with oak nails (the large pins or trunnels that hold the wooden members of a ship together) while American ships were built with locust nails. When the cannonballs from the American fleet hit the British ships, they came apart. But when the shot from the British ships hit the American fleet their ships held together and that is the reason the British lost the Battle of Plattsburg Bay!

Although this sounds like "a likely excuse," the fact that, the very next year, the British began importing thousands of locust nails to refit the British navy indicates that someone believed it. By 1820 the Philadelphia market, alone was exporting between 50, 000 and 100,000 locust nails to England each year. Some would say we have been selling weapons to the enemy ever since.



Q & A

Question: *In eighteenth-century burials, were all bodies buried intact?*

Answer: While most bodies were buried intact, there are exceptions. Autopsies were done on occasion. If the cause of death was suspicious, an autopsy might be performed.

The bodies of some criminals were dissected in the process of studying and teaching anatomy. The study of anatomy was and still is an essential element of training for medical practitioners. William Hunter (1718–1783) told his students that anatomy was the foundation for surgery as “it informs the Head, guides the hand, and familiarizes the heart to a kind of necessary Inhumanity.”¹ The latter is referred to today as a clinical detachment from the subject.

Question: *What was involved in studying anatomy in the eighteenth century?*

Answer: One of the first things needed was a mental detachment from the subject. The diary of one medical student reveals his inner struggle with this issue. “Wed. Sept. 16. [1767] After waiting an hour in the Lobby of Surgeons Hall, got in with great difficulty (the crowd being great and the screw stairs very narrow) to see the body of Mrs. Brownrig . . . a most shocking sight. I wish I had not seen it. How loathsome our vile bodies are, when separated from the soul! It is surprising what crowds of women and girls run to see what usually frightens them so much.”²

In general, eighteenth-century anatomy lectures included details on the skeletal system, the muscles, circulatory system, major organs, and some pathology. There was little in the way of diagnostic tools available, so this was an opportunity to see some of the visible changes happening in the body as a result of disease. Some preparations were preserved for future study. Some individuals who taught anatomy created extensive collections.

Question: *How did the legal system benefit the anatomists?*

Answer: In the early eighteenth century, the Company of Surgeons in London was allowed a total of six corpses a year for their anatomical studies. In 1752, Parliament passed an act that indirectly benefited the surgeons. The act stated that, when a murderer was condemned to be hanged, the additional penalty of dissection could be added to the sentence. It seems that the original intent of the new act was to create a stiffer sentence for the crime of murder by denying criminals the opportunity to be buried. As a result, the Company of Surgeons had additional means to teach their subject.

Question: *What about the problem of grave robbing after a burial?*

Answer: There is some documentation on grave robbing in Britain in the eighteenth century to supply corpses for the private schools and hospitals that were teaching anatomy. Part of the problem was that the demand exceeded the supply available through the legal system, and there was a profit to be made in selling bodies to the anatomists.

Question: *Have any of the eighteenth-century anatomical preparations survived?*

Answer: While some have been lost due to neglect and the ravages of time, others have survived. One such collection is at the Wellcome Museum of Anatomy and Pathology in England. It contains about 3,500 items from John Hunter’s (1728–1793) personal collection. At the time of his death he had almost 15,000 plant, animal, and human anatomical specimens. Unfortunately, a significant part of it was lost during World War II. Today the Wellcome makes these items available for study to medical students and doctors. To learn more about John Hunter and his legacy visit <http://www.rcseng.ac.uk/services/museums/history/hunterian-html>.

Such collections are important for their historical value. They are also an invaluable resource for documenting unusual medical conditions as well as the advanced stages of some diseases that are rarely seen today. In fact, some contemporary textbooks don’t even outline the advanced stages of some diseases that can be prevented or treated in the early phases. A little closer to home, the Mutter Museum in Philadelphia has a strong focus on nineteenth-century medicine. Opened in 1849, it contains more than 2,000 medical instruments and specimens. For more about this museum, which is open to the public, see <http://www.collphyphil.org/muttpg1.shtml>.

THE REWARD OF CRUELTY.



*Behold the Villain's dire disgrace!
Not death itself can end
He finds no peaceful burial Place,
His limbs still loose, no friend.* | *Then from the Root, that nicksed Plague,
Which daily smore and cost!
Those Eyeballs, from their Sockets wrung,
That glomid with lawless Lust* | *The Heart exposed to prying Eyes,
To fit his no Claim,
But, dreadful from his Honor shall rise,
His Monument of Shame.*

Plate IV of Hogarth's 1751 "The Four Stages of Cruelty" (CWF 1972-409, 98) illustrates a dissection being performed on a criminal. This practice was believed to be a deterrent to crime since dissection was viewed with revulsion during the period.

Thanks to Robin Kipps and her fellow staff members Sharon Cotner, Susan Pryor, Kris Dippre, and Jim Magill at the Pasteur and Galt Apothecary Shop for answering these questions.

1 Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (London, New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 31.

2 Basil Cozens-Hardy, ed., *The Diary of Syllas Neville 1767-1788* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 25.

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

The Voice and the Pen: The Tumultuous Relationship between Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson

by Mark Couvillon

Mark is a site interpreter in the Department of Historic Site Interpretation. His book, Patrick Henry's Virginia: A Guide to the Homes and Sites in the Life of an American Patriot, was published in 2001 by the Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation. Mark is a member of the board of trustees for Red Hill, Patrick Henry's home.

In 1805, while seeking material for his biography on Patrick Henry, distinguished lawyer William Wirt wrote to Thomas Jefferson asking for his help. In the return letter, Jefferson promised to comply with Wirt's request, adding, "We had a very familiar intercourse for upwards of 20 years, & had ran our course nearly together, during this, our political principles being the same, we acted in perfect concert until the year 1781."

Jefferson never explained to Wirt his curious remark about the year 1781. Yet that event—that Jefferson told a friend produced a wound that "could only be cured by the all healing grave"—led him to distort his recollections of Henry to his biographer and, in the process, cause lasting damage to Patrick Henry's reputation and rightful place in history.

One of Jefferson's more vicious attacks on Henry concerned his abilities as a lawyer. The picture he presented to Wirt of Henry before the bar of court was that of a lazy, money-hungry lawyer whose legal knowledge was "not worth a copper." Interestingly, it was a court case in 1773 that produced Jefferson's first-known ill feelings toward Henry.

Before the Revolution, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson had both practiced law in the General Court in Williamsburg, on occasion finding themselves as coadjutors. When such instances arose, they made a powerful team. According to Edmund Randolph, "Mr. Jefferson drew copiously from the depths of law, Mr. Henry from the recesses of the human heart." In 1773, however, the two were pitted against each other in a sensational trial in which the laws of marriage and the right of dower were in question.

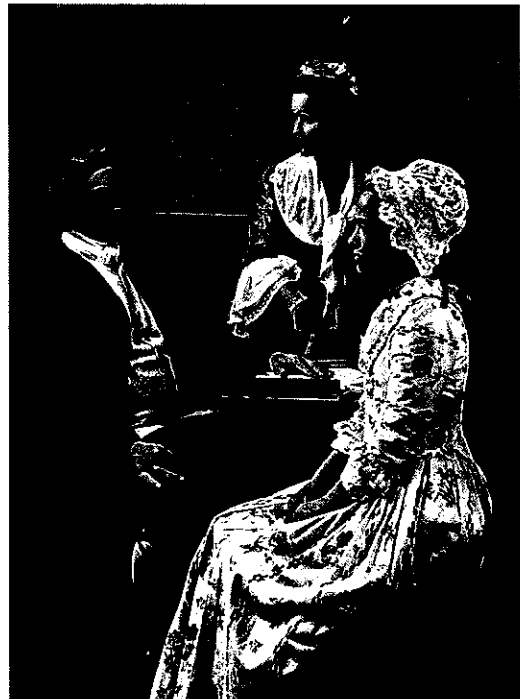
The case concerned widow Catherine Blair, who brought suit in the high court after the executors of her husband's estate refused to hand over her dower. They believed that since the couple's marriage of eighteen months was never consummated, Mrs. Blair was never legally the wife of Dr. John Blair. Jefferson was hired to prepare a defense for the estate, while Patrick Henry and John Randolph had been retained by Mrs. Blair to sue for her withholdings.

In the end, the court did not accept the argu-

ment (presented in court by Edmund Pendleton and likely based on Jefferson's notes) that it was unfair to award dower to a woman who was a wife in name only and ruled in favor of the plaintiff, Mrs. Blair. After the trial, a flustered Jefferson wrote in his notes that "Henry avoided, as was his custom, entering the lists of the law, running wild in the field of fact."

Yet from the mother of Mrs. Blair we get another picture of Patrick Henry, the lawyer. "The great Pendleton," she wrote, "abashed, confused, in a state remarked by all of almost total stupefaction, and what he said so little to the purpose that he lost credit as well as cause. Not so my worthy friend Henry. He, they say, shined in the cause of justice backed by the law."

Though both views come from interested parties, no case better shows the different legal styles of Henry and Jefferson. Despite all the legal and biblical precedents gathered by Jefferson and rationally argued by Pendleton, it took only one simple, observation on the part of Henry to win the case for Mrs. Blair. During the



trial Henry argued that if Mr. Blair had died in an accident on the couple's way from the altar to their "honeymoon" before consummation could take place, his widow would have been endowed without question.

It was the adoption of a constitution for the newly independent Commonwealth of Virginia in 1776 by the Fifth Virginia Convention that gave rise to the first major political difference between Henry and Jefferson. From the start they disagreed over the legitimacy of the document.

Jefferson, who was in Philadelphia when the Virginia constitution was being drafted, was itching to have a hand in determining the document's final form. He attempted to delay the proceedings until he could get there by arguing that the delegates to the convention had not been elected for that specific purpose. His objections were brushed aside by Henry who, along with other leading members of the convention, "saw no distinction between the conceded power to declare independence and its necessary consequence, the fencing of society by the institution of government."

Jefferson never felt that the 1776 state convention was more than a temporary organization of government to prevent anarchy. As such, he believed it could be altered by the legislature. This difference of opinion would lead to another clash between Henry and Jefferson after the Revolution. By then, however, their twenty-year friendship had come to an end.

In January 1781, Thomas Jefferson was in his second term as governor of Virginia when a British force under Benedict Arnold caught the state totally off guard. A great deal of destruction was caused by the enemy including the burning of the new state Capitol in Richmond.

Questions concerning Jefferson's actions were soon raised. Why had he not acted on General Washington's warning that a British fleet was on its way south? Why did it take so long for the militia to be called out? Why had not the governor placed pilot boats on the river as lookouts?

A motion calling for an investigation into the conduct of the executive branch during the previous twelve months was brought forward in the legislature on June 12, 1781, by George Nicholas (son of Treasurer Robert Carter Nicholas) and adopted. Although the investigation was later dropped after the victory at Yorktown and a vote of thanks presented to Jefferson by the assembly, nothing in his life would cause him more pain than these haunting accusations of inadequacy and cowardice.

Embittered over the inquiry, Jefferson temporarily dropped out of politics. While in seclusion, he began to vent his anger against the man he felt had tarnished his reputation. Nicholas was

not the target for his revenge. In a letter written to Isaac Zane in December 1781, Jefferson spoke of Nicholas as being "like the minners [sic] which go in and out of the fundament of the whale. But the whale himself was discoverable enough by the turbulence of the water under which he moved."

Jefferson's reference became clear in a letter he wrote to George Rogers Clark a year later. In one of his most spiteful attacks on Henry's character, Jefferson spoke of Henry being a cowardly man who was "all tongue without either head or heart." He proceeded to warn Clark that his [Clark's] recent popularity would make him "a fit object for his [Henry's] enmity," but that "in the variety of his crooked schemes, however, his interest may probably veer about so as to put it in your power to be useful to him, in which case he certainly will be your friend."

Free in his own mind of any wrongdoing, Jefferson had convinced himself that the attempted impeachment was part of a "crooked scheme" by Henry to get him out of the way so that a dictator could be set up in Virginia. It was Henry's lust for that position (so Jefferson believed) that led to Jefferson's ill treatment by the legislature and the attempted overthrow of the constitution. Such is the version of the incident found in Louis Girardin's 1817 *History of Virginia*, which had been written under Jefferson's eye and with his approval.

In fact, there had been a motion offered by Henry and Nicholas to empower a governor with extra-constitutional powers to combat the "unbridled fury" of the British army in the state that had grown to more than 7,000 men. In doing so, they had looked to Rome for glorious examples of giving extraordinary powers in times of distress. The more idealistic Jefferson, on the other hand, saw the suggested need for a dictator as contrary to the revolutionary principles of self-government. Yet Jefferson was mistaken in his belief that Henry aspired to that position of unlimited power. The names mentioned for that post were those of Generals Washington and Greene.

Jefferson was also mistaken about a connection existing between the inquiry into his actions and the motion for a dictator. Not present during the meeting of the General Assembly at Staunton, Jefferson, as he later told Wirt, had to rely on "hearsay." Had he been present, he would have known that the motion for granting the governor extraordinary authority had been discussed and defeated prior to the inquiry into his actions. Furthermore, the motion for an inquiry was not introduced until after Jefferson had been replaced as governor by Thomas Nelson (not prior to Nelson's election as Girardin states).

Despite Jefferson's attempt to vilify Henry's actions, there is no evidence that Henry's support of an inquiry arose from any ill will or ambition on his part. On the contrary, it appears that his motives came from "honest feelings" arising from his sense of duty. Henry's feelings on the subject were in no doubt the same as Nicholas's, who, after receiving a scathing letter from Jefferson wrote, "You consider me in a wrong point of view when you speak of me as an accuser. As a freeman and the representative of free Men I considered it as both my right and duty to call upon the executive to account for our numberless miscarriages and losses so far as they were concerned in or might have prevented them. In doing so I had no private pique to gratify."



During the 1780s and 1790s, tensions between Henry and Jefferson only intensified as the gap between their political and personal views grew. When Jefferson and James Madison attempted to revise the state constitution by calling for a convention for that purpose in 1784, they found themselves up against the full force of Patrick Henry. Henry defeated their attempts by pushing through the legislature a resolution stating that any call for changes had to come not by "the House of Delegates," but "from the majority of all the free people."

Upon learning of the defeat, Jefferson consoled himself by writing to Madison: "If one [convention] could be obtained I do not know whether it would not do more harm than good. While Mr. Henry lives another bad constitution would be formed." His insinuation that Henry would either distort the constitution to satisfy his thirst for power or prevent future changes led Jefferson to coldly conclude, "What we have to do I think is devoutly to pray for his [Henry's] death."

Another early bone of contention was over the role religion should play in government. Since the suspension of the tithe tax in support of the Church of England in 1776, there had been a decline of ministers and churches in Virginia. Convinced that the prosperity and happiness of his country depended on the virtue of the people, Henry had pushed for a bill in the

legislature, in which people would pay "a modest tax or contribution annually for the support of the Christian religion," which would benefit all Christian denominations, but not Jews, Moslems (period spelling), or atheists. Henry's assessment bill went directly against Jefferson's proposed Statute for Religious Freedom, which called for complete separation of church and state.

In Henry's eyes, Jefferson's bill did nothing to stem the tide of immorality in Virginia. If passed, he felt it would open the door even wider to vice and to French deism. So concerned was Henry over French infidelity, which he believed was being imported into America, that he lost all sympathy with the French at the very beginning of their revolution. He predicted the evil that eventually came upon France and which, he warned his own countrymen, would follow their adopting French ideas. Henry's belief that Jefferson had become tainted by French deism both alienated him from Jefferson personally and kept him from attaching himself to the Jeffersonian Republicans, who embraced the French Revolution as part of their "platform."

Although Patrick Henry was a republican in the sense of keeping the federal government to its constitutional bounds, he was not a Jeffersonian Republican. Nor was he a Federalist. Unlike Jefferson, who felt opposition parties were necessary to keep the party in power honest, Henry saw parties as tools to disrupt the smooth running of government and to promote personal agendas. Henry did believe that it was a representative's duty to oppose legislation he felt contrary to his constituents' welfare. Yet opposition for the sake of opposition was intolerable to Henry's pure republican nature. It was this belief that led to his final clash with Jefferson three months before his death.

In 1798, believing war with France to be imminent, the Federalist-controlled Congress passed a series of defensive measures called the Alien and Sedition Acts. These laws gave President John Adams power to deport or arrest any foreigner considered dangerous to the United States as well as the power to suppress what was

felt to be unlawful conspiracies or malicious writings against the government.

In response to these questionable acts, Jefferson drew up the Kentucky Resolutions and prodded James Madison to present similar resolutions before the Virginia Assembly. These resolutions put forth the explosive doctrine that any state had the right to nullify laws passed by Congress that were believed oppressive or contrary to the Constitution.

Annoyed at Jefferson's continual use of Madison to promote his own agendas in the legislature, Henry, according to staunch Federalist Timothy Pickering, remarked "that he could forgive anything else in Mr. Jefferson but his corrupting Mr. Madison."

Believing that the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were just as unconstitutional as the laws they were aimed against—and likely to promote civil unrest—an ailing Patrick Henry left his retirement to run once again for the state legislature. If elected, he hoped to "cast oil upon the waters of strife, & save the union of the States."

In his last public speech, given at Charlotte Courthouse on March 4, 1799, the aged patriot told his listeners that the Virginia legislature had no right to disregard laws passed by Congress. Like it or not, he declared, with the adoption of the United States Constitution the states had lost their sovereignty to the central government. Any opposition to national laws, therefore, must be through constitutional means.

Henry criticized the inconsistency of Jefferson and Madison who, "after inducing the people to adopt such a Government was now urging Virginians to destroy it suddenly at the risk of immediate civil war & foreign invasion."

Upon learning of Henry's stand against the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and remembering Henry's violent opposition to the proposed federal Constitution in 1788, Jefferson was convinced that Henry had turned against his former beliefs for personal gain or private vengeance. Writing to his friend Archibald Stuart on May 14, 1799, Jefferson remarked that Henry's "apostasy must be unaccountable to those who do not know all the recesses of his heart." Once again Jefferson had looked to sinister motives to justify Henry's actions.

In speaking out against the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, it was not Henry's intention to support the Federalist cause but to condemn the Republican's mode of opposing the Alien and Sedition Acts. What Jefferson viewed as apostasy was in reality a fundamental difference between the two men over the interpretation of the Constitution.

Whereas Jefferson believed the new government to be no more than a compact between sovereign states, Henry felt that with the adoption of the Constitution the states had lost their sovereignty to the central government. As no part can be greater than the whole, Henry reasoned that the state legislatures were not proper tribunals to determine the constitutionality of federal laws.

In taking this stance, Henry was not inconstant at all. He realized that state sovereignty would be relinquished with the adoption of the Constitution. For that reason, he attempted to defeat its ratification during the 1788 Virginia Convention. Once it was adopted, however, he accepted the supremacy of the new national government as the "law of the land."

Ironically, it was Jefferson who had first helped open the door to the encroachment of the federal government with his agreement not to oppose Alexander Hamilton's Assumption Act in 1790 in return for locating the new United States capital city in Northern Virginia. The passage of this act not only led to the formation of political parties, but gave the needed precedent for the Alien and Sedition Acts. Henry, on the other hand, opposed Hamilton's Assumption bill in the legislature on the grounds that it "is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, as it goes to the exercise of a power not expressly granted to the General Government."

In writing and in conversation, Henry had been very reserved in his criticism of his one-time friend. It is likely that he never knew the real depth of Jefferson's dislike for him. Yet, Jefferson was not too well thought of in the Henry home as is seen in a letter written by his widow to one of his daughters. Remarking on the dignity and calmness with which her Christian husband faced his end, Mrs. Henry wrote, "What a seen [sic] have I witnessed to. I wish the Grate Jefferson & all the Heroes of the Deistical party could have seen my ever Dr. & Hond. [dear and honored] Husband pay his debt to nature."

Six years later in 1805, Jefferson began his correspondence with William Wirt. Over the next ten years he continued to answer inquires and critique Wirt's manuscript on Patrick Henry. It is perhaps no coincidence that Jefferson's vicious remarks about Henry came during a time when the Federalists were attacking him as an unfit candidate for president because of his alleged ineptness and cowardice while governor of Virginia.

It was also during this correspondence with Wirt that Henry Lee's 1812 *Memoirs of the War* was published, which further perpetuated the stories of Jefferson's failures as chief executive.

Still, the Jefferson who was so afraid of his role in history being written by partisans like Lee had no reservations about furnishing biased statements concerning Patrick Henry to historian Louis Girdardin and biographer William Wirt.

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Museum News

by Jan Gilliam

Jan, manager of exhibit planning and associate curator of toys in the Collections and Museums Division, is a member of the Interpreter Planning Board.

The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum is on the move. Over the past several months, curators and conservators moved more than 4,000 pieces of folk art to make way for the closing of the old museum and the construction of the new. The state-of-the-art facility will be located adjacent to the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum and is projected to open in October 2006.

Colonial Williamsburg has hired Alspector Anderson Architects of New York to design the museum. They are familiar with the special needs of museum construction and have planned spaces that will be inviting to guests and provide ideal backdrops for exciting exhibitions. The layout consists of large and small galleries with high ceilings and modern lighting to provide greater flexibility for displaying folk art.

Since the new Folk Art Museum shares the west wall with the Wallace Museum, some temporary changes will be evident at the Wallace over the next two years. Objects in the ceramic study room are safely packed and moved out of harm's way. On the upper level of the museum, Revolution in Taste is closed temporarily so that new entryways can be created. When the project is completed, guests will enter the Folk Art Museum through the Revolution in Taste galleries.

During construction, two exhibitions at the Wallace Museum will feature selections from the

Folk Art Museum. *Outside In: Folk Sculpture for the American Landscape* highlights the museum's superb collection of works made for the outdoors. In the nineteenth century, weather vanes of all descriptions topped the cupolas of many buildings from farms to courthouses. Cows, fish, roosters, deer, and even Lady Liberty could be seen from below. At street level, pedestrians caught sight of colorful signs and figures that advertised the services found within. An oversized shoe hung outside a shoe store, while a lady of fashion grasping tobacco stood sentry at the tobacconist.

Opening in April, *Treasures from the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum* showcases more than 100 objects from the permanent collection. Portraits, landscape paintings, decorated furniture, pieced quilts, toys, and much more demonstrate the variety of nineteenth- and twentieth-century art that makes up this renowned collection. Old favorites like *Baby in Red Chair* and Edward Hicks's *Peaceable Kingdom* will be seen alongside such seldom-seen treasures as a turtle-shell banjo and a carved chair used in an African American church.

Once the Folk Art Museum reopens, plans will move forward with the expansion of the joint museum complex. Not only will this provide additional gallery space, it will also give the museums their own street-level entrance separate from the Public Hospital. The design will allow for a new gift shop and dining facilities and enhance our guests' orientation experience. Education and exhibition staff will both gain much-needed up-to-date spaces that will improve their ability to create quality programs and exhibitions.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE:

New at the Rock



Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Beeman, Richard R. *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. [E188.B44 2004]

A tour of the colonies provides an overview of pre-Revolutionary political life and illustrates the variations in institutions, practices, and expectations. One thing held in common was that all colonists were subjects of the king. Shared experiences and popular impulses enabled a unified movement toward citizenship, independence, and democracy.

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. [E209.B77 2004]

The author expands upon previous scholarship stressing the importance of nonimportation in mobilizing American resistance. He places the boycotts in the broader context of colonial economic development and shows how they contributed to political mobilization and the development of American identity.

Harbury, Katharine E. *Colonial Virginia's Cooking Dynasty*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004. [TX715.H274 2004]

Transcriptions of two recipe collections compiled by Randolph women are accompanied by editorial comment and compared to similar recipes from published contemporary cookbooks. Introductory chapters describe the social and cultural context of the manuscripts (with emphasis on genteel entertaining) and discuss the evolution of Virginia foodways.

Hofstra, Warren R. *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004. [F232.S5 H64 2004]

White settlement of the Shenandoah Valley was seen as the best way to protect against French encroachment and Indian attack. The transformation of the landscape involved family farms, roads and fences, towns, and county infrastructure. The migration of tidewater planters, who brought traditions of deference and gentility, created conflict with emerging republicanism in the Valley.

McGaughy, J. Kent. *Richard Henry Lee of Virginia: A Portrait of an American Revolutionary*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004. [E302.6.L4 M37 2004]

Richard Henry Lee introduced the resolution for independence, signed the Declaration, presided over Congress, and represented Virginia in the United States Senate. He was controversial throughout and misunderstood by history. This biography seeks to integrate his private and public roles and explain how he became "the epitome of the conservative revolutionary."

Martin, Jonathan D. *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004. [E443.M38 2004]

Slaves were hired out to temporary masters for work in homes, farms, and shops. This system often brought the white masters into conflict and conferred on the slaves some additional room to maneuver. In spite of these destabilizing effects, slave hiring made good economic sense and provided flexibility that was crucial to the survival of slavery.

Morgan, Jennifer L. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. [HT1048.M67 2004]

This study intends, on the simplest level, to show that African women were present in the colonial setting. It also argues that the history of racial ideology is not complete without gender. While the word *laboring* in the title suggests both agricultural and reproductive functions, other

more symbolic roles are explored in relation to family and cultural influences in the broader community.

Sokolow, Jayme A. *The Great Encounter: Native Peoples and European Settlers in the Americas, 1492–1800*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2003. [E59.F53 S65 2003]

The author places the interaction of native peoples and Europeans at the center of the history of the Western Hemisphere. Native Americans played an important role in shaping the cultures of the European empires that emerged following the encounter. Numerous vignettes focusing on specific events are used to illustrate how interaction occurred and influences were realized.

Stevens, Laura M. *"The Poor Indians": British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. [E98.M6 S75 2004]

"The history of British missions in North America was one in which words outweighed deeds and textual production exceeded conversions." This study focuses on the texts that expressed evangelical aspirations and inspired the British people to provide the funds. The appeal was to patriotism, commerce, and faith.

Waldstreicher, David. *Runaway America: Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004. [E302.6.F8 W25 2004]

This is a less flattering portrait of Franklin than other recent biographies. Himself a runaway from servitude to his brother, Franklin owned slaves and profited from the slave trade. He blamed slavery on British tyranny and used the term to describe British control of political and economic systems in the colonies, but it was not until very late in life that Franklin unambiguously expressed antislavery opinions.

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

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

Acts of the General Assembly (Williamsburg: William Rind).

This unique survivor of the Virginia laws covers the second session of 1771 and the first session of 1772. Legislation includes division of counties as well as provisions for the killing of deer, wolves, crows, and squirrels. Further provision is made for funding to finish the hospital being built for idiots and lunatics. The book retains its original binding and includes an index.

American Folk Art: A Collection of Paintings and Sculpture (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1940).

This pamphlet, with a foreword by James Cogar, documents the exhibition of paintings, pastels, fractures, drawings, sculpture, and weather vanes assembled by Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, which were donated to Colonial Williamsburg and displayed at the Ludwell-Paradise House.

Receipt: Anti-Slavery Society, Office No. 18 Aldermanbury, London, January 13, 1838, to Francis Wedgwood, Esq., Etruria, for purchase of ten Negro apprenticeships.

Document includes printed image of a kneeling male slave in chains with the slogan "Am I not a Man and a Brother" appearing in a banner below.

Barber, Elizabeth. Manuscript recipe and household book, ca. 1760.

The writer, who lived in Nottinghamshire, England, was the mother of English scientist and inventor John Barber. The book includes medicinal formulas, remedies, recipes, and some family birth and death dates.

Blanton, Wyndham B. *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*. Richmond: William Byrd Press, 1930.

This work traces the progress of medicine in Virginia from 1607 to 1700. Topics include medicine under the London Company, epidemic diseases, medical education, simples and therapy, medical practice, housing the sick, women and medicine, public and private lives of physicians, and medical fees and legislation.

Blanton, Wyndham B. *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century*. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1931.

The book continues investigation of medicine in Virginia during the eighteenth century. Chapters include information about plantation medicine, advertising and quackery, lives of noted doctors, and hospital facilities. It's noted that Virginians Arthur Lee, Theodorick Bland, and Hugh Mercer had originally intended medicine as their careers early in life. George Washington's medical history is also included.

Cartwright, John. *American Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain*. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776.

This is the first American edition of this work, which appeared in England two years earlier. The English social reformer advocates American independence within a loose union, which he said would be advantageous to both countries.

Colbey, Stephen. *Account Book, 1772–1812*.

This manuscript ledger contains the accounts of a Poplin, New Hampshire, wigmaker. The initial entries record wigmaking, dressing, and mending, as well as shaving, for various customers. Later entries suggest that Colbey took up farming, possibly as wigs went out of fashion. These later entries involve hauling of wood and the sale of cider and vinegar.

Corona delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne. Venice: Ferdinando Ongania, 1876.

Originally published in Venice by Cesare Vecellio in 1600, this scarce reprint elucidates various stitches and needlework methods in the production of lace.

Faulkner, Dana. *Account Book, 1782–1805*.

This manuscript daybook records the work of a hatmaker in Sturbridge, Massachusetts. Names of customers are listed with numerous orders for manufacture of felt and beaver hats. Credits to the accounts are also recorded, with various poetic and religious observations being added during later periods.

Davie, W. Galsworth, and E. Guy Dawber. *Old Cottages, Farm-Houses, and Other Stone Buildings in the Cotswold District*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1905.

This volume surveys examples of minor domestic architecture in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Northants, and the Worcestershire regions of England and is illustrated with 100 plates. An introductory account of architecture in the district is included.

Letter: Gov. Patrick Henry, Williamsburg, to County Lieutenant of Berkeley County, Virginia, November 19, 1777.

This correspondence concerns the provision of guards for prisoners being sent to the commonwealth's prisoner of war camp in the extreme west, which was considered safe from British invasion.

Kentish Gazette (Canterbury, England: Simmons & Kirkby).

This newspaper issue, dated October 23–October 26, 1776, includes a dateline from Williamsburg, listing Virginia's representatives (George Wythe, Thomas Nelson, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and Francis Lightfoot Lee) to the newly formed Continental Congress in Philadelphia. There is also news of the Revolutionary War, as well as reports from General Howe.

LeClerc, Sebastien. *The Art of Drawing without a Master*. London: R. Sayer, 1786.

This rarely seen work was originally translated and published in England by Carrington Bowles in the 1760s as a popular drawing manual for amateurs. A series of lessons demonstrates, through drawings and abbreviated text, the component elements in representation of the human figure. In the 1760s, Thomas Nelson of Yorktown owned a copy of the Bowles edition.

Letter: Richard Henry Lee, Chantilly, Virginia, to Gen. William Whipple, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, July 27, 1783.

Lee recommends the merits of his son Thomas, who is undertaking business at Dumfries, and suggests that New England merchants carrying cargoes to the British West Indies and Europe might want tobacco, flour, and wheat from Virginia. Whipple, a member of the Continental Congress and signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the successful owner of a commercial shipping business.

Manuscript receipt book, ca. 1825–1850.

Probably of English origin, this extensive and varied volume by an anonymous compiler, contains formulas for colored inks, gold lacquer, and furniture polish, together with poisons for rats, mice, and ants. Also included are remedies for burns and chilblains and recipes for antiscorbutic drops, tooth powder, cough medicine, various pills and liniments, as well as eau de cologne and "Miss Crossley's scented powder." Clippings from English newspapers concerning bookbinding and portraits by Titian are tipped in.

McAll Collection:

a. Burwell, George H. Record of the Burwell Family. Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1908.

Traces the family, which settled on Carter's Creek, Gloucester County, Virginia, about 1640. Family connections and properties are described, including Kingsmill, Carter's Grove, Carter Hall, and Greenway Court.

b. Copper engraving plate for calling card of Mrs. Reginald L. McAll.

c. Folder marked "Family Correspondence" dating to ca. 1916, which includes 19 letters and notes.

d. Three unidentified photographs.

McCulloch, Henry. *Proposals for Uniting the British Colonies on the Continent of America*. London: J. Wilkie, 1757.

This is one of the earliest proposals for union of the British colonies in North America, written by a sometime resident of North Carolina. Archibald Kennedy and Benjamin Franklin preceded him in proposing such a union. McCulloch sought a single tax for the colonies, uniform currency, and other centralizing measures. Written at the height of the French and Indian War, the document argues that England should be more cordial in dealings with the Indians in order to win them away from French influence.

Letter: George Purdie, Smithfield, Virginia, October 26, 1789, concerning shipment of tobacco from Smithfield and Gray's Creek.

He also inquires about current prices of tobacco hogsheads and their transport to London.

Log book of sermons.

This manuscript log was recorded by Nancy Moore Strayhorn Craig (1814–1889) of Orange County, North Carolina, between 1833 and 1888. It consists of a series of small pamphlets bound together and records sermon synopses from New Hope Presbyterian Church. Significant events in Craig's personal life and names of ministers preaching at New Hope are also interspersed through the piece.

Isaac Scholfield Collection, 1798–1824.

These materials were created by a Boston firm of carpet and Oriental rug merchants and include:

a. Daybook, April 1798–October 1803, with entries concerning orders made by Isaac Scholfield.

b. Daybook, October 1803–November 1821, showing accounts for Charles Scholfield.

c. Letterbook, 1822–1832, containing Isaac Scholfield's correspondence.

d. Daybook, January 2, 1823–December 1824, including general entries for the firm.

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

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