Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

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A City in Revolution

The World Turned Upside Down: Williamsburg During the War of Independence

by Kevin Kelly

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A Colonial Williamsburg Adventure
REVOLUTIONARY City

By ten o'clock on the morning of July 15, 1779, the free citizens and inhabitants of Williamsburg had finally gathered in front of the James City County/Williamsburg courthouse. They were in a sullen and angry mood. Several concerned residents, not the town's officials, had called this extraordinary town meeting. At issue was the frightful state of the economy.

After nearly four years of war, imported goods were costly and in short supply and the demands of the Continental Congress to provide the army with food and clothing had driven the price of those necessities to new heights. Moreover, Virginia's paper currency was rapidly depreciating.

During the meeting, merchants were roundly condemned for hoarding scarce goods; others blamed the greed of unpatriotic citizens; and all in attendance agreed that unless something was done to reverse the situation, inevitable ruin would ensue. A committee of five men, headed by Col. James Innes, was elected to draft the necessary address and resolutions.

At the same hour the next morning, the townspeople once again assembled at the courthouse to hear the draft proposal. It began by praising the sacrifice of patriotic Virginians both on the battlefield and on the home front. It went on to state that the only hope Great Britain (and those enemies within) had for victory was the economic collapse of the Commonwealth. This possibility was so real that drastic measures were necessary to confront the threat.

The proposal's key measures were a set of fixed, "fair and just" prices for farm produce, imported goods such as rum and pepper, and everyday necessities such as shoes, firewood, and soap. To enforce these prices, a committee of inspection and observation was to be elected. Anyone caught demanding more, or even willingly paying more, than the set price was to be publicly named as "inimical to the rights and liberties of America."

After the drafting committee's address and resolutions were read twice and debated, they were unanimously accepted and the committee of inspection and observation was elected. Nothing more was heard of this committee, and Williamsburg's action did little to stop the collapse of Virginia's paper money. By 1781, when the legislature finally repudiated it, the scale of depreciation of the virtually worthless paper money stood at a thousand paper dollars to one silver dollar.

Also in this issue . . .

The mood of Williamsburg's citizens two years earlier, on October 30, 1777, had been much different. For several days, rumors circulated in the city that the Continental Army had scored a great victory at Saratoga, New York. At three o'clock in the afternoon, confirmation of British Gen. John Burgoyne's defeat and the surrender of his entire army of nine thousand was received at military headquarters in Williamsburg.

Word quickly spread throughout the town as the regular soldiers formed up in Benjamin Powell's woods. As their parade reached the Capitol, the city's militia joined it. Together the two forces marched down Duke of Gloucester Street, which was lined with cheering men, women, and children, to the Market Square. There, Gen. Thomas Nelson, the speakers of the lower and upper houses of the General Assembly, and the city fathers reviewed them. After the review, there were thirteen discharges of cannon, three volleys from the infantry, and three huzzahs from all present.

The importance of this victory was not lost on those in the crowd who closely followed the news of the war, for it was widely hoped that France would now form an open alliance with the new United States. Later that evening, the city was illuminated and the news of the victory was celebrated with ringing bells, drinking, and gunfire.

On December 13, in accordance with Gov. Patrick Henry's proclamation, the town's citizens again celebrated the victory at a sober thanksgiving service at Bruton Parish Church. If there was a high-water mark in the townspeople's experience of the war, this was it. By the war's end, Williamsburg and the lives of its citizens would be profoundly changed.

The war began for Williamsburg in the predawn hours of April 21, 1775. Under cover of darkness, Lt. Henry Collins, a British naval officer acting on orders from Governor Dunmore, sent a detachment of men to Williamsburg to remove fifteen half barrels of gunpowder from the Magazine. Their movement out of town was discovered and an alarm was sounded. As men rushed onto the streets, their fear that the city was on fire gave way to anger. Williamsburg's independent company assembled and many urged it to march on the Governor's Palace and demand the return of the powder. However, Peyton Randolph and other town leaders counseled moderation and their words were heeded.

No sooner had a tense calm been restored than word reached Williamsburg that British troops and Massachusetts militiamen had fired on each other at Lexington and Concord. Events quickly swirled out of control. Independent companies mobilized and the Palace was fortified. In the early hours of June 8, Lord Dunmore, in fear of his life, abandoned the Palace and sought refuge on a British warship on the York River. In slightly more than a month's time, life as Williamsburg residents had known it came to an end. Old friendships were strained and families divided as former loyalties were questioned and new ones demanded.

By July, Williamsburg had become an armed camp with more than two hundred independent militiamen stationed in and around the city. During the summer and fall, the presence of armed soldiers, flushed with initial enthusiasm for the patriot cause, precipitated a number of unfortunate incidents that disturbed the peace.

Petty pilfering was a constant irritant; fence rails disappeared into campfires; and the trees in Benjamin Powell's woodlot were used for target practice. Furthermore, troops eagerly intimidated those they judged as poorly committed to the rebellion.

Armed members of Williamsburg's independent company confronted the Rev. Thomas Gwatkin in his lodgings at the College of William and Mary because they objected to his outspoken support of the governor. Joshua Hardcastle, after uttering some intemperate remarks at a tavern, was dragged before a mock court martial that threatened to give him a "coat of thickset" (tar and feathers). Soldiers demanded that Robert Prentis, clerk to the receiver general, Deputy Auditor General John Blair, and Postmaster John Dixon swear not to release any royal revenue without the soldiers' approval. In the face of this intimidation, a number of other townsfolk, such as Dr. George Pitt and Attorney General John Randolph, who could not bring themselves to be disloyal to their king, felt compelled to go into exile in Great Britain.

As the tense stand off of the summer and early fall of 1775 gave way to open warfare in late autumn, tensions increased in Williamsburg. A steady stream of prisoners of war and Tories arrested because of their political views were carted through town to the Public Gaol. While some, such as the elderly William Aitcheson, a Norfolk merchant, were paroled, most were not. Those thought to hold the most dangerous views were kept in close confinement for months or even years and were a vivid reminder of the price to be paid for loyalty to the crown. Even acts of kindness toward prisoners, such as that Dr. Alexander Middleton provided to Lt. Andrew McCan of the Queen's Rangers in the spring of 1776, were viewed with deep suspicion by townspeople.

Neutrality had quickly become virtually impossible. Yet, at the very same time that Tories were being imprisoned, an unknown number of

Williamsburg slaves escaped their rebel masters and sought the freedom Dunmore held out to them if they joined his army.

The spring and summer of 1776 were seasons of high excitement in Williamsburg. The Fifth Virginia Convention, meeting at the Capitol, declared the colony independent on May 15 and approved a declaration of rights and a state constitution in June.

The excitement peaked on July 25. In the afternoon, amid military parades, the discharge of cannons, and the firing of small arms, the Declaration of Independence was "solemnly" proclaimed to the cheers of the townspeople at the Capitol, the Courthouse, and the Palace. The celebration continued into the evening with the town's illumination. Undoubtedly, toasts were given and drunk by revelers at the Eagle (formerly King's Arms) Tavern.

With Lord Dunmore's departure from the Chesapeake Bay on August 5, excitement subsided, and citizens soon settled into a new routine. Gov. Patrick Henry and his staff were in residence at the Palace, and the rhythm of the new central government asserted itself. The courts soon resumed sitting, and the General Assembly of the new Commonwealth met for the first time in Williamsburg in October 1776. Thereafter, it reassembled regularly in May and October.

Added to this was the general bustle of a military headquarters. Wagons rumbled to and from the two public storehouses in and near town. Newly enlisted and furloughed soldiers awaiting assignment bivouacked near the city. The Gaol continued to house military prisoners along with the usual criminals.

The most notorious prisoner was Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton of Detroit. Known as the "Hair Buyer" because of his aggressive use of Indian allies, Hamilton had been captured by George Rogers Clark at Vincennes on February 24, 1779. Clark sent Hamilton and his garrison under guard to Williamsburg.

At word of Hamilton's arrival on the evening of July 17, a crowd of townspeople quickly gathered and taunted him as he was escorted to jail. However, not everyone in Williamsburg heaped scorn on Hamilton, who later recalled that, had it not been for the kindness of James and Frances Hubard, his suffering would have been far worse.

Many of the men of Williamsburg answered the call to war. Blacksmith James Anderson was appointed captain of the Commonwealth's Company of Artificers. His duties took him to Richmond to be closer to the supply center at Point of Fork. Edmund Dickenson, a cabinetmaker and member of the local Masonic lodge, received an officer's commission in the First Virginia Regiment.

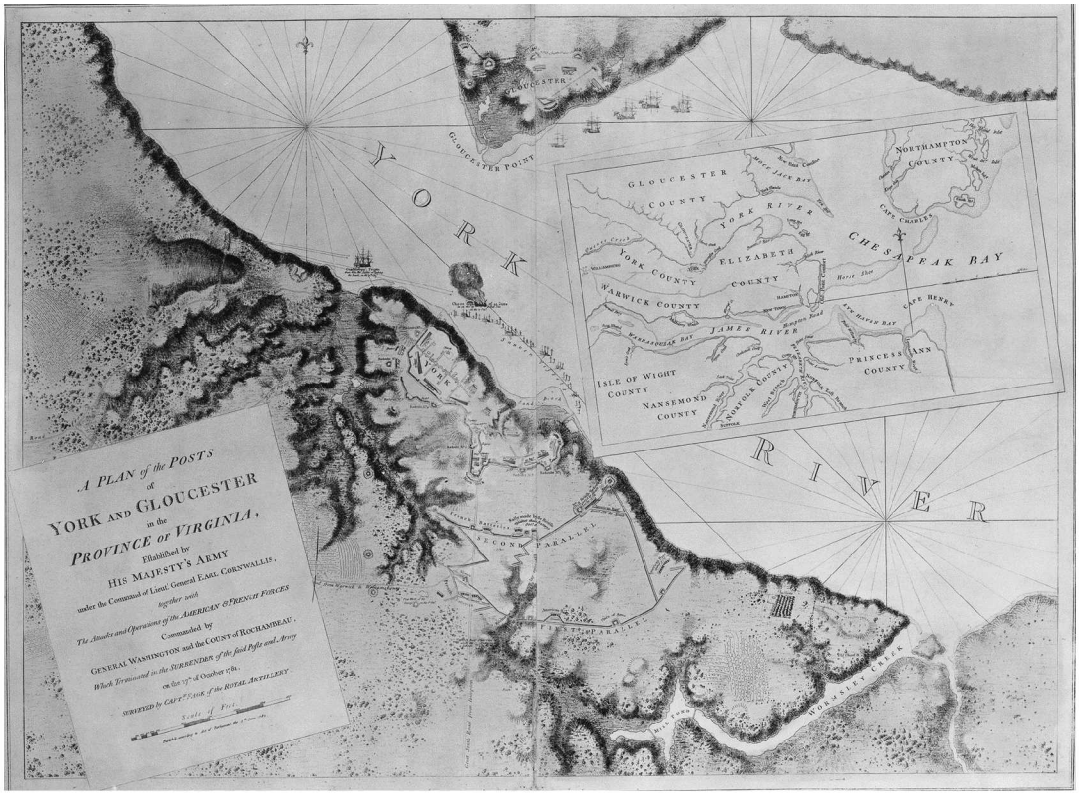
Watercolor portrait of Edmund Dickinson (CWF 2000-100). Probably executed in Williamsburg about 1770, this watercolor portrait of Edmund Dickinson is one of the few likenesses we have of an eighteenth-century American tradesman.

Henry Nicholson, who as a fourteen-year-old commanded a group of boys who played at soldiering in 1775, volunteered to join Virginia's Corps of Horse in 1778. On the recommendation of General Nelson, a number of the town's citizens raised the money to equip Nicholson and three other young men of the city. John J. Carter, a local publican, and James Purdie, the eldest son of Alexander Purdie, both served in the Continental line.

Not surprisingly, Williamsburg residents closely followed the course of the war as it was reported in the newspapers; but news from the front lines was so slow to arrive and was often misleading. At times it was better to get information from returning veterans. After his enlistment was up, John Carter returned to Williamsburg and regaled his customers with tales of the Battle of Trenton.

Unfortunately, news from the battlefields was sometimes all too true. Word reached Williamsburg by August 4, 1778, that Major Dickenson had been killed at the Battle of Monmouth on June 28. The August 2, 1780, issue of the *Virginia Gazette* reported that young James Purdie died on board a British prison ship in New York harbor. Perhaps it was fortunate his father had died in April 1779 without knowing his son's fate.

Through the late 1770s, the failing economy rivaled the war as the major concern. When the



"A Plan of the Posts of York and Gloucester in the Province of Virginia" (CWF 1955-485). The work of cartographer Edward Fage, this 1782 map was meant for the use of the British Navy rather than for public consumption.

city's residents met on July 17, 1779, to tackle the problem of inflation, they had an additional reason to worry about their economic future. The General Assembly, which had adjourned less than a month earlier, had voted to move the capital to Richmond in the spring of 1780. There had been periodic efforts to relocate the capital since mid-century, but the strength of the Tidewater councilors in the upper house had blocked those attempts.

The new constitutional government, put in place in 1776, seriously weakened the influence of the Tidewater interests because the new Senate, unlike the colonial upper house, included members from the western parts of the state. Furthermore, the new General Assembly reversed Great Britain's late colonial policy of not creating new counties in Virginia.

By May 1779, delegates from eleven new western counties sat in the House of Delegates. Friends of Williamsburg also lost two votes when Jamestown and the college were denied representation in the new assembly. The appearance of a British fleet in the Bay, in early May 1779, probably spurred the western delegates to action. Citing the need for a more centrally located capital, as well as Williamsburg's exposure to an attack, they carried the day.

When the last General Assembly that would meet in Williamsburg convened on October 4, 1779, rumors that it might reverse the previous decision gave faint hope to some townsfolk. But those hopes died as it became clear the decision to move the capital would go forward.

When the assembly finally adjourned on Christmas Eve, the holiday spirit was absent from many Williamsburg homes. There was little anyone could do but wait for the inevitable to happen. On March 25, 1780, formal notice was published that the business of the executive branch of government would cease in Williamsburg on April 7 and would resume in Richmond on the 24th.

As if the capital's relocation was not bad enough, Williamsburg was to face even more wartime troubles. Until 1780, Williamsburg had avoided the full brunt of the war; but that seemed about to change. In August 1777, a British fleet carrying Gen. William Howe's army to Head of Elk entered the Chesapeake Bay. Six hundred soldiers, including a company of college students, quickly mustered at Williamsburg; and by the end of August, 4,000 soldiers were encamped around the capital. They were soon sent home, however, when the British threat diminished.

Then, on May 8, 1779, a British expeditionary force sailed into the Bay and captured Portsmouth and Norfolk. Again, the city militia and the col-

lege company mustered and joined the 1,800 soldiers stationed near Yorktown. Not intending to stay, the British withdrew on May 24.

Later, on October 20, 1780, Gen. Alexander Leslie led an invasion force of 2,200 into Virginia: British troops were landed at Newport News, and British cavalry units patrolled within fifteen miles of Williamsburg. Again the British stay was brief. Leslie departed the region on November 22 in response to urgent orders sending him to Charleston, South Carolina. Although alarming, these brief intrusions caused only minor disruption in Williamsburg.

That changed in late December 1780, when newly commissioned British Gen. Benedict Arnold led another invasion force of 1,800 troops into Virginia. Unlike the earlier British armies, this one planned to stay. To make his intentions clear, Arnold led a lightning strike up the James River, capturing Richmond before settling into his winter quarters at Portsmouth on January 19. In response, 3,700 Virginia militiamen were stationed near Fredericksburg, Cabin Point, and Williamsburg. On March 26, Gen. William Phillips reinforced Arnold with 2,600 more troops.

The presence of a large British force nearby heartened the spirits of several Williamsburg residents who had become disillusioned with the patriot cause. In March, William Hunter, a former printer, was able to slip in and out of Portsmouth to provide the British with important intelligence; and on April 18, 1781, Phillips and Arnold began their spring offensive. Encountering little resistance, the British occupied Williamsburg two days later.

With the willing guidance of the veteran John J. Carter, they captured and burned the shipyard on the Chickahominy River. After remaining in town for two days, Phillips and Arnold continued on to Petersburg where, on May 20, Maj. Gen. Charles, Earl Cornwallis, joined them with his southern army and took command of a combined army of approximately 7,000 soldiers.

Arnold's invasion caught Virginia off guard, and Cornwallis's arrival compounded the problem for Virginians. A widespread panic set in across the Commonwealth, reaching a peak in early June, when Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton nearly caught the entire General Assembly napping at Charlottesville. After these raids, Cornwallis pulled his troops back toward the Tidewater. Gen. Marquis de Lafayette, at the head of a small band of Continental troops, cautiously followed him. On June 25, Cornwallis's army reached Williamsburg: the city was occupied for the second time.

Cornwallis established his headquarters at the President's House at the college. President Rev. James Madison and his wife, Sally, were forced to lodge in the main building of the college. Other senior officers secured housing elsewhere in town, while the army of 7,000 camped in and around the city. With the army were several hundred runaway slaves who sought freedom with the British, as well as a small number of loyalist refuges with their families.

The army spent ten days in Williamsburg resting and replenishing its supplies. Cattle drivers soon herded nearly one hundred cattle and two hundred sheep into town. Army carters brought in wagonloads of shelled corn, hundreds of pounds of bacon, and 150 gallons of rum. William Plum lost a valuable inventory of tanned leather.

On July 4, the British marched off toward Jamestown and, eventually, Portsmouth, leaving behind several soldiers ill with smallpox and what St. George Tucker called a "plague" of stinging flies. Before the townspeople could recover from the occupation, Cornwallis returned; and on August 2, his advance guard landed at Yorktown only twelve miles from Williamsburg.

Cornwallis's occupation of Williamsburg brought to a head the ambivalence many of the city's residents felt toward the patriot cause even after, or because of, six years of war. Slaves of Dr. James McClurg and James Cocke ran away with the British. Other slaves may have as well.

Convinced the British would win the war, William Hunter openly joined them in June. So, too, did James Hubard, who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to Virginia in 1777. That action resulted in a brief imprisonment and the destruction of his law practice. By 1781, the Hubard family, which was divided over the father's action, lived in greatly reduced circumstances. Hubard may have joined the British simply as a way out of an intolerable situation.

Others also willingly assisted the occupying troops. As an excuse not to muster with the city's militia, some probably used the parole Cornwallis insisted all men of military age take, which allowed them to remain free on their promise not to take up arms against the British. Their actions earned them the censure of their neighbors. Two were arrested for "disaffection," and the city's Common Council urged the Commonwealth to punish the rest.

Decisions made in the West Indies and New York soon ended the uneasy standoff between Cornwallis and Lafayette. When word reached Washington that the French fleet in the West Indies was sailing to the Chesapeake Bay, he marched the allied army south in hopes of trapping Cornwallis. The fleet reached Virginia on August 31, 1781; and on September 5, a French army of 3,000 landed at Jamestown Island.

On September 7, Lafayette moved his troops into position just east of Williamsburg. When Washington and French General Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on September 14, Washington established his headquarters at George Wythe's house, while Rochambeau settled in at Betty Randolph's. The first element of the American army landed at College Landing on September 20. Within six days, a combined allied army of 16,000 was encamped all around the city. Once again the town was engulfed by the war.

The next three weeks saw a whirlwind of activity in Williamsburg. As a secure rear area, the city served as an important supply depot and evacuation point. Refugees from Yorktown made their way here. Both the Americans and the French established their main hospitals in Williamsburg; the French housed their sick and wounded at the college, while the Americans housed their disabled soldiers at the Palace. The total number of sick and wounded carried to Williamsburg is not known, but at least four hundred were still hospitalized there when the siege of Yorktown ended.

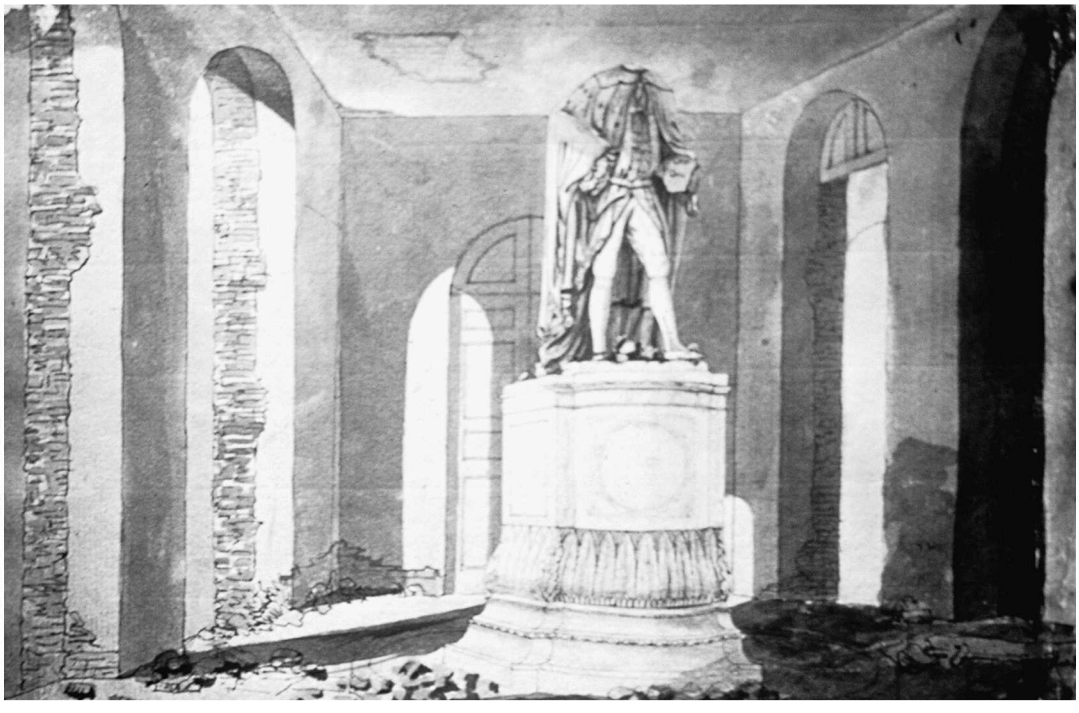
On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis formally surrendered. After a few days' rest, the defeated British soldiers marched through Williamsburg on their way to prison camps in western Virginia and Maryland. Undoubtedly, many Williamsburg residents relished the changed condition of these once proud soldiers who, just a few months earlier, had been masters of the city.

On November 6, the victorious American army marched through on the way back to New York. Shortly thereafter, Rochambeau's French army took up its winter quarters in fields east and west of town, and its commander set up his headquarters at George Wythe's home.

Although fire was a great hazard of urban life in wartime, Williamsburg had, until 1781, managed to escape its worst terrors. In April 1779, a fire had broken out on the roof of a house near Market Square, but it was quickly extinguished and caused little damage. On November 23, 1781, the President's House at the college caught fire; but although the house was gutted, the twenty-three hospitalized French officers were safely evacuated, and the French kept the fire from spreading to the main college building.

A month later, at eleven o'clock on the night of December 22, a fire was discovered in the basement of the Palace. The sick and wounded Americans were carried to safety with the loss of only one life, but the fire burned with such intensity that the Palace was completely consumed within three hours. Flaming embers from that fire rained down on all the houses along Palace Green; but again, the alert French prevented further destruction, climbing out onto roofs to smother the hot coals. In the morning,

Latrobe watercolor of the Lord Botetourt Statue in the Piazza of the Second Capitol (from the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society). Benjamin Latrobe's late-eighteenth-century drawing of Lord Botetourt's statue and the ruinous condition of the Capitol gives an idea of Williamsburg's diminishing status after 1780.



the American invalids were moved to the empty Capitol. To comprehend the loss of these two buildings so soon after Cornwallis's surrender, townsfolk rumored that either slaves or Virginians still harboring Tory sentiments must have set the fire.

When the French army finally departed in late July 1782, the war went with them, but its impact remained. As the townspeople went about their daily business, they passed many vacant houses and deserted shops. Except for an occasional admiralty court, the Capitol stood locked and empty. A few people were salvaging bricks from the rubble that was once the Palace.

Repair work had begun at the college, but it was some time before the president and his wife could move back in. The vestry of Bruton Parish had to cope with the loss of public taxes that had supported the church before the war; and with fewer visitors coming to town, the number of taverns declined.

A city that was once a thriving center for nearly forty rival merchants could boast of less than half that number in 1782. By 1782, Williamsburg had lost more than a quarter of its prewar population and would lose even more in the following decades.

When word came announcing the general peace between Great Britain and the United States, the citizens of Williamsburg, despite their losses and an uncertain future, put on a celebration that equaled any they had ever done. On May 1, 1783, they gathered at the Courthouse and, after reading Congress's proclamation, formed a parade, led by four flag bearers and a mounted herald. Next came the city sergeant carrying the city mace, followed by the mayor, the recorder with the charter, and the city clerk with the plan of the city. Behind these officials marched the aldermen and common councilors two by two.

To the pealing of the college, church, and Capitol bells, the parade moved to the college, where the proclamation was read again. It then reversed course and proceeded to the Capitol, where the proclamation was read a final time. The war-weary but jubilant citizens spent the rest of the day toasting the independence that had been so hopefully declared in the old Capitol in May 1776 and remembering the hand they had played in making the Revolution happen.

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Seeing Double: Colonial Williamsburg's Two Miniature Portraits of Lord Dunmore

by Barbara Luck

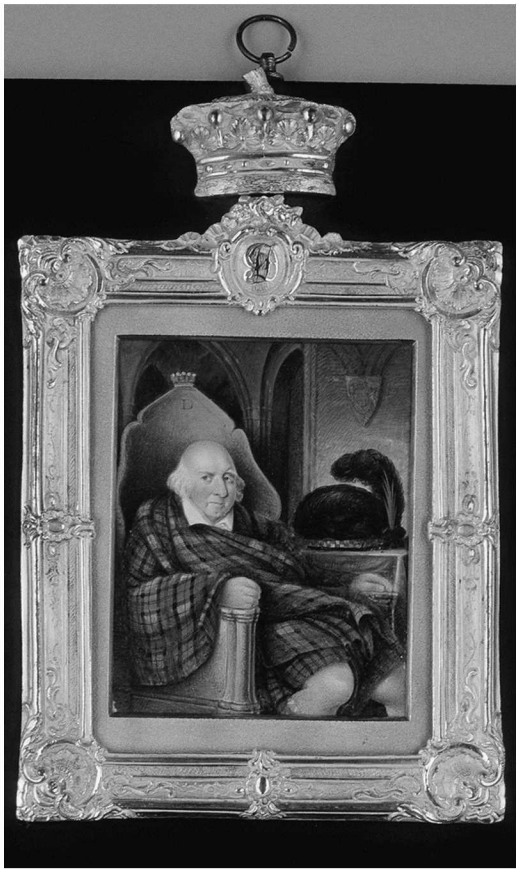
Barbara is curator of paintings, drawings, and sculpture in the Museums Division.

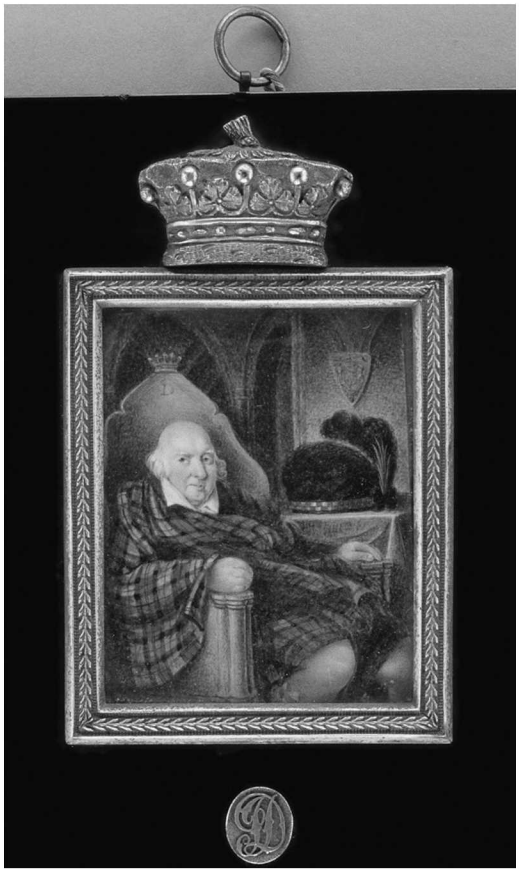
Undoubtedly, the appearance of John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore (1730–1809), is best known to both Britons and Americans through Sir Joshua Reynolds's full-length oil portrait of 1765. Rightly so, as the painting was an impressive accomplishment on Reynolds's part, and it shows the subject at perhaps the apex of his physical prowess, five years before his appointment as Virginia's last royal governor. Occasionally overlooked is the fact that, for many years, Reynolds's portrait was the only likeness of Dunmore known to art historians.[1]

In 2003, Colonial Williamsburg acquired, from different sources, two nearly identical miniature portraits of Dunmore in old age. "Two," you say? No department has money to burn, and it may seem baffling that the Department of Collections could justify the acquisition of two such similar objects. Actually, the kindness of three people and the stipulations of two made the double acquisition an easy decision. The owner of one miniature thoughtfully donated part of its value, and donors Betty Leviner and John Hyman generously offered to underwrite the remainder of its cost—*provided* Collections pay for the other example. Wonderful! But just how does Collections intend to use two? That answer is easy, too.

Curators and other students seldom have the luxury of studying two look-alike objects at leisure. In this case, questions about why, when, and by whom the two were made can only be addressed by

Portrait Miniatures of Lord Dunmore (2003-58, 2003-61). Lord Dunmore "A" (left) has a more elaborate frame, but the inscription on the paper dustcover on its back gives an incorrect age for Dunmore. Lord Dunmore "B" (right) has a more modest frame, but the inscription on its back possibly identifies the original owner of the miniature and was in the hands of a direct, fifth-generation descendant until 2003 when Colonial Williamsburg acquired it.





close, frequent study and long-term research (and at this point, much remains speculative). In short, ownership promotes the careful probing warranted by the scarcity of images of Dunmore and by his prominent role in Virginia's history.

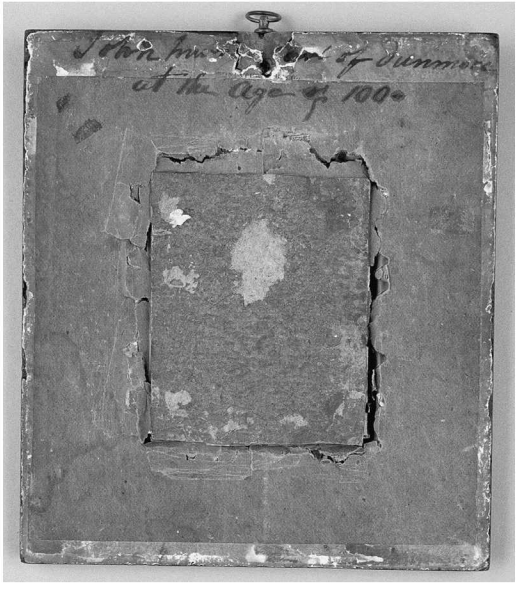
Light sensitivity of the materials is another important factor. Responsible stewardship dictates that ephemeral media such as these watercolors-on-ivory be exposed to light only briefly and at relatively lengthy intervals. With two images, viewing opportunities are doubled.[2]

This unusual acquisition story begins with local, private collector Charles Driscoll, who mentioned that he had spied one of the miniatures at a Philadelphia antiques show where it was confidently identified as Dunmore's likeness.

Contact with the dealer revealed that the miniature was still for sale and could be shipped on approval. But confusingly (at the time), its known history, or provenance, included no mention of the Murray family descendant from whom the Department of Collections had briefly borrowed such a miniature for study and photography purposes in 1978. Were we talking about one widely traveled miniature or a surprisingly similar duo? Even photo documentation left that question unclear.

Happily, Collections succeeded in recontacting the Murray family descendant who had loaned his miniature to the Foundation a quarter-century earlier. He was surprised to learn of a second. Furthermore, although he had been unwilling to sell his miniature in 1978, he now offered it. Suddenly not one but two Dunmore portraits were available!

As part of the decision-making process, both miniatures were brought to Collections for examination. Side-by-side comparisons revealed some interesting distinctions. Both likenesses are enclosed in fashionable, seemingly original, flat, japanned, papier-mâché frames whose cast-copper-alloy ornaments include the letter "D" (for Dunmore) and an earl's coronet. However, the frame on "A" is not only larger, its brass ornamentation is more elaborate and gilded—unlike "B's."[3] British miniature scholar Richard Allen identifies the frame on "A" as having been made by H. J. Hatfield, a London framer still in active business. (A remnant of a press-printed label on the reverse may be this firm's). The stylistically related but smaller, plainer frame on "B" is believed to have come from a different, unidentified source.



Miniature "A" is slightly larger than "B," but the images themselves correspond remarkably closely in terms of composition. They, however, diverge sufficiently in terms of technical execution to suggest two different artists. For instance, to create the illusion of three-dimensional form, "A" depends more heavily on stroking, hatching, and cross-hatching, whereas "B" relies more on stippling, a painting technique that uses dots of color for effect. A dealer who once owned miniature "A" purportedly attributed it to Scottish-born engraver and miniaturist William Douglas (1780–1832), but thus far, not enough of Douglas's work has been found, much less examined, to substantiate or refute the claim. No artist has yet been proposed for "B." Both painters gave Dunmore vivid blue eyes—features best appreciated under a microscope!

According to an inscription (about which more below), Dunmore sat for his miniature the same month he died. If his health was obviously failing before his demise, one can readily imagine the family's haste in securing the services of an artist. Probably that first likeness was then copied for the same reason that, today, we print duplicates of a beloved photo of grandmother for her various children and grandchildren: every descendant wants one. (There may even be more than two of these Dunmore likenesses!)

But which of Colonial Williamsburg's two came first? The classic "chicken-and-egg" question. Miniature "A's" larger size, more ostentatious frame, and crisper execution might argue for its having been the predecessor. Yet a lengthier, more detailed, and more accurate inscription on the reverse of "B" suggests that it was the earlier of the pair.

Following widespread practice, the backs of both framed pictures were sealed by paper dust-covers. Both covers are inscribed, although the hands and words differ. The writing on "A" reads, "John Murray Earl of Dunmore/at the age of 100," the latter an egregious error indicating that the inscriber bore no close relationship to

the subject and suggesting that the writing was added long after the earl's last breath.[4]

In contrast, one of the several inscriptions on "B" reads, "D[uche]ss of Sussex's/Picture of her Beloved/Father John Murray/Earl of Dunmore/ Taken in Febry 1809."[5] While also likely added later, it includes a fairly specific date. It also identifies an early (possibly the original) owner of the picture: the earl's second daughter, Augusta (1761–1830), who, in 1793, had defied the express wishes of the Court by marrying George III's sixth son, Prince Augustus Frederick, created Duke of Sussex in 1801.[6]

Still another inscription on "B" (but in a later hand) reads, "Property of Alexandrine A. Murray/1870," thus providing an important link in a plausible line of descent. Alexandrine Amelia Murray was Augusta's great-niece, the granddaughter of Augusta's brother Alexander (1764–1842) and his wife, Deborah Hunt.

Although miniature "A" is reputed to have "come out of the family" ultimately, it passed through at least three dealers' hands over the course of several decades before it finally reached Williamsburg. Only miniature "B" retains any stretches of traceable family inheritance, and its last private owner was a direct, fifth-generation descendant of Dunmore.

For reasons still unknown to the writer, Lord and Lady Dunmore took up residence near Ramsgate, Isle of Thanet, Kent, in later life. Both died there and were buried in a vault in the local Church of St. Lawrence, Lady Dunmore surviving until November 11, 1818.[7]

Thanks to former Historic Area Interpreter Holly Yohe and her Scottish friend Sandra Mitchell, Colonial Williamsburg has recorded a striking, full-scale, half-length portrait of Lady Dunmore by an unidentified artist, a painting still owned by a family descendant. A "1779" date on the front of it does not refer to the date of its execution, however, as the subject is quite elderly and wears mourning attire (probably for her husband).

Compositionally and stylistically, this work bears no relationship to either miniature of Lord Dunmore. But at Dacor Bacon House in Washington, D.C.,[8] a miniaturized derivation from it, possibly made in the late nineteenth century, is displayed in a simplified version of the frame enclosing Colonial Williamsburg's miniature "B."

The facts and speculation summarized here represent only the tip of the iceberg in terms of research on Dunmore's biography and this fascinating duo of late-life miniatures. Much remains to be learned, and the writer welcomes feedback and insights from her colleagues.

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[1] Reynolds's portrait was acquired for the permanent collections of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, in 1992, after having been on loan there since 1938. Inexplicably, Reynolds was never paid for the large (94 x 57½-inch) painting, and Dunmore never collected it. In fact, there is no evidence of it at Dunmore Park before 1827, leading to the conclusion that the family only acquired it in the nineteenth century.

[2] The writer is happy to show the miniatures by appointment as, at this writing, both are in storage. They will be on display to the public at a future date, but present, more pressing priorities have delayed that goal.

[3] Colonial Williamsburg metals conservator David Blanchfield reports faint traces of gilding remain on the metal mounts on frame "B," however. The term *ormolu* is sometimes used to describe precious objects or, in this case, components, made of a base metal—usually a copper alloy—that is gilded.

[4] Dunmore's death date is credibly established as February 25, 1809, and his obituary (appearing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1809) gives his age at death as 78. Most sources cite Dunmore's birth year as 1730, a few, 1732. Certainly he died far short of 100!

[5] In the inscription, the word *taken* suggests an image made from life. Nevertheless, both miniatures possess a hint of satire or caricature that is atypical of a straightforward portrait (particularly one commissioned under the presumed "deathbed" circumstances), leading some scholars to muse whether the composition was derived from a period print of some type. The earl sprawls and slumps in his chair in an unseemly manner, which—although conceivably realistic—most sitters would have disdained and most artists would have avoided. Also, there was a relatively small clientele for miniature-scaled, full-length likenesses in detailed settings, which were never as popular as simple close-ups of faces. The busy backgrounds of Dunmore's likenesses compete with his physiognomy for the viewer's attention, pushing the images to the limits of the core definition of portraiture.

[6] In fact, Augusta never legally held the title given in the inscription. Despite the fact that wedding ceremonies were held in both Rome and London and two children were born of the union, the romantic, morganatic marriage was never officially recognized and was declared null and void by a Court of Arches. The couple separated after the second child's birth, and in 1809, the children assumed the surname d'Este. In 1782–1784, a handsome, full-scale, three-quarter-length portrait of Augusta was painted by George Romney (1734–1802), its cost underwritten by Augusta's aunt, Lady Gower (née Susannah Stewart). Sold at Sotheby's in 1967, its present ownership is unknown.

[7] Their daughter Augusta was buried there as well.

[8] The writer is indebted to actor/interpreter Phil Shultz (who has often portrayed Dunmore) for the discovery of Dacor Bacon House, a structure on the National Register of Historic Places located two blocks from the White House. The house, now administered by the Dacor Bacon House Foundation, was last privately owned and occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Low Bacon. Mrs. Bacon (née Virginia Murray) was a direct descendant of Dunmore's, and the house's furnishings include many of her family portraits, both original and replicas.

Who Was Who in the World of 1776

King George III

Had been on the throne for sixteen years since the death of his grandfather George II in 1760 (crowned in Westminster Abbey on September 22, 1761). Born in 1738, his majesty was thirty-eight years old on June 4, 1776. Married German Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz on September 8, 1761. In 1776, Queen Charlotte was thirty-two years old (born on May 17, 1744). Her interest in the support and enlargement of the royal botanical gardens at Kew earned her the honorary title from her English subjects of the *Queen of Botany*. In 1773, Sir Joseph Banks, director of Kew gardens, named the exotic "Bird of Paradise" plant from the Cape of Good Hope, *Strelitzia reginae*, in honor of the queen.

They had eleven children in 1776:

George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, later King George IV, 14 (born 1762)
Frederick, duke of York, 13 (born 1763)
William Henry, duke of Clarence, later King William IV, 11 (born 1765)
Charlotte Augusta Matilda, Princess Royal, 10 (born 1766)
Edward Augustus, duke of Kent, later father of Queen Victoria, 9 (born 1767)
Augusta Sophia, 8 (born 1768)
Elizabeth, 6 (born 1770)
Ernest Augustus, duke of Cumberland, later King of Hanover, 5 (born 1771)
Augustus Frederick, duke of Sussex, 3 (born 1773)
Adolphus Frederick, duke of Cambridge, 2 (born February 24, 1774)
Mary, infant (born April 1776)

First Minister
Frederick Lord North, earl of Guildford

Became First Lord of the Treasury and First Minister in 1770 (the term *prime minister* was rarely used until the middle of the nineteenth century and was not fully recognized as a title for the first minister of state until 1905), a post that he held until 1782; Oxford graduate and a staunch defender of George III and royal power; earlier had served as Chancellor of the Exchequer. North was forty-four years old in 1776.

Secretary of State for the American Colonies
William Legge, earl of Dartmouth (served from 1772 until November 1775)

A separate secretary of state for the colonies was created in 1768 (earlier the responsibility of the colonies was under the secretary of state for the southern department who was also responsible for diplomatic affairs with southern Europe). He was the monarch's chief adviser on the American colonies and, with the Privy Council, had executive control over them. Dunmore and other colonial governors reported directly to the secretary of state.

In 1772, William Legge, second earl of Dartmouth, succeeded Wills Hill, earl of Hillsborough (the first person named to the position). Legge resigned in November 1775 when he was appointed keeper of the Privy Seal. Lord George Germain succeeded Dartmouth in 1775. (With the Treaty of Paris in 1783, the position of American secretary of state was eliminated.)

Lord Dartmouth was forty-five years old in 1776. He succeeded his grandfather as earl in 1750. Dartmouth was appointed First Lord of Trade in the government of Rockingham and served as a member of the Privy Council in 1765. (He was Lord North's half brother.)

Dartmouth's appointment as secretary of state was well received on both sides of the Atlantic. He was known to have a favorable disposition toward the colonies and a desire to conciliate them. Unfortunately for Dartmouth and the colonies, by 1775 the position of secretary in the king's cabinet had been trimmed of much of its power to influence affairs in America. Hard liners, such as President of the Privy Council Lord Gower (Dunmore's brother-in-law) were much more influential.

Lord George Germain (served from the end of 1775 until 1783)

Appointed as Secretary of State for the American colonies upon the resignation of Lord Dartmouth. He served in this capacity throughout the Revolutionary War, which made him one of the primary ministers responsible for suppressing the rebellion in America.

Oddly enough, Germain's military career will probably be best (or worst) remembered for what he did not do at the battle of Minden (Germany) in 1759. Prince Ferdinand several times ordered Germain to charge the British cavalry against the French line. Germain refused to do so, and lost the opportunity for a much more decisive English victory. A court-martial found him guilty of failure to obey orders and "unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatsoever." Another one of history's little ironies!

First Lord of the Admiralty
John Montagu, fourth earl of Sandwich

Originally served as first lord of the Admiralty (cabinet minister in charge of the British navy) from 1748 to 1751. Appointed again in 1771 and served until 1782 during the administration of Lord North including the years of the American Revolution. Explorer Capt. James Cook named the Sandwich (later Hawaiian) Islands after him. An avid gambler, Montagu supposedly popularized the bread-and-meat concoction that bears his name so he wouldn't have to leave the gaming table for a meal. Born in 1718, he was fifty-eight years old in 1776.

Note: Capt. George Montagu (1750–1829) of the *Fowey* and his brother, Capt. James Montagu (1752–1794), of the *King's Fisher,* also in Virginia waters in 1775, were distant kinsmen of the earl. Their father, Rear Admiral John Montagu (1719–1795), was commander-in-chief on the North American station (St. Lawrence River to Florida and the Bahamas) from 1771 until 1774.

Archbishop of Canterbury
Frederick Cornwallis

Appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1768; his twin brother, Edward, served in the army. In 1748, Edward was named captain-general and governor of Nova Scotia and was founder of the city of Halifax; in 1781, a nephew, Charles Lord Cornwallis, surrendered his British troops to George Washington at the Battle of Yorktown. Frederick Cornwallis was sixty-three years old in 1776.

Bishop of London
Richard Terrick

Bishop of London from 1764 to 1777. Since the 1690s, the Church of England abroad (including the American colonies) had become the "extra-diocesan" responsibility of the bishop of London. The board of visitors at the College of William and Mary chose Terrick as chancellor of the college in 1764, a largely honorific office. Nevertheless, Terrick became a strong advocate for the faculty in the late 1760s in its struggle with the board of visitors over the revision of the college statutes.

Lord Mayor of London

John Wilkes, fifty-one-year-old son of a wealthy malt distiller. In 1762, set up an antigovernment newspaper, *The North Briton*, attacking the king and his ministers in several virulent articles; accused of libel by the king and subsequently arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London; eventually lost his seat in Parliament; later fled to France and declared an outlaw. Returned to Britain in 1768 and elected by the county of Middlesex as their representative in the House of Commons, but was denied his seat. Sentenced to prison under the old libel charge, Wilkes was elected alderman to the city of London while in jail.

"John Wilkes Esqr., Member of Parliament for the County of Middlesex, Friend to Liberty, a Lover of his King, opposer of Ministerial Tyranny & Defender of his Country" (CWF 1975-188). Taken from an original painting by R. E. Pine, this print shows Wilkes in 1768 when he had been elected to Parliament as the representative for the county of Middlesex.

Because of his treatment by the king and his supporters, Wilkes became a symbol in both England and America for constitutional rights and freedoms; he supported American protests against Great Britain. Pennsylvania named a town (Wilkes-Barre) for him and Col. Isaac Barré, another opponent of the government. (Barré gave the name *Sons of Liberty* to the colonial protesters.) In 1774, Wilkes was elected Lord Mayor of London and member of parliament from Middlesex.

In March 1776, Wilkes introduced a motion for parliamentary reform that called for redistribution of seats from small corrupt boroughs to the fast-growing industrial areas such as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, arguing that working men should have a share in the power to make laws.

Note: Around the same time, William Lee (1739–1795) and Arthur Lee (1740–1792), the two youngest sons of Thomas Lee of Stratford Hall and brothers of Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee (signers of the Declaration of Independence), lived in London. In fact, William Lee was elected sheriff of London in July 1773 and later was an alderman of the city. After years in England, William (a merchant) and Arthur (who had studied medicine and law) were well acquainted with the political and social life of London. Both brothers risked promising careers in the cause of American independence. From their vantage point in London, they passed on invaluable information about the motives of King George III and parliament to their brothers in America. Watch for "America's First Spies" in the Summer 2006 issue of the *Interpreter*.

Royal Governor of Virginia John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore

Born in Stanley (near Perth), Scotland, in 1730. Elected to the House of Lords in 1761. (Unlike British and English peers who sat in the upper house of Parliament on a hereditary basis, the Scottish peerage was represented by sixteen out of a total of ninety peers who were chosen at every general election by the body of Scottish peerage.) Dunmore had been governor of Virginia since September 1771, coming from the position as governor of New York. He was related to the royal houses of Stuart and Hanover and was forty-six years old in 1776.

In June of 1775, Lord Dunmore, with his family of four daughters and three sons, the youngest, Lady Virginia, being but six months old, took leave of the Palace. Shortly thereafter he sent his family back to England. His lordship remained at his post as royal governor, first in Norfolk and then aboard ship with his "floating city" of loyalists, a limited number of British Regulars, and the Ethiopian Regiment, determined to reduce Virginia to its former sense of loyalty to the crown.

Lady Dunmore

In 1776, Lady Dunmore and her children were all back in Great Britain. The former Lady Charlotte née Stewart was born circa 1740, probably in Wigtonshire, on the south coast of Scotland. She was the youngest of thirteen children of the sixth earl of Galloway. Married John Murray, earl of Dunmore, on February 21, 1759, uniting two powerful Scottish families. Lord and Lady Dunmore were cousins, both related to the Houses of Stuart and Hanover. Lady Dunmore's sister, Susannah, was married to the second earl of Gower, a prominent and influential figure at court who held, among other offices, the title of lord president of the Privy Council.

As of December 3, 1774 (birth of daughter Virginia at the Palace), Lord and Lady Dunmore had nine children, eight of them living (a son William died in England in 1773 at age 10).

Lady Catherine, about 14 years old
Lady Augusta, about 13
George, Lord Fincastle, 12
Alexander, almost 10
John, 8
Lady Susan, about 7
Leveson Granville Keith, born in December 1770, was thought too young to travel and remained in London in the care of his aunt Lady Gower, born Lady Susannah Stewart, wife of Lord Gower, president of the Privy Council.
Lady Virginia, born in the Palace on December 3, 1774

Deputy Secretary of the Colony Councilor Thomas Nelson

[The full secretary of the colony was an English appointee, William Adair, who remained in England.] Attorney; born in Yorktown, Virginia, in 1715, Nelson was sixty-one years old in 1776; trained at Inner Temple, London; a founding member of the Ohio Company; later invested in the Loyal Company; burgess and justice of the peace for York County; named to the Council in 1749; married to Lucy Armistead; at the death of his older brother William Nelson in 1772, Thomas became president (senior member) of the Council; with the formation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Thomas Nelson opposed Patrick Henry for governor, receiving forty-five votes to Henry's sixty. Nelson declined a position on the new Council of State and retired to his home in Yorktown.

Clerk of the Secretary's Office Benjamin Waller

Attorney; clerk and burgess for James City County; vestryman for Bruton Parish; judge of the Vice Admiralty Court; born in King William County, Virginia, in 1716; although elected once to the committee of safety, Waller quit the city of Williamsburg in 1776 to avoid smallpox (which was likely to follow troops who came near or into town). He was sixty years old in 1776. Waller took his family to Brunswick County, returning to Williamsburg for good in 1778. He was promptly named to the executive council and served until 1779, when he was named chief judge of the Court of Admiralty. He held that post until his

death in 1786. The court continued to meet in Williamsburg during his tenure because Waller refused to move to Richmond.

Clerk of the Council and Deputy Auditor General John Blair Jr.

Attorney; son of the late president of the Council John Blair Sr. He later served as a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and as a United States Supreme Court Justice in President Washington's administration. Blair served as the last clerk of the governor's council under Lord Dunmore. Blair was forty-four years old in 1776.

Deputy Receiver General Richard Corbin

Born in Middlesex County, Virginia, in 1714, Corbin was sixty-two years old in 1776 and living in King and Queen County; educated at the College of William and Mary; justice of the peace; vestryman of Stratton Major Parish; member of the House of Burgesses; appointed to the Council in 1749; in 1754, appointed deputy receiver general; related to the Lee family; the most dedicated Tory of the councilors, he declined to join the patriot cause.

Dunmore held a commission from King George III in 1775 making the old councilor lieutenant-governor of Virginia should Lord Dunmore return to England; Dunmore withheld the commission on instructions from Dartmouth in the belief that Corbin would not accept because of his age and situation.

Early in 1776, Corbin, at the behest of Lord Dunmore, acted as go-between in Virginia for a peace proposal from the crown to the colonies. When he took the proposal to the committee of safety, he was informed that all negotiations must be conducted through the Congress. Nothing came of the initiative; Corbin retired during the war "being a very old Man"; his son also leaned to the British side in the conflict.

Commissary of the Bishop of London, President of the College of William and Mary The Reverend John Camm

Born in England; rector of York-Hampton Parish; president of the College of William and Mary; commissary of the bishop of London; member of the Council. He was fifty-nine years old in 1776. The last loyalist on the college faculty, Camm was removed by the board of visitors in 1777. Too old to return to England and with a young wife and five small children, Camm retired to the countryside near Williamsburg where he died in 1779.

Former Attorney General, Former Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court John Randolph

Attorney and member of the House of Burgesses; trained at Middle Temple, London; younger brother of Peyton Randolph; had served as justice of the peace for James City County, mayor of Williamsburg; sided with the loyalists in the Revolution. He, his wife, Ariana, and their two daughters returned to England in the fall of 1775 aboard HMS *Enterprise*. He was the highest-ranking Virginia-born loyalist to remove to England.

Lord Dunmore pressed the Treasury Board for a pension for Randolph, and after his death in January 1784, a pension for Ariana Randolph, who according to Dunmore and others, had been left destitute by her husband's death.

In one of the ironies of the Revolution, John's son, Edmund, served as an aide to Washington, and attorney general and governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia. John Randolph's body was returned to Virginia and interred beneath the chapel at the College of William and Mary.

The Late Speaker of the House of Burgesses Peyton Randolph

Attorney and member of the House of Burgesses; trained at Middle Temple, London; had served as attorney general, vestryman of Bruton Parish, judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty; speaker since November 1766; elected president of the Continental Congress in September of 1774; died in Philadelphia in October 1775, where he was temporarily buried. His body was returned to his native Virginia in 1776 and interred in the crypt beneath the chapel at the College of William and Mary beside his father Sir John. Randolph's counsel and advice in troubled times were missed both in Virginia and Philadelphia.

Clerk of the House George Wythe

Attorney; law teacher; had served as member of the House of Burgesses; later delegate to Continental Congress, signer of the Declaration of Independence, speaker of Virginia's House of Delegates, judge on Virginia's Chancery Court. Much of 1776 found Wythe in Philadelphia at the Continental Congress.

Treasurer of the Colony
Robert Carter Nicholas

Attorney, vestryman of Bruton Parish, staunch Anglican; grandson of Robert "King" Carter; had served as member of Williamsburg's common council, mayor, member of House of Burgesses, justice of the peace for James City County. He continued to serve as treasurer for Virginia until his resignation in December 1776.

Nicholas moved his family to Hanover County during the Revolution. He died there on September 8, 1780. His wife, Anne Nicholas, had returned to Williamsburg by 1783.

Rector of Bruton Parish Church
The Reverend John Bracken

Born in England in 1745; licensed as minister for Amelia County, Virginia, by the bishop of London in 1772; became minister of Bruton Parish in 1773, a post he maintained until 1818; later, served as grammar master, professor, ninth president of the College of William and Mary. In 1776, he married Sally Burwell, daughter of the late Carter Burwell of Carter's Grove, a marriage that elevated him greatly in the social scene of Virginia.

Gaoler for the General Court Prison
Peter Pelham

Born in England in 1721, raised in Boston, moved to Williamsburg in mid-1750s; musician and organist at Bruton Parish Church for more than forty-five years; clerk to committees of the House of Burgesses and to governors Fauquier and Botetourt; stepbrother to artist John Singleton Copley. Pelham was appointed keeper of the public jail by Lord Dunmore late in 1771 and served until about 1780. In 1776, he was fifty-five years old.

Members of the Council

Thomas Nelson, Richard Corbin, John Page, Robert Carter III, William Byrd III, John Tayloe, Robert Burwell, Ralph Wormley, George William Fairfax (in England on personal business), the Rev. John Camm, Gawin Corbin, John Blair Jr., clerk. (Philip Ludwell Lee died in February 1775, and was never replaced.)

After Lord Dunmore left the city, a few of the councilors assembled in October 1775 and again in March 1776. Some sought to maintain their colonial jobs for almost a year. Richard Corbin, for example, attempted to collect quit-rents, Thomas Nelson acted as president of the Council when a few members met on these two occasions, and John Camm remained as president of William and Mary until 1777. Of the four "former" councilors elected to government posts in the new commonwealth—Carter, Tayloe, Nelson, and Page—only Page chose to serve. (Page became president of the Commonwealth's council of state serving basically as lieutenant governor.)

"Governor John Page" (CWF 1930-584, 1). This miniature is tentatively identified as the likeness of John Page of Rosewell. A watercolor on ivory, it was completed between 1780 and 1790 by Charles Willson Peale.

Burgesses representing

Williamsburg: Peyton Randolph
College of William and Mary: John Randolph
York County: Dudley Diggs and Thomas Nelson
James City County: Robert Carter Nicholas and Lewis Burwell

These were the last burgesses from the local area to be elected to serve the colony of Virginia.

Governor of the
Commonwealth of Virginia
Patrick Henry

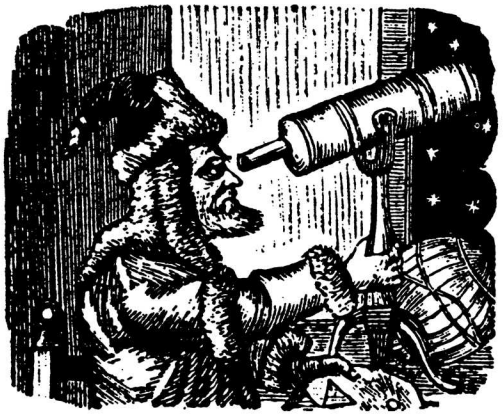
Born in May 1736 in Hanover County. Lawyer, orator, member of the House of Burgesses since 1765, delegate to the First Continental Congress. One of Virginia's leading patriots, Henry was elected the first governor of the new Commonwealth of Virginia on June 29, 1776. He was forty years old when he took the oath of office. He moved into the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg in September and served three consecutive one-year terms there.

President of the Fifth Virginia Convention and Speaker of the newly created House of Delegates Edmund Pendleton

Born in Caroline County in 1721. Lawyer, member of the House of Burgesses since 1752. Conservative patriot who emerged as a leader, serving on the committees of correspondence, delegate to the First Continental Congress, president of the Virginia Conventions, member of the committee of safety. Pendleton was elected unanimously as speaker of the House of Delegates in 1776. He was fifty-five years old on September 9, 1776.

Seriously injured by a fall from his horse in 1777, Pendleton had no choice but to relinquish the speakership in May of that year. He recovered sufficiently to accept appointment as First Judge of the High Court of Chancery in January 1778 where he served until 1789. In 1788, Pendleton presided over Virginia's Constitutional Ratifying Convention. He continued as a judge of the new Court of Appeals until his death in 1803.

(Compiled by Nancy Milton, editor of the Interpreter *and training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training, and Phil Shultz, former training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training and currently an actor/interpreter in the Department of Public History.)*



Q & A

Question: Are there interpretive challenges arising from the fact that "The Revolutionary City" covers a broader period of history (May 1774–October 1781) than has been presented in Historic Area programming in recent years?

Answer: Colonial Williamsburg's Bill White touched on this question in an *Interpreter* article ten years ago for the spring 1996 launch of the new Becoming Americans "Choosing Revolution" story line programming. His words are appropriate as we unveil "The Revolutionary City" in 2006:

"One significant challenge is explaining the chronology. The Revolution was not a quick event. Ten years separate the Stamp Act crisis (1765) from the Gunpowder Incident (1775). It is another ten years before Britain and her former colonies sign the Treaty of Paris (1783). We must insure that our visitors understand the Revolution as a twenty-year history. Only then can they understand that for many Virginians it was a surprise. Many described themselves in 1765 as British patriots railing against what they believed an unjust tax. They did not necessarily believe that separation from Britain was the best way of resolving the conflict. Others found their conclusion—their decision to support a colonial rebellion—informed by a series of smaller decisions they had made over ten years. What would have seemed radical at the time of the Stamp Act was now a logical conclusion.

"Loyalism is another challenge. Too often our visitors see the loyalists as the 'bad guys' or worse as the 'dumb guys.' Didn't the loyalists understand that America's experiment with democracy would be a huge success? We have forgotten how daunting armed rebellion against the world's greatest European power was. We have also forgotten that in protests against the Stamp Act, Townshend Duties, and other protests, Virginians sought first to preserve British rights. Seeing themselves as independent Americans was a ten-year process. For many British subjects, armed rebellion and independence were too radical." (*Interpreter*, 17 no. 1 [Spring 1996].)

Question: What was the structure of government established by the Virginia Constitution of 1776?

Answer: The Virginia Constitution, adopted on June 29, 1776, was very much a product of a two-decade-long debate over the role of government and the rights of citizens and long experience under powerful colonial governors and their councils. Although there were to be three separate and distinct branches—legislative, executive, and judicial—the legislative, and more particularly the lower house, was designed to be the real locus of power in independent Virginia.

The legislature, or General Assembly as it continued to be called, consisted of a House of Delegates and a Senate. As had been the case in the House of Burgesses, each county elected two delegates. These delegates had to be residents in the county they represented. Jamestown and the College of William and Mary lost their representatives, but Norfolk and Williamsburg kept theirs. The state was also divided into twenty-four districts, each of which elected one senator. A senator served four years. The suffrage remained as it had been since 1736: a voter had to be a free white male over twenty-one who owned either one hundred acres of unimproved land, or twenty-five improved acres, or a house and lot in an incorporated city. The Senate was the weaker of the two legislative houses; it could neither initiate legislation nor amend money bills.

The executive branch, the weakest of the three branches, was composed of the governor and a privy council. The General Assembly (House of Delegates and Senate) annually elected the governor, who could serve only three consecutive one-year terms. The council, elected by the legislature, was made up of eight members, who served twelve years. However, two were to rotate off the council every three years. The governor could not veto legislation and could not prorogue or adjourn the assembly. Furthermore, he was not to take executive action without the consent of the council. Finally, the executive branch appointed local militia officers and justices of the peace only upon the recommendations of the county courts.

The third branch was composed of separate courts of Admiralty and Chancery, a General Court, and a Supreme Court of Appeals. Judges who sat on these courts were elected by the General Assembly. (Kevin Kelly, reprinted from "Questions and Answers," *Interpreter*, 8 no. 3 [June 1987].)

Question: What kind of men rose to political power during Virginia's war years?

Answer: During the war, the Virginia government remained in the hands of large landowners. By continuing the colonial custom of county courts nominating new members, the Constitution of 1776 guaranteed that the planter gentry remained in charge at the local level. Furthermore, men of considerable property were elected to the General Assembly. Yet there were regional differences among the legislators. The older settled areas of Virginia tended to send members of the social and political establishment to the General Assembly, while the newer counties elected men of lesser social standing. Moreover, real differences on issues began to separate the regions. Delegates from the Southside took more locally oriented stands on matters of taxation, for example, whereas Tidewater representatives were less willing to allow religious toleration.

Despite a background similar to the prewar leaders, a new younger group emerged on the political scene during the war. This was most notable among lawyers. Edmund Randolph, St. George Tucker, John Taylor of Caroline, and John Marshall, all still in their twenties or early thirties, began their careers in the late 1770s and early 1780s. One characteristic that linked these individuals was their military service. Many other young Virginians got their first leadership experience as Revolutionary War officers. Many of these men came to prominence during the 1780s and continued active in state and national politics in the 1790s. (Kevin Kelly, reprinted from "Questions and Answers," *Interpreter*, 8 no. 3 [June 1987].)

Question: What happened to the slaves who fought in the Revolution? How about the Indians?

Answer: Historian Edmund S. Morgan, reviewing Gary B. Nash's book *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America,* writes: "The slaves' story is the saddest. For them the Revolution seemed like a golden opportunity, though not because of the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. In Virginia, the royal governor, Lord Dunmore, issued a proclamation in 1775 offering freedom to any slaves of rebels (patriots) who would join the force of loyalists he was trying desperately to recruit. (His proclamation did not free slaves of loyalists). Hundreds, perhaps thousands, flocked to his colors. But he and they were both obliged to retreat to the seeming safety of ships on Virginia's rivers. There, below decks, most of them contracted smallpox and were put ashore to die. (Those who survived were taken to New York City. Virginia's newly freed slaves were evacuated from there with the loyalists in 1783.) Four years later when the British mounted the southern campaign that ended at Yorktown in 1781, Gen. Henry Clinton issued another proclamation that attracted an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 slaves to British lines in the Carolinas."

Cornwallis's army reached Virginia in late May 1781 and began a sweep through the Piedmont and Tidewater coming to a stop at Yorktown in August. As the British army traveled through Virginia, hundreds of slaves joined it hoping to become free. During the siege at Yorktown, however, as rations became ever shorter for the British army bottled up there, the slaves were expelled by the British into the crossfire of the "no man's land" between the opposing armies.

"After the debacle at Yorktown ended British rule, some of these eventually made it to Florida or Nova Scotia, but again probably the majority succumbed to camp diseases or to another smallpox epidemic," continues Morgan.

"It may have been, as Nash says, 'the greatest slave rebellion in American history,' but for most of the rebels it ended like the others in death. Slaves who supported the American side fared better, but not much better. Only with great reluctance did Washington allow some to join his army. Other Virginians had another wartime use for them. In 1780, the state legislature offered slaves as a bounty for enlistment in the war against British tyranny. The Revolution did see enactment of measures for gradual emancipation in the northern states, but the number who benefited was small.

"For American Indians the Revolution was equally a disaster, whether they took sides or remained neutral. In New York and Pennsylvania after the Iroquois joined Loyalists in raids on frontier settlements, Gen. John Sullivan led a scorched-earth sweep that crippled Iroquois power forever. To the south, Indian-hating revolutionary militia from Virginia and the Carolinas carried out a 'genocidal state policy' against the Creeks and the Cherokee. To the west George Rogers Clark, after capturing the British strongholds south of Detroit, raided the villages of the Shawnees and burned their cornfields. Indian resistance was 'almost suicidal in the face of huge odds—some 150,000 Native Americans [east of the Mississippi] were outnumbered sixteen to one by the end of the war.'" Ohio Country Indians, however, continued to resist American settlement north of the Ohio River until 1805. (*New York Review* [September 22, 2005]: 41–42.)

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

Bothy's Mould

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

Boxwood, Queen of the Garden

by Wesley Greene

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

If Williamsburg is known for any one plant, it is certainly the boxwood (*Buxus sempervirens*). It was so widely planted in the early years of the Restoration that Mary Haldane Coleman recorded in her diary that Arthur Shurcliff, Colonial Williamsburg's first landscape architect, must surely have "boxwood on the brain." Partly because of the influence of Williamsburg gardens there is scarcely a historic property south of New York that is not surrounded with boxwood. In the landscape, it is nearly synonymous with colonial revivalism, but was it really as widely planted in eighteenth-century America as our modern interpretation would suggest?

Boxwood is a very ancient plant, probably originating on the continent of Gondwanaland that separated to form the Americas, Europe, and the Near East some 130 million years ago. This would account for the geographic distribution of the many species of boxwood found in these areas today. It is also among the most ancient of ornamental plants. About 1100 B.C.E., Assyrian king Tiglathpileser I launched his army into present-day Turkey. Among other prizes, his troops returned with cedars and boxwood that he declared "none of the kings, my forefathers, have possessed."

Homer recorded in the *Odyssey* (circa 800 B.C.E.) that in the gardens of Alcinous "ships of myrtle sail in seas of box." One hundred years later, Isaiah (14:19) recorded, "I will plant in the wilderness . . . the cypress tree and the pine and the box tree together."

Greek legend relates that Diana rescued a wood nymph from Apollo and changed her into boxwood. The Greeks stored fragrant unguents in boxwood containers called *pyxos*. It was from this that the Roman Catholic *pyx* or holy chest containing the host originated.

The Romans named the plant *Buxus*, or box, which is the origin of its genus name. It was in ancient Rome that the boxwood garden reached its earliest perfection. Pliny recorded in the first century C.E. a description of his Tuscany villa:

> *In front of the colonnade is a terrace laid out with box hedges clipped into different shapes, from which a bank slopes down, also with figures of animals cut out of box facing each other on either side. The whole garden is enclosed by a dry-stone wall that is hidden from sight by a box hedge planted in tiers.*

It is unclear how common boxwood plantings were during the Dark Ages, but tradition has long held that boxwood was planted around monasteries as a symbol of everlasting life; its use in funerals has persisted into the modern era.

The first English catalog of plants was found in Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowles* (circa 1377). Chaucer trained as a forester before launching his writing career, so he was familiar with indigenous plants and their uses. He recorded boxwood as a wood for making pipes (the English flute or recorder):

> *The boxtree piper; holm to whippes lasshe*
> *The sayling firr; the cypress, deth to playne*
> *The Shooter ew; the asp for shaftes pleyne*

When boxwood reached England or whether it is, indeed, native to England is a mystery. Boxwood fossils have been carbon dated to 30,000 years ago, but it is generally held that the boxwood indigenous to England was destroyed during the last glacial epoch. The ancient stands at Boxhill, Surrey, may represent the only surviving stand of native boxwood or may have originated from boxwood imported during the Roman conquest.

John Evelyn wrote in 1662 that the groves at Boxhill "were frequented by ladies." John Macky in *A Journey through England* (1714) told us what was really going on when he recorded that it was "very easy for Gentlemen and Ladies insensibly to lose their company in these pretty labyrinths of boxwood, and divert themselves unperceived."

Boxwood was near *de rigueur* in the formal gardens that arose in England after the Restoration. With the return of Charles II, the classic French gardens perfected at Versailles by André Le Nôtre with elaborate parterres and embroidered displays of boxwood were created at estates throughout England. Stephen Switzer wrote that the gardens of King William and Queen Mary at Hampton Court were "stuffed too thick with box." With the development of the naturalistic, less formal gardens in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, boxwood lost some of its prominence in the garden but was by no means abandoned.

In his travels through Europe in 1813 and 1814, noted English botanist John Loudon recorded that at the Vatican gardens "the name of the Pope, the date of his election, etc. may be read from the windows of the palace in letters of box." Cobbett wrote in *The English Gardener* (1829): "If there be a more neat and beautiful thing in the world, all I can say is, that I never saw that thing."

And then there is the smell. It is an aroma that people either love or hate. Visitors to the Colonial Garden tell me that boxwood smells like either kitty litter or Williamsburg. I prefer the latter.

Henry Lyte recorded in his *Niewe Herball* (1578) that boxwood was not only harmful when taken internally but also "very hurtfull for the brayne when it is but smelled." John Gerard described the smell of boxwood in *The Herball* (1597) as "evill and lothsome."

When Queen Anne came to the throne, she so despised the smell of box she had it all removed from Hampton Court and Kensington Palace. However, in the next century in the United States, Oliver Wendell Holmes had a more romantic take on the smell of boxwood: "for this is one of the odours that carry us out of time into the abysses of the unbeginning past."

The boxwood grown in Williamsburg gardens today are of two sorts, English and American boxwood—unfortunate names since boxwood is definitely not a native of North America and it is questionable if it is native to England. The so-called American boxwood is a faster growing plant with an upright habit and pointed leaves. The diamond parterres at the Governor's Palace as well as the plantings around the bowling green are of this type.

The English boxwood (*B. sempervirens,* var. *suffruiticosa*) is a much slower growing plant with a mounding habit and rounded leaves. The hedge around the cemetery at the Palace is of this type. It was often called Dutch boxwood in the eighteenth century, and it is possible that this dwarf form first developed in Holland, probably in the sixteenth century.

The first description of the dwarf form of boxwood appears in Casper Bauhin's *Pinacis Theatri Botanici* (1571), where he classed it as *Buxus foliis rotundoribus* in allusion to the rounder leaves. Dutch botanist Rembert Dodoens cited Bauhin's work and renamed the form *Buxus humilis* in *Stirpium Historiae* (1583).

Linnaeus gave it the modern name of *Buxus sempervirens*, var. *suffruiticosa* in 1753. A listing in Gerard's *The Herball* indicates this variety was in England by the late sixteenth century. Its compact habit and slow rate of growth quickly made it the boxwood of choice for closely sheared hedges.

We also grow a third form of boxwood at the Colonial Garden: the variegated form of the American boxwood that John Custis called "Striped Boxwood." John Parkinson first described this variegated form in *Theatrum botanicum* (1640) with a leaf as "a yellow lift or garde about the edge of them on the upper side . . . which maketh it seeme very beautiful."

In a 1736 letter to Peter Collinson, John Custis of Williamsburg observed, "One striped box has some life in it . . . being a great admirer of all the tribe of striped gilded and variegated plants; and especially trees; I am told those things are out of fashion; but I do not mind that I allways make my fancy my fashion."

Boxwood, valuable as an ornamental plant, has also long been used for a variety of instruments and ornamentations. Gerard wrote in *The Herball* of the root, "do call this woode dudgeon, wherewith they make dudgeon-hafted daggers." Thirteen years later, Shakespeare's Macbeth described his visionary weapon as "on thy blade and dudgeon gouts of blood."

Paxton gave us a more complete listing of boxwood's versatility in the *Botanical Dictionary* (1868):

> *used by the turner, engraver, mathematical instrument maker, comb, pipe and flute maker, and the roots by the inlayer and cabinet-maker. Wheels, skewers, pins, pegs for musical instruments, nut-crackers, button-moulds, weaver's shuttles, holler-sticks, bump sticks, rollers, rolling pins, tops, screws, spoons, knife-handles, combs, etc., are all made of it, as well as many other useful articles.*

When shuttles were thrown by hand, almost any wood would do, but the development of the mechanical loom required a tight-grained, very hard wood that would not raise splinters. Boxwood was the preferred material through the early history of the mechanical loom. Shortly after the Civil War, the roller skating craze hit America, and much of the imported "Turkish" boxwood was diverted to making the wheels for skates. The textile industry then turned to dogwood for their shuttles.

This returns us to the question, "How common was boxwood in colonial America?" It has turned out to be a very difficult question to answer with confidence. Boxwood certainly was not as widely planted as the landscapes around historic homes would suggest today, but there is enough primary documentation and circumstantial evidence to suggest that it was nearly as popular here as it was in England, at least around the homes of the gentry.

The first planting of boxwood in North America is generally credited to Nathaniel Sylvester who built a manor house on Shelter Island, off eastern Long Island, in 1652. Many authors have cited the planting of boxwood at this location but no primary documents survive to verify it. There are dozens of historic sites from New York to Georgia that claim to have original or re-created plantings of eighteenth-century boxwood but, with a few exceptions, the evidence is apocryphal at best.

The initial clear reference in Williamsburg comes from John Custis, who first wrote of boxwood in 1726 when he relayed his disappointment to Robert Cary about a dog getting into "the garden truck" sent from England. That Custis was buying boxwood from England suggests that there was no local source for it. In 1737, he wrote Peter Collinson about a severe drought, observing, "The dutch box edgeings that survived the sever[e] winter; perished in spots in the borders which had been established many years."

In his *Treatise on Gardening*, probably written in the 1760s, John Randolph wrote exclusively about vegetables and herbs with one exception. For the months of March and November, he noted "Plant box." Joseph Prentis also wrote exclusively about vegetables and herbs in the *Monthly Kalender* (1775–1779) except for a single entry in the month of February: "In the last week set out slips of Box."

These notations seem to suggest that boxwood was an important part of a gentleman's garden in eighteenth-century Williamsburg. The evidence that boxwood was highly esteemed is seen in the 1787 will of Capt. Ridgeley of Hampton, Maryland, in which he stipulated that his boxwood garden be maintained.

Col. Richard Taylor, father of President Zachary Taylor, built a home near Louisville, Kentucky, in 1785. A description of the estate shortly before the Civil War described "fine specimens of box." As boxwood is very slow growing, this suggests that they were fairly old plantings.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, boxwood had become part of the fledgling nursery trade in America. Martha Logan advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette*, March 14, 1768: "A Fresh assortment of very good garden seeds and flower roots . . . and box for edging walks." Abigail Davidson advertised imported box "for edging walks" in the *Boston Gazette*, March 12, 1770.

In 1794 or 1795, Peter Bellet established the first commercial nursery in Williamsburg off of present Capitol Landing Road. In December 1803, he advertised in the *Virginia Argus* "a quantity of box for the edging of gardens."

Bernard McMahon, a Philadelphia nurseryman, wrote in 1806, "Box, of all other plants, makes the neatest and most beautiful hedges in the middle states."

Our oldest planting of boxwood in Williamsburg is at the Thomas Everard House. When this property was purchased, samples of these plants were sent to the Smithsonian Institution, where analysis suggested that they were planted between 1810 and 1830.

These fine, old specimens bordered a walk through the center of the property, which our archeologists have dated to the late eighteenth century. Because the boxwood had completely covered the walkway by the time the Foundation acquired this property, the gate at the back of the house seems to go nowhere; in fact, it indicates the start of the original path.

Boxwood contains three poisonous alkaloids that deer and horses have learned to avoid. In fact, it is one of the few plants that deer will not eat, making it a practical plant for landscaping. (Camels, on the other hand, relish its leaves and eagerly poison themselves; consequently, caravan routes had long detoured around stands of boxwood!) Not surprisingly, boxwood remains one of the preeminent choices for bordering walks and creating hedges or topiaries.

COOK'S CORNER

Ice Cream Through the Ages: Myths and Realities

by Robert Brantley

Rob is a journeyman is Historic Foodways in the Department of Historic Trades.

Through my ten years' experience with Colonial Williamsburg's Historic Foodways Program, I am amazed at the array of food myths our guests have come to believe. These ideas include myths about such foods as beer, chocolate, and ice cream. The purpose of this article is to debunk the myths surrounding the history of ice cream and how it arrived in colonial America and Williamsburg. The first step is to explain how ice cream did *not* come to America and Williamsburg.

The Italians are well-known for their ice cream, and it is not surprising that one myth credits the Romans for developing it. This myth probably comes from the Romans' use of snow pits. Elizabeth David, in *Harvest of the Cold Months*, summarized the Romans' use of snow and wine to produce a flavored ice.[1] This may have produced a delicious ice, but it was not a frozen cream from a cow, goat, or other livestock.

In correspondence with Robin Weir, a well-known food writer in the United Kingdom, I learned that the endothermic effect of salt on ice was unknown during the time of the Roman Empire. He believes that the effect was a Chinese discovery around A.D. 900.[2] Supporting this premise, Mark Kurlansky, in *Salt: A World History,* describes the integral role and importance of salt to the Chinese culture.[3]

Evidence supports Weir's claims of ice cream having Chinese origins. The first solid piece of evidence to support this claim is found during the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–907). During this period, various milk products such as the milk of mares, water buffalo, cows, and goats were used to create cool refreshments during the summer months. A fermented milk called *kumiss* was mixed with flour and camphor and chilled before being served to guests. This, Weir feels, is the earliest recorded evidence of an iced dairy product.[4] It is important to note that Tang, the founder of this dynasty, possessed a staff of 2,271 devoted to the serving of food and drink. Out of that number, 94 were listed as "ice men."

The earliest written documentation of frozen dairy products comes from the poet Yang Wanli (1127–1206). In a poem, he describes these dairy based products in contrast to water-based products:

> *It looks so greasy but still has a crisp,*
> *It appears congealed and yet it seems to float,*
> *Like jade, it breaks at the bottom of the dish;*
> *As with snow, it melts in the light of the sun.*[5]

This Asian connection may be the basis for the myth that Marco Polo was the first European to bring ice cream to the European continent. In fact, he was credited with bringing back paper money, tea, and pasta. Current scholars now believe that Marco Polo probably never even arrived in China. They believe he only made it as far as Persia. These scholars argue that he probably borrowed from journals and notes of other merchants to create the narrative of his journey. Therefore, it is doubtful that he was the first European to bring ice cream to Europe.

Rather, the technology of using salt to effect the freezing of water most likely came to Europe through the Moors and Arabs. The first written record of ice used in this way dates to 1530 and comes from an Italian physician named Zimara. By 1574, Nicolas Monardes reported the storage of snow and the use of ice throughout Europe.[6]

Although another common myth is that Catherine de'Medici introduced frozen creams to France upon her marriage in 1533 to Henri II, ices did not appear in Parisian records until the 1660s, nearly 130 years later.[7]

The stories of a royal connection to the introduction of ice cream continue with Charles I of England. This myth claims that Charles I gave his ice cream maker a lifetime pension under the

condition that he never divulge his recipes to anyone. According to this myth, Charles I was trying to keep ice cream as a treat fit only for royalty.[8] Unfortunately, according to Weir, there is no known documentation to support these claims. These stories were created during the nineteenth century by ice cream sellers who were looking for a marketing angle.

This series of royal myths was Americanized to include several prominent American figures. Martha Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Dolley Madison have all been credited with the invention of ice cream. In fact, the first record of ice cream in America dates to 1744. This account comes from the journal of William Black.

Black was a member of a commission appointed by the royal governor of Virginia to negotiate a land deal with the Iroquois tribes. Along with delegates from Pennsylvania and Maryland, Black attended a dinner at the home of Maryland's governor, Thomas Bladen. He recounted the dinner in his journal as follows:

> *We were Received by his Excellency and his Lady in the Hall, where we were an hour Entertain'd by them, with some Glasses of Punch in the intervals of the Discourse; then the Scene was chang'd to a Dining Room, where you saw a plain proof of the Great Plenty of the Country, a Table in the most Splendent manner set out with Great Variety of Dishes, all serv'd up in the most Elegant way, after which came a Dessert no less Curious; Among the Rarities of which it was Compos'd, was some fine Ice Cream which, with the Strawberries and Mild, eat most Deliciously.*[9]

In 1755, Hannah Glasse included a recipe for ice cream in *The Art of Cookery,* which became one of the most popular English cookbooks in Virginia. She recommended the use of a freezer consisting of two pewter basins—a smaller inner one with a tight lid to hold the mixture, which was then set into a larger outer basin that held ice and a handful of salt.[10]

Not long after he arrived in Virginia in 1758, Lieutenant Governor Fauquier (1758–1768) directed his servants to gather hail after a storm in order to make ice cream.[11]

It is worth noting that Fauquier's successor, Lord Botetourt (d. 1770), is credited with putting in the icehouse at the Governor's Palace. Botetourt 's inventory shows several "pewter ice moulds," which may indicate the use of a freezerless method of making ice cream such as recommended by Mrs. Raffald in *The Experienced English House-keeper*. Metal molds or tins filled with the liquid ice cream mixture were set in a tub of ice and salt to freeze.

Freezing mold (CWF 1980-113, A&B). Made in England circa 1795–1820, this mold is very much like those used in this country.

Within a few years, recipes for ice cream in fruit and berry flavors and vanilla, chocolate, coffee, almonds, and black walnuts appeared. In 1799, Anne Blair Banister complained in a letter: "I made myself sick with Ice creams water melons Plumbs &c. . . . alas! so much *frigidity* does not suit us old folks."[12]

Ice cream was a treat made in the home of the privileged few, but it was also made by commercial businesses during the eighteenth century. One of the earliest newspaper advertisements for it appeared in New York City in 1774. The ad gave a long list of items sold at the shop of Philip Lenzi, a confectioner from London, including "any sort of ice cream."[13]

Although Martha Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Dolley Madison did not invent ice cream, they certainly enjoyed it and helped to

popularize the mass consumption of the delectable frozen treat. For example, in May 1784 Washington acquired a "cream machine for ice."[14]

During his presidency, Washington (who never lived in The White House) was well-known for serving ice cream at dinner parties. It was also rumored that he ordered more than $200 worth of ice cream from a local confectioner while the government was headquartered in New York City. Upon his death in 1796 at Mt. Vernon, Washington's inventory listed two pewter and eight tin ice cream pots among the kitchen equipment.[15]

After his tenure as ambassador to France (1784–1789), Jefferson brought back a recipe for vanilla ice cream made from heavy cream, egg yolks, sugar, and a vanilla bean. Jefferson's recipe included meticulous instructions for using an ice cream freezer (which he noted by its French name, *sorbetière*). After Jefferson's death, his daughter listed an "ice cream freezer" and an "ice cream ladle" among the cookware at Monticello, and there had been "2 friesing molds" in the kitchen as well.

Apparently, Jefferson became so fond of vanilla, he requested an American diplomat to send fifty pods to him in Philadelphia.[16] President Jefferson (1801–1809) was one of the first, if not the first, to serve ice cream at state banquets in the White House. During his first term, guests commented on the dessert, which Jefferson sometimes had served in warm pastry. Dolley Madison, wife of fourth president James Madison (1809–1817) also made ice cream a staple of White House menus.[17]

It is important to note that English ice cream recipes of the eighteenth century were just iced cream with no eggs, which change both the texture and taste.[18] Recipes using eggs appear by the middle of the eighteenth century in French cookbooks such as Vincent LaChapelle's *The Modern Cook*. His 1742 edition includes traditional ice cream without eggs and introduces a version of the ice cream recipe with eggs. According to Robin Weir, this is the first cookbook to list a recipe with eggs. These ice creams were referred to as *fromage glaces*.

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1 Elizabeth David, *Harvest of the Cold Months: The Social History of Ice and Ices* (New York: Viking, 1995), xii.

2 Robin Weir, email communication with author, February 20, 2003.

3 Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History.* New York: Walker and Co., 2002.

4 Caroline Liddell and Robin Weir, *Ices: The Definitive Guide* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993), 10.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 11; David, *Harvest of the Cold Months*, 51.

7 Liddell and Weir, *Ices*, 11.

8 Ibid., 10.

9 R. A. Brock, ed., "Journal of William Black, 1744," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 1 (1877): 126; Anne Cooper Funderburg, *Chocolate, Strawberry, and Vanilla: A History of American Ice Cream* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995), 3.

10 Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginia Cookery: Procedures, Equipment, and Ingredients in Colonial Cooking* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985), 110.

11 *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 50, part 2, for the year 1758 [published in 1759]: 746–747. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Rockefeller Library, Special Collections microfilm, M-1202.14.

12 Carson, *Colonial Virginia Cookery* 110–112, 136n.

13 Funderburg, *Chocolate, Strawberry, and Vanilla,* 5.

14 Damon Lee Fowler, ed., *Dining at Monticello: In Good Taste and Abundance* (Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2005), 172.

15 Funderburg, *Chocolate, Strawberry, and Vanilla,* 7, 6.

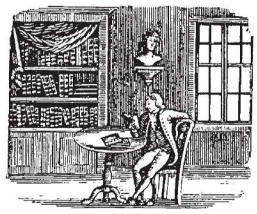
16 Thomas Jefferson, n.d., Ice Cream recipe, The Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, Library of Congress; Fowler, *Dining at Monticello,* 68, 172; Funderburg, *Chocolate, Strawberry, and Vanilla,* 16.

17 Fowler, *Dining at Monticello,* 172.

18 Liddell and Weir, *Ices*, 12.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE:

New at the Rock



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No passwords are needed, but these databases are currently available only through Foundation computers.

Buying Respectability

Edwards, Clive. *Turning Houses into Homes: A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2005.

From the earliest times, people have endeavored to turn their houses into homes through the use of decoration and furnishings, in turn stimulating a major commercial sector dedicated to offering the products and services essential to feed the ever-changing dictates of domestic fashion. Though there is plentiful evidence to show that these phenomena can be traced to medieval times, it is arguable that the eighteenth century witnessed the birth of a widespread and sophisticated consumer society. Although scholarly attention has previously focused on specific aspects of the home, very little has been written on the interaction between the retailer and consumer and the pressures brought to bear on them by issues such as gender, education, status, symbolism, taste, decoration, hygiene, comfort, and entertainment. As such, this book offers a valuable conjunction of retail history and consumption practices, which are examined through a multidisciplinary approach that explores both their intimate connections and their wider roles in society.

Enslaving Virginia

Coombs, John C. "Building 'The Machine': The Development of Slavery and Slave Society in Early Colonial Virginia." Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 2003.

Coombs's well-structured dissertation explains the conversion from white to black labor in seventeenth-century Virginia and the repercussions of the change. As early as the 1660s, blacks made up nearly half of the workforce on many elite plantations and were numerous enough to comprise a considerable majority in some cases. The gentry's early turn to slavery had a profound effect on the development of the plantation "machine." Early African immigrants consequently faced enormous pressure to conform to the behavioral norms of the dominant Anglo-American society, given the cultural compromises that they ultimately reached with each other. The author argues that, as the founding generations relinquished community leadership to their native-born children and grandchildren, African-American society in the colony acquired an anglicized layer that continued to persist and shape life in slave quarters.

Taking Possession

McWilliams, James E. *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

The author presents a colorful and spirited tour of culinary attitudes, tastes, and techniques throughout colonial America. Sugar, pork, beer, corn, cider, scrapple, and "Hoppin' John" all became staples in the diet of colonial Americans. Confronted by strange new animals, plants, and landscapes, settlers in the colonies and West Indies found new ways to produce food. Integrating their British and European tastes with the demands and bounty of the rugged environment, early Americans developed a range of regional cuisines. As colonial America expanded, so did its palate. Interactions among European settlers, Native Americans, and African slaves created new dishes and attitudes about food. McWilliams considers how Indian corn, once thought by the colonists as "fit for swine," became a fixture in the colonial diet. The author demonstrates that this was a shift not so much in new ingredients or cooking methods, as in the way Americans imbued food and cuisine with values that continue to shape American attitudes to this day.

Sarson, Steven. *British America, 1500–1800: Creating Colonies, Imagining an Empire*. London: Hodder Arnold, 2005.

British America combines the histories of colonies and empire—usually distinct fields of enquiry—in a sweeping introduction to and interpretation of the British-American New World. This book argues that while settlers created colonies, the early empire remained a largely imaginary construct. Writers, explorers, and colonial proprietors imagined colonies and empire as corporate entities serving various political, religious, and social purposes. Yet, these visions were invariably usurped by settlers who created colonies according to principles of political autonomy and individual independence based on private property, even if the liberties their ideals engendered entailed the extermination and expulsion of Native Americans and the enslavement of Africans. English and then British governments encouraged autonomy by granting colonies as private proprietorships, and then accommodating the settler-led polities that subsequently emerged. When Britain finally imposed a vision of empire from the 1760s, the settlers declared their independence, forcing Britain to consider imperialism as something much more than imaginary.

James Horn. *A Land as God Made It* (New York: Basic Books, 2005). This well-received book by the Rockefeller Library's director is subtitled *Jamestown and the Birth of America.* The author examines Indian-Anglo relations and cites the Powhatan uprising of 1622, which almost destroyed Jamestown, as a significant turning point in that relationship; no longer was it possible to achieve peace between the two peoples. Preceding Plymouth by thirteen years, the Jamestown experience brought together native Americans, Europeans, and Africans to meld ideas that "shaped a new world and forged a new people."

Note: There are copies of this book in the circulating collection as well as Special Collections in accordance with the Rockefeller Library's policy of collecting books written by Colonial Williamsburg staff.

Choosing Revolution

Lengel, Edward. *General George Washington: A Military Life*. New York: Random House, 2005.

Much has been written about George Washington, the statesman. Less often discussed is Washington's military career, including his exploits as a young officer and his performance as the commander in chief of patriot forces during the War for American Independence. In a revealing work of historical biography, Edward Lengel has written an impressive account of George Washington, the soldier. The author presents Washington not as a professional, but as a citizen soldier, who, at a time when warfare demanded that armies maneuver in precise formation, had little practical training handling men in combat. Despite his flaws, Washington was a leader who possessed a clear strategic and continental vision and inspired complete loyalty from his fellow revolutionaries and soldiers. Like the American nation itself, he was a whole that was greater than the sum of its parts—a remarkable everyman whose acts determined the course of history. Lengel argues that Washington's excellence was in his completeness, in how he united the military, political, and personal skills necessary to lead a nation in war and peace.

Nash, Gary B. *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America*. New York: Viking, 2005.

In this reexamination of the swirl of ideology, grievance, outrage, and hope that animated the Revolutionary decades, historian Gary B. Nash claims that though the founding fathers led the charge, the energy to raise a revolt emerged from

all classes and races of American society. He presents the heady and often-violent excitement that convulsed American lives during the last three decades of the eighteenth century and offers a unique look at the struggle to create a new country. The American Revolution was truly a people's revolution, a civil war at home as well as an armed insurrection against colonial control.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Liberty and Freedom*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

From the founding of the first colonies, Americans have shared ideals of liberty and freedom, but with very different meanings. In this new volume of cultural history, noted historian David Hackett Fischer explores the meanings of these two ideals and how they have changed through time. The book studies the folk history of liberty and freedom through many images and symbols, such as New England's Liberty Tree, Pennsylvania's Liberty Bells, South Carolina's Liberty Crescent, and "Don't Tread on Me" rattlesnakes. Fischer examines liberty and freedom not as philosophical or political abstractions but as folkways and popular beliefs deeply embedded in American culture.

Freeing Religion

Morrison, Jeffry H. *John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic*. South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.

This work offers readers the first comprehensive look at the political thought and career of John Witherspoon, a Scottish Presbyterian minister and one of America's most influential and overlooked founding fathers. Witherspoon, an active member of the Continental Congress, was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. He also voted to ratify the federal Constitution. During his tenure as president of the College of New Jersey at Princeton, Witherspoon also became a mentor to James Madison and influenced many leaders and thinkers of the founding period. He was uniquely positioned at the crossroads of politics, religion, and education during the crucial decades of the founding of the new republic.

(A monthly list of new acquisitions is posted on the Internet. There are links to this page from the front page of the Library Catalog in the upper right corner and from the Research Web page, http://www.history.org/research/: Choose "Rockefeller Library," then "Public Services," then "New Acquisitions.")

Submitted by Sam Fore, reference/special collections librarian, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library.

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

Abby Aldrich Rockefeller's Letters to her Sister Lucy (New York: John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1957). This interesting compilation of correspondence documents the Rockefeller family's annual travels between Seal Harbor, Maine; Pocantico Hills, New York; their Manhattan town house at 10 West 54th Street; and Bassett Hall in Williamsburg. The letters begin in 1919 and continue through 1948. They provide a personal look behind the scenes in their daily lives, and evidence Mrs. Rockefeller's abiding interest in modern and Oriental art. There is also some information concerning decoration at Bassett Hall, as well as anecdotes of social occasions involving residents of Williamsburg.

Adams, John. *An Address of the Convention for Framing a New Constitution of Government, for the State of Massachusetts-Bay, to Their Constituents* (Boston: White & Adams, 1780). This book contains a plea for ratification of the state constitution and illustrates the American insistence on strictly limited government, with powers separated and controlled by a system of checks and balances.

[Adams, John]. *The Constitution, or Frame of Government, for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Worcester, Mass.: Isaiah Thomas, 1787). This document was agreed upon by the Convention delegates in Cambridge and ratified by the people in October 1780. Massachusetts's constitution exemplifies the colonials' insistence on governmental powers being separated and controlled by a system of checks and balances. This constitution served as a model for many other states.

Baker, Benjamin. Livery Stable Records, 1817–1839, 2 vols. These manuscript volumes offer firsthand insight into early nineteenth-century transportation in the neighborhood of Bingham, Maine. One includes the years 1817–1839, while the other covers the years 1817–1832. They provide a combination of personal and business accounts concerning stage and mail routes, as well as victualing and rental of conveyances. Patron names and prices for purveyance of various commodities are also included.

Dobell, Daniel. *The Art of Brewing Practically Exemplified* (London: Reed & Pardon, n.d.). This nineteenth-century work contains full instructions to brew beverages from malt or in combination

with sugar, ales, stout, porter, and India pale ales. It is drawn from the author's twenty years of practical experience in every part of the United Kingdom.

Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774). This stitched pamphlet includes the following resolutions and legal instruments: the Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, Occasional Resolves, the Association, an Address to the People of Great Britain, and a Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British American Colonies. Two documents bear the printed name of Peyton Randolph as president of the Congress. The Association includes the names of Virginia signers: Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton.

William Fauntleroy Letter and Account Book, 1735–1774. This manuscript book documents the life of Col. William Fauntleroy, a colonial planter living at Naylor's Hole along the banks of the Rappahannock River in Richmond County. There are 225 letters, many written to agents and merchants in London, Glasgow, Whitehaven, Liverpool, and Bristol concerning the buying of slaves and including instructions regarding his two sons studying law and medicine in London.

Hulsius, Levinus. *Zwantzigste Schiffahrt oder Grundliche* (Frankfurt, Ger.: Wolffgang Hoffmann, 1629). This rare, first and sole edition of the twentieth part of Hulsius's survey of voyages of discovery, is a small-format competitor to the series by Theodor de Bry. This volume contains an account of Virginia and the Bermuda Islands. There are three plates showing birds and beasts of New England, native children and females of Virginia, and an Indian magician and men of Virginia.

Hutchinson, Thomas. *Structures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia* (London: privately printed, 1776). The author was a historian, former royal official, and Loyalist refugee from Boston, who emigrated to London. This rare, early publication consists of his letter, addressed to an anonymous English "Noble Lord," explaining the circumstances leading up to and resulting in the Declaration of Independence.

Lind, John. *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress* (London: T. Cadell, 1776). This originally anonymous attack against the Declaration of Independence was first attributed to Lind by Jeremy Bentham, English jurist and philosopher. The author attempts to rebut each of the articles and characterizes Jefferson's theory of government set forth in the preamble as "a theory, as absurd and visionary, as the system of conduct in defence of which it is established, is nefarious."

Neale, John M. *The History of Pues* (Cambridge, Eng.: Stevenson, 1843). A publication of the Cambridge Camden Society, this pamphlet describes the evolution and development of compartmented pews from earlier, open church seating. References are principally to British examples, however, several instances in America are cited. Pews are described as having a deleterious effect due to their cluttering of the church interior and tendency to place the privileged few at the front, while relegating the poorer elements of society to the periphery.

Stitt, William. *The Practical Architect's Ready Assistant* (Dublin: printed for the author by James Charles, 1819). Subtitled as a *Builder's Complete Companion,* this work contains detailed price lists for features of the various trades connected with construction. Also included are tables showing the manner of measuring and pricing for timber and scantlings together with notes on hanging wallpaper.

Bushrod Washington Family Papers, 1762–1829. Materials consist of letters, deeds, wills, items relating to George Washington's estate, surveys, photographs, Anna Maria Thomasina Blackburn Washington's diary, a Bible, poems, newspaper articles, and biographical information pertaining to three generations of the family in Westmoreland County, Virginia; Washington, D.C.; and Jefferson County, Virginia (now West Virginia). Names mentioned include Justice Bushrod Washington (1762–1829), Bushrod Corbin Washington (1790–1851), Thomas Blackburn Washington (1812–1854), and Bushrod C. Washington (b. 1839).

Walsh, John. *The British Musical Miscellany, or, the Delightful Grove* (London: I. Walsh, 1734–1737), 6 vols. These books form "a collection of celebrated English and Scottish songs by the best masters set for the violin, German and common flutes, and harpsichord." The compiler was a prolific music seller, publisher, and instrument maker. The volumes include 574 works by Handel, Geminiani, Lampe, and others.

Works Project Administration drawings. This collection includes one group of large-scale drawings picturing door knockers, shutter dogs, slide bolts, latches, and strap hinges. The twenty-three plates are executed in pencil, ink, and wash. The second group of smaller scale draw-

ings comprises forty-six sheets showing details of various wrought-iron fittings for Conestoga wagons drawn in ink and colored wash. The WPA was a governmental agency set up in 1935 to provide useful public work for the unemployed. In these examples, artists documented details of historic Pennsylvania area hardware forms.

Yorktown Ledger, 1764–1775. This manuscript book of approximately 200 pages still retains its original Williamsburg binding, identifiable from the marks of distinctive bookbinding tools known to have been used here. Transactions range from sales of simple household goods and tobacco to settlement of entire estates. Names include Booth and William Armistead, Edmund and Nelson Berkeley, Carter and Robert Burwell, Bennet Kirby, William Lee, Thomas and William Nelson, and Ralph Wormeley. Unfortunately, the pages are extremely brittle with extensive chipping and losses to some entries. Preliminary research points to its possible ownership by Yorktown merchant William Nelson.

Diary. This manuscript booklet was kept by Elizabeth McPherson Whitehead of Norfolk, Virginia, and covers the dates 1853–1855. She was the daughter of Dr. Nathan Colgate Whitehead and a neighbor of noted sculptor Alexander Galt. The item is inscribed as a journal of her life meant to make her watchful of her thoughts and of her actions toward others. She describes daily activities including visits with the Galts, a trip to Boston and a visit to the Athenæum there, and admires sculptures by Greenough and Canova.

Journal. This manuscript booklet belonged to Henry Smith of York County, Virginia, and covers the dates 1850–1858. It appears to have begun existence as a collection of lecture notes concerning philosophy and metaphysics. At later dates, entries were added concerning crops, agriculture, and the preparation of oyster beds in adjacent waters.

Ledger, 1800–1802. This account book from Alexandria, Virginia, includes merchant accounts with individuals and companies, as well as various adventures, or commercial expeditions to islands of the Caribbean. Several short religious passages and prayers are laid in, together with a recipe for vinegar.

Letter: John Mercer, Marlborough, Stafford County, Virginia, to his son James Mercer, Williamsburg, October 20, 1766. Mercer recommends that legal aid be given to a friend facing a claim in court and mentions his present infirmities, which keep him at home. References are also made to George Mercer and to Landon Carter of Sabine Hall.

Letter: Robert Morris to Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, November 26, 1783. Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and financier of the American Revolution, states that George Washington has asked Baron von Steuben to close a military hospital and requests that the "poor and unfortunate soldiers who have lost their health in the service of their country" and cannot yet be discharged be taken in by the Pennsylvania Hospital. Ultimately, the soldiers were admitted after guarantees were made concerning funds for their support.

Letter: W. Arthur Taylor, Alexandria, Virginia, to John Augustine Washington, February 12, 1860. This letter to George Washington's great-grandnephew, the last private owner of the Mount Vernon estate, discusses Washington's financial problems and mentions a mutual friend "Charles in Georgetown" who is seriously ill.

Letter: W. Arthur Taylor, Alexandria, Virginia, to John Augustine Washington, February 6, 1861. Written shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War, this item refers to overdue notes that Taylor holds against Washington. Taylor mentions that the "present condition of money matters is bad enough" and that he sees little hope in the near future for "a man who has his whole interests locked up in unsaleable and unproductive real estate."

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

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