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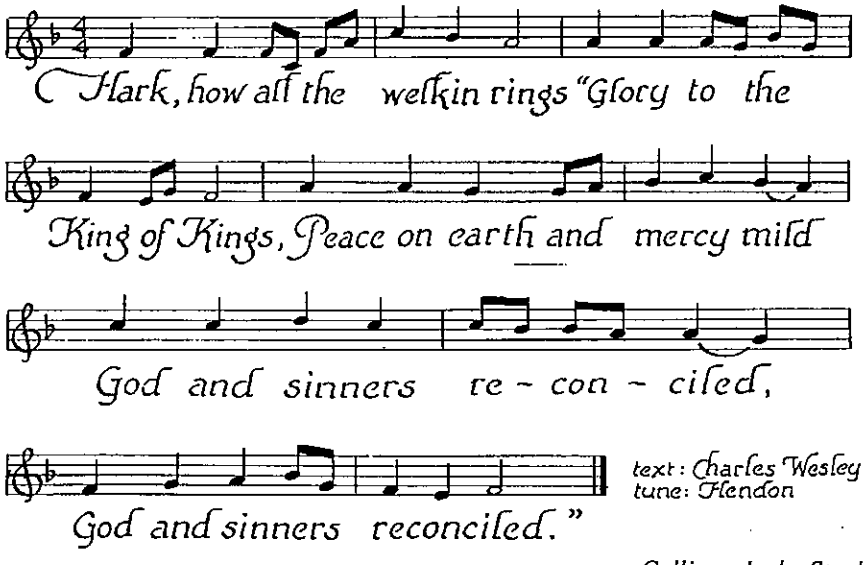
Hark, How All the Welkin Rings



Calligraphy by Stephen Moore

Hark! How All the Welkin Rings

by John Turner

John is manager of Religious Studies and Programs in the Education Division and is chair of the Freeing Religion story line team.

In early May of 1738, after a prayer meeting on London's Aldergate Street, John Wesley felt his "heart strangely warmed" and, thus, experienced his own personal spiritual rebirth. Just weeks later, on May 20, his younger brother Charles had a similar experience. Less than a year after his rebirth, Charles Wesley wrote a ten-stanza poem expressing his feelings about the Christian faith.

The first stanza of Wesley's Christmas hymn was:

Hark! How all the welkin rings,
"Glory to the King of Kings,
Peace on earth and mercy mild,
God and sinners reconciled."

It was published in this form in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* in 1739. Fourteen years later, George Whitefield took it upon himself to edit Wesley's hymn and include it in his own anthology of hymns, published in 1753.

Whitefield was of the opinion that welkin was already an antiquated word that would

be unfamiliar to many potential hymn singers. It means "vault of heaven or sky." His changes resulted in the familiar verse we know today:

Hark! The herald angels sing
"Glory to the newborn King."

From 1739 to 1855 "Hark! The Herald" was sung to a number of tunes. Among them was "Hendon" ("Take My Life and Let It Be Consecrated," "Christ, of All My Hopes the Ground," and "Ask Ye What Great Thing I Know"). The words were not set to the tune familiar to us today until 1855.

The popularity of this hymn is demonstrated by the fact that, of the more than 6,500 hymns written by Charles Wesley, this is the only one included in the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England. Around the world it is often included in collections of Christmas music.

Some of Wesley's lesser-known Christmas hymns can be found only in rare manuscripts. Printed below are the first verses of two such examples.

Hymn I On the Nativity

Father! our Hearts we lift up to thy
Gracious Throne,
and bless Thee for the Precious Gift
of Thine Incarnate Son;
The Gift unspeakable we thankfully
receive,
and to the World thy Goodness tell,
and to thy Glory live, and to thy
Glory live.

Hymn II (or the Shepherd's Song) on the Nativity

Angels speak let man give Ear,
Sent from high, they are nigh,
and forbid our fear
and forbid our fear.
News they bring us of salvation
Sounds of Joy to employ
Ev'ry Tongue and Nation
Ev'ry Tongue and Nation.

For all its popularity, "Hark" is one of the most altered of eighteenth-century Christmas hymns—a fact about which Charles Wesley was reputedly not very happy. But without copyright laws as we know them, there was little authors could do when their creations took on a life of their own. In spite of the changes, Wesley still gets credit for composing what is considered by some to be the most popular Christmas hymn of all time.

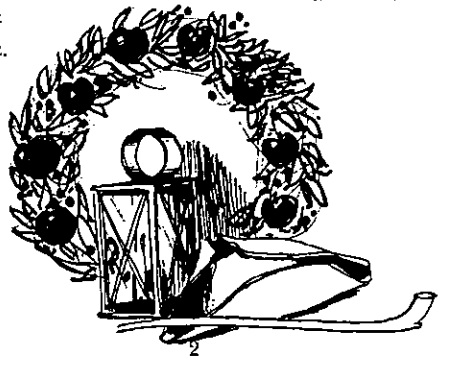
As it turns out, Wesley isn't the only one who might be disgruntled over the modern form of his hymn. German composer Felix Mendelssohn wrote "Festgesang Nr. 7" in 1840 in honor of the fifteenth-century invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg. The music of the second section of Mendelssohn's work seemed well-suited for words but the composer agonized over what text would be appropriate. Of this he wrote:

> *If the right words are hit at, I am sure that piece will be liked very much by the singers and the hearers, but it will never do to sacred words. There must be a national and merry subject found out, something to which the soldier-like and buxom motion of the piece has some relation, and the words must express something gay and popular, as the music tries to do.*

Fifteen years later, an English church musician, Dr. William H. Cummings, put Wesley's (amended) words and Mendelssohn's (secular) music together, in spite of Mendelssohn's judgment that this should be a secular anthem of the people. Christians all over the world consider it one of Mendelssohn's finest sacred compositions.

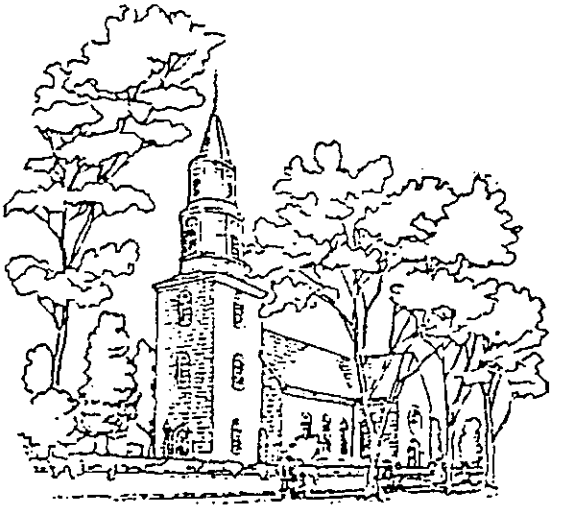
Try the original words to the tune Hendon when you are singing "Hark!" this Christmas season. Celebrate the season as Charles Wesley wanted to do it.

Hark! How All the Welkin Rings! ■



A Sedate, Rational, and Manly Pleasure

by John Turner



Already substituting frequently at Bruton Parish Church for an elderly James Blair, the Reverend William Dawson was still in his late twenties when he delivered the sermon printed below. The lengthy second paragraph tells modern readers right away that eighteenth-century Christmas messages could be quite different from what they might expect to hear today. Quoting from scripture with explanatory text in his own words, Dawson went to great lengths to set good against evil in the context of defining what "good" joy is and is not. He did not even mention Jesus's birth until a few lines from the end. The sermon closes with a warning against Christmas joy expressed in luxury and intemperance or degenerated into sin and sensuality.

While this sermon is interesting for having been preached here in Williamsburg on Christmas Day in 1732, it is somewhat pedestrian, a description also attached to the speaker by historian J. E. Morpurgo. The sermon does, however, give us a window into one well-educated churchman's thoughts on how Virginians ought (and ought not) to observe Christmas in the first half of the eighteenth century. Given the Anglican gentry's taste for feasting, gambling, dancing, and high fashion later in the century, it may surprise some that a Church of England minister in colonial Virginia would preach that austerity be the hallmark of the Christmas season. He thought the lesson worth driving home for he used this sermon on four separate occasions between 1732 and 1740.

If the sermon strikes us as a bit dry, we can, nevertheless, catch a glimpse of a very human William Dawson. The good reverend must have shuffled among his papers a good deal as he read the sermon in Bruton Parish Church.

What suggests such a scenario? Dawson's handwritten manuscript (in the Fulham Palace Papers in England) shows that he revised this sermon more than once. He not only deleted a line (see the line crossed out in the printed text below), but also added lengthy sections at two places in the middle of the text. In a day long before word processors made revision easy and seamless, Dawson chose not to write out a corrected copy of his sermon, even though that would have made reading it aloud to a congregation much easier. Instead, he wrote the new sections down on separate sheets of paper and marked each with a unique symbol keyed to the appropriate locations in the original text. A workable solution, to be sure, but it forced Parson Dawson to thumb to those extra pages more than once in the midst of his delivery.

William Dawson was born in Aspatria, Cumberland County, England, in 1704. He entered Queen's College, Oxford, at age fifteen and was awarded bachelor's and master's degrees, and, eventually became a Doctor of Divinity. Soon after he arrived in Virginia in 1728, Dawson became Blair's assistant at Bruton Parish Church. By 1729, he was professor of moral philosophy at the College of William and Mary. When Blair died in 1743, Mr. Dawson was appointed president of the college and commissary. On Governor Gooch's recommendation, Dawson succeeded Blair as a member of the Governor's Council. His brother, Thomas Dawson, replaced Blair as rector of Bruton Parish Church. ■

Sermon: Christmas 1732

Without these good Dispositions, we have no Title to "rejoyce in the Lord," and are unqualified likewise for any true Joy in any Thing beside him. ~~The Joy of the Wicked is soon kindled but it is quickly extinguish'd, it is glaring, but transient, it makes a Shew, but there is little Heat in it.~~ "As the crackling of Thorns under a Pot, so," says the wise Man, "is the laughter of a Fool." (Eccl. 7.6) Such is the Joy of the wicked; it is soon kindled, but it is quickly extinguish'd; it is glaring, but transient; it makes a Shew, but there is little Heat in it. But the Joy of those who "rejoyce in the Lord," is a sedate, rational, and manly Pleasure: their Delight is as much beyond that of the wicked, as the Enjoyment of our Health, and our Senses is more desirable, than those seeming Transports of Pleasure, w[hi]ch Man may sometimes fancy themselves to have in a Fever or in a Frenzy. The Delights w[hi]ch some may hope to reap f[ro]m the Pleasures of Sin, are all empty and deceitful, stinted in their Measure, short in their Duration, bitter in the End, fatal in their Consequences, and unsatisfactory even in the very Enjoyment: For, as the wise Man assures us, in the midst of all such Joy, the "Heart is sorrowful, and the End of that Mirth is Heaviness." (Pr. 14.13) Such Joy as this is indeed forbidden us, but it is because it robs us of truer and more valuable Joys: it cuts off our Title to much greater Pleasures in Reversion, and spoils the present Relish, w[hi]ch the Prospect of those Pleasures w[hi]ch even now afford us. We are to deny our selves in sensual, immoderate, excessive Joy, not because God hath forbidden us to rejoyce at all, but for this Reason, that "our Joy may be full" (1 John 1.4), and that we may rejoyce the more abundantly. For as I propose'd to shew in the [1st] Place, We lawfully may, and are in Duty bound, so to rejoyce.

Joy is a Passion w[hi]ch God himself hath implanted in our Natures: and it cannot be thought therefore that the Design of Religion is entirely to root it out: it is only to direct it to, and fix it upon, its best, most proper, and becoming Object. It is not only lawful, but necessary for us to desire Happiness, and to endeavour to attain, what we look upon to be good for us. But now there w[oul]d Be no acct. to be given of these Desires; we sh[oul]d have no Inclination to choose and follow that, w[hi]ch we apprehend to be good, if it were not for that Complacency and Satisfaction, w[hi]ch we hope to take in it, when we are possess'd of it. The Pleasure and Delight we promise our selves f[ro]m the Enjoymt. of any Object, is the Spring that sets all our Faculties on work, and moves and quickens them in compassing the propos'd. End. Whatever therefore we may lawfully desire to obtain, that, when obtain'd, we may lawfully delight in.

Every good Xn [Christian], whatever his Condition and Circumstances are, hath always before him just Matter of Rejoycing. If the present Posture of his Affairs is not delightful and entertaining, He knows how to cast his Eyes forward, and place before his View such sure and lasting Materials of Joy and Comfort, as can never fail, as are never to be exhausted. He hath temporal, and he hath spiritual Joys; Joys common, and Joys peculiar; such as other Men may share with him, and such as the World hath no Part or Portion in: He is well pleas'd, when "He rejoyces with them that do rejoyce;" and He can be content also, when his Rejoycing is in himself alone, and not in another. The Taste He hath of spiritual Pleasures, the Delight He takes in them, is no Way inconsistent with the Joy and Satisfaction, w[hi]ch temporal Blessings may afford him. These are not the less, but the more agreeable to him, because He is sure of the other. He looks upon the temporal Felicity He possesses now, as a Pledge and Earnest of that far greater spiritual Happiness, He shall enjoy hereafter. He knows how to bring the Pleasure, w[hi]ch earthly Blessings yield him, within its proper Measure, Bounds, and Regulation; and being secure therefore of enjoying these Pleasures innocently, He must necessarily have a truer Taste of them, and a more just Satisfaction in them.

Temporal Blessings, Health and Plenty, Pleasure and Prosperity, Honour and Reputation, are us'd frequently in Scripture, as Spurts to quicken, and Rewards to encourage, our Obedience. But, these Motives w[oul]d be of no Weight with us, these Blessings w[oul]d be of no Advantage to us, if it was not lawful to be pleas'd with them, and to rejoyce in them. The Delight and Comfort w[hi]ch they afford us, is the only valuable Thing in them; and they would not therefore have been offer'd by God to us, if this Delight were any Way inconsistent with the Design and Scope of our Religion; if it were any Bar to our Holiness here, or to our Happiness hereafter: We are taught to pray to God for the Comforts and Conveniences, as well as the Necessaries of Life; and what we may without Sin pray for, that we may, no doubt, innocently be pleas'd with.

They who place Religion in a morose Dislike, and pretend Detestation, of all the innocent unforbidden Pleasures of Life; and think that a

sower [sour], melancholy, reserv'd and sullen Temper is the only true Sign of Grace, seem wholly to forget, that it is God alone who created these earthly Blessings; that it is He only who bestows them on us, and makes us capable of taking Pleasure in them. It is none of the smallest of those Privileges that are annex'd to "the Fear of the Lord," that "maketh a merry Heart"; that it "giveth Joy and Gladness, and a Crown of Rejoycing." What mistaken Prejudices soever some Men may entertain ag[ain]st an easy, a chearful, and a sprightly Temper; how inconsistent soever they may think it with that harsh, rigid, and severe Notion of Religion, w[hi]ch they have been taught to form; yet certain it is, that such a Frame and Temper of Soul, as this, is so far f[ro]m being a Proof, that a Man hath no Sense of God and Goodness upon his Mind, that it is rather an Arg[umen]t that He hath made great Advances in Religion, and render'd the harshest and most difficult Instances of his Duty habitual and familiar, and therefore easy and agreeable to him. Innocent and inoffensive Mirth and Cheerfulness sh[oul]d rather, one w[oul]d imagine, be inseparable f[ro]m Goodness, than inconsistent with it: and it seems contrary to the Reason of the Thing, that an ill Man should ever be of a cheerful, or a good one of a sad Countenance.

But the Joy of those who "rejoyce in the Lord," is a sedate, rational, and manly Pleasure

True Joy, when it is founded upon a right Principle, directed to its proper Object, kept within its due Compass, and not suffer'd to exceed either in its Measure, or Duration, is not only lawful, but commendable; now only what we may, without Sin, allow our selves in, but what we cannot, without Folly, abridge our selves of. Pleasure and Good, Pain and Evil, are but different Expressions for one and the same Thing. No Action is ever forbidden us, but what, upon the whole, brings more Pain than Pleasure; none is commanded us, but what, all Things consider'd, yields greater Degrees of Pleasure, than it does Pain. And it can never therefore be an Objection ag[ain]st any Thing we undertake, that it will cause Joy; nor a Commendation of any Action, that it will produce Sorrow. True it is, the great Duty of Repentance does in the very Nature of it include Sorrow; but then the End of this Sorrow is, that we may be put into a Condition of rejoycing the more abundantly. The Sense of our Sins must make us "weep and lament" (John 16.20,21); but then "our Sorrow will soon be turned into Joy." Tho' our Conversion hath its Panes; yet we shall "no more remember the Anguish, for Joy that a new Man is born into the World."

We have seen what it is to "rejoyce in the Lord," and have been shewn, that we may, and that we must rejoyce in him. Let us therefore with an humble Confidence offer up our Prayers at the Throne of Grace, that God w[oul]d be pleased to "lift up the light of his Countenance upon us," that he w[oul]d "make us to hear of Joy and Gladness, that the Bones w[hi]ch he hath broken may rejoyce;" that he w[oul]d be pleas'd to establish his Kingdom in our Hearts, not "in Righteousness only," but in "Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost;" and that he w[oul]d teach, direct, and enable us "to rejoyce in the Lord," yea, "to rejoyce in him alway."

And may the God of Hope fill us with all Joy and Peace in believing, that we may abound in hope thro' the Power of the Holy Ghost, that "the Peace of God, w[hi]ch passeth all Understanding," may rule in our Hearts, that we may "rejoyce with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory," and may at last "receive the End of our Faith, even the Salvation of our Souls." W[hi]ch God of his infinite Mercy grant, &c.

Whatever Reasons we may have for our Grief and Sorrow, they are mightily overbalanc'd by those Motives, that recommend Joy and Gladness. Christ's coming into the World was usher'd in with Joy; a Multitude of the Heavenly Host prais'd God, and sung Glory to Him, Peace on Earth, and Good-Will towards Men. We must receive these glad Tidings with a religious Joy, and inflame and raise our Minds to the highest Pitch that we can

Let us therefore break forth into Joy, for unto us this Day is born a Saviour.

But let us take Care, that, during this Holy Season, our Joy does not degenerate into Sin and Sensuality; that we do not express it by Luxury and Intemperance, to the great Scandal of our Saviour and His holy Religion. But let us so rejoyce, that we may at last be made meet to be Partakers of those Rivers of Pleasure, that are at God's right Hand for evermore.

Williamsb.	Xtmas [Christmas] Day		1732
	Dec.	19	1736
		24	1738
	Augt.	17	1740

■

COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

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

A visit to the Wallace Gallery is always a visual treat, but especially so with the current exhibit *Revolution in Taste.* The emphasis is on the tea wares so indicative of the consumer revolution that evolved along with the political changes in eighteenth-century Virginia society. For the moment, however, forget about tea and consider the objects devoted to the consumption of alcoholic beverages: tankards, mugs, crystal and silver goblets, monteiths, bottle stands, decanters, jugs, punch bowls and ladles, celebratory loving cups, and yes, even a sacred chalice.

Alcohol was not always a social drink. The chalice is a reminder of the religious use of wine and the role of medieval monks as vintners who produced wine for the Holy Eucharist and for medicinal purposes. By the eighteenth century, the use of alcohol for commercial consumption eclipsed the small percentage used for religious reasons, and the production of alcoholic drinks developed into two distinct processes: fermentation and distillation. Fermented drinks were represented by beers and wine, distilled drinks or "spirits" by brandy, gin, and rum. Much like the vessel in which your beverage was served, the beverage itself was indicative of your status.

Small beer, cider from apples, perry from pears, and fruit wines could be produced locally, and inexpensive imported spirits such as gin and rum were readily available, especially in taverns. However, in Governor Botetourt's wine cellar and in the wine cellars of most gentry families, Portuguese wines such as madiera and port, Spanish sack, French claret and champagne, and German Rhenish wines were found. The most expensive imported spirits were Arrack and French brandy. Arrack (no longer available in its eighteenth-century form), a potent liquor distilled from the sap of coconut trees, was another product of the East India trade. Spirits were popular ingredients for punch, the convivial drink, to which there are many references in eighteenth-century journals. The word "punch" probably is derived from the Hindu word panch meaning five, the number of ingredients in punch (spirits or wine, water, sugar, citrus juice, and spices). Depending upon the proportions used, punch could be either a harmless or nearly lethal concoction.

"Bumbo" or "Toddy" was the poor man's punch containing only three ingredients: alcohol, sugar, and water. Royal governors dispensed bumbo to the populace on special occasions, a drink that could be watered down and stretched to satisfy the thirst of any number of people. While the governor and his guests enjoyed their punch served in Chinese-export porcelain punch bowls, the local citizens found their bumbo served from an ordinary barrel. The two punch ingredients missing from bumbo—citrus juice and spices—are further evidence of how the cost of ingredients and the manner in which they were served defined a person's status in society.

Eighteenth-century documents that describe holidays and festive occasions also indicate the variety of beverages offered to guests. According to Philip Vickers Fithian, refreshments served by Robert Carter at a ball held at Nomini Hall included "several sorts of Wine, good Lemon Punch, Toddy, Cyder, Porter &c." In another reference, Fithian referred to a "Lime Punch." Apparently the kind of citrus used impressed this young Presbyterian unaccustomed to the amount of alcohol served by his wealthy Virginia employer.

This holiday season, you may want to try serving some of these popular drinks, even if your punch bowl, cups, and goblets are not as grand as those found in the Wallace Gallery. Whether you use costly antiques, affordable reproductions, or objects of more modern design, the essence of Virginia hospitality has always been the sharing of food and drink, which is also the essence of Christmas. ■

PUNCH

The Juice of three good Lemons—two small Coffee-cups Rum sweetened as for Toddy (one Pound brown sugar to each Gallon of Spirit), one Gallon of French Brandy and white Sugar—to your Taste, will make three Quarts Punch—or one small Coffee-cup of bottled Juice in place of fresh Lemons. Five good Limes equal to three Lemons.

Manuscript Cook Book of Mrs. Frances Bland Tucker Coalter, circa 1801

TO MAKE FINE MILK-PUNCH

Take Two Quarts of Water, one Quart of Milk, half a Pint of Lemon Juice, and one Quart of Brandy, Sugar to your Taste; put the Milk and Water together a little warm, then the Sugar, then the Lemon Juice, stir it well together; then the Brandy; stir it again, and run it through a Flannel Bag till 'tis very fine; then bottle it; it will keep a Fortnight or more.

Mrs. Eliza Smith's Complete Housewife, *Williamsburg, 1742*

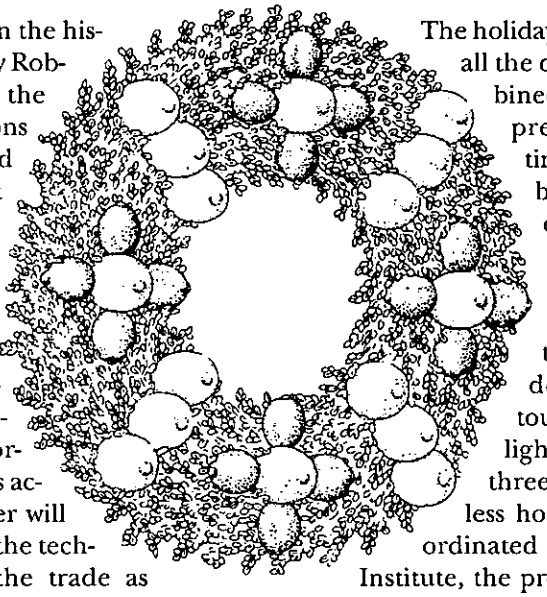
ARRACK PUNCH

Although no surviving receipt documents the ingredients for Henry Wetherburn's famous Arrack Punch, Mrs. Helen Bullock in *The Williamsburg Art of Cookery* provides the following version. Rum should be substituted for Arrack.

Pour the strained Juice of two large Oranges over three-fourths of a Pound of Loaf-sugar. Add a little of the outside Peel cut in very thin Slices. Pour over it one Quart of boiling Water, one Pint of Arrack, and a Pint of hot red French Wine. Stir together. This may be served when cold and will improve with Age.

Information for this article was provided by Dennis Cotner and Wendy Howell of Historic Foodways.

Holiday Decorations Workshop



This Christmas season the historic eighteenth-century Robert Carter House will be the scene for daily decorations workshops. Floral and Landscape Department employees will demonstrate the construction of holiday wreaths, kissing balls, and other accoutrements of Colonial Williamsburg's traditional holiday trimming. Bringing this formerly behind-the-scenes activity to front and center will allow visitors to observe the techniques and tricks of the trade as weathered decorations are recycled with fresh greens from the holiday design studio.

A Williamsburg Sampler—Holiday Food and Decorations

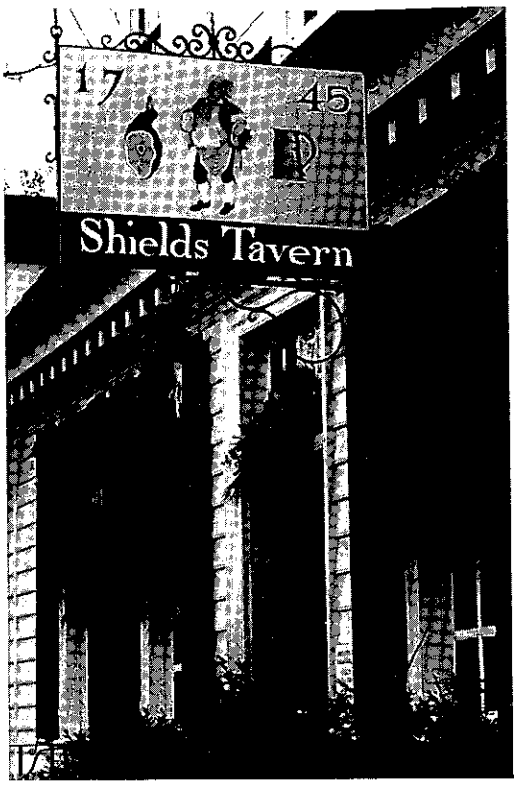
The holiday season is a time when all the domestic arts are combined into one festive expression. For the first time, Colonial Williamsburg will feature a holiday symposium where our floral designers, home decorators, and chefs will share their talents in lectures, demonstrations, and tours. Experience the delights of integrating these three arts into one seamless holiday experience. Coordinated by the Williamsburg Institute, the program will be held at the Woodlands/Cascades complex, December 13–15,1998. ■

Gordon Chappell
Director, Floral and Landscape Department

A Tavern for all Seasons

by Ron Warren

Ron is a historical interpreter in the Education Division, Capitol Area.



On a fine fall day in mid-September I found myself in the vicinity of Shields Tavern in Williamsburg, Virginia. Having had previous acquaintance with their good food and genial host, I determined to visit the tavern once again in hopes that I might have conversation with Mr. Shields and partake of his wonderful victuals.

Upon my entering, the servants were most attentive but informed me that the owner had strained his back lifting a keg of madiera and was not available. I satisfied my inner self with a pint of rum and a morsel of cold ox and went on my way much disappointed in not having seen my host. However, . . . determined to return again, I did so a few days later and found, to my pleasure, that Mr. Shields was indeed present and able to see me.

'Tis only fair to my readers that I provide some introduction to my host. He reminds me somewhat of Steele's description of Sir Roger de Coverly in *Spectator* number 2 of March 2, 1711. If I may be permitted to paraphrase the item, I would say that "he is now in his XXX year, cheerful and hearty; keeps a good tavern and is a great lover of mankind; but there is a mirthful cast in his behavior that he is rather beloved than esteemed. His diners grow full, his servants seem satisfied, all the young lasses profess to love him, and young lads are pleased with his charm. When he passes through the tavern he calls all the servants by name and talks all the way to the kitchen."

Upon joining him in his counting room I was immediately put to ease, and I had no hesitancy about inquiring into his experience as a tavern keeper. He informed me that his position gave him an opportunity to meet a great many wonderful people and that he considered his staff to have gone out of their way to make all feel welcome including himself.

I knew that he and Mr. Benjamin Powell had a close relationship, and so I inquired into a comparison of the two. Mr. Shields explained that both men came to Williamsburg as young men, and, through hard work and long hours, they were both able to achieve a position of respectability within the community. It seems to me that both men have much in common. They both seem to love life and their fellow man. Who can forget Mr. Powell's congenial greeting to fat-cheeked little urchins? Does not James Shields have much the same way about him as he welcomes young lads and lasses to his tavern?

Obviously I have been writing about and talking to none other than John Lowe, one of Colonial Williamsburg's popular character interpreters (who, indeed, has also portrayed Benjamin Powell). I asked John about his experiences with visitors over the years.

He replied, "The experiences I've had with all the people I've met in the past three decades could fill several large volumes. I've had the opportunity to talk Washington Redskins football with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. (He knew what he was talking about!) I've listened to John Wayne share some fascinating anecdotes about his long and distinguished career in films. I've talked at length with ABC News commentator

Howard K. Smith about the war in Vietnam. Lee J. Cobb told me about the great satisfaction he derived from playing Willy Loman in Arthur Miller's masterpiece, *Death of a Salesman.* These experiences I will treasure the rest of my life."

John has the following advice for those who are developing a character:

1. Read all you can about the period in question. Start with some good general histories to provide you with background.
2. Document your character as thoroughly as possible. What kind of person was he or she? What did the neighbors think about him or her? Did he or she go to church on a regular basis? Question the husband-wife relationship. Question parenting. Was there much "tippling"? Was he or she considered to be a spendthrift? Anything you can find out about your character tends to humanize him or her more. That is the kind of person our guests want to meet, a flesh-and-blood human being.
3. Seek the advice of our friends in training and research. During the thirty years I've been here, I've had the opportunity to work with some of the best in the business. Our research staff is here to help you. Don't hesitate to call upon them for assistance. They have been a great help to me.

Finally, I inquired of Mr. Shields about the tavern and the Christmas season. He was quick to point out that it is important to keep in mind that in the eighteenth century, Christmas is primarily a religious holiday. John Lowe, however, emphasized that, "Even though Shields Tavern is furnished to provide our visitors with the ambience of an eighteenth-century establishment, our management and staff also realize that they must meet the expectations of the twentieth-century patrons.

With that idea in mind, John O'Connor, Shields Tavern manager, is busy making preparations for the upcoming holiday season. These will include three opportunities for visitors to dine with Mr. Shields. Balladeers will sing songs of the period, and there will be other diverse activities. On the morning of December 25, there will be a Christmas breakfast, and dinners will be served the rest of the day. It goes without saying that the tavern will be lavishly bedecked with holiday greenery. So, come, pay a visit. It will be well worth your time.

This author found that dining at Shields Tavern on such culinary delights as the delicious pork chops or the eighteenth-century Sampler and visiting with James Shields will satisfy your appetite for good food and good conversation in any season. ■

John Lowe as tavernkeeper James Shields wishing you "Happy Holidays!"

Religion in the Other Twelve Colonies

by Linda Rowe

Linda is a historian in the Department of Historical Research and is a member of the Freeing Religion story line team.

It comes as no surprise that colonists up and down the eastern seaboard of early America were overwhelmingly Protestant. Even so, the Church of England, the state church back in England, was not on privileged ground in all of England's mainland colonies.

In the southern colonies, the "C. of E." was the legally established church from Maryland to Georgia. It faired best in Virginia, the strongest of the Anglican establishments in pre-Revolutionary America.

In New England, a majority of settlers were Puritans. The Puritan movement had arisen in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. English Protestants influenced by Calvinism sought to "purify" the English church of all traces of the Latin liturgy and priestly vestments retained by Elizabeth I in an effort to accommodate both Catholics and Protestants under the Anglican umbrella. Puritans also came to believe that the authority of bishops was contrary to scripture. Extreme Puritans actually separated from the Church of England. More moderate, non-separating Puritans strove to carry Protestant reform within the Church of England well beyond the "middle way" of the Elizabethan settlement. The founders of New England included settlers from both groups. Puritan colonists adopted a congregational church polity, which acknowledged the autonomy of each congregation. In all but Rhode Island, the Congregational Church was the official church in the New England colonies. The Church of England did manage to make significant inroads among the Congregational population of New England in the eighteenth century.

Owing to colonization by Dutch, Swedes, and English in the area of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware and the Quaker sympathies of the founder of Pennsylvania, religious traditions in the "middle colonies" were quite diverse.

What follows is a very brief summary of religion in the twelve colonies other than Virginia in roughly chronological order by date of settlement. The religious historians of the other colonies raise interesting comparisons with Virginia and Jefferson's famed Statute for Religious Freedom (1786). These issues will be addressed in a future *interpreter.*

Massachusetts. In 1620 a group of Puritans (the Pilgrims) founded Plymouth Colony in New England. Among this group of settlers were radical separatists who had broken away from the Church of England and fled to Leiden in Holland. The rest of the Plymouth group was made up of "non-Pilgrims," men like Miles Standish, a hired military leader, as well as indentured servants and hired craftsmen. Plymouth operated as a separate colony under a land patent. In 1630 Puritans began full-scale settlement of Massachusetts under a charter granted the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629. Although they did not formally break with the Church of England, emigration across three thousand miles of ocean had that effect. Governor John Winthrop was dedicated to a Puritan theocracy that demanded Biblical prototypes for the institutions and activities of the new colony—the colony that was to be a dynamic, earthly expression of the will of God. In 1691, a new charter united Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth into a single royal colony. The Congregational Church was the established church of Massachusetts until 1833. Colonial Massachusetts enforced harsh penalties against Quakers and individuals, such as Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, whose religious ideas differed from those of the Puritan leadership. The Church of England was considered a dissenting religion in Massachusetts.

New Hampshire. Puritans from Massachusetts began settling in New Hampshire as early as 1623 and on into the 1630s. For almost fifty years before its incorporation as a separate colony, New Hampshire consisted of a series of communities under the political and social jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Until 1741, even after it became a separate colony (1679), New Hampshire shared a governor with Massachusetts. The established church was Congregational, but the colony tolerated a variety of religious beliefs. Anglicanism was considered a dissenting religion there.

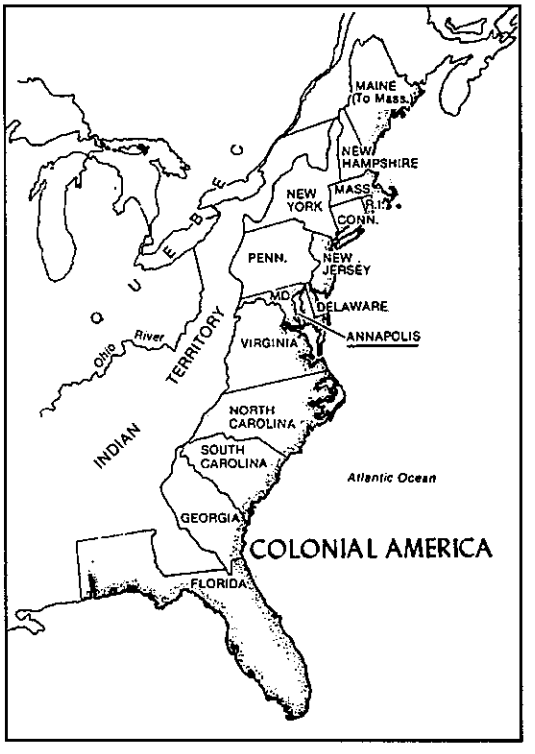
New York. The Dutch West Indies Company founded New York as New Netherlands in 1624. It was captured by the English in 1664

and named New York in honor of its first proprietor, James, the duke of York. Relations between dissenters and churchmen were strained, and Anglicans succeeded in establishing their church in only the most nominal sense in three or four counties in New York.

New Jersey. In the 1620s and 1630s, the Dutch and later the Swedes explored the area west of the Hudson River. Eventually the Dutch West India Company claimed both New York and New Jersey as the colony of New Netherlands, and, in 1655, Governor Peter Stuyvesant expelled the Swedes. Having never recognized either Dutch or Swedish claims to the area, the English seized it in 1664 and renamed the section west of the Hudson River "New Jersey." Anglicanism was on an equal footing with other denominations in the colony.

Delaware. Delaware was first explored and settled by the Dutch in the 1610s and early 1620s. The Dutch were generally members of the Reformed (Calvinistic) Church. In 1638, a small number of Swedes established a permanent settlement in Delaware, built a fort, and established a Lutheran congregation. The British captured Delaware in 1664. In 1684, the Duke of York gave the area to William Penn. Delaware remained a part of Pennsylvania until 1701, when it was granted the right to choose its own assembly. However, it shared the same governor as Pennsylvania. The first Church of England parish in Delaware was formed in 1703. Anglicanism was voluntary and on an equal footing with other denominations in Delaware.

Maryland. In 1632, the first Lord Baltimore (George Calvert), a former advisor to King Charles I, persuaded the king to grant him land north of the Potomac River. A recent convert to Roman Catholicism, Calvert wanted to establish a colony where Catholics, who were persecuted in England, could worship freely. Upon Calvert's death, the grant went to his son Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, a Catholic like his father. Baltimore's Catholicism was a source of unrest in Maryland because a majority of settlers to the colony were Protestant. Protestant farmers along the Chesapeake Bay resented Catholic leadership in St. Mary's City. Lord Baltimore eventually named Protestants to important positions in the government, but at the same time sought to protect the rights of Catholics. The Maryland legislature passed the Act Concerning Religion in 1649, assuring freedom of worship to Christians who believed in the Trinity. Maryland offered Catholics and Quakers (and a few Puritans) a safe haven until the late 1690s, when it became a royal colony after the accession of William III and Mary II. Under the new regime, the capital shifted from Catholic-dominated St. Mary's City to Protestant-dominated Anne Arundel Town (now Annapolis). Three attempts to officially establish the Church of England in Maryland between 1692 and 1700 failed. The move succeeded in 1702, and by 1724 the Church of England was indeed the church of Maryland.



Connecticut. Connecticut was established when a number of Puritan congregations from Massachusetts settled along the Connecticut River in 1635 and 1636. By 1639, another group of Puritans established a separate colony at New Haven. In 1665, Connecticut received its first royal charter, and New Haven joined the new colony. The church polity preferred in Connecticut and other Puritan colonies allowed the congregation of each church to be its own authority with almost no outside ecclesiastical control. Law established Congregationalism in Connecticut in the seventeenth century, and all citizens were taxed for its support. It remained so until 1818. The Church of En-

gland was considered a dissenting sect in Connecticut.

Rhode Island. The confederation of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation (established by Roger Williams in 1636), two dissident offshoots of Massachusetts, formed Rhode Island in 1640. Williams, born in England, educated at Cambridge, and ordained an Anglican minister, gradually came to hold Puritan sympathies. To avoid persecution in England, Williams immigrated to Massachusetts, where he soon challenged the Puritan system. He called for separation of church and state and attacked the Bay Colony charter for violating Indians' rights. Eventually Williams was found guilty of promulgating "new and dangerous opinions" and was banished. On land purchased from the Narragansett Indians, he established Providence, the first permanent English settlement in Rhode Island. He instituted a liberal political structure, including religious freedom and separation of church and state, and welcomed all creeds into the colony, including Jews and Quakers. There was a thriving Jewish community and synagogue in Newport in the eighteenth century. Williams himself later became a Seeker, one who believed in Christianity but preferred no specific creed. Anglicanism was on an equal footing with other denominations.

North Carolina. Planters from Virginia settled North Carolina in the 1650s. Charles II gave a large grant encompassing both Carolinas to eight proprietors in 1663. Although South Carolina became a royal colony in 1719, North Carolina continued as a proprietary colony until 1729 when the proprietors surrendered their rights to the crown. Anglicans were prominent among the proprietors. On paper, the proprietors established the Anglican church, but in practice they granted liberty of conscience to Baptists, Huguenots, Quakers, and Presbyterians who offered the likeliest prospects as settlers. Legislation to establish the Anglican church was initiated in 1701, but the acts were not approved in England or were effectively resisted by the province's dissenters until 1765. The Anglican establishment in North Carolina was nominal at best, and the Church of England never gained a firm settlement there.

South Carolina. Established in 1663 as a proprietorship including North Carolina, South Carolina was not actively settled until 1670. By 1700, dissenter meetings outnumbered Anglican churches three to one. In 1719, South Carolina became a royal colony, because local planters rebelled against the proprietors in favor of the crown. The Church of England was the established church in South Carolina, but the colonywide establishment was not delineated in law until 1706, several decades after the colony was settled. By the 1730s Anglican ministers reported that they were winning many dissenters to the Church of England.

Pennsylvania. The area that became Pennsylvania was given to William Penn as a proprietary colony in 1681. The crown owed Penn's father, Admiral Sir William Penn, a debt. Charles II was happy to pay the debt in land instead of cash—and to be rid of the younger Penn. Penn had joined the Society of Friends and had begun to use his wealth to help his fellow Quakers escape religious persecution in England. Begun as a Quaker commonwealth, Pennsylvania's religious life became diverse as Penn actively sought immigrants from other religious groups in England and Europe. Scots—Irish immigration to the American colonies began about 1716, and most headed for western Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania was also the destination for many German settlers, including members of such religious sects as the Church of the Brethren (Dunkers), Mennonites, and Moravians. Anglicanism was voluntary and on an equal footing with other denominations in Pennsylvania.

Georgia. Granted to a board of trustees by George II in 1732, Georgia was both a philanthropic experiment and a military buffer against Spanish Florida. The first English settlers arrived in 1733, at which time a Church of England congregation was organized at Savannah. By that time, a wave of non-English immigration to America was at a peak, with German Lutherans, Scottish Presbyterians, Moravians, French Huguenots, and others making their way to the colony. More than forty Jews, the largest such group to enter any colony at one time, landed in Savannah in July 1733 where they organized a synagogue. In 1752, the trustees' charter expired, and the colony reverted to the Crown. At that time, such a high proportion of dissenters resided in the province that establishment of the Church of England was resisted until 1758, when a mild establishment, which generally tolerated all denominations except Roman Catholics, was agreed upon. The first Baptist church in Georgia dates from 1772. ■

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE:
News from the Museums

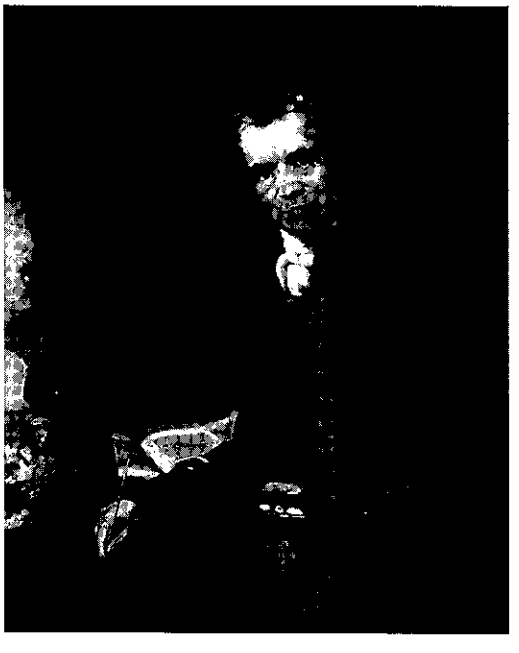
The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks

by Jan Gilliam

Jan is associate curator for exhibits and toys for the Department of Collections and Museums.

The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center will unveil *The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks* in February. It will be the first major exhibition devoted to the life and artistic works of Edward Hicks, the early nineteenth-century Quaker minister considered by many to be America's most popular folk painter. Even if you aren't familiar with his name, you probably will recognize his Peaceable Kingdoms depicting oxen, lions, lambs, and wolves arranged together in a landscape.

The Folk Art Center owns the largest single collection of Hicks's paintings—sixteen pictures that span his entire career and cover a variety of subjects. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller was one of the first to collect works by Hicks, including two of the Folk Art Center's Peaceable Kingdoms. The collection also includes a portrait of Hicks created by his cousin Thomas Hicks, as well as tools originally used by the artist and some correspondence associated with his paintings. Many of these will be on exhibit along with more than fifty other paintings and objects on loan from other institutions and private individuals including direct descendants of the artist. The exhibit is curated by the director of museums, Carolyn Weekley. She is also the author of the accompanying catalog, *The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks,* to be published by Colonial Williamsburg in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc. The book will be available at the opening.



Edward Hicks was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on April 4, 1780. Before and during the Revolution, his affluent, Anglican grandfather held positions in the British government. Sympathizing with the British and accused of being a Tory, his grandfather fled to New York and then to Nova Scotia. His property was confiscated, leaving Edward's father in reduced circumstances.

About the time the war ended, Edward, then just over a year old, was left motherless. He was taken in and raised by the Twinings, family friends and Quakers. At thirteen, he began an apprenticeship with local coach makers, where he discovered his talent for decorative painting and became proficient in this area of the carriage trade. Upon completion of his training, he established his own coach painting shop. At about this time he also joined the Society of Friends. Hicks's chosen religion would be all-consuming, affecting every aspect of his life and influencing much of his artistic work, particularly the many versions (more than sixty) of the Peaceable Kingdom that he created from about 1820 to his death in 1849.

In 1803, Edward Hicks married Sarah Worstall and, over the next several years, had one son and four daughters. He eventually settled in Newtown, Pennsylvania, where he remained for the rest of his life. He and the workers in his shop spe-

cialized in coach and decorative painting, furniture painting, and sign painting.

Not only master of his own shop, Edward was also a Quaker minister. This avocation required that he travel frequently to local meetings as well as make extensive journeys. He was not compensated for his numerous and expensive ministerial trips and his dedication to this calling caused him financial difficulties. He had great talent and passion for painting and preaching and pursued both careers throughout his life.

Along with his shop work and ministry, Edward spent considerable time on his easel paintings, creating more than one hundred during his lifetime. Many of these paintings were done for friends and family and did not provide any significant income. Along with the now famous Peaceable Kingdoms, Edward also painted landscapes and pastorals including versions of the Twinings' farm and other familiar places. These serve as important pictorial manifestations of the peace on earth that Hicks yearned for and taught throughout his lifetime. He also painted historical and patriotic scenes such as Washington at the Delaware, The Declaration of Independence, and Penn's Treaty with the Indians. Hicks, a strong advocate of independence and freedom, spoke often of the importance of civil liberty and human rights in his sermons.

The theme of the Chapter 11 Isaiah prophesy, though, was his most frequent subject:

The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.

The Kingdoms were highly personal expressions for Hicks, and he would refine and perfect them over long periods of time.

They were visual manifestations of his longing for unity and peace. They were dramatic pictorial yearnings for reconciliation between the two disparate Quaker groups—the Orthodox and the Hicksites (named not after Edward, but rather after his cousin Elias, also a renowned Quaker minister). Each animal represented certain human temperaments and traits that were associated with the behavior of some members of the church. The controversy that eventually led to the separation of the two groups was of immediate concern to Hicks as he watched and participated in heated discussions of something so personal and all-encompassing in his life. The disagreements affected him deeply, and the working out of these personal and religious struggles is evident in the evolution of his Kingdom pictures, many examples of which will be featured in the exhibit.

In 1843, Edward began writing his memoirs, chronicling his inner struggles and religious concerns. The writings, published posthumously, also provided his personal reflections on everyday life. In 1849—on the night before his death—Hicks was working on a Kingdom for one of his daughters. According to published accounts, he mentioned to his family that he had visited his shop for the last time and that Isaac, his son, would put the last touches on the Kingdom picture.

The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks not only offers the opportunity to view Hicks's artistic accomplishments, but also to explore the complex and rich context from which they were created. A video presentation will complement the exhibit by offering additional comments from the curator and extant scenes of Bucks County where Hicks once lived and worked. Although some of Hicks's meanings are difficult to understand in our modern context, there are important messages that are still relevant today. A special interactive gallery within the exhibit will encourage children and families to explore such concepts as peace and living in harmony with each other and nature.

The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks will run through September 6, 1999. During the seven months, watch for special programming associated with the exhibit. Following the exhibit's run here, it will travel to Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco. ■

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *Research Tips*

by Jennifer Jones

Jennifer is the project manager for the Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library and a historian in the Historical Research Department.

For seventy years, the Foundation's historians, archaeologists, interpreters, and educators have thoroughly studied the Historic Area buildings and the people who lived in them in the eighteenth century. In the course of this work, Colonial Williamsburg has amassed a collection of research reports, maps, architectural plans, photographs, databases, rare books, and manuscripts. These materials constitute a collection of national significance for scholars of early American history.

With a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Colonial Williamsburg will now be able to deliver part of this research collection to a wider audience. Over the next three years, the staff of the Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library will be digitizing a variety of materials in the research departments and the Rockefeller Library to create an online archive of eighteenth-century materials. The first materials for the digital library are already being processed. The microfilm *Virginia Gazette* published from 1736 through 1780 was scanned this summer through a cooperative arrangement with the University of Virginia. The Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture has also agreed to let us make a digital version of the *Virginia Gazette Index,* which will be linked to the pages to make the entire collection searchable by computer. The House History files will be processed during the first year. The text will be keyboarded and formatted so it can be viewed through a web browser, and hyperlinks will be created from the text to the images. During the second and third years of the project, we will create digital versions of some of the rare books and manuscripts in Special Collections.

The entire archive will be referenced to the block and building numbers used for the Historic Area. The materials can be ac-

cessed through a map of the town. By clicking on the site of the Peyton Randolph House, for example, a researcher can access the underlying archives of research reports, manuscripts, and database information related to that site. A researcher can also make use of a retrieval engine to search the entire archive.

Colonial Williamsburg's researchers, interpreters, and educators will have access to the early materials by the middle of next year. The digital library will go on-line as part of Colonial Williamsburg's web site by the end of next summer. At that time we will begin to test a subscription plan for the digital library. The Mellon Foundation is interested in the economic implications of making library materials available on-line. It would like to see the Colonial Williamsburg project become financially self-sustaining by the time funding runs out in 2001. For that reason, we will charge patrons outside Colonial Williamsburg an annual fee to access the materials. ■

Freeing Religion—The Spirit of '98

by John Turner

John is chair of the Freeing Religion story line team.

The kick-off year for the Freeing Religion story line has been hectic but full of satisfying experiences. Efforts to bring the Historic Area on board with preparations for 1998 really began in earnest on May 22, 1997, through an all-day retreat for Education Division directors, managers, and supervisors held at Hickory Neck Episcopal Church in James City County. Programmatically, the retreat was made up of a series of vignettes and discussions introducing various ways of presenting the story of religion in the Historic Area.

Training for interpreters began in October 1997 concomitantly with the delivery of the Freeing Religion resource books. Day One was a directed reading day that gave interpreters an opportunity to focus on the resource material.

Day Two was modeled after the Hickory Neck Retreat and usually took place in the Wren Chapel (although once at Lane Auditorium). Day Three included videos, a walking tour, a character interpreter presentation, and a panel discussion with interpreters experienced in dealing with some aspect of religion in their interpretation.

The feedback from interpreters concerning the three days of religion training was very positive. Although the final goal of our training is making the eighteenth century come to life for our visitors, there are, especially with certain topics, more immediate goals. One important immediate goal was to enable interpreters to be more confident and comfortable in dealing with the subject of religion. On this front, the training was highly successful as class evaluations and conversations with interpreters have indicated.

Religion was in the spotlight from very early in 1998. On January 11, the Council for America's First Freedom observed the anniversary of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom here at Colonial Williamsburg. Awards and speeches were presented before an overflow crowd at Bruton Parish Church with the keynote address being delivered by Colonial Williamsburg Board member Stephen Rockefeller, 1998 recipient of the national First Freedom Award. A few days later (January 15) Colonial Williamsburg broadcast an electronic field trip titled *Church vs. State,* which received enthusiastic participation from students around the country.

Training continued through March 1998, preparing the way for Religion Month (April 1998) and the new programs that are still being offered in the Historic Area. Assisted by a special fund provided by F. G. and Kathy Summitt for the promotion of religious scholarship, CWF hosted renowned scholar and author Mark Noll, professor of religious history at Wheaton College. Noll presented two lectures that set new attendance records for the Religion Month series.

The generous grant for the interpretation of religion at Colonial Williamsburg from Lilly Endowment, Inc., positively affected implementation of the story line in every aspect—from printing and reproduction of resource materials to the creation of new characters to broaden the picture of religious history we are able to present. Among the new roles created with Lilly support were:

Edward Lively—church sexton
James Ireland—itinerant Baptist preacher
Elizabeth Anthony—Quaker woman
Moses—African-American Baptist preacher.

Alone, and in interaction between new and existing "religion" characters, the character interpreter core focusing on religion created a rich tapestry of stories concerning the role of religion in the lives of colonial Virginians.

Around the Historic Area, several sites contributed significantly to the story being told about religion. Weekly hymn sings and a variety of other programs held at the Geddy House focus on the family dimension of this story. Juvenile performers recite Bible verses and other articles of basic eighteenth-century religious and educational instruction. One of them, portraying a young student from the grammar school, recites the Lord's Prayer in Latin. The Reverend Mr. Henley and a young woman from the Geddy family observe the "Churching of Women," a service of thanksgiving to God for safe passage through the difficulties of childbirth for both mother and child.

The Silversmith Shop has been involved all year in a fascinating and timely project creating a new, historically accurate silver communion service for St. Matthew's Anglican Church in Newport News. As was often done in the eighteenth century, the congregation donated personal silver items to be melted down and re-fabricated as chalice and paten for their church's regular use. During this process, St. Matthew's rector, Father Francis Blair, blessed the silversmith staff in several services, joined by members of his congregation and Colonial Williamsburg staff. The finished chalice was formally received by the congregation on November 22 and first used for communion on the first Sunday in Advent (November 29, 1998). By

Master silversmith Jim Curtis with St. Matthew's silver chalice.

FREEING RELIGION

The Freeing Religion story line surveys religious life in colonial Virginia and explains how Indian, African, and European religions in the colony were modified not only by the legally sanctioned Church of England; but also by the evangelical movement that inspired many people to abandon the established church for dissenting sects; and by the philosophical, political, and social changes that culminated in the passage of a law guaranteeing the free exercise of religion.

Key Points

* Pervasive Presence. Religion permeated everyday life and learning in eighteenth-century Virginia.
* State Church. Legally established and protected, the Church of England was the predominant religious institution in the Virginia colony.
* Separation of Church and State. As many Virginians responded to the appeal of evangelical faith and the tolerant rationalism of the Enlightenment, they moved away from the idea of a single authoritarian church protected by the state and toward the concept of religion disassociated from government.
* Cradle of Liberty. The personal appeal of evangelical faith and the ideals of the Enlightenment helped create an atmosphere in which democratic ideas developed.
* Equal Before God. As it filtered through African American culture, evangelical Christianity's message of equality before God merged with Old Testament images of deliverance giving many slaves new strength for resisting and coping with slavery.
* Unwilling Subjects. Native Americans' reluctance to convert to Christianity and adopt other English customs helped persuade land-hungry colonists and British officials that encroachment on Indian lands and the near-extermination of native populations were justified.

all reports this has been an uplifting experience for all those involved, as well as an excellent opportunity for our artisans to interpret religion while practicing their craft. This project also received support from the staff of the Geddy Foundry.

Religious Freedom Day, the electronic field trip *Church vs. State,* Religion Month, and the chalice project all produced favorable attention in local and state media. A number of visitors and leaders of various organizations have expressed their appreciation for Colonial Williamsburg's effort in focusing attention on the subject of religion and its role in Virginia's history. Coincidentally, the Library of Congress sponsored a major exhibit titled *Religion and the Founding of the American Republic,* which ran from June through August 1998 and will now travel to four or five different venues around the country over the next several years. A number of interpreters and Freeing Religion team members visited the exhibit in August and were impressed by how supportive it was of the goals we have set here for informing our public concerning religion.

In general, we can be very pleased with the way the inaugural year of Freeing Religion has gone. It wasn't easy to be the story line that came on line at the same time as neighborhoods and daily events. The message of the story line did manage to prevail, however. One of the keys to this was the excellent presentation of the story line by the staff of the *Visitor's Companion.* The Freeing Religion box on the front page alerted many visitors to the emphasis on religion and prompted them to ask questions in the Historic Area that helped make the system work.

At least some of the participants in each focus group that was asked about the year's story line were aware of Freeing Religion, and some of those could go into specifics about Baptists and other dissenting groups active in colonial Virginia. Rhys Isaac, author of *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790,* currently in town as a visiting professor at William and Mary, has complimented several of our character interpreters personally for their portrayals of religious life in the 1770s.

Perhaps the most gratifying result of the Freeing Religion experience up to now is the apparent comfort and acceptance level for the subject with the great majority of interpreters and visitors. The questions and requests for assistance the religion team has fielded in the past twelve months evidence both interest in and acceptance of the importance of the subject. Conversations on the street indicate that visitors are asking some of the right kinds of questions from our point of view and that interpreters are responding naturally and informatively.

In September, I passed by a family engaging one of our gentleman characters who is not directly involved with interpreting religion. The family had just come from an encounter with James Ireland and wanted to know what the problem was with Baptists. "I'll tell you what the problem with Baptists is!" came the immediate reply. This willingness to respond reflects a great deal of work and cooperation on the part of the Freeing Religion team, the other story line teams, and the many interpreters who have worked hard to assimilate large amounts of material.

Surveys and focus groups make it clear that we don't reach everybody. No matter how attractively or boldly we present ideas on the front page of the *Visitor's Companion* some people will never notice. But many visitors have noticed. Many of you have had conversations with interested visitors on subjects from the churching of women to double predestination. Freeing Religion has been and will continue to be a strong supporter of its sister story lines. Much of our programming has lent itself to comfortable crossover: James Ireland applying to be a chaplain to dissenting soldiers, the Geddy family fulfilling its religious duties to its children, Preacher Moses interpreting the Bible to those enduring slavery, Martha Washington relating how her faith sustains her in supporting her husband.

We're halfway through the initial telling of our Becoming Americans story. There are three exciting years of programming yet to weigh in. The story isn't seamless yet, but it is getting there. In an increasing number of interpretations it would be hard to say that any one story line is more prominently featured than another—but they are all there, and that is our goal.

On behalf of the Freeing Religion team, I thank all of you who made the religion story part of your interpretation this year. As Professor Noll said earlier this year, religion provided the intellectual base for the people whose lives we interpret. So let's continue to give this aspect of the Becoming Americans story its due even as we shift gears once again and focus on telling our story through the lenses of 1999—Enslaving Virginia.

Freeing Religion Programming

(As of October 1, 1998)

Wednesdays

9:00 A.M. **When Politicians Pray.** Participate in a half-hour legislative prayer service. At the Capitol.

9:30–11:30 A.M. **Edward Lively, Sexton of Bruton Parish.** In the Church Yard.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **Thy People Shall Be My People.** Mrs. Nicholas and Mrs. Wager share their concern for a slave child under their care. Mary Stith Shop.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **Enlightenment, Deism, and Dissent.** The Rev. Henley shares his views. Wren Building.

1:30–3:30 P.M. **Someone to Guide and Teach Them.** George Wythe concerns himself with the education of Lord Dunmore's children. At the Wythe House.

1:45–2:15 P.M. **The Perils of Preaching.** James Ireland, Baptist Preacher, challenges the established Church. In the Printing Office Yard.

2:30, 3:00, 3:30, 4:00 P.M. **Order in the Court!** The local court deals with a religion case. Courthouse.

3:00–4:15 P.M. **Living by Faith: Religion in Colonial Virginia.** History Walk. Begins at Greenhow Lumber.

3:00–4:30 P.M. **A Baptist Preacher in Jail.** James Ireland preaches from his prison cell. Public Gaol.

3:00–4:45 P.M. **Mistress of the Bray School.** Ann Wager and the challenges of teaching slave children. Wythe House.

Thursdays

9:30–11:30 A.M. **A Baptist Preacher in Jail.** James Ireland preaches from his prison cell. Public Gaol.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **A Quaker Woman in an Anglican World.** Elizabeth Anthony at the Mary Stith Shop.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **Enlightenment, Deism, and Dissent.** The Rev. Henley shares his views. In the Great Room of Wetherburn's Tavern.

1:00–3:00 P.M. **A Baptist Preacher in Jail.** James Ireland preaches from his prison cell. Public Gaol.

2:00–2:30 P.M. **Good Will Towards Men.** An Anglican sermon for reconciliation. Bruton Parish Church.

2:00–4:00 P.M. **Edward Lively, Sexton of Bruton Parish.** In the Church Yard.

2:30, 3:00, 3:30, 4:00 P.M. **Order in the Court!** The local court deals with a religion case. Courthouse.

2:45–3:30 P.M. **A Quaker Woman in an Anglican World.** Elizabeth Anthony at the Mary Stith Shop.

3:00–4:15 P.M. **Passion or Reason: A Crisis of Faith.** History Walk. Begins at Greenhow Lumber House.

3:30–4:30 P.M. **Enlightenment, Deism, and Dis sent.** The Rev. Henley shares his views. Wren Building.

Fridays

9:30–11:30 A.M. **In Opposition to War.** A Quaker woman voices her convictions. Capitol, south yard.

9:30–11:30 A.M. **Edward Lively, Sexton of Bruton Parish.** In the Church Yard.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **Search the Scriptures!** Joseph Pilmore visits two poor widows. Tenant House.

2:00–2:30 P.M. **The Promised Land.** Moses, African-American Baptist, preaches the Gospel. Raleigh Yard.

3:00–4:15 P.M. **Living by Faith: Religion in Colonial Virginia.** History Walk. Begins at Greenhow Lumber.

3:00–4:30 A.M. **In Opposition to War.** A Quaker woman voices her convictions. Capitol, south yard.

4:00–4:45 P.M. **Suffer the Little Children.** A catechism lesson for the Geddy young folk. Geddy House.

Saturdays

9:30–11:30 A.M. **A Baptist Chaplain?** James Ireland, dissenting preacher, seeks a military post. Capitol, south gate.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **Martha Washington, Woman of Faith.** Mary Stith Shop.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **What We Methodists Want.** Joseph Pilmore expresses himself. At the Wren Building.

11:00–11:30 A.M. **An Organ Concert.** J. S. Darling or JanEl Gortmaker plays a historic instrument. In the Wren Chapel at the College of William and Mary.

1:30–2:00 P.M. **Render Unto Caesar.** Leading citizens debate the issue of church taxes. Courthouse.

3:00–4:15 P.M. **Passion or Reason: A Crisis of Faith.** History Walk. Begins at Greenhow Lumber House.

3:00–4:45 P.M. **For a Just Cause.** James Ireland, military chaplain, ministers to the troops. At the Encampment.

3:00–4:45 P.M. **What Will Become of Our Church?** Joseph Pilmore shares his concerns. McKenzie Apothecary Breezeway at the Robert Carter House.

5:40–6:10 P.M. **I Will Know Christ.** Joseph Pilmore preaches the Gospel. At the Courthouse.

Sundays

9:30–11:30 P.M. **A Baptist Preacher in Jail.** James Ireland preaches from his prison cell. Public Gaol.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **A Quaker Woman in an Anglican World.** Elizabeth Anthony at the Mary Stith Shop.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **Enlightenment, Deism, and Dissent.** The Rev. Henley shares his views. In the Great Room of Wetherburn's Tavern.

1:00–3:00 P.M. **A Baptist Preacher in Jail.** James Ireland preaches from his prison cell. Public Gaol.

2:00–2:30 P.M. **Good Will Towards Men.** An Anglican sermon for reconciliation. Bruton Parish Church.

2:30, 3:00, 3:30, 4:00 P.M. **Order in the Court!** The local court deals with a religion case. Courthouse.

2:45–3:30 P.M. **A Quaker Woman in an Anglican World.** Elizabeth Anthony at the Mary Stith Shop.

3:00–4:00 P.M. **Suffer the Little Children.** A catechism lesson for the Geddy young folk. Geddy House.

3:00–4:15 P.M. **Living by Faith: Religion in Colonial Virginia.** History Walk. Begins at Greenhow Lumber.

4:00–4:45 P.M. **The Churching of Women.** A new mother gives thanks for a safe delivery. Geddy House.

Mondays

9:30–11:30 A.M. **Edward Lively, Sexton of Bruton Parish.** In the Church Yard.

9:30–11:30 A.M. **In Opposition to War.** A Quaker woman voices her convictions. Capitol, south yard.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **Search the Scriptures!** Ann Wager visits two poor widows. Tenant House.

10:00 A.M.–NOON **Enlightenment, Deism, and Dissent.** The Rev. Henley shares his views. Wren Building.

1:30–2:45 P.M. **Mistress of the Bray School.** The challenges of teaching slave children. Stith Shop.

2:00–2:30 P.M. **The Promised Land.** Moses, African-American Baptist, preaches the Gospel. Raleigh Yard.

2:00–4:00 P.M. **Tales of a Midwife.** Polly Clark shares the tribulations of bringing children into the world. Tenant House.

2:00–4:00 P.M. **Enlightenment, Deism, and Dissent.** The Rev. Henley shares his views. Wren Building.

2:30–4:30 P.M. **Edward Lively, Sexton of Bruton Parish.** Behind the Milliner.

3:00–4:15 P.M. **Living by Faith: Religion in Colonial Virginia.** History Walk. Begins at Greenhow Lumber.

3:00–4:30 A.M. **In Opposition to War.** A Quaker woman voices her convictions. Capitol, south gate.

Tuesdays

9:30–11:30 A.M. **A Baptist Chaplain?** James Ireland, dissenting preacher, seeks a military post. Capitol, south gate.

10:00 A.M.–NOON	**Martha Washington, Woman of Faith.** Mary Stith Shop.
10:00 A.M.–NOON	**What We Methodists Want.** Joseph Pilmore expresses himself. At the Wren Building.
1:00–2 P.M.	**Enlightenment, Deism, and Dissent.** The Rev. Henley shares his views. Wren Building.
1:30–2:00 P.M.	**Render Unto Caesar.** Leading citizens debate the issue of church taxes. Courthouse.
2:00–3:00 P.M.	**Permission to Preach.** The Rev. Henley interviews Joseph Pilmore. Wren Building.
2:30–3:00 P.M.	**Sing Praise!** Join us for a hymn sing, an eighteenth-century pastime. Geddy House.
3:00–4:00 P.M.	**What We Methodists Want.** Joseph Pilmore expresses himself. Wren Building.
3:00–4:15 P.M.	**Passion or Reason: A Crisis of Faith.** History Walk. Begins at Greenhow Lumber House.
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Enslaving Virginia Story Line

The Becoming Americans programming in 1999 will focus on the Enslaving Virginia story line. We will examine with our visitors how the institution of racial slavery influenced the lives, fortunes, and values of all Virginians and affected the development of the new nation. The resource book will be available in the late fall, and we look forward to the four days of training for all interpreters in January and February.

Anne Willis, Chair
Enslaving Virginia Story Line Team

EDITOR'S NOTES . . .

Editor's Notes

Thank you: The editorial staff would like to thank John Turner, the Religious Studies and Programs department, and the Freeing Religion story line team for all of their help in contributing ideas and articles for the 1998 issues of the *interpreter.* You did a great job providing interesting and thought provoking topics on religion in eighteenth-century Virginia. It was a pleasure working with such a dedicated group who always managed to get their copy in by the due date—an amazing feat in itself!

Correction: In the feature article under Bruton Heights Update titled "Leading a Captive Home: A Woodland Indian Prisoner Halter, Its Acquisition and Context" by Richard Guthrie (found in the Fall 1998 issue of the *interpreter*) the captions under the two halters pictured were inadvertently reversed. The halter on page 21 is from the Colonial Williamsburg collection, and the halter on page 22 is courtesy of the Memorial Hall Museum.

Congratulations to our copy editor, Anna Jarvis, and her husband on the birth of their daughter in October.

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

Editor:	Nancy Milton
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This issue of the *interpreter* is dedicated to Mary Jamerson, friend, colleague, and assistant editor of this publication, who retired from Colonial Williamsburg on October 30 after thirty-two years of service. Mary has been a key player in the production of the *interpreter* since its beginnings in 1980. The editorial staff thanks her for the leadership, dedication, and support she has shown over the years, and wishes her a happy retirement. We'll miss you, Mary!


Winter