

● THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

interpreter

VOL. 20 NO. 5

WINTER 1999/2000

1774

CHRISTMAS being gone, a good New Year
I wish to all my Readers dear;
Doth Health and Wealth, good Meat, strong
Beer,
And all Things else the Heart to cheer.

In our old Habit we once more appear,
To sing the Dawning of a new born Year,
And give the last its Funeral Obsequy;
Nothing remains of it but Memory.
And thus we travel through our sliding Years,
The last quite gone, and this but just
appears.

1768

TWELVE circling moons, in crescent and in
wane,
I've seen revolving, and shall see again.
The YEAR that's past is wither'd, dead, and
gone;
But, phenix like, revives again to run.

1767

HE very well begins the year
That feasts his neighbour with good cheer;
But with this prudence be it done,
Let charity begin at home.



1769

ENTER a new year and farewell the old,
Days still are short, nights long, and weather
cold;
Then let thy charity be still extended,
All Christmas through, the same when it is
ended.

1764

WHO marries now with a good Wife,
Begins the Year well, on my Life;
But who doth wed unto a Shrew,
Had as good be hang'd, and better too.

Verses for the New Year
from *Virginia Almanacks*

The Master's Mercy: Slave Prosecutions and Punishments in York County, Virginia, 1700–1780¹

by Anne Willis

Anne, a museum educator in the Department of Interpretive Education, is chair of the Enslaving Virginia Story Line team.

At the courthouse in Yorktown, Virginia, on May 28, 1763, Cuffy, a Negro man slave of the Reverend James Fox of Gloucester County, was tried for attempted murder by poisoning of ten members of the Walter Lenox family of Williamsburg.² The victims included Lenox, his wife and son, six apprentices or servants, and Sally, a hired slave woman from Carter Burwell's estate. Cuffy, who also may have been hired out to Lenox, was said to have administered "arsenic & other poisonous medicines," presumably in a meal consumed by the whole family. Governor Francis Fauquier issued a commission of oyer and terminer to York County, and six gentleman justices—John Norton, William Allen, Robert Shield, John Prentis, Robert Smith, and Anthony Robinson—took their places on the high bench beneath the royal coat of arms to conduct Cuffy's trial.

Cuffy himself was brought in shackles from the county jail to the courthouse in Yorktown and led to the bar by the sheriff. Benjamin Waller, "Attorney for our Lord the King in this county," and court clerk Thomas Everard took their places in the courtroom.

Virginia law defined Cuffy as the chattel property of Reverend Fox. Waller described Cuffy as "a person of wicked mind and disposition" and charged him with "wickedly and maliciously intending to murder and destroy the sd. Walter Lenox and his family."³ During the trial, the justices heard testimony from several witnesses. Although none of the victims died, the justices nevertheless found Cuffy guilty. He was hanged on June 17, 1763. The General Assembly compensated Fox for Cuffy's value of £60.

The court proceedings in Cuffy's trial demonstrate the legal, moral, and social



contradictions inherent in Virginia's slave society. Persons of African descent, such as Cuffy or one of his ancestors before him, had been removed forcibly from their own culture, captured by other Africans who sold or traded them to European slave traders, and transported to Virginia, there to be sold into slavery. In Virginia, Cuffy was an outsider, "naturally alienated" from the society that now held him in slavery for life.⁴

The laws of slavery in Virginia encoded the contradiction that enslaved people were both chattel property to be bought, sold, and ordered around at the same time it held them to be persons responsible for any criminal behavior in which they might engage. The Virginia slave code took away Cuffy's independence and empowered his owner, Reverend James Fox, to force Cuffy to obey his will. But it was Cuffy—not Fox—who was held responsible by the court for the poisoning mentioned above.

Due process in Virginia for Cuffy (and all slaves) was conditioned by his legal status as an enslaved "outsider" in the colony. For example, in 1692, colonial legislators established county oyer and terminer courts as the venue for trials of enslaved men and women accused of capital crimes (defined as punishable by death or "loss of member"). Free people accused of high crimes in colonial Virginia were taken to Williamsburg for trial in the General Court, often many days' travel away from the defendants' friends and family. By changing the locus of slave trials, the new law stood to have two desirable effects, at least from slave owners' perspective: speedy trial and deterrence in the accused slaves' home area. The "more speedy prosecution of slaves committing Capital Crimes" was "absolutely necessarie" to make other slaves "affrighted to commit the like crimes and offenses."

This same 1692 statute empowered county sheriffs to hold accused slaves in county jails "well laden with irons." The sheriff then notified the governor who issued a commission of oyer and terminer to the justices of the peace in the county where the crime had taken place. A minimum of four county justices was required to conduct the trial of a slave. Unlike free people in Virginia, enslaved persons were denied trial by jury.⁵ In 1705, the members of the General Assembly legislated that the master of an

executed slave be compensated for the value of that slave.

Between 1704 and 1780, York County's justices of the peace presided over a total of 115 oyer and terminer trials with 154 slave defendants. The great majority of the crimes in question involved breaking and entering and burglary of personal property. The absence of recorded testimony in the defendants' own words makes it impossible to determine just what motivated individual slaves to commit these crimes, but the items allegedly stolen provide some hints. Motives included subsistence for individual slaves, their families, or friends (foodstuffs, money, and some clothing); pleasure (rum and wine); and economic advantage through illegal or underground markets (spirits, linens, textiles, fine pieces of clothing, and luxury goods).

After 1730, white people in York County, particularly in Williamsburg and Yorktown, were subject to a significant increase in property crimes committed by slaves—breaking and entering and burglary. As might be expected, the property crime rate increased significantly from 1750 to 1775 as Williamsburg's population doubled. Slaves had relatively easy access to valuable goods concentrated in the town, and the large number of slaves living in close proximity in Williamsburg provided ready opportunity for "redistribution" of stolen items.

In York County, prosecutions of slaves for property crimes, adjusted for the growth of the slave population in the county, increased substantially during the period between 1700 and 1780. From 1700 to 1729, the prosecution rate per 1,000 adults was 0.12, but increased to 2.42 between 1750 and 1780. Interestingly, after about 1740, slaves in York County were less likely than before to take violent action—such as poisoning, rape, murder, arson, or insurrection—against their owners. In fact, the rate of conviction in York County court for violent crimes fell from 8 percent for the period between 1700 and 1729 to 3.5 percent between 1750 and 1780, the very period when there was a dramatic increase in prosecutions and convictions of slave felons for theft.⁶

Slaves in York County did not usually use violence to challenge slaveholder authority. From the perspective of white victims of violent slave crime, only one white person died

at the hands of a slave in York County during the 1700s.⁷ All in all, over the course of the eighteenth century, slaves in York County did not often commit violent crimes, but they were more likely to have done so before 1750. Of the 38 accused slave felons tried in the period between 1704 and 1750, 10.5 percent were tried for crimes of violence—2 for arson (convictions), and 1 for the murder of a fellow slave (conviction). During the next thirty years, 1750–1780, only 5.2 percent of accused slave felons were tried for committing violent crimes out of 116 slaves charged: 2 rapes (1 conviction and 1 acquittal), 1 poisoning and murder (conviction), 1 case of arson (conviction), 1 case of mutilation (reduced to a misdemeanor), and the above-mentioned murder of a white person, which was reduced to manslaughter. The one charge of suspected slave rebellion and insurrection in York County (1753) resulted in an acquittal.⁸ For the whole period between 1700 and 1780, there were only six slaves convicted for violent crimes in York County. In one case, the victim was a slave, and in another, the court invited a review and recommended a pardon by the governor and Council.

The great majority of accused slave felons was male; only 8 percent of the 154 slaves arrested and tried between 1704 and 1780 were women. Females made up 38 percent of all slaves prosecuted before 1735, but from

1735 until 1780 only 5 percent of accused slave felons tried were women. In spite of the fact that the rate of crime in the county accelerated after 1740, only five female slaves were accused of committing a felony and brought to trial between the years of 1743 and 1780. Four of the five women were prosecuted for theft, and four were accused of committing the crime with a male slave. Of the five female slaves brought to trial during those years, two were acquitted and discharged.

This significant difference in the prosecution rate of male and female slaves tried between 1743 and 1780, suggests that powerful cultural influences were exerted on female slaves, perhaps stemming from their African heritage as well as their family and community connections in Virginia. Before 1730, family formation was more difficult for slaves in the colonial Chesapeake because male slaves outnumbered females and most slaves lived on isolated farms and plantations. Women were not as likely to be tied to families and children, which may explain the higher proportion of women who were indicted for felonies in the early years of the eighteenth century.

After 1730, however, conditions favorable to family formation improved. Black women in their child bearing years were having children on the average of every two to two-and-one-half years; consequently many slave

A D V E R T I S E M E N T S

RAN away from the Subscriber, living in *Hanover*, two new Negroe Men, imported from *Gambia*, in the Brig. *Ranger*, and sold at *Newcastle* the 5th of *September* last; they understand no *English*, and are near 6 Feet high, each; one of them is nam'd *Jack*, a right Black, with a Scar over the Right Eye-brow; the other a yellow Fellow, with 3 small Strokes on each Side of his Face, like this Mark (✓). They had on, each, a knap'd new Cotton Jacket and Breeches, without either Buttons or Button-holes, a new Oznabrig Shirt, and new Felt Hats. They stole a fine Damask Table-Cloth, 10 qrs. Square, 5 Yards and a Half of fine Scots Linen, 3 Yards and a Half of Scots 3 qr. Check, a white Holland Shirt, and a Silk Handkerchief. Whoever takes up the said Negroes, and Goods, and brings them to me, or to Mr. *Robert Brown*, Merchant, in *Newcastle*, shall be rewarded, as the Law allows.

Margarett Arbuthnott.

Ad from Virginia Gazette, October 10, 1745.

women were often pregnant or nursing infants and caring for young children. Moreover, family units provided masters with a potent weapon for controlling slave women: the threat of selling children away from their mothers if the women got into trouble.⁹ Slave women, then, might have been far less willing to take the risk of committing a felony than male slaves who were often unable to live with their families. In addition, male slaves often had more freedom of movement than females. Work assignments in the fields were very similar for men and women both, but male slaves who were carters or skilled craftsmen often were able to move about unchallenged.

Slaves knew where valuable objects were to be found in the households of the wealthy or in the storehouses of merchants in Williamsburg and Yorktown. Those living in urban areas would have had much greater access to the goods of other households and businesses. In an urban area, with a higher concentration of slaves, it would have been easier to commit crimes cooperatively and gain assistance for the commission of crimes from others. Dwelling houses, mansion houses, and outbuildings with their valuable and marketable goods were places where most slave crimes were committed. Shops, houses, storehouses, warehouses, and mills

were also vulnerable. Only one alleged crime was committed on board a ship, even though Yorktown was a busy slave and commercial port in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Of the 115 slaves prosecuted by the justices in York County between 1700 and 1780, slaves who acted alone were the most numerous: 72 percent of the crimes were committed by a single slave, 22 percent by two slaves, and 6 percent by three or more slaves. The percentage of slaves accused of committing crimes together increased and then peaked in the 1740s and 1750s. Before 1740, there were only two crimes committed by two slaves acting together, but between 1740 and 1770, thirty-two crimes were committed by two or more slaves accused of working together. Slaves' accomplices usually did not belong to the same master.

Of the thirty-two crimes prosecuted that were allegedly committed by two or more slaves, thirty were theft, one was arson, and one was a suspected slave rebellion and insurrection. Burglaries ranged from the theft of hogs, turkeys, and sheep to theft of expensive clothing and textiles. Many of the stolen goods probably were not used by the slaves who took them, but found their way into an underground marketing network. After 1750, more slaves joined forces to bur-

Annual Rates for Violent and Property Crimes in York County



CONVICTED SLAVE FELONS SENTENCED TO HANG

Date	Slave	Crime and Monetary Value	Punishment
1700-1729			
1704	Bridgette	Arson	Hanged
1728	Sarah	Arson	Hanged
1730-1739			
1730	Will	Murder of Slave	Hanged
1738	Will	Theft	Hanged
1740-1749			
1743	Bradford	Theft of 2 Horses	Hanged
1744	Sampson	Theft, 50 s.	Hanged
1744	Kircandy	Theft, 5	Hanged
1749	Bob	Theft, 113	Hanged
1750-1759			
1751	Matt	Theft, 40 s.	Hanged
1751	Simon	Theft, 30 s.	Hanged
1751	Josiah	Theft, 40 s.	Hanged
1752	Jemmy	Rape	Hanged
1753	Tom	Theft, 3 165 s.	Hanged
	Putney		Hanged
1754-1759	Records are missing		
1759	George	Theft, 10 s.	Hanging/Pardoned
	Jemmy		Hanging/Pardoned
1760-1765			
1760	Scipio	Theft, 7 s.	Hanging/Pardoned
1760	Lewis	Breaking/Entering	Hanging/Pardoned
1760	Ripon	Theft, 6 30 s.	Hanging/Pardoned
1761	Davy	Theft, 25	
1761	James	Theft, 40 s.	Hanged
1762	Sam	Theft, 3 20 s.	Hanging/Pardoned
1763	Cuffy	Poison and Murder	Hanged
1765-1769			
1765	Sam	Theft, 120 s.	Hanged
	Charles		Hanged
	Tom		Hanged
1765	Will	Theft, 100 s.	Hanging/Pardoned
1766	Matt	Theft, 5 25 s.	Hanging/Pardoned
1766	Peter	Theft, 20 s.	Hanged
1766	Will	Theft, 10	Hanged
	Ned		Hanged
1766	Dan	Theft, 80 s.	Hanged
1768	Matthew	Theft, 226 s.	Hanged
1770-1774			
1770	Issac	Arson	Hanged
1771	Paul	Theft, 4 31 s.	Hanged
1773	Jack	Theft, 40 s.	Hanged
1773	Fanny	Murder	Hanging (Mercy?)
1774	Hannibal	Theft, 25 s.	Hanged
1774	Ned	Theft, 5 s.	Hanged
1775-1780			
1776	James	Theft, 86 s.	Hanged
1780	Hannibal	Theft	Hanged
	Tom		Hanged
1780	Ben	Theft	Hanged

gle masters' warehouses, mills, and stores. Preventing the criminal activity of a single slave was difficult enough, but preventing organized crime planned and executed by two or more slaves was daunting, and slaves undoubtedly knew that. Slaves who banded together were able to develop networks that provided support and far more resources for criminal activity, directly challenging masters' control of their own property. Crimes that were committed by more than one person also involved more planning and coordination to execute, and thus served to strengthen bonds among the perpetrators.

Slaves were safer and more mobile at night when they were not under the direct supervision of the master or overseer and when the towns were wrapped in darkness. Fifty-three cases in the York County records documented the time of day when the crimes were committed—all of them took place at night. The law of 1732 that extended benefit of clergy (a form of exemption from capital punishment) to slaves stated that any Negro, Indian, or mulatto condemned to hang for breaking and entering a house at night was not eligible to "pray his clergy."¹⁰

During the first half of the eighteenth century, eight slaves were sentenced to be executed by York County oyer and terminer courts. Three of these slaves were convicted of violent crimes (rape, murder, arson, etc.) and five were convicted of breaking and entering and burglary. For the thirty-year period between 1750 and 1780,¹¹ however, of the thirty-six slaves sentenced to hang, only five were convicted of violent crimes, the other thirty-one of breaking and entering and burglary. When these figures are adjusted for the growth of the slave population in York County, violent crime accounted for three-fifths of the executions between 1700 and 1740, but only one-sixth of the executions between 1750 and 1780.

Governor Fauquier helped alter the pattern of justice for convicted slave felons long established by the York County justices of the peace. In his instructions as royal governor of Virginia from King George II, Fauquier was directed to

get a Law passed (if not already done) for the restraining of any inhuman Severity, which by ill Masters or Overseers

may be used towards their Christian Servants and their Slaves; and that Provision be made therein, that the willful killing of Indians and Negroes may be punished with Death. And that a fit Penalty be imposed for the maiming of them.

Fauquier approved legislation in 1765 that modified the punishments for convicted slave felons by outlawing dismemberment and by liberalizing the slave law to allow slaves convicted of manslaughter to escape execution by pleading benefit of clergy. Legislation was not forthcoming from the General Assembly, however, that would have curbed masters' "inhuman Severity" or "the willfull killing of Indians and Negroes" by imposing the death penalty for these crimes. The law of 1669 protecting masters and overseers from prosecution if they caused the death of a slave during a disciplinary action remained in effect.

During Fauquier's tenure as governor (1758–1768), eighteen slaves were sentenced by the York County oyer and terminer courts to hang for theft crimes. Fauquier may have turned to granting pardons to reduce the number of slave executions ordered by the county justices; he pardoned eight of the eighteen condemned slaves. Fauquier may have acted for humanitarian reasons, but he may also have taken other facts of the cases into account. Significantly, with a single exception, the slaves Fauquier pardoned had acted alone. The governor may also have considered the value of the goods stolen. For example, the ten slaves executed for theft crimes during Fauquier's ten years in office took items ranging in value from seven shillings to £113. None of the eight pardoned felons took goods valued at more than about £7.

Despite acute anxiety among white Virginians about the possibility of slave revolts during the Revolutionary period, not a single white person in Virginia died in a slave rebellion during those unsettled times. In addition, between 1700 and 1780, there was not a single conviction of a slave for instigating a slave rebellion or insurrection in York County, which suggests that slaves were not attempting to overthrow their masters. This fact is especially significant because the county encompassed two

important urban areas where it was more likely for group actions among slaves to be planned and executed, including more than half of the city of Williamsburg—the colonial center for much of the revolutionary activity.¹²

On the auction block in Williamsburg or Yorktown, the enslaved person stood powerless and isolated, since he or she was identified as property by the masters and agents who purchased him or her. In county courts of oyer and terminer, however, the accused slaves (and Virginia law) forced the justices to regard the accused as human beings. In the act of charging a slave with a felony, the court acknowledged the free will of the slave in the commission of that crime. To many modern observers of the institution of slavery, the ritual of slave trials in the Virginia colony brings into clear focus the contradiction inherent in a society where the legal code defined slaves as chattel property without rights while holding them legally responsible for their behavior as human beings. Terrible indeed the “conflict, fear, and accommodation” characteristic of slave societies.

Did York County slaves consciously or unconsciously commit crimes against their masters and their masters’ property to gain some control over their masters? Did the ritual of court proceedings offer an opportunity for some slaves to challenge the system? Was this not a way to assert themselves and challenge their masters and the whole experience of being a slave?

¹ This article is excerpted from the author’s master’s thesis: Anne R. Willis, “The Master’s Mercy: Slave Prosecutions and Punishments in York County, Virginia, 1700 to 1780” (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1995), 59–60, 70–73, 84–85, 88–95, 100–102, 109–110, 112–115.

² The poisonings took place on the York County side of Williamsburg.

³ York County Court Records Project, York County Court Order Book (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Va.) JO, 3: 504–505.

⁴ See Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 35–76.

⁵ William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, vol. 3: 1684–1710 (Richmond, Va., 1810–1823), 402–403.

⁶ By contrast, according to Woody Holton’s research, masters in other areas of Virginia feared insurrection, especially in 1775. See Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1999).

⁷ Even in this case, the charge was reduced to manslaughter with a plea for mercy for the condemned slave.

⁸ In April 1753, Harry, a slave owned by John Goodwin, Jr., of York County, and Tom, the slave of Peter Goodwin of York County, faced the charge that “with force and arms . . . [they] feloniously did consult, advise, and conspire to rebel and make an insurrection and did also plot and conspire the murder of divers of His Majesty’s good and faithful subjects in the parish and county.” The justices decided that Harry and Tom were not guilty. York County Judgments and Orders, 2: 204–205, 4 April 1753.

⁹ It is interesting to note that only about one-tenth of all runaways in Virginia and Maryland before the Revolution were women.

¹⁰ There were times, however, when slaves were granted benefit of clergy even though the charges read against them exceeded the limits placed upon accused slave felons by the law of 1732.

¹¹ Does not include trials during the six years between 1754 and 1759 because the court records are missing.

¹² Ironically, instigation of a slave insurrection locally came in July 1775 not from a slave, but a white man. Thomas Cox of Charles Parish was examined by the York County Court on July 17, 1775, on “Suspicion of endeavoring to raise a Conspiracy and Insurrection among the Slaves in this County.” The court decided that he was not guilty of the felony but rather of a “misdemeanor lending to a breach of the Peace.” Cox was to serve one year in prison or give security for one year’s good behavior and to “keep the Peace towards all his Majesty’s Leige People for one Year.” Cox’s motivation remains unclear, but he was arrested two or three months after Governor Dunmore seized the gunpowder from the Magazine in Williamsburg in April 1775, an incident that fed public fear of slave insurrection in Virginia.

The Trash of Enslaved African Virginians

by Ywone Edwards-Ingram

Ywone, a staff archaeologist in the Department of Archaeological Research, is a member of the Enslaving Virginia Story Line Team.

Trash was part of the content of slave houses and yards in colonial Virginia. The *American Heritage Dictionary* defines *trash* as "worthless or discarded material or objects . . . something broken off or removed to be discarded." But historical trash, especially that of enslaved people, should not be viewed in such a limited way. It should be analyzed in the context of social conditions of enslavement, cultural practices, and beliefs. Archaeological studies, for example, have highlighted the many ways slaves treated discarded materials and waste and how they improvised by using recycled and found things. Archaeological remains provide important clues for interpreting "trash."

The study of African-Virginian trash is complex because enslaved people intentionally created some aspects of their material world. In addition to things acquired, used, broken, and discarded, activities such as food preparation and consumption, landscaping, construction, craft, and play contributed to the build-up of trash in houses

and yards. On most African-Virginian sites, trash was deposited near where it was generated. For example, household trash was often deposited close to living areas—in yards, near doorways, and in holes in the ground both inside and outside structures. Enslaved people, however, sometimes redefined things others designated as trash, reusing them and even making some valuable. Modified animal bones, pierced spoon handles, and emptied-out shells have been located on archaeological sites that were once occupied by enslaved African Virginians. Archaeologists believe that some of these items were reused in rituals. Objects made of beads and buttons, mainly decorated materials, may have been worn on the body to protect and empower. Buttons and beads are common finds on slave sites. Other items may have been placed in strategic locations around homes to protect residents from evil influences.

The materials used for building slave houses incorporated elements of trash. Some cabins had stick-and-mud chimneys, which, when built in rudimentary ways, contributed to the "trash-like" appearance of slave quarters. Recognized as potential fire hazards, these chimneys were built so they could be pushed aside to prevent the whole cabin from being consumed by flames.

Enslaved African Virginians decorated their houses and yards in ways that often



Ceramics, spoons, a fork, and a bottle fragment from the Carter's Grove slave quarter.



Costumed Interpreters feeding chickens.

seemed cluttered. Sometimes, however, practical reasons, such as stuffing assorted things between the chinks of the log cabins to keep out cold air, may have resulted in colorful “trash-like” displays.

Enslaved people also threw away still-useful objects or things that would implicate them with acts of insubordination—sometimes in places that were not normally trash receptacles. The diary of Colonel Landon Carter provides insights into these practices. When Carter had his well cleaned in 1774, he found:

Abundance of trash, mud and things tumbled and thrown in, Particularly a Plow gardiner Johnny stole 3 years ago and offered to sell that and another to Robin Smith, who, being a Penitant, Advised him to go and Put it where it might be found; but Johnny being suspected got whipped for them and threw them both into the Well as he told Robin Smith. I fished and got up one, but the other could not get till now. Found also the 2 bows of a pair of handcuffs, but the bolt we could not find. Joe had been Ironed in them and got his little brother

Abraham to swear he saw black Peter take them, and carry them behind the Kitching; but the rascal threw them into the well, and I do suppose sold the bolt. A good whipping both Joe and Johnny shall have and Abraham for lying tomorrow.¹

Objects that were used to oppress enslaved people often surface in plantation trash. Destroying or throwing away useful things may have been a way to retaliate against oppression and to reschedule a task.

Some enslaved African Virginians made trash of their work. In 1770, Carter wrote in his diary about a loss of tobacco and made plans to improve production:

Where there is a large Crop, which people are obliged to stem in the night the Negroes in spite of our teeth will throw a good deal of their task away. . . . I will endeavor to prevent it by making each person keep their stems by themselves till the morning for inspection and a proper correction. . . . And by the heaps of stems many bundles were thrown away by the Negroes to have it said there task was finished.²

Undoubtedly this was a strategy to allow enslaved people more time of their own.

Despite the small amount of time allotted them for their own endeavors, enslaved people engaged in activities to improve their living conditions. Both historical and archaeological evidence credit enslaved people with agricultural activities. For example, seeds of cowpeas, beans, corn, and squash have been recovered from the Rich Neck slave quarter in Williamsburg.

African Virginians kept animals, including chickens and pigs, for food and trade. Some may even have kept pets. Activities such as gardening and raising animals provided enslaved people with the means to obtain material goods, which, of course, later became trash. These items were obtained through transactions enacted with or without the slaveholders' consent.

Structures and enclosures for animals and gardens added to the clutter and the myriad smells. Preparing chickens, fish, and other animals for meals, preserving meat, and using preserved meats created a "lived-in" environment to say the least. A wealth of animal remains, including bones and fish scales, has been identified in the trash from slave dwellings.

Root cellars are a major source of trash at eighteenth-century African-Virginian archaeological sites, such as the Rich Neck, Carter's Grove, and Kingsmill slave quarters in southeastern Virginia. These subterranean pits are usually filled with trash, commonly composed of ceramic items, cutlery, personal objects, toys, tools, and dietary remains. Although most of these objects are fragments, archaeologists occasionally discover complete items such as spoons, forks, knives, and bottles.

These trash deposits provide valuable data for studies of African-Virginian life-ways. Particularly important is the knowledge gained about diets. The analysis of dietary remains from root cellars points to enslaved African Virginians' ability to supplement their diets with wild sources, including fish. Historical evidence suggests that some of the dietary remains in root cellars may have been from things enslaved people appropriated—things slaveholders considered their own. Apparently, the enslaved population sought to remedy an inadequate diet and poor or non-existent compensation for work through an involuntary redistribution system. They may have deposited the remains of appropriated

Preparing animals for food contributed to the build-up of trash at the slave quarter.



things in root cellars to ensure that the trash would not be used against them. Even gun parts and shot, obviously strictly proscribed materials, have been recovered from root cellars. These items have also been linked to enslaved people's search for autonomy.

The trash around slave dwellings alludes to the material conditions of enslaved people. The remains of broken ceramic items point to a variety of vessel forms that were used for food storage, preparation, service, and consumption. The high number of imported European materials, compared to locally made objects at the Carter's Grove slave quarter, for example, suggests that slaveholders might have provided their enslaved people with most of these things. Apparently, though, some of these items were used before enslaved African Virginians obtained them and may have been intended to be discarded. Some broken vessels recovered by archaeologists may have been recycled items, which probably served as feeding containers for animals.

Complete items and waste materials found in the trash of root cellars testify to African Virginians' ingenuity in working with available materials and creating things to improve their lives. Archaeologists have identified enslaved people as both the makers and users of colono-ware, coarse earthenware that appeared mainly in the form of utilitarian wares such as milkpans, basins, and pots. In fact, some interpretations have considered in detail the cultural implications of the use of this earthenware. One archaeologist has suggested that it allowed enslaved people to foster culinary and ritual behaviors that had African antecedents or parallels.

Decorations on locally made tobacco pipes have been attributed to African-American concerns for aesthetics. At times, African Americans even decorated functional objects, such as the pewter spoons recovered from the Rich Neck slave quarter site. The debris from living and working areas has implicated enslaved people in trade activities. At Thomas Jefferson's Monticello,

archaeologists found evidence that nail-making and bone button-making were practiced by enslaved African Virginians.

Complete wine bottles and fragments recovered from root cellars were probably reused items. Other liquids—not just illicit liquor—may have been stored in them, and some were kept for a long time before being broken or discarded. Eighteenth-century inventories frequently list empty bottles and their values. It is likely that bottles were kept for a longer time at rural plantations than in urban areas. In towns, bottles may have been returned or exchanged at stores or sold to people who needed bottles to market their products.

The trash around slave houses and yards incorporated cultural practices in the form of landscape traditions. Trash-like objects were used to decorate living spaces, often in ways to make their meanings ambiguous. Oyster shells served to illustrate African Virginians' resourcefulness. Usually the remains of diet, these shells were used at the slave quarter for paving paths, as tools, and as inclusions in masonry materials. When scattered in the yards, the sound of breaking oyster shells probably clued residents to an approaching person or animal and may have served as an effective early warning system. Enslaved people surrounded themselves with objects that commemorated their abilities to survive and things that promoted well-being.

Trash and trash-like materials appeared in many forms and contexts in slave houses and yards. Some of these materials served in ways that were not readily understood by slaveholders. At times, some seemingly unimportant objects played key roles in the life of enslaved people. A study of the past material world, formerly considered trash, contributes to a clearer understanding of Virginia slave society. ❧

¹ Jack Greene, ed., *Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society, 1987), 843.

² *Ibid.*, 357-358, 362.

Slavery and the Bible¹

by John Turner

John is manager of religious studies in the Education Division.

Slavery was an integral part of the economic and social systems of the ancient Near Eastern world. The Bible represents nearly two thousand years of human history in that environment, and yet the word *slavery* does not appear, even once, in the primary English translation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the Authorized Version, King James, 1611. Even where the meaning of the original language was quite clear, King James’s translators could bring themselves to use the actual word only twice in the combined Old and New Testaments: Jeremiah 2:14 translates into English as “Is he [Israel] a homeborn slave?” and Revelation 18:13 refers to “chariots and slaves, and souls of men.” Otherwise, the concept of slavery, which pervades the pages of the

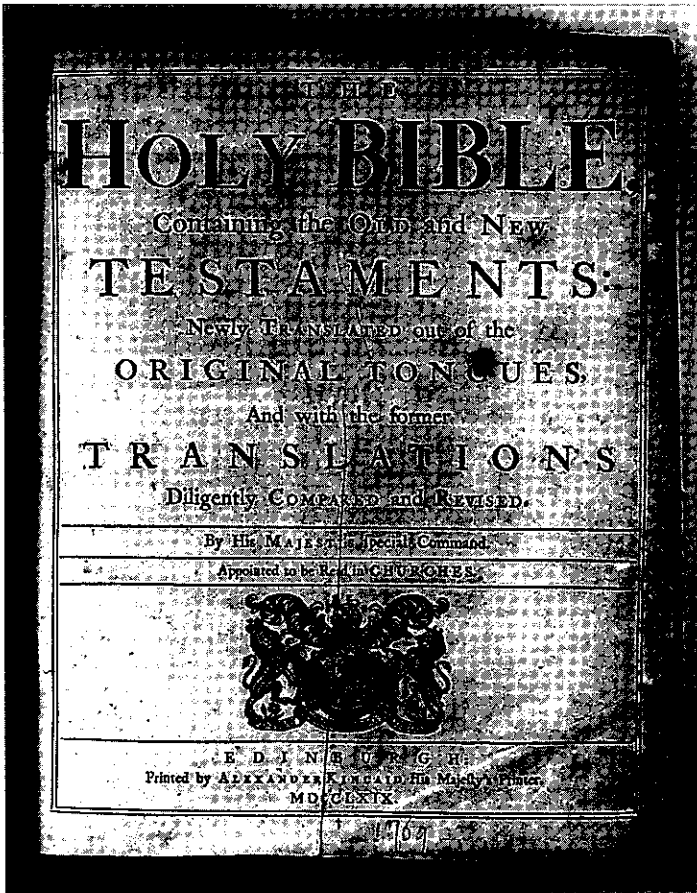
Bible, is represented through a handful of synonyms.

Enslaving war prisoners and large portions of the defeated country’s civil population was common practice in biblical times as noted in Numbers 31, Deuteronomy 20, I Kings 20, II Chronicles 28, and other places. Deuteronomy 21:10–14 for example, stipulates that a captive woman taken by a soldier as a wife cannot thereafter be sold as an ordinary prisoner of war.

Selling foreigners into slavery was also a regular part of commercial activity in the ancient Near East. Biblical laws prohibit kidnapping and selling a freeborn person, with convicted violators receiving the death penalty (Exodus 21:16 and Deuteronomy 24:7). Although the export of Hebrews as slaves is not a frequent occurrence, there are important examples. Notably, Joseph’s brothers sold him to Midianite traders, who in turn sold him to an Egyptian official (Genesis 37:26–36).

Parents sometimes sold their children “voluntarily” in times of war or economic difficulty. This does not seem to have happened very often in ancient Israel. An example in Exodus (21:7–11) concerns the sale of a young girl by her father, in which an additional condition required the girl, upon reaching puberty, to be made the wife or concubine of her master or one of his sons.

The general causes of debt or hunger that sometimes drove parents to sell their children could also lead to self-sale. Of the various ancient legal codes dealing with slavery, only the Old Testament includes regulations that specifically address



Title page of King James Bible (Edinburgh, 1769)



Lab. 100-12
The PARABLE of the RICH-MAN, who let up GREATER BARNS. for Map. Church of England

self-sale or voluntary slavery (Exodus 21:5-6, Leviticus 25:39, Deuteronomy 15:16-17). Such arrangements usually had time limits that could only be superseded by the choice of the person who had sold himself or herself.

Finally, one of the largest sources of slaves was the native, freeborn defaulting debtor. Creditors were within their rights to seize defaulting debtors and require forced labor of them. II Kings 4:1 tells the story of a widow who appealed to the prophet Elisha because "the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen." Other passages, such as Nehemiah 5:1-5 and Isaiah 50:1, affirm the social reality of debt slavery.

Within the broad range of degrees of servitude represented in both the Old and the New Testament, the most severe, chattel slavery, was not uncommon. A male slave had no family history and could be bought, sold, leased, or inherited. As a piece of property, the slave was often marked or tagged in some way. In Exodus 21:6 and Deuteronomy 15:17 ear piercing is mandated for those who voluntarily submitted to perpetual slavery, after completing pre-arranged terms of service. (Reasons for such

voluntary submission ranged from fear of the unknown, to desire to keep one's family together, to affection for a master or master's family.)

Like their male counterparts, female slaves were treated as property. In addition to physical labor, female slaves were used for breeding slave children. By the ancient Code of Hammurabi, female slaves who had borne children by their mistress's husband could not be sold. This proscription seems to have influenced the Genesis 16 account of Abraham, Sarah, and her slave Hagar. When Hagar became arrogant after conceiving Abraham's son Ishmael, Sarah could and did make Hagar's life miserable, but could not sell her.

In general, even in the case of chattel slavery, biblical laws acknowledge the slave's humanity by asserting some restriction of the master's power. Masters can mistreat their slaves, but if the result of the treatment is permanent maiming, the slave must be freed (Exodus 21). When a slave died from a beating administered by the master, the master was liable to punishment, including death (Exodus 21:20-21).

Whereas the Hebrew language uses a

number of different words and terms to denote varying degrees of servitude and chattel slavery (the most common being *ebed*), the intent of the Greek word for slave (*doulos*) should have been easy to translate. But, in the New Testament as in the Old, the seventeenth-century English translators chose to use a variety of synonyms. The word *servant* appears almost five hundred times in the Authorized Version of the Bible, with nearly as many repetitions of derivative words such as *maidservants*, *menservants*, *manservant*, *bondservant*, and *womenservants*. *Bondsman*, *bondswoman*, *young man*, and *maid* round out the collection of words substituted for *slave*.

The world of the New Testament, like that of the Old, tolerated slavery as a part of the social and economic structure. That Christianity had problems with the institution (as had Judaism) is made apparent in numerous places in the Pauline letters. Although Paul recognizes Philemon's right to keep his slave forever, he asks a personal favor: that Philemon treat his slave like a brother. Colossians, Ephesians, I Timothy, and Titus all include passages on slavery. In the best-known passage, Colossians 3:22–25, slaves are enjoined to be obedient to their masters remembering that they are ultimately serving the Lord. Masters are reminded in Colossians 4:1 that they, too, have a master in heaven.

Metaphorically speaking, all believers are slaves to God, though, for hundreds of years, English-speaking readers and hearers have preferred the sound of the word *servant* to that of *slave*. For followers of Judaism, Leviticus 25:55 has the clear statement of the relationship of God to believer: "For unto me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God." Christian believers acknowledge God's deliverance of ancient Israel from Egyptian slavery while adding to it God's deliverance of believers from slavery to sin through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ as revealed in the writings of the New Testament.

Clearly, slavery was an expected part of life throughout biblical times. Although the Bible is full of references to and regulations concerning servitude, there is no clear mandate against the institution itself. Rather,

the institution seems to be taken for granted. This biblical treatment of slavery handicapped the emancipation movement in the United States, as anti-abolitionists made frequent use of biblical references to buttress their views. Abolitionists, though, found support in the story of Exodus and the general biblical notion that everyone is subservient to God and equal in the eyes of God. Both the Old and the New Testament ultimately rest on the importance of justice and righteousness in human beings' relationships with one another. Such justice would inevitably preclude the ownership of one human being by another. ☛

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bacon, Thomas. *Four Sermons upon the Great and Indispensible Duty of All Christian Masters . . . [and] Two Sermons Preached to a Congregation of Black Slaves*. London: J. Oliver, 1750.
- "Bound for Canaan," *Christian History Magazine* 18, no. 2 (1999).
- Chirichigno, Gregory C. *Debt-Slavery in Israel and the Ancient Near East*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, supplement series 141. Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1993.
- Combes, I.A.H. *The Metaphor of Slavery in the Writings of the Early Church: From the New Testament to the Beginning of the Fifth Century*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, supplement series 156. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Martin, Dale B. *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Munro, Winsome. *Jesus, Born of a Slave: The Social and Economic Origins of Jesus' Message*. Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 37. Lewiston, N. Y.: Mellen Biblical Press, 1998.
- O'Neale, Sondra A. *Jupiter Hammon and the Biblical Beginnings of African-American Literature*. ATLA Monograph Series 28. Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press; [Philadelphia]: American Theological Library Association, 1993.
- Smith, Morton, and Joseph R. Hoffman, eds. *What the Bible Really Says*. Buffalo, N. Y.: Prometheus Books, 1989.
- Swartley, Willard M. *Slavery, Sabbath, War, and Women: Case Issues in Biblical Interpretation*. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1983.

¹ The amount of material relating to this subject is immense, and this article is meant to serve only as an introduction to the topic of slavery and the Bible. Those interested in additional information are encouraged to begin by consulting the works mentioned in the bibliography.

Questionable Assumption: Was James Blair Really the First Anglican Commissary in Virginia?

Well, many people believe and say that he was. A number of published biographical works about him declare him to have been such.

But the fact of the matter is HE WASN'T.

Fortunately, the biographical sketch of James Blair in the Library of Virginia's new *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* gets it right. Writing of Blair's 1690 appointment as the bishop of London's representative in Virginia, author Thad W. Tate points out that Blair was not the first man to hold the post of commissary in Virginia. The Reverend John Clayton had the job five years before Blair.

Clayton (1657–1725), a scientist and minister of the church at Jamestown, is no stranger to students of seventeenth-century Virginia. Yet biographies of him mostly overlook the fact that he preceded the legendary Blair as the highest official of the established church in the colony. Part of the problem is that Clayton lived in Virginia for only two years, from 1684 to 1686. His sojourn here was so short that he probably never even received his official commission from London.

Clayton is more often remembered for his scientific accomplishments, though he is sometimes confused with a relative of the same name who was a well-known Virginia botanist in Gloucester County. (Yet a third kinsman named John Clayton was attorney general of the colony from 1713 until

A LETTER

FROM

Mr. JOHN CLAYTON

Rector of Crofton at Wakefield in Yorkshire,

TO THE

ROYAL SOCIETY,

May 12. 1688.

*Giving an Account of several Observables in
Virginia, and in his Voyage thither, more
particularly concerning the Air.*

Henry Compton, Bishop of
London
To Governor Effingham
[14 September 1685]

My Lord,

*. . . I do most humbly thank your
Lordship for the great care you have
taken in settling the Church under your
Government. There is a constant Order
of Council remaining with Mr.
Blathwaite that no man shall continue
in any Parish without Orders, nor any
be received without a License under the
hand of the Bishop of London for the
time being, and that the Minister shall
be always one of the vestry. This order
was made four or five years since. . . .
The King [James II] has likewise made
one lately that except Licenses for mar-
riages, Probat of Wills, and disposing
of Parishes, all other Ecclesiastical
Jurisdiction shall be in the Bishop of
London. By virtue of which you shall
have a Commission to appoint Mr.
Clayton, or whom else You think most
proper, to execute that Authority.*

1737.) After returning to England in 1686, the Jamestown John Clayton published several reports on his observations of the natural resources and people of Virginia for members of the Royal Society. Throughout the rest of his life in the Mother Country and in Ireland, he continued his varied and fruitful scientific experiments. (See article by Joanne Young, "The Prescient Minister of Jamestown," in the Autumn 1998 issue of *Colonial Williamsburg*.)

In addition to his work in science and his efforts at agricultural reform in Virginia, Clayton did much during his brief tenure at Jamestown to "settle" the Church of England in the colony. In his parish, he held regular lectures on the Book of Common Prayer and the practices of the Church of England, emphasizing to his listeners the reasonableness of Anglican religion. Historian Edward Bond attributes Clayton's apparent success in winning converts and establishing uniformity of religious practice to the combination of his calm, persuasive manner and quiet, missionary zeal.

Clayton's catechizing and proselytizing on behalf of the church led Governor Effing-

ham and Bishop Compton to confirm him as the bishop's commissary for the Virginia colony in 1685. Effingham described Clayton in a letter as "a verry Ingenious person; and a man of Exemplary life and conversation . . . we having without flattery to him few that Equall him." With Governor Effingham's support, Clayton brought stability to his parish at Jamestown and ecclesiastical order to much of the rest of the colony.

Unfortunately, Virginia again sank into ecclesiastical disorder after Clayton's return to England in 1686. When Bishop Compton fell from favor with the new Catholic

monarch, James II, the Virginia church came under the oversight of Nathaniel Crew, the bishop of Durham, until after the Glorious Revolution in 1689. During his tenure, Bishop Crew took little interest in colonial affairs, and many of Clayton's reforms quickly unraveled. It fell to the next commissary, the tenacious and long-lived James Blair, to forge more enduring stability for the Church of England in Virginia. ❧

Compiled by Robert F. Doares, Jr., museum educator, Department of Interpretive Education

Questionable Assumption: Was Dunmore Really Virginia's Last Royal Governor?

Well, most of us say or assume that he was. But was he really?

If we rephrase the question to ask whether Lord Dunmore was George III's final gubernatorial selection for the Virginia colony, then the answer becomes DECIDEDLY NOT.

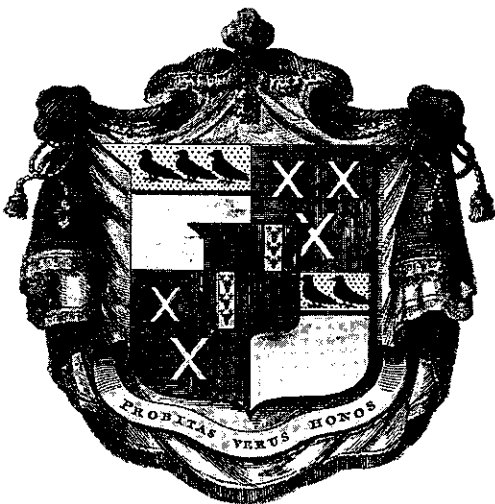
The honor, however moot, of being the last man to secure a royal commission to govern from the Palace in Williamsburg came to Colonel Richard Corbin (circa

1708–1790), one-time burgess from Middlesex County and, for more than a quarter century until the Revolution, a member of the Governor's Council.

Scion of a Virginia family long distinguished for public service, Richard Corbin, for more than a decade, also held the important office of deputy receiver general of the colony. When Governor Dunmore secretly sent marines to remove gunpowder from the Magazine in Williamsburg in April of 1775, it was from Corbin, as receiver general, that Patrick Henry expected to extract, by force if necessary, royal revenues equivalent to the estimated value of the powder. Carter Braxton, Corbin's son-in-law, intervened, however, and obtained a bill of exchange for £330 from his father-in-law, thus preserving peace for a time. When the Virginia Convention later determined that the powder was worth only about a third of that amount, it returned the residue of the money to Corbin.

Richard Corbin had friendships of long standing with several leading patriots, among them George Washington. (Washington had obtained his first military commission through Corbin in 1754.) Cordial relationships notwithstanding, Corbin resisted the patriot cause vigorously and consistently. In the midst of the turmoil of 1775, he wrote: "my duty and Loyalty to the King, my zeal for the Welfare of my Country, and my earnest endeavours in Support of its true Interest will remain unalterable."

The king evidently intended to reward Corbin for his loyalty. In a letter written



Richard Corbin

Lancville, VIRGINIA.

Bookplate from Corbin's library.

about 1815, the colonel's son Francis stated that the king sent a commission to Corbin, appointing him governor of Virginia after Lord Dunmore fled with his family from Williamsburg in the summer of 1775. According to Francis Corbin's version of events, his father prudently hid the commission in a secret compartment of his writing desk.

Despite the son's assertion to the contrary, Richard Corbin may never actually have held such a document in his hand. Nevertheless, a royal commission of July 29, 1775, countersigned by Lord Dartmouth and sent to the exiled Governor Dunmore in late summer, really did name Corbin lieutenant governor of Virginia. The earl of Dartmouth wrote to Dunmore about the matter from Whitehall in early August:

I have the King's Commands to send you His Majesty's Leave to return to England, which together with this Letter and a Commission to Mr. Corbin to administer Government during your absence will be delivered to you by Captain Atkins of His Majesty's Ship Actaeon who goes Convoy to the Maria Store Ship.

This executive order appears to have been the English ministry's final, futile contingency plan to quell the rebellion here by placing a native-born colonist in charge of the administration in Williamsburg. Ultimately, however, Dartmouth instructed Dunmore to withhold the commission. Dunmore wrote of Corbin in January of 1776: "I am persuaded from his disposition, time of life, and Situation in the Country, that he would not . . . accept the Honor."

Early in 1776, the Virginia Convention authorized Richard Corbin to go aboard Lord Dunmore's ship for one last attempt at reconciliation. The meeting proved fruitless, however, and the sixty-seven-year-old Corbin afterward retired quietly to the country for the duration of the war.

At the time, Corbin and the patriots do not seem to have known that George III had named him lieutenant governor. It was probably just as well. That this formerly vocal Tory leader remained unmolested by the new government doubtless speaks to the

George the Third

*To Our Trusty and Well beloved **Richard Corbin, Esq.** Greeting.*

We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and Prudence do by these Presents constitute and appoint you to be Our Lieutenant Governor of Our Colony and Dominion of Virginia, in America, to have, hold, exercise and enjoy the said Place and Office during Our Pleasure, with all Rights, Privileges, Profits, Perquisites and Advantages to the same belonging or appertaining; and further in the Case of the Death or absence of Our Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over Our said Colony of Virginia now and for the time being We do hereby authorize and empower you to execute and perform all and singular the Powers and Authorities contained in Our Commission to Our said Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, according to such Instructions as are already sent, unto him, or as you shall receive from Us and from Our said Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of Our said Colony of Virginia now and for the time being. And all and singular Our Officers, Ministers and loving Subjects of Our said Colony & Dominion and all others whom it may concern are hereby commanded to take due Notice hereof and to give a ready Obedience accordingly.

Given at our Court at St. James's the Twenty Ninth day of July 1775 in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

*By His Majesty's Command
Dartmouth*

esteem in which this venerable Virginian was held. He died a very old man about 1790. ❧

(Note: The Rockefeller Library currently houses a considerable collection of Richard Corbin's personal papers.)

Compiled by Robert F. Doares, Jr., museum educator, Department of Interpretive Education

The Gentle Art of Persuasion:

The Conservation of Anti-Slavery Samplers and Needlework for the Abolition Exhibit

by Olivia Eller

Olivia was a textile conservation technician in the Department of Conservation and currently resides in Paris.

The 300th anniversary of the founding of Williamsburg and the onset of the new millennium remind us of our past in no uncertain terms. A museum such as Colonial Williamsburg recalls what was and prompts people in their decisions about what will be. Conservators at Colonial Williamsburg concentrate on how best to preserve our fragile material heritage for future generations. They not only use technical knowledge of old and modern materials to clean, stabilize, and sometimes repair objects, but also must understand the object and its social context and meaning. We are preserving the fabric of history.

These issues guided the staff of the textile conservation laboratory in preparing two samplers and a needlework picture formerly displayed in the recent exhibit at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum, *Am I not a Man and a Brother: Abolition and Anti-Slavery in the Early Chesapeake*, curated by Martha Katz-Hyman, associate curator of metals and mechanical arts.¹

The first two of these three objects are samplers in the traditional sense such as were made in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—a sampling of numerals and letters with geometric or stylized designs set around a pious verse, signed and dated, stitched into a ground fabric, and, often, framed for display. In these two examples, the ground fabric is visible. A great variety of stitches could be represented in the embroidery, generally

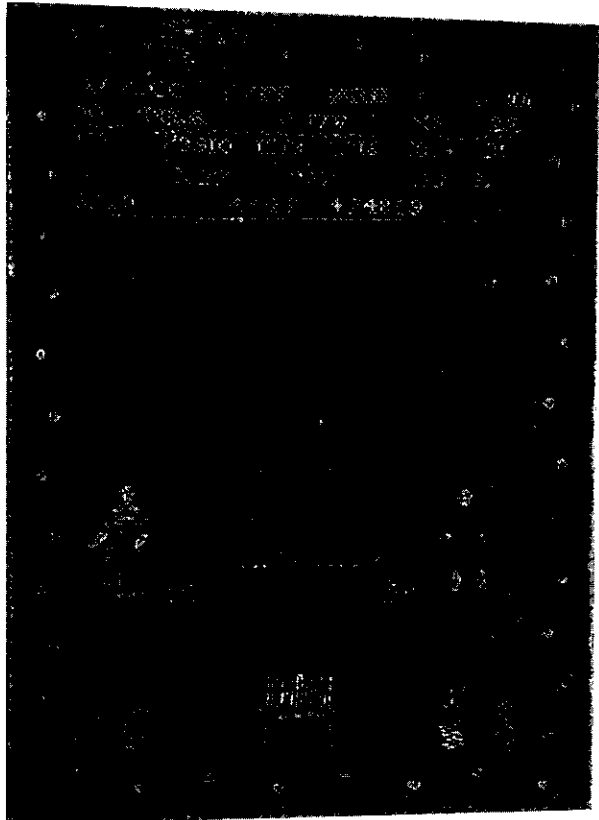
Sampler, silk on linen, Sarah Balley (England, 1803).

rendered in silk thread. A sampler was proof of a girl's embroidery skills and something she could copy from later.

The third piece can more accurately be called a needlework picture. Being completely covered by the embroidery, none of the ground fabric is visible. The work is devoid of letters, numerals, or stylized designs. Although there is a decorative border, the focus of the piece lies in the verse and the central figure.

Working on these rare anti-slavery pieces, one cannot help wondering why they were created. They were not merely pretty sewing exercises completed as part of a girl's regular education. As their verses imply, they signify much more. Although women in the nineteenth century were not generally included in political activities such as campaigning, voting, or holding office, some contributed money and subscribed to abolitionist societies.² Perhaps the girls who worked these pieces had mothers or other female relatives sympathetic to the abolitionist cause.

The earlier of the two samplers treated by the staff of the textiles lab is dated 1803 and is probably English. It was embroidered



in silk on a linen ground by fourteen-year-old Sarah Balley.

The poem on the Balley sampler is the last verse from "The Negro's Complaint," written in 1788 by English poet William Cowper (1731–1800):

*Deem our nation brutes no longer
Till some reason you Can find
Worthier of regard and stronger
Than the Colours of our kind
Slaves of gold whose sordid dealings
Tarnish all your boasted Powers
Prove that you have human feelings
Ere you Proudly question ours.*

When the Balley sampler arrived in the textiles laboratory, it had to be unframed for closer inspection. Light and age had faded the embroidery and discolored the natural brown ground fabric, making it difficult to decipher the text. Moreover, the piece was weak, showing several missing areas and holes, termed "losses" by conservators. The sampler had been held against the glass with nothing in between to protect the embroidery. The pressure crushed the embroidery threads, and minute fiber filaments adhered to the back of the glass leaving a clearly visible imprint of the pattern on the glass.

At some time during its history, the sampler had been repaired by stitching it to a

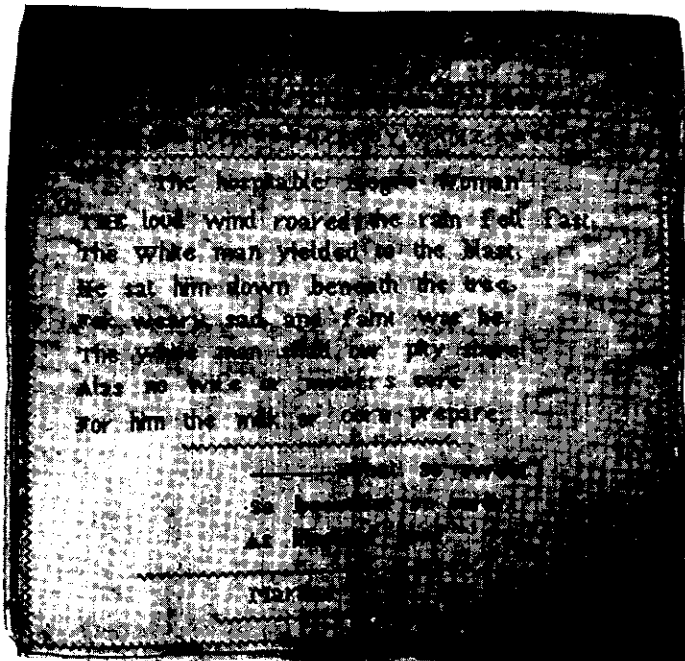
matching cotton-covered mount and sewing the edges of the losses to the fabric. This not only reduced the visual effect of the losses, but stabilized the piece sufficiently that we decided not to construct a new mount. Conservators retarded further fading by replacing the glass with UV-filtering Plexiglas. When the sampler was returned to its frame, a spacer made of acid-free rag board was added to prevent contact between the object and the glass.

The second sampler treated by the staff of the textiles lab was worked by Martha Tratt and is dated 1833. The piece is either English or American, and Martha was probably between eight and eighteen years old.

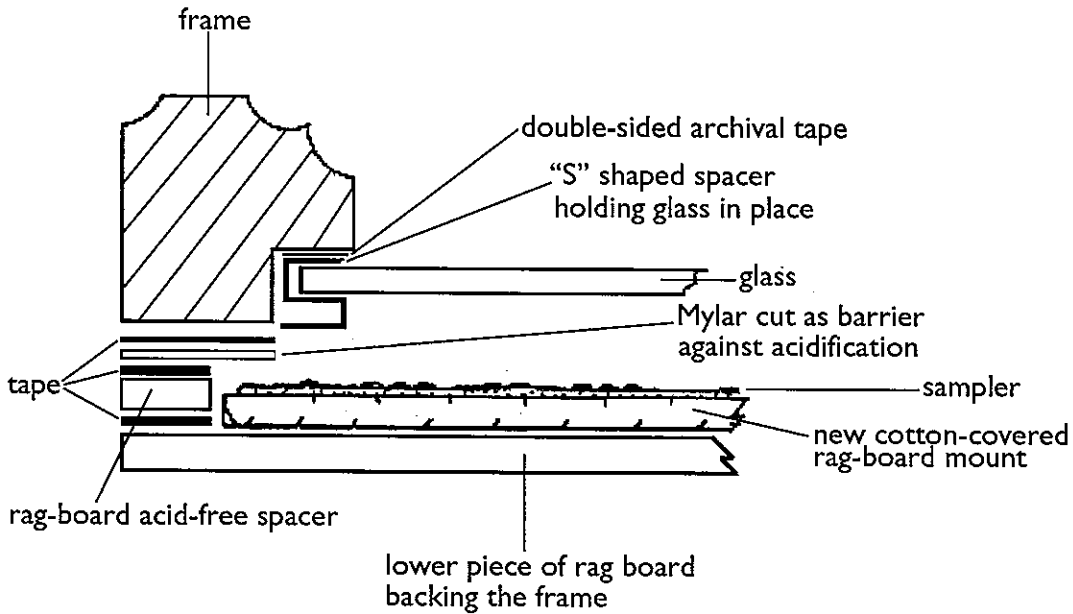
Embroidered in red silk cross-stitch on a plain off-white wool ground, the sampler bears a paper note by an unknown purchaser on its reverse that reads: "Bought in Charlestown in 1837 done by a negro—have only 2 samplers done by colored people." Although the note claims the piece was the work of an African American, this has so far not been substantiated by curatorial research.

At first the Tratt sampler appeared to need conservation treatment similar to that of the Balley sampler. When it was removed from its frame, however, other measures had to be taken. Embroidered in red cross-stitch on a plain off-white ground fabric, the sampler had been glued onto a piece of acidic cardboard that had become dark brown with age. The outer edges of the sampler were folded over the edges of the cardboard and placed on top of another piece of acidic cardboard. No spacer protected the embroidery.

Current conservation practice is to intervene as little as possible—if a piece is stable and dusty, only gentle vacuuming may be required. Frequently, though, some form of intervention becomes essential to an object's survival. In the case of the Tratt sampler, acidity in the old cardboard



Sampler, silk on wool, Martha Tratt (England or America, 1833).



Cross section of new mount.

and glue would have continued to destroy the fibers. Laboratory testing proved the red embroidery floss to be colorfast in water and the adhesive to be water-soluble. Fortunately, the sampler had been glued only along the edges. Even so, cardboard fragments on the edges of the piece had to be dampened with de-ionized water and removed. The edges of the sampler that had been turned under were flattened by placing strips of Plexiglas over damp muslin strips along the folds and adding weights. Pressure between the glass and mount had created a faint imprint of the reverse side of the embroidery on the old cardboard and caused minute fiber filaments to cling to the cardboard.

Once sewn onto a new cotton-covered acid-free rag-board mount, the Tratt sampler was ready to be reframed. Because the flattened sampler was larger than before, it no longer fit into the frame. Instead, conservators placed the sampler onto the reverse of the frame, rather than into it, as shown in the diagram above.

Samplers were not only used for teaching stitches, they were a means of teaching ideas. The lines of verse on the 1833 Tratt sampler were based on a celebrated song written by Georgiana Cavendish, duchess of Devonshire, herself sympathetic to anti-slav-

ery causes. Cavendish's inspiration was an account by Mongo Park of his travels in Africa (1799) during which he suffered many hardships. Park marveled that all the African women he encountered treated him—a white man and a stranger—with uniform kindness and compassion, as Tratt's sampler commemorates:

The Hospitable Negro Woman

*The loud wind roared, the rain fell fast,
The white man yielded to the blast,
He sat him down beneath the tree,
For weary, sad, and faint was he.
The white man shall our pity share
Alas no wife or mothers care[.]
For him the milk or corn prepare.*

— *What so sweet
so beautiful on earth
As kindred love*

By 1833, the year Martha Tratt rendered this sampler, women's anti-slavery societies in Britain had proliferated. Though still excluded from voting and political office, white and black women alike became more actively involved in this campaign. That year, the first of three national anti-slavery petitions organized by women was presented to the British Parliament.³ As a result of this awareness, women boycotted goods such as sugar and cotton produced with slave labor.

Workbags for carrying abolitionist tracts were made out of East Indian cotton produced by free labor as opposed to West Indian slave-grown cotton. These bags were presented to royalty and influential individuals in British society, an example of female initiative in the protest against slavery.

The third and largest piece of needlework, probably from England, is an embroidered picture of a kneeling slave.⁴

The image of the kneeling slave is unmistakably abolitionist in tone. The six lines above and beneath the figure read as follows:

*On africs wide Plains where the
Lion now roaring with freedom
Stalks forth the vast desert by.
Ploring I was dragged from my hut,
And enchaind as a slave in a dark
Floating dungeon up on the salt wave.*

These few lines evoke images of African people rounded up, put in chains, and crowded aboard the slave ships that transported millions across the Atlantic under appalling conditions, true "floating dungeons."⁵ The well-known cameo created by Josiah Wedgwood in 1787 for the English abolitionists (also part of the exhibit)

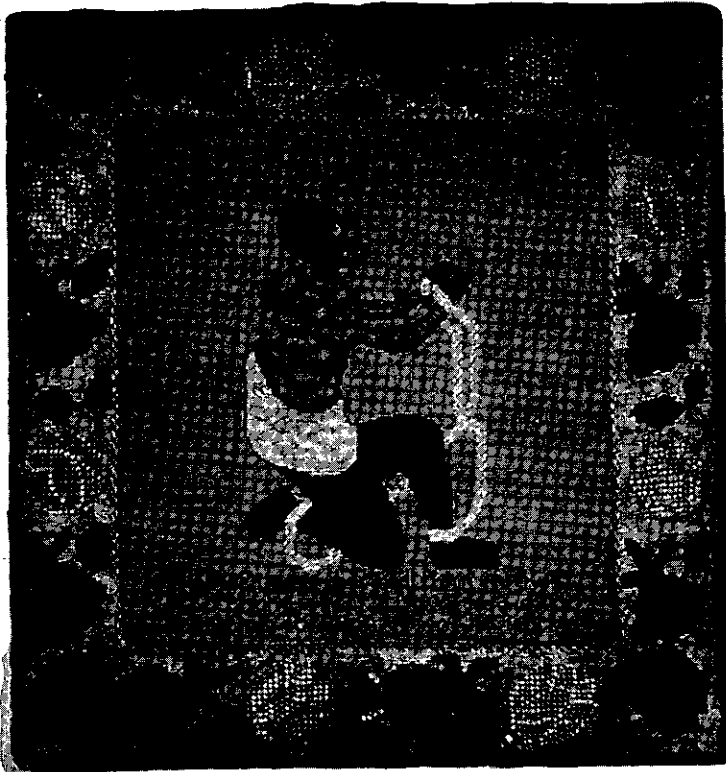
depicted a kneeling chain-bound slave and was later modified to depict a kneeling female slave. This later version, especially designed in 1828 for British women against slavery, bore the motto "Am I not a Woman and a Sister." American women campaigning against slavery adopted it as a symbol around 1832.

The casual visitor to the exhibit generally has no inkling of all the hidden steps undertaken by the conservation staff to prepare this picture for exhibition. Entirely embroidered, unframed, and tacked to a pine stretcher, it required the construction of a detachable custom-made cushion mount. The overall condition was good, but with nothing to support it from below, the embroidery sagged in the center over the sharp edges of the wooden stretcher. Conservators feared that the edges eventually would wear through, splitting the fabric and embroidery. To prevent this, a small padded mount was fitted into the center to elevate the embroidery slightly.

Next, the loose and frayed edges of the coarse linen-like ground fabric tacked to the sides needed support. A sheer polyester fabric was chosen and invisibly sewn over the edges. To create a barrier against acidifi-

cation caused by the wood, an inert, clear piece of Mylar was slipped between the embroidery and the wooden stretcher. Another piece of Mylar was cut to cover the back of the stretcher; the polyester fabric was then turned over the edges and sealed down onto this layer of plastic using strips of a heat-set adhesive film.

Then attention turned to the mount. It was made of a piece of acid-free rag board, cut the same size as the center and padded with a thin layer of batting covered with cotton fabric. This was glued onto

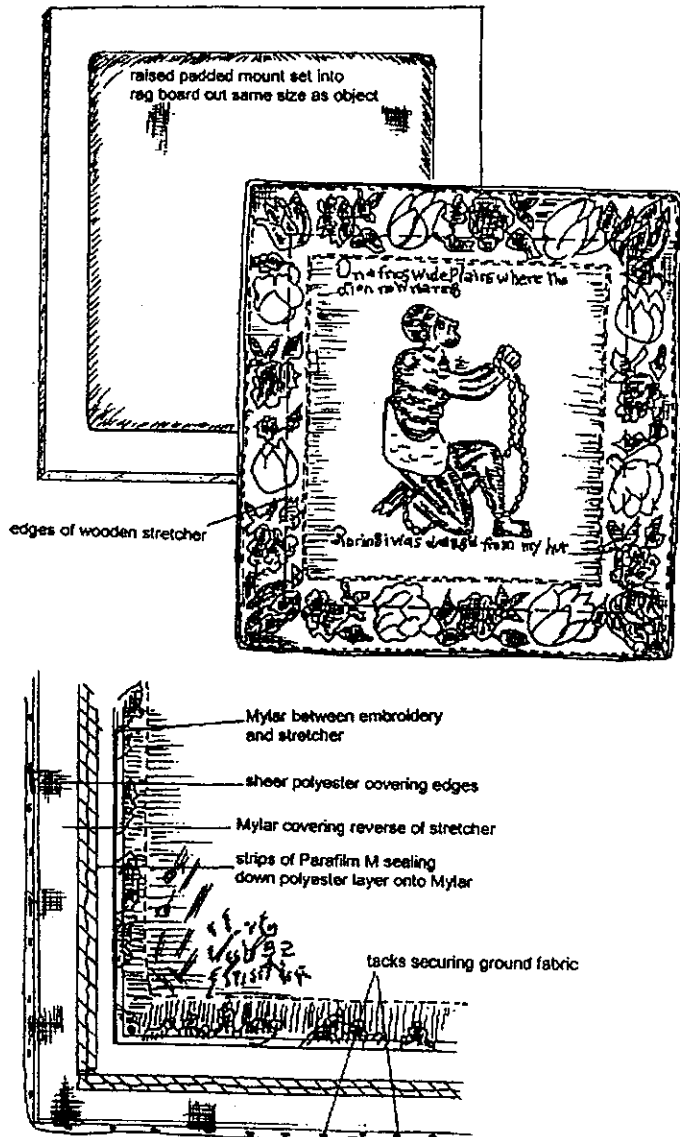


Embroidered picture (probably England).

rag board the same size as the embroidered picture. Finally, the needlework picture was placed over the completed custom-made mount.

Up until the end of the Civil War, most slave women were involved with some form of textile production. The vast majority labored in the fields but a few, who worked as domestics, learned the skills of plain sewing and embroidery from their mistresses. The work of these highly skilled women included marking and hemming household linens and sewing shirts, shifts, and gowns for the master's family, as well as cutting out cloth and sewing garments for the field hands.⁶ Another group of slave women worked as artisans—spinners, carders, weavers, knitters, and dyers—in the spinneries on some large plantations. Discarded or lost scissors, straight pins, and buttons excavated at many slave quarter sites indicate that many women field hands sewed and mended clothing after they came in from the fields or on Sundays.⁷

A few slave girls frequented schools for African Americans where they learned to sew. For example, the Bray School, a charity school in Williamsburg, operated from 1760 to 1774 for the purpose of educating slave and free black children between the ages of three and ten. In addition to religious instruction and reading and writing skills for boys and girls, schoolmistress Anne Wager taught the girls to knit and sew.⁸ Other examples from the northern colonies include mention of a sampler done in 1789 by Phoebe Cash, a "Negro Child" belonging to a Massachusetts widow, who evidently taught her the skills.⁹ In 1787, the New York Manumission Society established the New York African Free Schools, where practical skills were taught to boys and girls. A sampler produced there and dated 1803 by Mary Emiston is signed "New



York African Free School." No doubt one of many such school-sewing exercises, the style follows the standard American sampler. Nothing in the motifs recalls African influence, and the central verse is embroidered in simple cross-stitch.¹⁰ However, the verse clearly resounds with the message of freedom for African Americans—and with the vow to do their best for their "patrons." Because the verse occupies most of the space, it is reasonable to conclude that this was the whole point of the sampler.

Such samplers worked by the African-American population are extraordinarily rare. Although very few purely decorative African-American samplers exist, one was displayed in the recent exhibit of Virginia



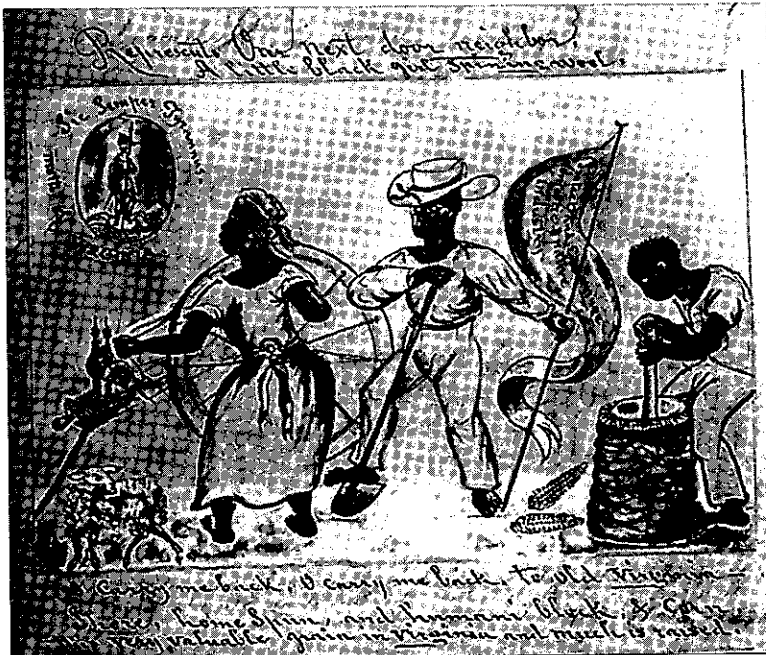
The Old Plantation by unidentified artist, circa 1790. Note the variety of textiles depicted.

samplers at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum, curated by Kimberly Smith-Ivey, associate curator of textiles.¹¹ A vibrant, flamboyant piece, it was worked in 1832 by William Levington, an African-American pastor, as a gift to the lawyer who donated the land for Levington's church in Balti-

more. Though clearly following the American sampler tradition, a central motif, bearing an inscription on either side, and Levington's personal, lively interpretation of the flower motif not only reflected contemporary aesthetic taste in Maryland but may also reveal African influences. We hope

further research will uncover other examples of African-American work.

We believe the Bailey and Tratt samplers and the embroidered picture were meant to create through gentle persuasion an awareness of the immorality of slavery. They do not appear to be the usual examples of schoolgirl stitchery, but rather are rare textiles belonging to the abolitionist groundswell on both sides of the



Detail of spinner from Lewis Miller, Virginia Sketchbook, circa 1853.

Atlantic. Possibly by using such a topic at home or at sewing schools, the injustice of slavery would dawn in young minds as children listened to their mothers or teachers explain the meaning of the verses. Like modern posters, the finished samplers were made to hang on walls and served to further the political aims of the abolitionist cause. ♡

¹ Loreen Finkelstein, manager of the textile conservation laboratory, headed the team responsible for the condition reports, treatment proposals, and conservation of these three pieces. Associate Curator of Textiles Kim Smith-Ivey, Textile Conservator Loreen Finkelstein, former Conservation Technician Barbara Black, and the author were assisted by volunteers Heather Hamara and Doreen Ungate.

² For a full account of women's participation against slavery, see Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

³ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁴ Martha Katz-Hyman, "Am I not a Man and a Brother: Abolition and Anti-Slavery in the Early Chesapeake," *interpreter* 20 (Spring 1999): 21. I would also like to thank Martha for her help.

⁵ Pascoe Grenfell Hill, *50 Days on Board a Slave-*

Vessel: In the Mozambique Channel, April and May, 1843 (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1993); Anthony Tibbles, "Transatlantic Slavery," *The Magazine Antiques* 155, no. 6: 890-897.

⁶ Gladys-Marie Fry, *Stitched from the Soul: Slave Quilts from the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Dutton Studio Books, 1990), 19, 20.

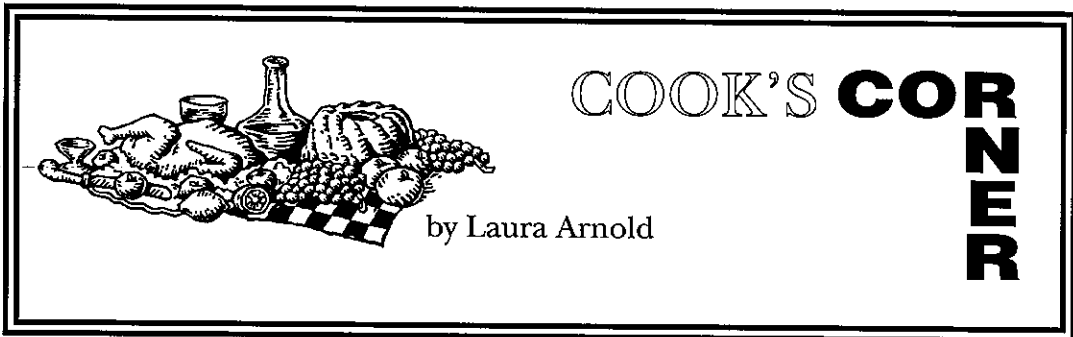
⁷ Lorena Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 188-189.

⁸ Mary A. Stephenson, "Notes on the Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760-1774" (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, June 1963), 3. See also John C. Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1985). My thanks to Linda Rowe for pointing these out to me.

⁹ Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnston Coe, *American Samplers* (Boston: Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1921), 27.

¹⁰ *Embroidered Samplers in the Collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum* (New York: The Smithsonian Institution, 1984), 28; Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850*, vol. II (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 319.

¹¹ Kimberly Smith-Ivey, *In the Neatest Manner: The Making of the Virginia Sampler* (Austin, Texas: Curious Works Press; and Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997), 11, 12, 101.



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

The association since ancient times of food with celebrations has spawned a "sub-species" of cookbooks devoted to holiday cooking. In the United States, these holiday traditions are a reflection of the ethnic "melting pot" that is unique to American society. In Southern cuisine, these traditions can be traced to their predominantly English roots with the added influence of the cooking styles of Native Americans and African slaves.

When William Byrd II described Virginia as the "Garden of Eden," he was referring not only to the fruits of vine and tree, but

also to the fruits of the sea so plentiful in the Chesapeake area. Native Americans instructed the early settlers in the cultivation and preservation of corn, and, while the colonists never gave up their preference for wheat as a grain source, an abundance made corn an easily obtained, inexpensive food staple. Cattle and hogs brought from England joined the variety of indigenous game found in fields and forests, and the Indians introduced the colonists to the art of barbecuing beef and pork, a tradition that to this day incites rivalry among cooks throughout the South. Hogs turned loose to forage on acorns acquired a distinctive flavor to their meat, making Virginia hams a much-sought-after commodity.



“Gumbo” was a synonym for African okra, an ingredient that offered a taste of home to slaves throughout the South. Slaves in the Carolinas and Louisiana, where rice was the principal grain grown for export, were responsible for “Hoppin John,” the blend of cowpeas, rice, and bacon that, when served on New Year’s Day, is said to bring health and happiness in the coming year.

Consider the menu for a holiday dinner in Tidewater Virginia to help understand how the earliest cooks combined the cooking traditions they brought from England with the necessity of adapting to available, often unfamiliar foodstuffs and the new methods needed to prepare them.

Fewer than half the dishes are English in origin, which is a tribute to the influence of the Native Americans whose land was usurped and the African slaves whose labor guaranteed the success of the Southern agrarian economy.

The shorter growing season in the New England colonies placed greater importance on easily stored root vegetables, such as potatoes and onions, and on dried corn and beans. These ingredients now allow us to enjoy Boston baked beans and New England clam chowder (“comfort food” for hungry colonists adjusting to the harsh winters). The colder climate and Northern tidal marshes were ideal for the cultivation of cranberries, a fruit that eventually became a staple of almost every American holiday table. Who could have foreseen the popularity of the Indian fruit “pompion,” which resourceful English cooks turned into pumpkin pie? Or who could have predicted that experimentation with sweet potatoes would lead to their use as a vegetable and as an ingredient in muffins?

African influence is seen in the use of spices and some cooking techniques. Slaves were truly creative cooks, combining a few ingredients to produce what is now part of traditional Southern cuisine. Slave cornmeal rations were turned into hoecakes, and dried corn became hominy or was combined with dried beans to make a form of succotash. The cornbread and hush puppies that we enjoy today are the result of such inventive cooking. Fish stews and thick, meat-based soups were flavored with spices from Africa as well as native herbs. Mary Randolph’s recipe in *THE VIRGINIA HOUSEWIFE* for “Ochra Soup” is the Virginia version of Louisiana gumbo.

- Crab Gumbo
- Virginia Ham
- Roast Turkey with Cornbread Stuffing
- Gravy
- Scalloped Oysters
- Candied Sweet Potatoes
- Mashed Potatoes
- Corn Pudding
- Cranberry Sauce, Pickles and Relishes,
- Brandied Peaches
- Sally Lunn Bread
- and Sweet Potato Muffins
- Pumpkin Pie
- Lemon Chess Tarts

1999 and Enslaving Virginia: The Story of the Williamsburg Community

by Julie Richter and Anne Willis

Julie, a historian in the Department of Historical Research, is a member of the Enslaving Virginia Story Line team. Anne, a museum educator in the Department of Interpretive Education, is chair of the Enslaving Virginia Story Line team.

The year 1999 marked two important anniversaries in the interpretation of African-American history at Colonial Williamsburg. It was twenty years ago, in 1979, that the Foundation began a comprehensive interpretation of black history and ten years since the opening of the reconstructed slave quarter at Carter's Grove. During the past decade, Rex Ellis, Robert C. Watson, Christy S. Matthews, and the members of the Department of African-American Interpretation and Presentations taught their fellow employees as well as visitors to the Historic Area how to interpret the lives of the "other half" of Williamsburg's population. In their tours and programs, interpreters used facts found in

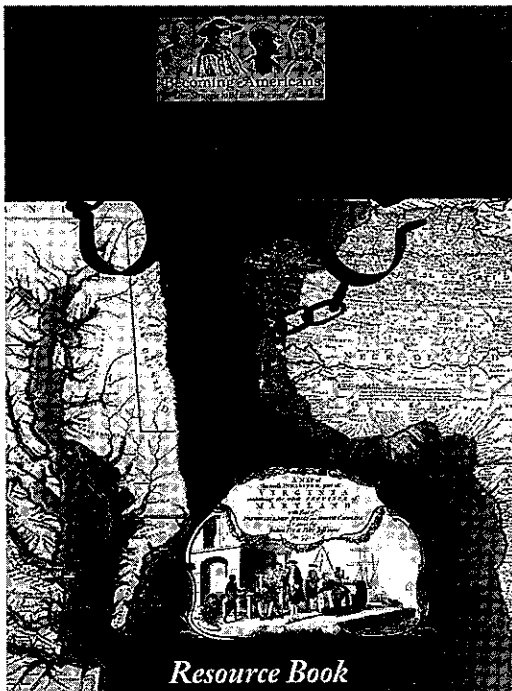
eighteenth-century documents about the lives of both free and enslaved blacks. This information served as the basis for "The Other Half Tour" and provided details about Paris, Joe, the carpenter, and his family; Daniel, the foreman, and Judith, his wife; and other slaves who lived and worked at Carter's Grove in 1775. Together, interpretive skills and historical research show that the story of Williamsburg's slaves and free blacks is a community story that needs to be told throughout the Historic Area.

The 1999 focus on "Enslaving Virginia" was built upon twenty years of interpretation of African-American history at Colonial Williamsburg as well as the work of Lorena S. Walsh, Philip D. Morgan, Michael L. Nicholls, and other scholars of slavery in the colonial Chesapeake. The Enslaving Virginia Story Line team designed the Resource Book to include the latest scholarship on African-American history in addition to material that interpreters can use to tell the story of the whites and free and enslaved blacks who lived and worked in eighteenth-century Williamsburg. Two sections in the Resource Book—"American Diversity: Williamsburg" and the Appendix—provide detailed information about individual masters and slaves as well as facts about each site in the Historic Area.

This past year, interpreters in the Historic Area and at Carter's Grove talked to visitors about the establishment of racial slavery in the eighteenth century and explored its influence on the lives, fortunes, and values of all Virginians. The stories of enslaved individuals and free people who lived in and around Williamsburg helped visitors to understand the "American Paradox" of freedom and slavery. Old and new programs focused on the people of Williamsburg and how slavery shaped everyday life.

On Day 1, "The Gentlemen's Men" talked about their role as personal slaves who tended to the needs of the colony's political leaders. Reverend Camm's sermon "On the Duties of Masters and Mistresses of Slaves" at Bruton Parish highlighted the connections between religion and slavery for our visitors.

The "Domestic Concerns" that gentry women discussed at the Wythe House on



ENSLAVING VIRGINIA

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

KEY POINTS

I. AMERICAN ODYSSEY: INDENTURED SERVITUDE TO RACIAL SLAVERY

The demands of the world economy shaped the emerging plantation cultures, leading to a shift from indentured servitude to racial slavery in America.

II. AMERICAN DIVERSITY: CRUCIBLE OF CULTURES

The reality of colonial life forced the interaction of diverse peoples and cultures despite the laws and traditions of eighteenth-century Virginia. These interactions had a profound impact on the development of American society.

III. AMERICAN PARADOX: FREEDOM AND SLAVERY

The enlightened ideas of freedom and equality in conflict with the historical practice of slavery and racism shaped the thoughts and lives of all Virginians as they moved toward revolution and republican government.

Day 2 included the role of domestic slaves in a household, the ways in which the mistress could manage the work of slaves, and the relationships between a mistress and enslaved women. Re-enactments held at the Courthouse addressed the unequal treatment that slaves and free people of color received under Virginia's legal system.

Visitors to the Historic Area saw the paradox between slavery and freedom addressed in a variety of programs on Day 3. From the reading of Dunmore's Proclamation on the steps of the Courthouse to the meeting of the Committee of Safety, from "The Slave Gathering" to Gowan Pamphlet's sermon behind the Raleigh Tavern on "The Promised Land," and from "The Runaway" to "Lord Dunmore Defends His Actions," interpreters challenged visitors to think in new ways about slavery and the meaning of freedom. These programs were successful because they focused on eighteenth-century residents of Williamsburg and pulled together all of the Becoming Americans story lines into a single community story.

Visitors also saw the paradox of freedom and slavery on Day 4 as Virginia's political leaders, meeting at the Courthouse, the Raleigh Tavern, and the Capitol discussed the decision to declare independence from

Great Britain.

The Tenant House was home to the Cooper family this past year. Lydia Cooper, a free black woman who owned slaves, her second husband, Joseph Cooper, and other family members discussed the challenges that free people of color faced in the years before Virginia declared independence. "Under Suspicion" on Day 2 highlighted the tenuous position of free blacks in a society in which race usually determined one's status as free or enslaved. Eighteenth-century visitors to the Tenant House included Mary Stith, Elizabeth Maloney, Ann (Ashby) Jones, Lydia Broadnax (George Wythe's cook), and Johnny (Peyton Randolph's personal slave). The first-person stories heard that day at the Tenant House helped visitors feel that they were actually in the eighteenth century.

For visitors who wanted to learn about the history of slavery, two walking tours—"The Enslaving Virginia Tour" and "The Other Half Tour"—provided a broader context. "The Enslaving Virginia Tour" detailed the development of racial slavery in British North America; "The Other Half Tour" focused on the African-American community in eighteenth-century Williamsburg. A series of afternoon lectures at the Secre-

tary's Office (formerly the Public Records Office) gave visitors an opportunity to ask questions about attempts to end slavery in the years before the American Revolution, the ways in which slaves resisted and rebelled, the fate of Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment and Black Loyalists after November 1775, and the role of slavery in the new nation.

Evening programs were also an important part of the Enslaving Virginia story. "Affairs of the Heart," "Mother Wit," "Remember Me," and "Jumpin' the Broom" touched upon personal relationships between blacks and whites and explored the ways in which slaves passed aspects of African culture to generations who had never seen Africa. "A Broken Spirit" is a groundbreaking program in which visitors learn about physical punishment and the emotional ordeals that enslaved men, women, and children suffered in eighteenth-century Virginia. This program also shows to what extent the events surrounding the punishment of a newly arrived slave affected the entire slave community.

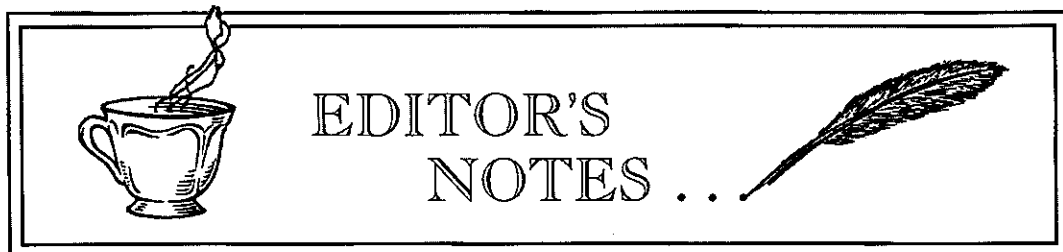
Comments from visitors and coverage in the national and international press indicate that the Enslaving Virginia story is a compelling one that visitors to the Historic Area want to hear. In 1999, many visitors left Colonial Williamsburg with a far more sophisticated understanding of life in the eighteenth century than they had acquired in school. The stories of Williamsburg's eighteenth-century residents helped visitors to think about American history in a different way and to ponder the paradox of slavery and freedom. Men, women, and children were caught up in the events and drama of each of the four days in history. Interpreters throughout the Historic Area—contextualists, character interpreters, and gate and line interpreters—played an important role in this experience.

This success should mean that more visitors will travel to Colonial Williamsburg in the year 2000 to continue to learn about the role of slavery in American history and in the Williamsburg community. In the com-

ing year, the Enslaving Virginia Story Line team will work with the Taking Possession Story Line team to incorporate the story of Williamsburg's enslaved and free people of color with the story of the westward movement. The decision of slave owners, including John Burwell (the husband of Ann Powell Burwell), Nathaniel Burwell, and James Geddy, to relocate to plantations in the Piedmont, the Valley of Virginia, and Petersburg, had a considerable effect on the lives of slaves. Interpreters may talk about the fact that a move to a western plantation or a town in the Piedmont often broke the ties that individual slaves had to family and friends. In addition, a discussion of the differences between work performed by urban and rural slaves is another way that the Enslaving Virginia story can be a part of the Taking Possession story.

The Enslaving Virginia Story Line team will also continue to provide support to all interpreters as they continue to tell the story of Williamsburg's African-American residents and to use the information in the Enslaving Virginia Resource Book. Team members can answer questions about material culture and archaeology, help with program development, and offer suggestions about interpretive techniques. The series of morning conversations will continue this year. The Enslaving Virginia Story Line team knows that interpreters need an opportunity to discuss the successes as well as the challenges they face as they tell the story of all members of the Williamsburg community. These discussions enable interpreters to learn from each other and to interpret the Enslaving Virginia Story with ease and confidence.

In addition, the story line team will continue to publish "The Network" as a way to keep interpreters informed about new findings in African-American history and to provide answers to questions. All issues of "The Network" and the Enslaving Virginia Resource Book will be available on both the Colonial Williamsburg Network and the Colonial Williamsburg Intranet early next year. Thanks, interpreters!



New/Old Feature: This is to announce the reinstatement in the *interpreter* of the "Questions and Answers" segment, which will appear in each issue beginning with Fall 2000. (The summer issue will be devoted almost entirely to questions and answers relating to the Taking Possession Story Line). Bob Doares, museum educator and planning board member, has agreed to coordinate the new Q and A column. If you have questions, send a written copy to Bob at the James Anderson House via interoffice mail, email him at rdoares@cwf.org, or leave a message at ext. 7111.

Thank You: The editorial staff would like to thank Anne Willis, Julie Richter, and the rest of the Enslaving Virginia Story Line

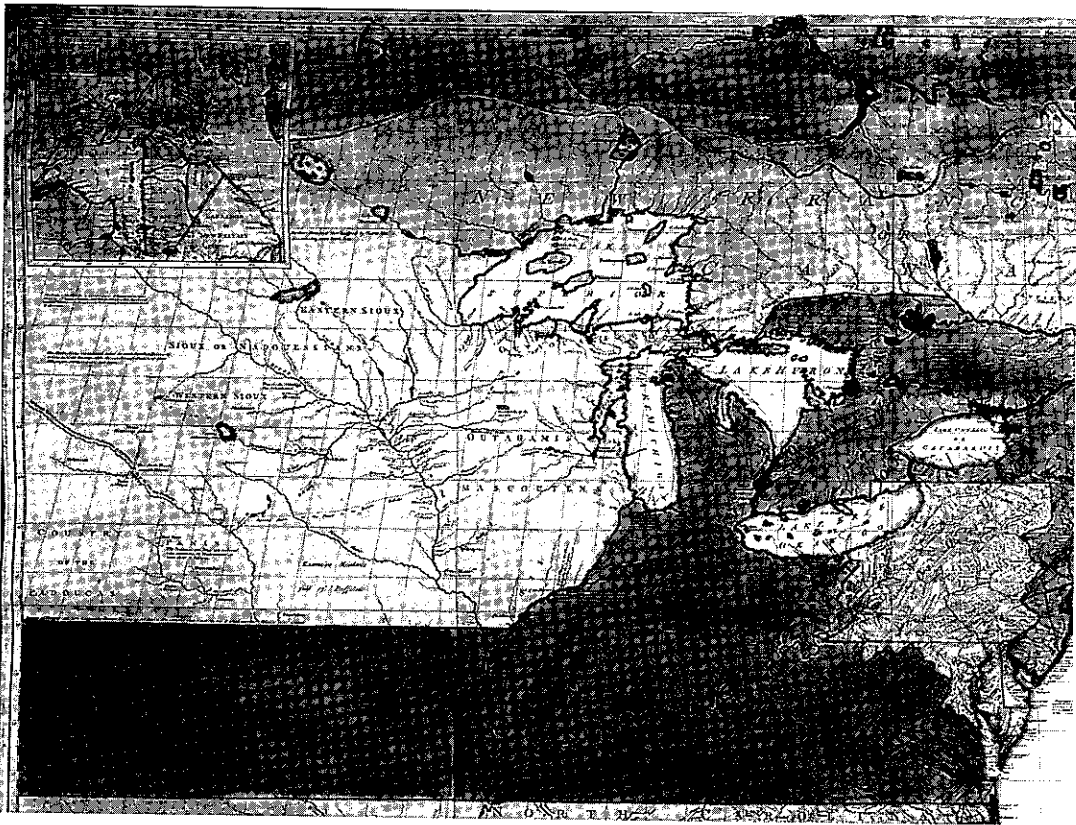
Team for their help in contributing ideas and articles for the 1999 issues of the *interpreter*. You did a tremendous job providing us with important new material in thought-provoking articles on a difficult subject.

Welcome: We welcome aboard our new copy editor Mary Ann Williamson. Mary Ann is not new to the *interpreter* having worked with us on past issues. We look forward to her help in the coming years.

Thank you to Anna Jarvis, former copy editor of the *interpreter*, who is concentrating on other projects in the Print Production Services department. It was a pleasure working with such a talented professional.

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

<i>Editor:</i>	Nancy Milton
<i>Assistant Editor:</i>	Linda Rowe
<i>Copy Editor:</i>	Mary Ann Williamson
<i>Editorial Board:</i>	Steve Elliott and Emma L. Powers
<i>Planning Board:</i>	Laura Arnold, Bertie Byrd, John Caramia, Bob Doares, Jan Gilliam, David Harvey, John Turner, Ron Warren, Katie Wrike
<i>Production:</i>	The Print Production Services Department



Taking Possession in 2000

The new Taking Possession Story Line was introduced in March with implementation of the spring schedule. A three-day training program for all interpreters was held in January and February along with the distribution of the Taking Possession Resource Book.

Special programs, featuring new characters, help tell the story of taking possession within the context of the seven "Days of History."

Stay tuned for more information about the programming for this year from John Caramia and the story line team.

