Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

VOL. 23, NO. 1 SPRING 2002

Sacred and Secular: The Calendar for 1774

by Linda Rowe

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The Anglican church year imparted a familiar rhythm to everyday life for most colonial Virginians. Church year observances in Virginia were fewer and simpler than in England, but the sacred calendar was reinforced in the public mind regularly. Sunday services at parish churches in Virginia included scriptural readings from the Book of Common Prayer appointed for feast and fast days associated with saints' days and transforming events in Christian history. Religious tracts and books such as the pamphlet printed and sold by William Parks in Williamsburg, *The Holy-Days, or the Feasts and Fasts, As They are Observed in the Church of England, Explained: And the Reasons why they are Yearly Celebrated* were readily available, and monthly calendars peppered with dates that had religious significance were a staple in the popular *Virginia Almanacks* from the editors of the *Virginia Gazettes*. At the same time, secular activities and amusements and political events came to be associated with many traditionally religious observances. Here is a sampling for the year 1774:

Jan. 1/Sat.

England and her colonies adopted January 1 as the first day of the new year (instead of the traditional March 25) beginning in 1752. New Year's was not a time of celebration in the modern sense in colonial Virginia, but the *Virginia Almanack* for the year 1774 adorned the January calendar with these lines:

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

Jan. 5/Wed.

Twelfth Night. The *Oxford English Dictionary* identifies Twelfth night as Twelfth Day eve, the evening before Twelfth day (Epiphany, January 6). The word night in this usage suggests, "to spend the night in enjoyment or reveling" as in "to make a night of it." This is consistent with the tradition of making the eves of religious feasts the occasion for secular revelries (debaucheries in the eyes of the authorities who sought to control such excesses).

Evidence for merry-making on January 5 in eighteenth-century Virginia is largely absent from period diaries, letters, and other sources.

Jan. 6/Thurs.

The Epiphany/Twelfth Day. The *Oxford English Dictionary* states that Epiphany and Twelfth Day are the same day—January 6—and backs up the claim with quotations from the tenth

Also in this issue . . .

century onward. In the Christian year, the feast of the Epiphany commemorates the manifestation of the birth of Jesus to the eastern magi or wise men via a new star and their arrival at his birthplace bearing gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

Virginians throughout the eighteenth century celebrated in the evening on Epiphany (Twelfth Day), often with dinner and a ball or a special cake and a drawing, sometimes punctuated with playacting. For example, William Byrd II recorded in his diary attending festivities at Lord Percival's in London on January 6, 1719. Back in Virginia, Byrd wrote of entertaining several people at Westover on January 6, 1721, with dinner; after dinner, the company "acted proverbs and were merry till one o'clock. . . . We danced country dances about two hours before we acted proverbs." In 1770, Landon Carter wrote on Sunday, January 7, that "Captn. Beale had invited this family yesterday [Jan. 6] to a dinner and a twelfth Cake." On January 7, 1775, Nicholas Cresswell in Alexandria, Virginia, wrote in his journal, "Last night [Jan. 6] I went to the Ball. It seems this is one of their annual Balls supported in the following manner: A large rich cake is provided and cut into small pieces and handed round to the company who at the same time draws a ticket out of a Hat. . . . He that draws the King has the Honor of treating the company with a Ball the next year. . . . The Lady that draws the Queen has the trouble of making the Cake."

For centuries in England, the Christmas season (December 25–January 5) closed with secular revelries on Twelfth Night (the evening of January 5—once the traditional time for masques and plays at court) to be followed the next day with religious observance of the feast of the Epiphany (January 6—a time that could include local celebratory customs). By the eighteenth century, entertaining at home in the evening on January 6 was customary. While it is true that Epiphany came at the "end" of the Christmas season, Epiphany is not technically a part of Christmas but rather the beginning of a new season in the church calendar.

The fact that Epiphany is also known as Twelfth Day has given rise to considerable confusion both in popular culture and in scholarly and religious sources. Epiphany is called Twelfth Day because it occurs twelve days after Christmas (December 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, January 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). Holy-Days, or The Feasts and Fasts as they are observed in the Church of England *published in Williamsburg by Parks states that "Epiphany . . . . is also called Twelfth-Day, it being celebrated just Twelve Days after our Saviour's nativity."*

Note that this explanation of Twelfth Night and Twelfth Day represents a change from Jane Carson's Colonial Virginians at Play, *which reported social gatherings in Virginia in the evening on January 6 but identified the evening of January 6 as Twelfth Night, and Linda Rowe's "Sacred and Secular: A Calendar of Observances in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg" (*Interpreter, *May 1990), which correctly identified January 5 as Twelfth Night but incorrectly stated that January 5 was a the time for special entertaining for Virginians. Evidence from Virginia sources reveals that the evening of January 6/Epiphany/Twelfth Day was the annual occasion for balls and entertaining at home in Virginia.*

Jan. 10/Mon.

Hilary Term began for all students (grammar, philosophy, divinity) at the College of William and Mary on the first Monday after Epiphany. The term took its name from St. Hilary.

Jan. 13/Thurs.

St. Hilary, fourth-century martyr and bishop of Poitiers (west central France).

Jan. 30/Sun.

King Charles I, martyr. Commemorates the execution in 1649 of Charles I under Oliver Cromwell. Charles was considered a martyr to the faith because he refused to renounce the Church of England at his trial.

James Blair conducted divine service with a sermon at Bruton Parish Church in Williams-

King Charles the 1st, *engraved by Michael Van Der Bucht, 1706. Colonial Williamsburg Collections.*

burg on this day every year until his death in 1743. In 1751, John Blair noted on this day (a Wednesday that year) that it was a "fine day, and yet but few at church today." A *Pennsylvania Gazette* story about the Capitol fire in 1747 began: "Williamsburg: (January 30) the fatal and ever memorable Day of the Martyrdom of King Charles the First, a most extraordinary Misfortune befel this Place, by the destruction of our fine Capitol." The January calendar in the 1774 *Virginia Almanack* shows "K. Char. beh[eaded]." beside January 30.

Feb. 2/Wed.

Purification of the Virgin Mary/Candlemas. Commemorates the presentation of the baby Jesus at the Temple in Jerusalem and the forty days of Mary's purification, according to Jewish law, after the birth of a son (Leviticus 12)—later adapted to Christian liturgy as the Churching of Women after childbirth (see the Book of Common Prayer). February 2 was commonly called *Candlemas* (from candle mass) because of the tradition in the early centuries of the Roman church of going in procession with lighted candles on this day and blessing candles in church to be used at home.

February calendars in *Virginia Almanacks* including 1774 identified February 2 as "Purif. V. Mary." In his 1751 diary, John Blair of Williamsburg noted "a good Candlmss day." Although there is no evidence for the blessing of candles in Virginia, colonial Virginians often used the word *Candlemas* instead of the phrase *February 2* in writings of the period. Women in eighteenth-century Williamsburg and Virginia used the perennially popular English cookbook *The Art of Cookery* by Hannah Glasse published 1747, which included a list of fish in season at this time of year under the heading "Candlemas Quarter."

Feb. 14/Mon.

Valentine. A verse about matters of the heart sometimes accompanied February calendars in *Virginia Almanacks*. Philip Vickers Fithian, tutor to Robert Carter's children at Nomini Hall in Westmoreland County, noted on this day in 1774 that "Mr Randolph this Morning happens to be Miss Nancy's Valentine; & Miss Prissy mine." The next day Fithian "gave Miss Carter my Verses for her Valentine."

Feb. 15/Tues.

Shrove Tuesday (exact date in February or March depends upon the date of Easter). The day before the beginning of Lent, often treated as a last "feast" before the somber Lenten season. Pancakes remained the traditional food of the day, harking back to a time when the last of

THE CALENDAR,

With the Table of Leſſons.

FEBRUARY hath xxviii Days;
And in every Leap-Year xxix Days.

			MORNING PRAYER.		EVENING PRAYER.	
			1 Leſſon.	2 Leſſon	1 Leſſon.	2 Leſſon.
1	d	Faſt.	Exod. 10	Mark –1	Exod. 11	1 Cor. 13
2	e	*Purif. of V. Mary.*	——	—2	——	—14
3	f	Blaſius, Bp. & M.	—12	—3	—13	—15
4	g	——	—14	—4	—15	—16
5	A	Agatha, V. & M.	—16	—5	—17	2 Cor.–1
6	b	——	—18	—6	—19	—2
7	c	——	—20	—7	—21	—3
8	d	——	—22	—8	—23	—4
9	e	——	—24	—9	—32	—5
10	f	——	—33	—10	—34	—6
11	g	——	Levit. 18	—11	Levit. 19	—7
12	A	——	—20	—12	—26	—8
13	b	——	Num. 11	—13	Num. 12	—9
14	c	Valentine, B. & M.	—13	—14	—14	—10
15	d	——	—16	—15	—17	—11
16	e	——	—20	—16	—21	—12
17	f	——	—22	Lu. 1. to 39	—23	—13
18	g	——	—24	1. ver. 39.	—25	Gal. —1
19	A	——	—27	—2	—30	—2
20	b	——	—31	—3	—32	—3
21	c	——	—35	—4	—36	—4
22	d	——	Deut. –1	—5	Deut. –2	—5
23	e	Faſt.	—3	—6	—4	—6
24	f	S. *Matthias.*	——	—7	——	Epheſ.–1
25	g	——	—5	—8	—6	—2
26	A	——	—7	—9	—8	—3
27	b	——	—9	—10	—10	—4
28	c	——	—11	—11	—12	—5
29	—	——	—13	Matth. 7	—14	Rom. 12

Page from Book of Common Prayer.

a family's butter, eggs, and milk—forbidden during the once stricter Lenten observance—were used up in making pancake batter.

James Gordon of Lancaster County in 1758 recorded in his journal that he accompanied his wife to a nearby school where she treated the scholars to pancakes and cider "it being Shrove Tuesday." Fithian reported on this day, "I have a call this morning from Bob & Harry for a Holiday, for Shrove Tuesday; I shall dismiss them at twelve o-Clock." And from Landon Carter in 1777, "This it seems is Shrove Tuesday . . . and all must go to Old Beale's to eat pancakes." The February calendar in the 1774 *Virginia Almanack* contains these lines:

You Friends, who late on Pancakes Far'd,
For Fasting now must be prepar'd,
'Cause 'tis the holy Time of Lent;
Of all your Sins you must repent,
And you will find your Time well spent.

Feb. 16/Wed.

Ash Wednesday. First Day of the Lenten season.

Fasting in Lent. Jeuner dans le Careme, *Carington Bowles, February 20, 1792 (hand-colored mezzotint engraving), Colonial Williamsburg Collections. This somewhat tongue-in-cheek print shows an English family at table in their handsomely appointed dining room during Lent. While they are not eating meat or poultry, the large fish suggests that they are not stinting themselves during the period leading up to Easter.*

Feb. 16–April 2/Sat.

Lent (exact dates depend upon the date of Easter). A forty-day period of solemnity and abstinence commemorating Jesus' fast of forty days and forty nights in the desert. For many centuries, the Lenten season included strict abstinence from red meat, milk, eggs, butter, cheese, and lard.

Lack of evidence in eighteenth-century Virginia sources about special Lenten meals suggests that by that time going meatless during the season was not strictly observed and largely a matter of personal choice. Hannah Glasse collected meatless dishes (fish and vegetable dishes) in the chapter "For a Fast-Dinner, a Number of good Dishes, which you may make use of for a Table at any other Time" in the 1747 edition of *The Art of Cookery.* (Glasse's dishes suitable for fasting contained plenty of eggs and butter!) In the 1796 edition of her cookery book, Glasse noted, "Lent is not kept so strictly as it was in former times." Nonetheless, she kept fish and vegetable dishes together and changed the chapter title to "For LENT, or a FAST DINNER" for the dutiful Lenten observer and for the "convenience of those persons who may . . . find it easier to get fish and vegetables than meat."

Many Anglican parsons in colonial Virginia, including James Blair of Bruton Parish Church, taught the Anglican catechism to girls and boys in the parish on the Sundays in Lent. He also read prayers at the church every Wednesday and Friday during the Lenten season.

Mar. 25/Fri.

Lady Day/Annunciation of Mary. Set apart as a memorial of the annunciation (declaration) by the Angel Gabriel to Mary that she would be the mother of Jesus.

Lady Day was New Year's Day in England and her colonies until January 1, 1752, when England officially adopted the Gregorian calendar. John Blair and others settled their accounts on this day.

Mar. 26/Sat.

End of Hilary term at the College of William and Mary (the Saturday before Palm Sunday).

Mar. 27/Sun.

Palm Sunday. Commemorates Jesus' last and fatal journey to Jerusalem. As he entered the city, the populace spread their garments and branches from palm trees in his path.

Noted as the sixth Sunday in Lent on calendars in *Virginia Almanacks.*

Mar. 31/Thurs.

Maundy Thursday. Thursday before Easter, remembered as the day Jesus instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and mandated its celebration in perpetuity.

April 1/Fri.

Good Friday. Set aside as a memorial of the crucifixion of Jesus. Called "good" because of the beneficial effects of Jesus' sufferings, namely the carrying away of the sins of the penitent by his death and resurrection.

James Blair held divine service and sermon at Bruton Parish Church on this day. Fithian's 1774 account of the week before Easter highlights the mix of the secular and the sacred as Easter approached: "Good Fryday—A general Holiday here—Wednesday & Thursday I gave up my School on account of the Dance, and they must have this Day [Good Friday] for Devotion!—The colonel, Ben, Harry, & myself all go to Ucomico Church—Parson Smith gave the usual Prayers for the Day and a long Sermon very suitable & well chosen."

In England on Good Friday, hot cross buns were traditional fare at breakfast, but references to them in colonial Virginia have not come to light.

In 1774, Good Friday coincided with All Fools' Day observed with these lines in the *Virginia Almanack:*

THIS April will afford All Fools some Sport,
But April Fools are not of the worst Sort:
There's Fools in Rags, and roguish Fools in Gowns,
Great Fools in the Country, greater Fools in Towns.

April 3/Sun.

Easter Sunday (first Sunday after the full moon on or next after the vernal equinox). Festival commemorating Jesus' resurrection from the dead.

One of the four times a year the Lord's Supper was administered at Bruton Parish Church. William Byrd II and Philip Fithian both mentioned attending church on Easter and receiving the sacrament. Fithian further observed that "this being Easter-Sunday, all the Parish seem'd to meet together High, Low, black, White all come out." Servants and slaves were usually exempted from labor during Easter.

The "Easter holidays" in colonial Virginia included Easter Monday. On Easter Monday 1774, Fithian referred to the two-day Easter holiday the slaves enjoyed with cockfights. It was a popular time for cockfights and other amusements throughout the colony, sometimes coupled with a ball.

April 10/Sun.

First Sunday after Easter, called "Low Sunday" in *Virginia Almanacks.*

April 11/Mon.

Easter Term at the college began (the Monday after the first Sunday after Easter).

Apr. 23/Sat.

St. George, martyr, patron saint of England.

The Williamsburg charter designated this day for one of the authorized fairs to be held in the city. Public events and fairs were staged on this day elsewhere in the colonies as well.

May 1/Sun.

May Day was NOT observed in colonial Virginia. William Byrd II in 1740 noted in a letter the absence of May Day celebrations in the colony.

May 12/Thurs.

Ascension Day. Commemorates Jesus' ascension into heaven forty days after Easter.

Blair held divine service and sermon on this day at Bruton Parish Church.

May 14/Sat.

End of Easter term at the college (the Saturday before the Sunday before Whitsunday).

May 22/Sun.

Whitsunday or Pentecost (seventh Sunday and fiftieth day after Easter). Important festival of the Christian church from at least the second century commemorating the descent of the Holy Ghost in flames of fire upon Jesus' apostles. The event took place on Pentecost, the Jewish feast of thanksgiving for the first fruits of the wheat harvest. In northern Europe, Pentecost became a popular time for baptism. In England, the feast was commonly called White Sunday (Whitsunday) for the white garments worn by the newly baptized.

One of four times during the year when the Lord's Supper was celebrated at Bruton Parish

The Resurrection of Christ, *published by Act of Parliament, February 21, 1753. Colonial Williamsburg Collections.*

Church in Williamsburg. The next day, Whitmonday (or Whitsun Monday), was another favorite time for cockfights in Virginia, sometimes followed by a ball.

May 29/Sun.
Trinity Sunday.

May 30/Mon.
Trinity Term began at the college.

June 1/Wed.

Many Virginians observe a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer in accordance with the May 24, 1774, resolution of the House of Burgesses in response to news that Parliament had passed the Boston Port Act. June 1 was the day Boston Harbor was to be closed until the city paid for the tea destroyed in the Boston Tea Party. Rind's *Virginia Gazette* reported, "every inhabitant of this city, and numbers from the country, testified their gratitude, in the most expressive manner, by attending the worthy and patriotic SPEAKER at the courthouse, and proceeding from thence, with the utmost decency and decorum, to the church, where prayers were accordingly read, and a sermon, suitable to the important occasion, was delivered, by the reverend Mr. Price, from the 103d. psalm, and 19th verse." George Washington, still in Williamsburg, was among those present. He noted in his diary, "Went to Church and fasted all Day."

THE CALENDAR,

With the Table of Leſſons.

JUNE hath xxx Days.

				MORNING PRAYER.		EVENING PRAYER.	
				1 Leſſon.	2 Leſſon.	1 Leſſon.	2 Leſſon.
1	e		Nicomede, M.—	Eſther—5	Mark—2	Eſther—6	1 Cor. 15
2	f			—7	—3	—8	—16
3	g			—9	—4	Job—1	2 Cor.—1
4	A			Job—2	—5	—3	—2
5	b		Boniface, B. & M.	—4	—6	—5	—3
6	c			—6	—7	—7	—4
7	d			—8	—8	—9	—5
8	e			—10	—9	—11	—6
9	f			—12	—10	—13	—7
10	g			—14	—11	—15	—8
11	A		S. *Barnabas*, Ap				
12	b		—— (& M.	—16	—12	—17, 18	—9
13	c			—19	—13	—20	—10
14	d			—21	—14	—22	—11
15	e			—23	—15	—24, 25	—12
16	f			—26, 27	—16	—28	—13
17	g		S. Alban, Mart.—	—29	Luke—1	—30	Galat.—1
18	A			—31	—2	—32	—2
19	b			—33	—3	—34	—3
20	c		Tranſl. of K. Ed.—	—35	—4	—36	—4
21	d			—37	—5	—38	—5
22	e			—39	—6	—40	—6
23	f		—— Faſt.	—41	—7	—42	Epheſ.—1
24	g		S. *John Baptiſt.* —				
25	A			Prov.—1	—8	Prov.—2	—2
26	b			—3	—9	—4	—3
27	c			—5	—10	—6	—4
28	d		—— Faſt.	—7	—11	—8	—5
29	e		S. *Peter*, Ap. & M.				
30	f			—9	—12	—10	—6

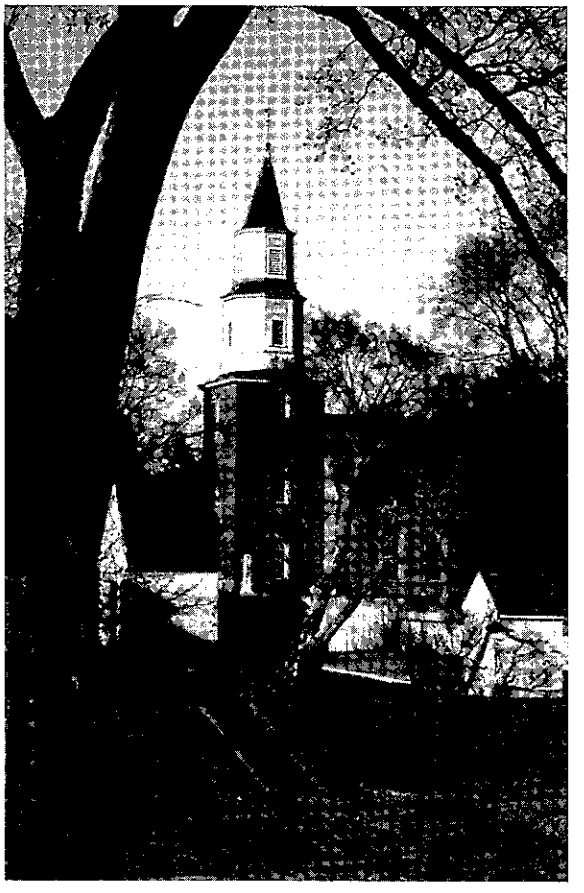
Bruton Parish Church, interior.

June 4/Sat.

George III's birthday (reign 1760–76). Celebration of the monarch's birthday was an annual event in Williamsburg. The celebration shifted to the date of George III's accession after 1766 (see October 25, below). The governor or the Council usually held a ball, and "gentlemen's and other houses of note" in town were illuminated for the occasion. Public events sometimes included discharging the guns at the Palace or fireworks on Palace Street. Sometimes ships at anchor in Virginia rivers would discharge their cannon on this day.

June 24/Fri.

Nativity of St. John the Baptist. St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist (December 27) were patron saints of Freemasonry. On this day in 1774 (and annually), the Masonic Lodge in Williamsburg installed new officers elected for the ensuing year (24 June to 24 June 1775): John Blair (Master), William Waddill (Deputy Master), William Finnie (Senior Warden), Harrison Randolph (Junior Warden), John Rowsay (Treasurer), William Russell (Secretary), Humphrey Harwood (Steward), James Galt (Steward). John Turner, outgoing treasurer, presented his account, which showed a balance of £13.16.6.



Bruton Parish Church.

July 26/Tues.

St. James. One of the twelve original disciples of Jesus.

Students in the philosophy and divinity schools at the College of William and Mary began vacation.

Aug. 15/Mon.

Transfer Day. Celebrated by the College of William and Mary to commemorate the 1729 transfer of corporate authority at the college from college trustees to the president and masters. Prayers and a sermon in the college chapel and student orations in praise of college founders were followed with the "rest of the day" spent in "decent Festivity" suitable to the occasion, including entertainment and food. Sometimes medals were awarded to student speakers or degrees were conferred. By invitation, so probably not a public event.

Sept.29/Thurs.

St. Michael and All Angels/Michaelmas.

The Sunday closest to Michaelmas (October 2 in 1774) was one of four times communion was celebrated at Bruton Parish Church during the year.

Another of the named dates sometimes used instead of the month and day in colonial-era documents. Hannah Glasse grouped fish available at this time of year under the heading "Michaelmas Quarter" in the 1747 edition of *The Art of Cookery.*

Oct. 18/Tues.

St. Luke, physician, missionary, author of the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament.

Philosophy and divinity students return to the college after vacation.

Oct. 25/Tues.

Accession of George III to the throne of England. After 1766, this anniversary was celebrated instead of his birthday (June 4) because it coincided with both the regular fall meeting of the courts and cooler weather. The *Virginia Gazette* noted balls at the Palace but made no mention of public celebration to include the general populace.

Nov. 5/Sat.

Guy Fawkes Day. Commemorated the failure of the 1605 Catholic "Gunpowder Plot" against Parliament and James I. *Virginia Almanacks* noted "Powder Plot" on this day. Evidence for observance of this day in Virginia is scant. How-

ever, from Norfolk in 1770, Margaret Parker wrote to her husband, "this is the 5th of November and [our son] has been employed all day making bonfires."

Nov. 30/Wed.

St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland.

Williamsburg's charter designated this day for municipal elections. Sometimes accompanied by festivities and entertainment provided for the aldermen and common councilmen by the newly elected mayor. In Hanover County, St. Andrew's Day was regularly the occasion for celebrations including prizes for contests in horse racing, dancing, singing, fiddling, "Foot-ball-play," jumping, wrestling, and beauty.

Dec. 12/Mon.

One of the fair days for Williamsburg noted in the Williamsburg Charter and *Virginia Almanacks*.

Dec. 16/Fri.

End of Trinity term at the college.

Dec. 25/Sun.

Christmas Day. The first day of the Christmas season (through January 5), and one of four times during the year when the Lord's Supper was celebrated at Bruton Parish Church and elsewhere in Virginia in the colonial period. Secular observance of the season included entertaining at home.

Dec. 26/Mon.

St. Stephen, first Christian martyr.

Dec. 27/Tues.

St. John the Evangelist.

Minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons show that local Masons celebrated this day annually in the 1770s with great ceremony. They processed as a group wearing the insignia of their order walking in the proper rank from the Lodge to Bruton Parish Church for a sermon. Afterward, they hosted a dinner and ball to which the ladies of the town were invited.

THE CALENDAR,

With the Table of Leſſons.

DECEMBER hath xxxi Days.

			MORNING PRAYER.		EVENING PRAYER.	
			1 Leſſon.	2 Leſſon.	1 Leſſon.	2 Leſſon.
1	f		Iſaiah 14	Acts—2	Iſaiah 15	Hebr.—7
2	g		—16	—3	—17	—8
3	A		—18	—4	—19	—9
4	b		—20, 21	—5	—22	—10
5	c		—23	—6	—24	—11
6	d	Nicolas, Bp.	—25	7. *to* ℣. 30	—26	—12
7	e		—27	7. ℣. 30.	—28	—13
8	f	Conception of V.	—29	—8	—30	James—1
9	g	—(Mary.	—31	—9	—32	—2
10	A		—33	—10	—34	—3
11	b		—35	—11	—36	—4
12	c		—37	—12	—38	—5
13	d	Lucy, V. & M.	—39	—13	—40	1 Peter 1
14	e		—41	—14	—42	—2
15	f		—43	—15	—44	—3
16	g	O Sapientia.	—45	—16	—46	—4
17	A		—47	—17	—48	—5
18	b		—49	—18	—50	2 Peter 1
19	c		—51	—19	—52	—2
20	d	—Faſt.	—53	—20	—54	—3
21	e	S. *Thomas*, A. & M.		—21		1 John 1
22	f		—55	—22	—56	—2
23	g		—57	—23	—58	—3
24	A	—Faſt.	—59	—24	—60	—4
25	b	*Chriſtmas-Day.* —				
26	c	S. *Stephen*, Mart.				
27	d	S. *John*, Ap. & Ev.				
28	e	*Innocents-Day.* —		—25		—5
29	f		—61	—26	—62	2 John —
30	g		—63	—27	—64	3 John —
31	A	Silveſter, Bp.	—65	—28	—66	Jude —

Page from Book of Common Prayer.

"They came empty-handed, not empty-headed"

Part 2

by Harvey Bakari

Harvey, a member of the Interpreter *Planning Board, is program development manager of African-American History. This is the second part of journal accounts about his trip to West Africa in 2001. (See* Interpreter, *winter 2001/2002, Vol. 22, No. 4, "They came empty-handed, not empty-headed," Part 1)*

This second article continues the account of my observations during a museum exchange program in Senegal, West Africa. My experiences there raised many questions about interpreting African and African-American history at Colonial Williamsburg. The 1999–2001 International Partnerships among Museums (IPAM) program was awarded to Colonial Williamsburg and the Historical Museum of Gorée. My exchange partner was Dr. Abdoulaye Camara, curator of the Historical Museum of Gorée and professor of Prehistoric Archaeology. I resided in Senegal from January to February 2001, and Dr. Camara resided in Colonial Williamsburg from September to October 2000.

Among several topics of the IPAM program that Dr. Camara and I were interested in exploring were any possible links between colonial Virginia historic trades and traditional skill trades of Senegal. In Colonial Williamsburg, with the collaboration of the historic trades staff, we visited many of the historic trade shops and yards. Dressed in colonial costume, Dr. Camara received hands-on experience in rural trades in the tobacco field and at the cooper's shop, mill, and basket making site. We also visited the carpenters' yard, brickyard, blacksmith shop, and weaver's shop. He was quite interested in the trades and their relationship to traditional and modern West African craftsmanship.

In Senegal, I witnessed African trades being practiced and handed down to the next generation. Senegal is like most West African societies: specific ethnic groups specialize in the practice of a particular trade. We observed woodcarvers, gold and silversmiths, and weavers and visited metals recycling shops.

Today, although European tools and methodology have influenced many of the trades practiced in Senegal, the original techniques and methods are still held in the memory of the elders. The privilege of witnessing the behind-the-scenes practice of traditional African trades required a most important gesture—approval

Cooper Jim Pettengell demonstrates some of the fine points of his trade to Bakari and Camara at Colonial Williamsburg. (All photos courtesy of the author.)

Camara tries his hand at basket making under the watchful eye of Roy Black.

from the elder of the trade. If the elder denied permission, you were considered an intruder and prohibited from photographing or entering the shop or compound. Approval by the elder is accompanied with a respectful donation to the community. Many Africans are weary of western camera lenses because some opportunistic people seek personal financial gain from the unauthorized sale of images of African people. In general, it is best to ask permission before taking photographs.

We visited a woodcarving community in downtown Dakar, where African drums and other wooden objects were produced. The woodcarving yard, located outside, resembled a factory. The raw wood was cut and shaped in one area and passed through different stations until it reached its final stage of production. After receiving permission from the elder, our guide, Abdoul Sow, led us through the compound to observe the process of making drums and other wooden products. This particular ethnic community specialized in making Senegalese drums such as djembes, sabers, and bass drums called dun-dun. Senegal has the reputation for producing some of the best djembe drums because of the type of wood available in the country.

As children moved freely within the compound, industrious young men busily created hundreds of drums and other goods for sale in the numerous markets of Senegal and for shipment abroad. Perhaps traditional West African societies exposed their children to the specialty of their ethnic group. This is an important factor to consider when interpreting the possible knowledge level of young enslaved Africans who arrived in the Americas.

A scene at the woodcarving community in downtown Dakar, Senegal.

Woodcarver at work in downtown Dakar, Senegal.

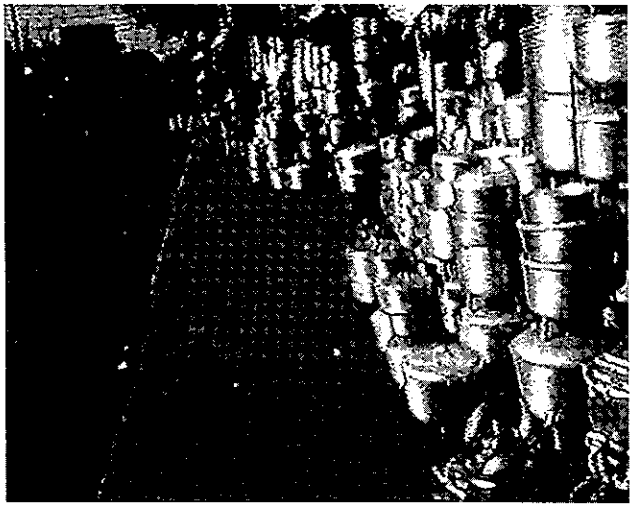
Mr. Saliou Thiam provided a demonstration of goldsmithing.

Next, we visited the goldsmithing shop in the Soumbedioune Market. Gold was one of the primary motives for Europeans to seek trade with West Africa in the fifteenth century. Between 1324 and 1326, the emperor of the kingdom of Mali, Mansa Kun Kun Musa, traveled on an Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca. During his travels he stopped in the city of Cairo, Egypt, a major center of commerce. The emperor and his entourage introduced so much gold into Cairo's economy that the currency was devalued for the next twelve years. Rumors of the wealthy African emperor circulated throughout Europe. Portuguese exploration and trade on the coast of West Africa began in 1441. The primary interest was the trade in gold and to a lesser extent slaves. As European countries began to explore the Americas and develop sugar plantations, the focus shifted to African captives. The need for cheap labor on sugar plantations was a driving force behind the escalation of the transatlantic slave trade into the West Indies and South America. When the first recorded Africans in the North American British colonies arrived in Jamestown in 1619, African slavery had already existed in the southern hemisphere for more than a hundred years (since 1503).

In the goldsmith shop, many of the young male apprentices were pleased to see the elder, Mr. Saliou Thiam, a sixth-generation goldsmith, practicing the trade on this particular occasion. He stated that the sound of the hammer hitting the anvil is music to his ears and leaves a lifelong impression on his soul. Mr. Thiam demonstrated the complete process of goldsmithing by casting a gold baobab tree necklace. The mold, which could only be used once, was made from a solid shaped fish bone. We found examples of the fish bone on the island of Saloum, but I still do not know its species. It was about six inches long, three inches wide, and one and a half inches thick. The bone was cut in half and the impression of a baobab tree carved on one side, while the other side remained flat. The mold was reassembled and tied together with a metal cord. In the small hand-cranked forge, gold was melted in a ceramic cup and then poured into the mold. After the filled mold cooled down, the cord was removed and the gold cast was taken out and cleaned. The process of filing, cleaning, shaping, and finishing the jewelry took about forty-five minutes.

I asked Mr. Thiam to comment on the opinion held by some historians that African teenagers were too young to transfer African skills to the Americas. He believed that many youth were taught or exposed to the skills of their ethnic group at a very young age. After the goldsmithing demonstration, Mr. Thiam, who is president of the market association, led us through the other shops within Soumbedioune Market. We were able to get a behind-the-scenes look at the production of a range of crafts and trades. Primarily we looked at the variety of gold and silver jewelry created within the marketplace, watching as raw material was manipulated and shaped into beautiful and luminous jewelry. The men were industrious and proficient in their craftsmanship. I was able to video record one of the weaver shops in the marketplace. The looms used today are similar to colonial Virginia looms in appearance. Weaving is primarily a male occupation in Senegal.

Mr. Thiam introduced us to another Dakar



Finished products created from recycled materials are displayed for sale. (All photos courtesy of the author.)

neighborhood where raw and discarded objects were recycled and transformed. For example, aluminum and other metals were turned into products such as tea sets, large aluminum pots, and other cooking utensils for sale in Senegal and for export to other regions of Africa. The items are produced without modern technology. Hard work and ingenuity are incorporated in the forges to melt the metals. Clay molds are used to create and shape the finished products. What a westerner may see as a discarded aluminum automobile wheel, an African may see as metal to be transformed into a cooking pot.

It was difficult to receive permission from the elder to enter the recycling metal shops. Once permission was granted, we entered a small, dark room where one of two young teenagers was hand-turning what appeared to be a discarded pedal from a bike affixed to a discarded tube from a leaf blower. This action pumped air into the fiery forge that melted an aluminum automobile engine block. The heat and humidity was quite unbearable, but it didn't seem to affect the workers. Another young man prepared a clay mold with talc powder, which was then filled with molten aluminum to produce a cooking pot.

A mold for an aluminum pot. Dakar, Senegal.

In another shop, discarded aluminum food and soda cans were cut and shaped into decorative exterior coverings for products such as briefcases, lunch boxes, and toys. Very little goes to waste. Many of the finished products can be found for sale in marketplaces throughout Senegal. The markets vary from indoor shops, outdoor markets, and sidewalk vendors, to street vendors who allow you to purchase products from the comfort of your automobile. The items for sale range from food and commercial products to artistic creations.

I will focus on the creative arts and sculpture such as glass painting, sand painting, rock sculpture, and folk art that are common in Senegalese markets today. Along the Atlantic coast of downtown Dakar, large volcanic rocks and boulders are chiseled into figurative sculpture. Obviously, these are for local consumption because it would be difficult and expensive for anyone except a museum or a wealthy patron to ship them to the United States or Europe.

In the city of Thies, we were able to observe a community center school where children were taught glass painting. This popular technique, practiced throughout the country, involves applying opaque paints in reverse order on the back of a piece of glass. The final image, a combination of layers of paint overlaid on the glass surface, tends to be brilliantly colorful and quite attractive. The majority of the images reflect Senegalese culture, religion, and daily life. Many Senegalese glass painters are recognized in France as accomplished artists. We also visited the art gallery of a well-known Senegalese visual artist, Kalidou Kassé.

Many Senegalese artists make use of found objects in their paintings. It is not uncommon for a picture frame to be created from discarded or deteriorated building materials. Some of the artistic creations on Gorée Island resemble southern African-American folk art. For example I saw a bottle tree—a collection of colorful glass bottles hanging from tree branches—on Gorée Island. I was unable to obtain an explanation about the origin or significance of them, but bottle trees commonly appear in African-American folk art. The artistic collection and arrangement of man-made objects, trash, and junk can be interpreted as folk art. It is very similar to American folk artists who display their collection of man-made objects, trash, and junk outdoors. I believe that many of the artistic creations on Gorée would easily fit into a folk art or even contemporary art exhibit.

Another popular art form, sand painting, makes use of a variety of colored volcanic sand from different regions of Senegal. The process begins with a flat wooden board on which a design is drawn. Next, glue is applied to selected areas. Colored sand is then sprinkled onto the wet glue and allowed to dry. After this process is repeated with several different colors, the final image is completed.

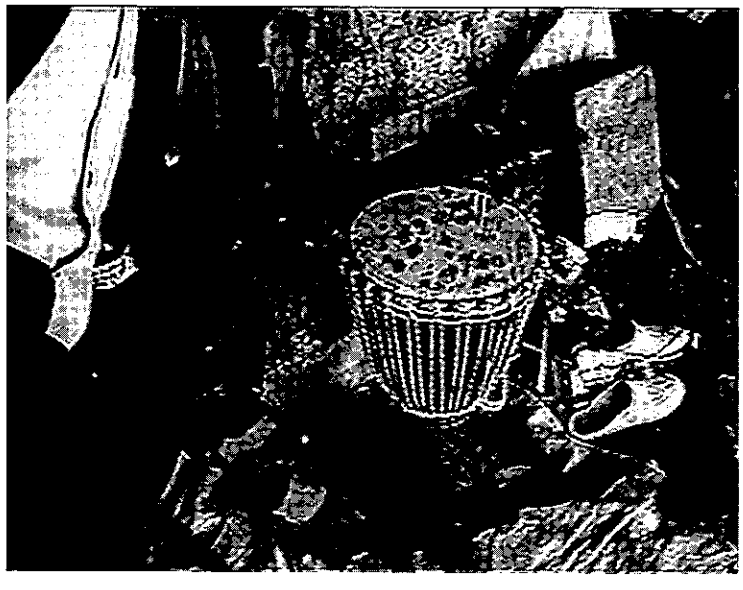
My exploration of Senegal both in the modern and the historical sense was enlightening. The total experience cannot be captured in this article. It is something you have to experience your-

Mr. Cissoka, a griot, and his assistant instruct Bakari in the playing the kora.

self. However, watching the industrious nature of skilled craftsmen, the creative process of the artist, and the transformation of everyday trash into useful products has expanded my interpretation of history. If Africans today are accustomed to using raw or found materials from their environment to create the material culture needed for survival, I can only wonder what might still be buried in our America soil.

Elders in the colonial slave quarters may have acted as griots, keepers of the history. Unfortunately we have few oral or written accounts from the slave's colonial perspective. Colonial historical accounts of slaves' material culture and skills are primarily from the slave owner's perspective.

The international partnership program raised many interpretive questions. Continued research of slave material culture, traditional African material culture, and skill trades is important to understanding the possible linkages between the two continents. The questions will always remain: Did the shock and trauma of the transatlantic voyage cause the Africans to forget their culture, or did it only reinforce their dependence on their culture, skills, and creativity to survive? Did slave owners misinterpret objects that slaves owned or created? What kinds of traditional practices may have secretly survived on plantations? We can speculate, but we do know that a distinctive African-American culture did develop in colonial Virginia. I do believe that many Africans who arrived in the Americas "came empty handed, not empty headed."



Some of the wooden wares to be found in downtown Dakar, Senegal. (All photos courtesy of the author.)

COOK'S CORNER

Tomatoes in Williamsburg: Legends, Myths, and Mysteries

by Jim Gay

Jim is an apprentice in the Historic Trades Foodways program.

As far as American food historians are concerned, the use of tomatoes as food was, is, and always will be controversial. The reason for this is that there are few historical references to tomatoes before the nineteenth century. However, there are enough eighteenth-century Virginia references to keep the debate lively. There is no "smoking-gun" statement in any colonial Virginia source that says, "I ate a tomato in Virginia served by Mr. _____ on August 15, 1774." Of course there are other foods that fall into the same category, but tomatoes seem to require a higher standard of proof.

This higher degree of scrutiny forces the debaters to question such things as published recipes on both sides of the Atlantic, people's recollections, and American commonplace books. It involves discussions concerning the reliability of some sources and complete disregard of others. In part, the debate is a carryover of the original English belief that tomatoes were poisonous. Some people still clung to this belief in the eighteenth century. Historians point out that John Randolph didn't include tomatoes in his treatise on gardening while later, his cousin Thomas Jefferson mentioned them in *Notes on the State of Virginia.*

The purpose of this article is to attempt to connect some of the dots between sources and to propose a new way of thinking about the subject: Namely that tomatoes were eaten in Williamsburg before they were eaten anywhere else in Virginia. They were introduced by a Jewish doctor and used by slaves preparing West Indian recipes. But first, the background and a test.

Take out your pencils and circle the correct answer concerning the tomato in Williamsburg:

a. They were called "love apples" because they were considered aphrodisiacs.
b. There is no documented reference to tomatoes in Williamsburg during the eighteenth century.
c. The first Williamsburg resident known to eat a tomato ended up at the Public Hospital for the insane.
d. There is no West Indian influence in Williamsburg cookery during the eighteenth century.
e. None of the above.

For those of you who want to stop reading, the correct answer is c. For those who want to know why, read on.

The Tomato Takes Root in Europe

The Spaniards first encountered the tomato during their conquest of Mexico in the sixteenth century. They took the Nahuatl word *tomatl* from the Aztecs and corrupted it into *tomate.* As the Spanish empire expanded in South America, the Caribbean, and Asia so did this New World exotic fruit. The Italians received the tomato through Naples, a Spanish possession. The French acquired it from the Italians. Concurrently with Spanish expansion, Jews, expelled by the Inquisition, carried the tomato to Britain. The fruit became associated with Mediterranean and Jewish cookery for the next two hundred years. As late as 1803, the tomato was virtually unknown in Paris. Brillat-Savarin, the French gastronome, wrote, "We owe its [the tomato's] introduction to the great influx of southerners brought by the Revolution to the capital."[1] Considering French influence in eighteenth-century fashion, it seems likely that if the French court had accepted tomatoes earlier, the rest of fashionable Europe and America probably would have followed suit.

References to tomatoes first appeared in print in Europe approximately two decades after Cortez conquered Tenochtitlan and dethroned Montezuma. Sam Cox, author of *I Say Tomayto, You say Tomahto . . .*, writes, "The earliest men-

tion of the tomato in European literature is found in an herbal written by [botanist Pier Andrea Mattioli] Matthiolus in 1544." He described tomatoes, or as they were called in Italy, *pomi d'oro* (golden apple), and said that they were "eaten in Italy with oil, salt and pepper." This suggests that the first tomato known to Europeans was yellow in color. By 1554, Matthiolus mentions a red variety. He also associated the tomato with the mandrake plant, a member of the nightshade family. Mandrake had been considered an aphrodisiac since antiquity.[2]

Historians disagree about the origin of the English term *love apple*. Some say they translated the French *pomme d'amour* into "apples of love." Since Europeans often associated things from the Iberian Peninsula with the Moors, perhaps *pomme d'amour* was a corruption of *pome dei Moro* (Moor's apple). However, Andrew Smith, writing in *The Tomato in America,* tells us, "Its [mandrake's] real claim to fame rested with the other purported qualities. It had been mentioned in the Bible. The Hebrew term for it was *dudaim,* which translated into English as 'love apples' or 'love plants.' In Genesis, Rachel and Leah employed mandrake roots as a love potion."[3] Whether the English or French considered tomatoes as aphrodisiacs is questionable. Undoubtedly, the use of the word apple to describe the tomato reflects a tendency to describe new food discoveries with something already familiar to the discoverer. The same thing can be said of the pineapple and nutmeg apple.

The Tomato Takes Root in Britain—Slowly

In 1597, John Gerard, a British barber/surgeon, published an herbal claiming the tomato to be "of ranke and stinking savour."[4] While acknowledging that the Spaniards and Italians ate them, he nevertheless went on to claim that they were toxic. This set the stage for the negative view of tomatoes in the British and American diet that was to last for the next two centuries—and the debate that followed for two more. Meanwhile, British and American gardeners grew them mostly out of curiosity as ornamental flowers.

However, over time, tomatoes gained acceptance for medicinal purposes. Smith writes, "In the early eighteenth-century, Henry Barham confessed that he had eaten five or six raw tomatoes at a time in Jamaica. Barham also wrote 'they were used medicinally for such ailments of hot humours in the eyes . . . [and] St. Anthony's Fire, and all inflammations.'"[5] Despite the warnings from some doctors and herbalists proclaiming unhealthy qualities, tomatoes found their way into British soups and stews by the middle of the eighteenth century.

Recipes using tomatoes first appeared in a British cookbook in 1758. This cookbook and subsequent editions were sold in Williamsburg. Hannah Glasse in the supplement to her cookbook, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy,* included a recipe "To Dress Haddock the Spanish Way" that called for "half dozen love apples" to be "stewed a half hour." Sam Smith writes, "This comes as no surprise. Many Jewish families living in England were engaged in trade with the Caribbean and the Americas. Many were of Portuguese or Spanish descent and had migrated from or maintained contact with Jewish communities in the New World who consumed tomatoes. At least one English-born Jewish physician [John de Sequeyra] introduced tomatoes into Virginia during the mid-eighteenth century."[6] The earliest known American manuscript to include tomato recipes was the 1770 receipt book of Harriott Pinckney Horry of South Carolina, granddaughter of the British lieutenant governor of Antigua, which includes directions "To Keep Tomatoes for Winter Use."[7]

The Tomato Takes Root in Virginia

Williamsburg (and Virginia) cookery was never exclusively British. Stores in town sold British cookbooks, and ships arrived from the Caribbean bringing food products deemed essential to everyday life. Sugar, rum, cocoa, beans, spices, and citrus fruits came to Virginia throughout the colonial period. Native American corn was a staple. French-trained cooks served elite dinners at the Governor's Palace, while black slaves, some likely familiar with West Indian cookery, introduced new foods and flavors. For example, barbecue and pineapple have West Indian origins. Williamsburg was a point of convergence for all of these factors because of its wealth and influence as the colonial capital. A case can be made that what first became fashionable in Williamsburg, was copied elsewhere later.

Dr. John de Sequeyra, an English doctor of Portuguese Jewish descent, arrived in Williamsburg around 1745. Thomas Jefferson credited him with introducing Virginians to the custom of eating tomatoes. In addition to his regular practice, de Sequeyra became the first attending physician at the Public Hospital and would have associated with the Williamsburg elite in a variety of venues, including the dining room. A portrait of the doctor owned by the Winterthur Museum in Delaware has a signed note on the back by E. Randolph Braxton that reads:

> *Dr. Seccari . . . was family physician to my grandfather Philip Ludwell Grimes. He first introduced into Williamsburg the custom of eating tomatoes, until then considered more of a flower than a vegetable.*[8]

We will never be sure of the precise day and time, or in what recipe, the first Virginia-grown tomato was prepared. But apparently—according to Braxton's handwritten remembrance—the tomato was considered fashionable for consumption in Williamsburg. Based on the quotes below, envision a conversation between John Custis and Dr. John de Sequeyra soon after the doctor arrived in Williamsburg. Custis recalls comments on tomatoes in a letter he received from Peter Collinson of London several years before and asks the doctor if he has ever eaten tomatoes. The doctor says yes, he has eaten them as a salad and in soup. Perhaps he offers to have a friend send him seeds, which he plants. They thrive, get shared, and tomatoes begin to show up on dinner tables around town. An imaginary series of events, to be sure, but plausible in light of Londoner Peter Collinson's 6 February 1742/3 letter to Williamsburg resident John Custis, which he closed with this comment on tomatoes:

> *Apples of Love are very much used in Italy to putt when Ripe into their Brooths & soups giving it a pretty Tart Tast. A Lady Just come from Leghorn sayes She thinks it gives an Agreeable Tartness & Relish to them & she Likes it Much. They Call it Tamiata. I never yett Try'd the Experiment but I think to do It. They putt in but one or Two att a Time, the boiling Breaks them & then they are Diffused through the whole.*[9]

And this. Writing about tomatoes in London in 1771 the Reverend William Hanbury, stated:

> *The culture of this is chiefly attended to in Italy, Portugal, and Spain where the fruit is not only in great request for the heightening of their soups and sauces but the inhabitants eat them as we do Cucumbers, with oil, pepper, vinegar, and salt. The latter practice is at present little used by the English and the use we make of them is to join in soups, to which they afford a very agreeable acidity.*[10]

By 1782, Thomas Jefferson wrote in his *Notes on the State of Virginia:* "The gardens yield muskmelons, water-melons, tomatas, okra, pomegranates, figs, and the esculent plants of Europe."[11] Jefferson's statement probably should be considered inclusive, not exclusive. He didn't say "*my* gardens," but "the gardens." Over the next twenty years, tomatoes continued to spread to gardens outside of Williamsburg. During his presidency, Jefferson notes them again, this time as products sold in the Washington market.[12] Smith writes:

> *In 1814 they were eaten in Harpers Ferry. In the same year, John James ate them in a public inn near Natural Bridge in western Virginia. The proprietor claimed that tomatoes had been used as an article of diet in that section as long as she could recollect. Thomas Jefferson grew them at Monticello beginning in 1809 and ten years later served them to Salma Hale. According to Hale, Jefferson claimed to have introduced them to America from Europe. If Hale's recollection was accurate, Jefferson may have been referring to a particular variety of tomato.*[13]

By the time Mary Randolph published *The Virginia House-Wife* in 1824, tomatoes had been eaten in tidewater Virginia for almost eighty years. Her cookbook, the first published by a Virginian, included seventeen recipes calling for tomatoes, such as tomatas and eggs, tomata marmalade, and tomata catsup. Mary Randolph's recipes clearly indicate long experience with cooking tomatoes and show Spanish and West Indian influences.

West Indian Influences

As stated at the beginning, the tomato was widely distributed by Spaniards throughout their empire. In the seventeenth century, the British invaded Jamaica and seized it from Spain. The Spanish-speaking slaves left behind were quite familiar with the tomato and were possibly the source of the word introduced into the English language. West Indian cookery shouldn't be interpreted as exclusively British, African, Spanish, French, Native American, or Dutch, but a mixture of all of those cuisines. Each culture threw something into the pot.

Karen Hess, editor of a 1984 edition of *The Virginia Housewife,* notes that four of Mary Randolph's recipes are of Spanish origin; she suspects West Indian influences in many others.[14] Since the publication of a cookbook lags behind usage by at least a generation, Mary Randolph's nineteenth-century recipes should not be interpreted as "first use." Instead, they reflect Virginia cookery that had been undocumented for decades. As Smith notes, Mary Randolph's recipe for "eggs and tomatas" reflected Jamaican cooking tradition from the seventeenth century onward. He also writes that "Patrick Browne (1789) mentioned that tomatoes were roasted [by Ja-

maicans] and used with mutton." Likewise, Mary Randolph's Baked Lamb calls for a dozen large ripe tomatoes and To Dress Lamb's Head and Feet includes "ripe tomatoes or tomata catsup."

While discussing Jamaican cookery, Edward Long noted that the juice of tomatoes was "often used in soups and sauces," and imparted a "very grateful flavor." Mary Randolph's Veal Soup includes "a dozen ripe tomatoes." She also notes in her recipe for Barley Soup, "Tomatas are an excellent addition to this soup." Perhaps the clearest association with West Indian cookery in Randolph's cookbook is her recipe for Ochra Soup in which she calls for "two double handfuls of young ochra . . . Lima beans . . . veal . . . and six tomatas." Additionally, she has a recipe simply titled Ochra and Tomatas.[15] Obviously, the West Indian slave cooks were distributing their food knowledge throughout North America and had been for a long time.

Conclusion

Tomatoes were a part of Virginia cookery during the eighteenth century. Their documented use began with the arrival of Dr. John de Sequeyra in 1745 and spread seed by seed, garden by garden, around Williamsburg and beyond. When they became "acceptable," slave cooks familiar with West Indian cookery easily incorporated them into a variety of dishes. It is likely that some fashionable gentlemen and women sent seeds and recipes from Williamsburg to other places in Virginia during the second half of the eighteenth century. From these places, the same process started all over again. The primary meat mentioned in the recipes with tomatoes was mutton, an expensive meat compared to beef and pork. Therefore, the fruit might not have shown up in cooking done by poor whites.

Tomatoes were not common in every colonial garden or on every dining table. But the same thing could be said for other vegetables. Several historians note that John Randolph did not mention tomatoes in his 1765 *Garden Book*. Perhaps this was an oversight or perhaps he did not like them. Regardless, he must have known about them as food from some of his contemporaries. However, lack of mention by Randolph does not mean lack of evidence. Smith writes, "According to Thomas J. Randolph, his grandfather, Thomas Jefferson, asserted that when he was young, tomatoes ornamented flower gardens and were deemed poisonous. By the nineteenth-century account of J. Augustine Smith, president of the College of William and Mary, young Jefferson met Dr. John de Sequeyra while he was in Williamsburg . . . [and] 'was of the opinion that a person who should eat a sufficient abundance of these apples, would never die.'"[16] The story adds to de Sequeyra's legendary enthusiasm for tomatoes as food.

The general avoidance of this fruit by the British began with the *myth* that tomatoes were poisonous, a common belief until the eighteenth century. Perhaps the very absurdity of this notion was the reason it was repeated again and again by nineteenth- and twentieth-century food writers thus causing high anxiety among food historians. "Poisonous" tomatoes made a good story and a good debate. But what has endured is the legend that tomatoes were not eaten "at all" by Virginians until the nineteenth century. Then, somehow, they magically appeared in cookbooks. Their use or avoidance probably came down to individual preferences correlated with the acceptance or rejection of vegetables in general. But, as in practically all examples of the history of human behavior, individual preferences are always the enduring mystery.

And the debate continues.

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[1] Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*, trans. Anthea Bell (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Reference, 1993), 797.

[2] Sam Cox, *"I Say Tomayto, You Say Tomahto . . .,"* December 2000 *(http://lamar.colostate.edu/~samcox/Tomato.html)*.

[3] Andrew F. Smith, *The Tomato in America: Early History, Culture, and Cookery* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, 17.

[5] *Ibid.*, 20.

[6] *Ibid.*, 19–20.

[7] Richard J. Hooker, ed. *A Colonial Plantation Cookbook: The Receipt Book of Harriott Pinckney Horry, 1770* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 3, 89.

[8] James Thacher, *American Medical Biography* (Boston, 1828; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), I: 74; Smith, *Tomato In America*, 28; Earl G. Swem, ed., *Brothers of the Spade: Correspondence of Peter Collinson of London, and of John Custis, of Williamsburg, Virginia, 1734–1746* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Gazette, 1957), 176.

[9] Swem, ed., *Brothers of the Spade*, 85.

[10] Rev. William Hanbury, *A Complete Body of Planting and Gardening*, 2 vols. (London, 1771), II: 752–753.

[11] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972), 73.

[12] Mary Randolph, *The Virginia House-Wife with Historical Notes and Commentaries*, ed. Karen Hess (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 256.

[13] Smith, *Tomato in America*, 29.

[14] Randolph, *Virginia House-Wife*, 295.

[15] *Ibid.*, 56, 57, 3, 33, 34, 94; and Smith, *Tomato in America*, 20.

[16] *Ibid.*, 28.

Selections from the Journal of Peter Woodmaster, Burgess

("Discovered" and edited by Fred Rausher, formerly an interpreter in the Department of Historical Interpretation. With apologies to William Byrd, Philip Fithian, Landon Carter, and the Colonial Williamsburg research staff. This tongue-in-cheek "journal" is reprinted from the September 1986 issue of the Interpreter.)

1765

March 8. The weather is cool, wind from the northeast. Today completed surveying of Gray's Creek lands; they appear sufficiently cleared for planting. Received congratulations from Mr. Westover on my election as burgess. He suggested that while in Williamsburg I visit the Royal Governor's Palace and see the maze.

April 16. Called to Williamsburg for session of General Assembly.

May 2. The weather warm, wind from south. Began journey to Williamsburg today at 4 A.M. Reached Tappahannock by nightfall. At tavern there, found food, drink, and lodging for me and my slave, and fodder and stable for my horse, but no pasture.

May 4. Weather warm, raining lightly, wind from the southeast. Arrived in Williamsburg late, due to bad signs on road. Signs kept directing me to a field apparently outside of town, where I was supposed to leave my horse and ride the stage wagon in. Ignored this local custom, and rode in to stay at Hay's tavern. Since I was delayed, all were asleep when I went to bed, so I woke everyone up to introduce myself, as I had read in my customs book. Nearly killed by sleepy, angry gentlemen.

May 5. Weather warm, wind from northeast. Awoke refreshed. To acquaint myself with the town, I took a short walk up main street toward the college. Near the church, I was accosted by a merchant named Robert Greenhow, who began bragging about his store and asking me what part of the colony I hailed from. Apparently he has enough time free from work to simply wander the streets.

May 6. Weather hot, wind from west. Was welcomed at the Capitol today. Introduced as replacement burgess, received warm round of applause, as is customary in that building. Met Mssrs Randolph, Randolph, Wythe, Robinson, Pendleton, and many others, some of whom were under the mistaken impression that I was a Mr. Fry. Later met a Mr. Henry Patrick, I believe, who described himself as a fiery young orator ready to fight. This proved true, as later that day a bill was introduced to clear rocks from Wilson's Creek, and Patrick spoke for fifty minutes, invoking Vergil, Shakespeare, Locke, and Solon. His speech was finally ended when Speaker Robinson rattled the doorhandle. The bill passed, 124 to 1.

May 10. Weather hot, rainy, wind calm. Large dinner gathering at Mr. Wythe's, who pointed out his new air pump to anyone who wandered near his teaching room. Very noisy, but all the talk was about the Stamp Act. Many burgesses think we ought to oppose it openly. Others favor it, especially those engaged in philately. Also, Mr. Henry revealed the correct order of his names.

May 15. Weather warm, wind southeast. Supposed to attend a ball at the Capitol tonight, but upon arrival, was told it required a separate ticket. Nothing else to do in town, as all buildings, shops, etc., close at 5 P.M.

May 17. Weather cool, wind blustery from all directions. Walked about the market on Market Square today. Most of the vendors had food, but some had small hats for boys and girls and tin whistles. Bought a cookie.

May 19. Weather warm, wind hard to south. Dinner at Mr. Powell's, food is badly burned. Powell blames occurrence on one of his slaves. Strangely, only Mr. and Mrs. Powell appear; the daughters and apprentices are gone. They say they are working or attending dancing lessons, but rumor around town says the daughters and apprentices have set up shop elsewhere, while poor Powell and his wife delude themselves.

May 20. Weather warm, rainy, wind to south. Banquet at the Governor's. Guests comment on the lack of a line to get in, which apparently is unusual. Gardens are pretty, but the Ballroom needs painting. Again, the talk is of the Stamp Act. This time, Mr. Henry announces his opposition, by making his "tax and tax and spend and spend" argument. I can see many burgesses leaning toward his views, and find myself lured to them, but blame it on the Arrack punch.

May 21. Weather warm, wind to southeast. Am introduced to a Mr. Jefferson by Mr. Wythe. Wythe sees great things in store for Jefferson. Jefferson returns the compliment by comparing Wythe's house to a pile of bricks. Wythe apparently had a childhood desire to become a brickmaker, but his frail frame forced him into the law profession, which he secretly detests. He is known to greet visitors to his house by saying, "Welcome to my kiln."

May 25. Weather hot, wind calm. Attended church this morning at Bruton. Warned against

dissenting creeds. Later, at the tavern, someone tried to sell me a flower, but I immediately recognized the dissenter, and refused. Sat in passage all day long to avoid the heat.

May 26. Weather very hot, wind to south. Washington, Randolph, Wythe, and others came to Hay's for dinner in the Apollo room. Rumors abound that Henry is planning a big move, but Mr. Rind failed to show up at Henry's press conference, so all is still a deep mystery. Later, lost three games of billiards to Washington until Byrd shows me how to use the cue sticks properly, instead of like cricket bats, as I had been.

May 28. Weather very hot, wind calm. In the morning, more rumors fly about Henry. Some say he will try to filibuster by reading one of Wythe's lengthy legal opinions, or "Everyman his own Doctor." Others believe he wants to move the capital from Williamsburg back to James Town. The wildest rumors have him demanding that trees and cobblestones be put on the main street. Dinner at Randolph's, who shows me the wallpaper they stole from an English Manor house to put in their upstairs parlor.

May 29. Weather very hot and steamy, wind calm. Burgesses are up in arms over Henry's proposed "stamp act resolves." The rumors could not come close to Henry's plans. He is claiming equal status for the colonies alongside Parliament, among other things. Some of the twenty or so resolves which Henry decided not to introduce called for an extension of the legal bounds of Europe to the Mississippi River, declaration that only the House of Burgesses has the right to authorize the use of glazed headers, and a plan to require workers at the Capitol and Palace to wear clothes that were going out of fashion two hundred years ago. Debate on the five resolves he did introduce is set for tomorrow. Many of the burgesses are so excited, they cannot sleep, so many of us went to a lecture by Mr. Wythe on air pressure, and that did the trick.

May 30. Weather very hot, thunderstorms all day. Henry, in debate in the House of Burgesses, likens himself to Brutus and Cromwell, then gets riled up when Robinson calls him a traitor. "If this be treason, make the most of it," he says, a meaningless phrase which nonetheless endears him to many. In the furious debate, I am persuaded to Henry's point of view. The vote soon follows, and most of the resolves pass. I hear Randolph declare, "I would have given 500 guineas for a single vote!" I answer, "Why didn't you say so in the first place!" But it was too late. We have become Americans.

Art and Mysteries
"I bet you wish you had . . ." or Why we do what we do the way we do it

by Noel B. Poirier

Noel is a journeyman carpenter/joiner in the Department of Historic Trades and a member of the Interpreter *Planning Board.*

> *Too often we focus on the quaint aspects of an artifact, viewing it as an interesting antique or as a prized possession, and ignoring its value as a mute witness of the ingenuity and self-sufficiency of our ancestors.*
>
> —D. Duncan. *The Artifact: What Can it Tell Us About the Past?*

Inevitably it happens. A tradesperson, busily engaged in the production of an item relevant to his particular occupation, is greeted with the oft-uttered phrase that begins with, "I bet you wish you had a. . . ." This phrase, spoken by innumerable Colonial Williamsburg visitors, employees, and George Saunders's short-story characters, requires a cautious response from the tradesperson questioned. There is, of course, a perfectly good reason why Colonial Williamsburg's tradespeople do not wish they had a chainsaw, electric planer, acetylene blowtorch, sewing machine, etc. The stated mission of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Department of Historic Trades is the preservation of the knowledge, history, and processes of eighteenth-century technology. There are quicker and more efficient modern methods to create similar products to those that emanate from shops of Historic Trades, but that is not the point. The underpinning of the department's approach to achieving its mission is a practice, commonly referred to as object-based study, that stresses the use of traditional processes, tools, and materials as determined through the examination of surviving artifacts.

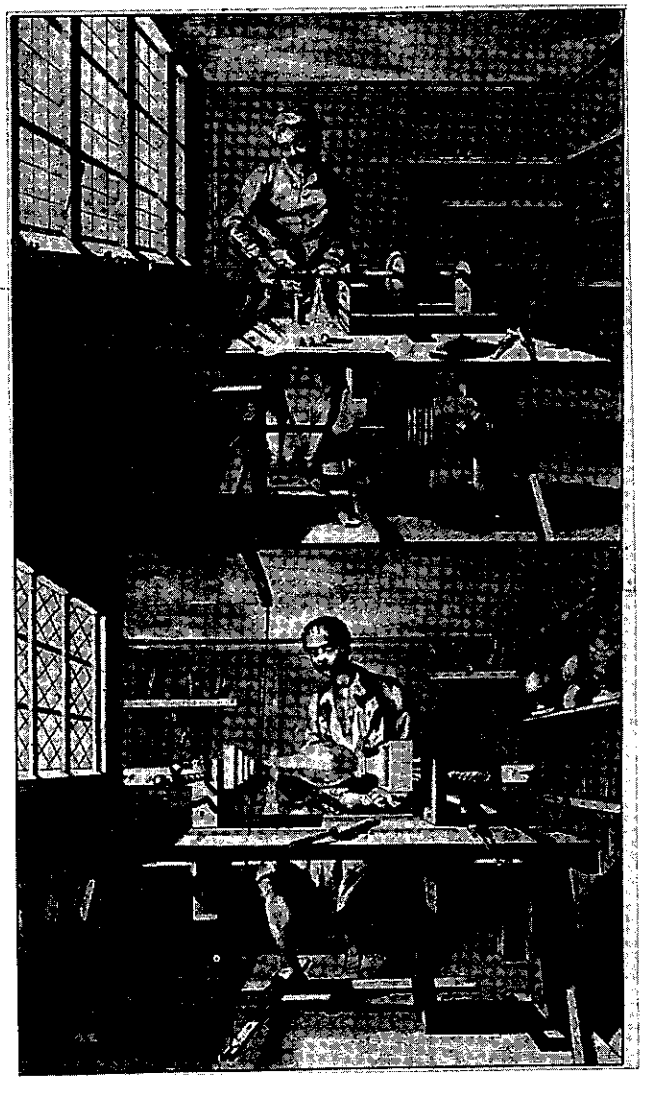
The concept of object-based study is very similar to a form of the middle-range approach

common in archaeological theory. Middle-range research, at its most basic, is that which attempts to connect the artifact unearthed with the process that created it.[1] Historic Trades personnel start with a range of objects, large and small. Sometimes the objects are archaeological remnants, fully conserved pieces of furniture, or even the bones of a butchered animal. Regardless of what begins the study, determining how the object was created is the fundamental study of any serious historic tradesperson. Obviously, tradespeople must have extensive knowledge of the medium in which they work and the tools used to fashion that medium. The study of historic trades can be conducted in the library, field, lab, and, most important, in the shop itself.

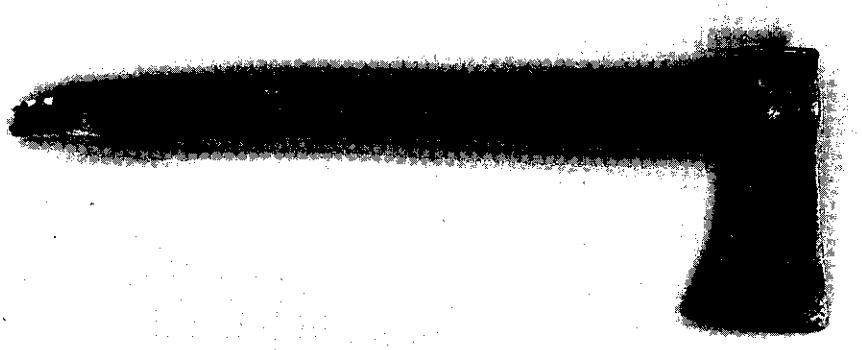
Libraries provide the researcher of historic trades with the written and depicted history of trades. Sources such as pattern books, catalogs, and art collections allow tradespeople to examine the visual record of their respective trades. These sources often provide precedents for how shops should look and be arranged and how tradespeople dressed. Period pattern books and catalogs shed light on what the products of a shop should look like when completed. Manuscripts, such as inventories and account books, give tradespeople information on the items that actually were produced in Virginia's trade shops. These sources often list the names of workers and customers alike and give an understanding of the time frames involved in producing items, as well as providing information about the value of the products created. Within the library, tradespeople can also call on the vast oral histories of their trades as documented by countless chroniclers. These narrations often inform researchers about the daily life of a tradesperson and how that affected their practice.

While libraries provide a certain amount of illumination about eighteenth-century trades, they essentially are useful only in the accumulation of raw data. No matter how good the description of an eighteenth-century ax, the written form falls short of holding one in your hands and examining it directly with all five senses. Fundamentally, the direct, educated examination of a historic artifact represents the core of object-based study. There is no point for a person unschooled in the history of a trade and its practice to examine an object in an attempt to determine how it was fashioned. Object-based study presupposes that the examiner has at least a basic, theoretical understanding of the trade, tools, and processes that formed the object. Libraries and the collections they contain provide the background information necessary to achieve this basic understanding of trades.

Going out into the field or lab to examine objects is the most common method of undertaking object-based study. Then the tradesperson has the opportunity to handle and examine closely the items to be reproduced. This can be an intact object as large as a barn or a fragmentary piece of evidence in an archaeology lab. Either way, these items provide hints to the informed observer about how the object was produced and what raw materials were used. These hints, which come in the way of tool marks, weld seams, or other visible clues, provide a means for tradespeople to determine what tools were used and



Turners in a cabinet shop. England, circa 1754. Colonial Williamsburg Collections.



Ax. Iron, steel, wood; Birmingham, England, circa 1760. Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

what effect time has had on the object. Only after undertaking this direct study and drawing conclusions from it can the object-based study be put into practice. Tradespeople turn the deductions drawn from their direct study of objects into new, eighteenth-century objects using the same tools, processes, and attitudes employed by their predecessors.

The trade shop provides the most valuable laboratory for the culmination of the object-based study. Here tradespersons can take all that they have learned in their study of an object and, using the correct period tools, processes, and approach, create an object similar to the one studied. The shop also allows for experimentation with different techniques to achieve the results seen in the original object. Oftentimes, this course of action is one of trial and error, only ending when the tradesperson has mastered the sequence of the process involved. Ultimately, even when a tradesperson produces an object virtually identical to the original, we cannot be sure of the exact method used by an individual tradesperson in the past. The work that takes place in Colonial Williamsburg's trade shops represents an approach that generates objects certain to meet levels of authenticity not found elsewhere.

Object-based study is not without its challenges, and serious tradespeople understand this. One of the most difficult obstacles to overcome is the acquisition of the appropriate resources necessary to practice one's trade truthfully. There are many materials that are no longer produced commercially, are illegal, or are now considered unsafe. Historic Trades' staff has, on top of its regular production and preservation mission, also had to focus on the means to acquire historic seeds, fabrics, woods, and metals. Masters of shops must also determine what approach their shops will take when reproducing the objects and practices they have studied. With this in mind, tradespeople must, in their effort to understand eighteenth-century technological processes, bring more to the objects they study. Mack Headly, master cabinetmaker, put it best when he wrote, "We attempt to re-create the original artisan's planning and working practices," rather than simply copying the objects, thus avoiding the production of items that are nothing more than counterfeits of eighteenth-century artifacts.[2]

Like many prehistoric practices usually associated with experimental archaeology, a number of the practices of eighteenth-century tradespeople have been lost to time. The Colonial Williamsburg tradesperson, like the experimental archaeologist who endeavors to make a prehistoric stone ax, is attempting to correlate the object with the technology that created it. This can only be done through the careful study of history, process, and the objects themselves. In the trade shops of Colonial Williamsburg, this course of study is continuing to be refined and improved. The short story, "Pastoralia," written by George Saunders finds two museum interpreters living in an impeccably re-created Stone Age environment. As the many visitors file past, the couple illustrates the proficiency necessary to survive in a prehistoric environment. They slaughter and cook goats, groom one another, and communicate with guttural banter. A visitor thrusts his head in and poses a familiar question, "I bet you wish you had. . . ." No, no. I do not.

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[1] David Hurst Thomas, *Archaeology*, 3d ed. (Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998), 266.

[2] Mack Headly, *"Chairbuilding." The Colonial Williamsburg Historic Trades Annual 1* (1988): 1.

Nicholas Cresswell's Journal, 1774–77

Nicholas Cresswell (1751–1804) of Derbyshire, England, came to America hoping to acquire land and settle permanently. He visited or lived in Barbados, Maryland, Virginia, western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Philadelphia, and New York before returning to England. In a journal that he kept along the way, Cresswell recorded notes about the people and places he encountered. His descriptions of Virginia's frontier in 1775 appeared in the Summer 2000 issue of the Interpreter. *The following 1774 excerpts recount his journey preparations, sea voyage, and arrival in the Chesapeake. The original manuscript is in Special Collections at the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library. (Thanks to Lou Powers, Historical Research, for her help in transcribing the original text.)*

Edale [Derbyshire, England]—Tuesday, March 1st, 1774. I have been Studying and Deliberating for a long time how to shape my Course in the world, And am this day come to a determined resolution to go into America, be the consequence what it will. I am certain to meet with every possible obstruction from my Parents and Friends. but I am resolved to brave them all and follow my own inclination for once. From the best accounts I have been able to get and from my own Idea of the country, am sensible a person with a small fortune may live much better, and make greater improvements in America then he can possible do in England.

Especially in the Farming way, as that is the business I have been brought up to, have made it my study to enquire more particularly about it.

The land I am told, is good, and the price is very low. Consequently Agriculture must be in its infant state. The Climate must be good on some part of the Continent, for it is all climates in extent.

I have allmost from my infancy entertained some thought of going to America at some period of my life, and none is more suitable than the present. . . .

Therefore I am determined to make a Voyage to Virginia, as I like the situation of that Colony the best. If I like the Country to return immediately and endeavour to prevail upon my Friends to give me something to begin the world with. I shall by this Voyage be better able to judge what will suit the Country or wheather the Country will please me well enough to fix my future residence in it or not. . . .

2nd. Went to Mr. [James] Carringtons to get him to intercede with my Father in my behalf. He with some reluctance, promises to come tomorrow. I confess I have no great opinion of his oratorical abilities, but believe he will be honest and do me every service in his power, as he finds I am resolutely bent upon it.

Edale, Thursday, March 3rd. 1774. This evening Mr. Carrington came, and by his aid and assistance got the consent of my Father to go into America. I believe it is with very great reluctance he grants it. I am sorry he will not converce with me on the subject, but am determined to persevere.

4th and 5th. Employed at home. I have found a great deal of Difficulty to get the consent of my Mother. In short all my Friends thinks me mad for attempting to go Abroad. But they are utterly unacquainted with my true reasons for taking this surprizeing whim, as they call it.

Monday, March 7th, 1774. My Father, Contrary to my expectations, went to Mr. Hall to get a Letter of introduction to Mr. Latham of Liverpool. Intend to sit out for Liverpool tomorrow.

Warrington—Tuesday, March 7th [sic], 1774. Set out for Liverpool. Dined at Manchester. Lodged at Warrington, the sign of the Nag's Head.

9th. Got to Liverpool. Dined at the Goolden Fleece. After Dinner waited on Mr. Latham, who went with me to look at several Ships that are bound for Virginia. None pleases me so well as the Ship Molly which is bound for the Rappahannock River in Virginia in a fortnight She is to Sail. The Captn. whose name is Parry is not in town but expected tomorrow. Spent the evening at the Fleece with Mr. Latham.

10th. Drank Tea at Mr. Lathams. after tea met with Tom Middleton who went with me to Captn. Parrys, Agree'd with him for my passage for 10 Guineas, And am to be in Liverpool by the last of the Month.

12th. Left Manchester. Dined at Stockport. At Chapelinlefrith Ordered Edward Ford to make me some Cloth's. Got home in the evening. Found my Brothers Tom, Ralph, and, Joe, ill of the Measles.

13th. Sunday. In the forenoon went to Chapl. I believe the Parson made a Sermon on purpose for me. His text was taken from the parable of the Prodigal Son. It is very strange that these Sons of the Clergy cannot forbear meddling in other peoples affairs. After Dinner went to Castleton to return Mr. Hall thanks for the trouble he has taken on my behalf.

Edale, Monday, March 14th And 15th, 1774. At Home, employed in preparing things ready for my Voyage. My Father has scarcely spoken to me since I came from Liverpool. this is very disagreeable, but I must submit to it, tho' it is of

great disadvantage to me as I do not know what he will give me cannot tell how to act with any degree of propriety.

18th. Went to the Newsmithy for direction to James Kirk in Virginia. It will be absolutely necessary to have some acquaintance on the other side the Atlantick or I cannot possible get so good a knowledge of the Country as I could wish.

Wakefield—Saturday March 19th. 1774. This morning my Father gave me 12 Guineas and desired me to set out for Wakefield, which I did immediately. Dined at Mottram with my Aunt. . . .

21st. After breakfast Mr. Ellis gave me this advice, Allways to put my trust and confidence in God, To do justice to every one, To act with Honor and Honesty in in [sic] all my dealings, and that these rules strictly adhered to, will support me in any troubles or adversities that may happen to me. This Sincear and Friendly advice I will endeavour to follow as far as the Frailty of human Nature will admit.

Dined at Sheffield with Mr. Furnis. Bought some Hardware of Messrs. Broomheads and a small quantity of Mr. Furnis. Very merry with Mr. Furnis and Mr. Magnel at the Rose and Crown. Got to Ughill late in the evening, all the Family in bed.

22nd. Breakfasted at Ughill. Got home to dinner. In the evening John Briddock brought my Chest home the sight of it affected my Father the most of any thing I have yet seen. I believe he is most heartily vexed and very uneasy at my proceedings. Am sorry for it. What I do proceeds from good motives. And I will persevere.

Edale, Wednesday, March 23rd. In the forenoon employed in packing up my Cloaths. This has cost my Mother many tears. After dinner went to Chapelinlefrith to put up my other Cloths and see my Chest in the waggon for Liverpool. Spent the evening with Doctor Green. From him I understand that people in general thinks that I am Non Compus Mentus. Some attributes the reason of my going to one thing, some to another, but they are most of them far wide of the real Cause.

24th. At home settling my affairs ready for my departure. A disagreeable business. I wish I was gone.

Milnthorp—Friday, March 25th, 1774. Set out for Milnthorp. At Hope my horse fell sick. Borrowed one of Jacob Hall and proceeded, got to Milnthorp late in the evening.

26th. Dined with Mr. Perkin at the Rose and Crown in Sheffield. Pay'd Messrs. Broomheads for the goods I had bought of them. Miss Perkin gave me a Letter to her Cousin in Barbados. Got home very late in the evening.

27th. Sunday. Went to Chapel in the forenoon. Mr. Bray, John Bore, John Hadfield, and Michael Bradbury came to bid me farewell. John Hadfield wants to send his son along with me, but I will not be connected with any person whatever.

Edale, Monday, March 28th, 1774. Went to Castleton to bid Mr. Hall Adieu. Widdow Hall made me a compliment of a pair of Stockings. Am at a Loss to know what is her motive for it. Spent the evening with Mr. Bray, Jacob Hall, John Hadfield and Michael Bradbury at the Castle. Find Bradbury to be an Insinuating, Lying, Backbiting Scoundrel, am sorry I ever had any connections with him, But will avoid such acquaintance for the future.

29th. Received a Letter from Tom Middleton which informs me the Ship Sails on Friday next. Employed in settling my private affairs and prepareing everything ready for my Voyage. Intend to set out for Liverpool on Thursday.

Edale, Wednesday, March 30th, 1774. This day I have been takeing leave of my Friends. Very disagreeable employment indeed. They all, are or pretend to be, Very uneasy at my going away. Some of them that I had least expected, sheds tears plentifully, but wheather they are real or affected they are the best judge. Drank Tea with my Grandmother, the good Old Lady is very uneasy. She tells me it is the last time she expects to see me in this Life. Went and bid farewell to my worthy friend, Mr. Champion, who gave me every good advice that lay in his power, in a very sincear and affecting manner. I am very sorry to part with this most valuable Friend. . . . This has been a disagreeable evening. . . .

Warrington—Thursday, March 31st, 1774. Early this morning my Father gave me what he thought proper, And I set out for Liverpool. The parting with my Friends has been one of the most affecting scenes I have ever yet experienced. Plenty of Tears on all sides, but this is nothing more then what is usual on the like occasions. My Brother Richard overtook me at Chapelinlefrith and insists on going with me to Liverpool. Called at Stockport to see Nat. Pickford, but he has got a Girl with Child and will not be seen. Dined at Mrs. Dixon's in Manchester. From there to Warrington in Co. with Sam Jackson, Charles Graterix, and my Brother. After supper went to see the Waxworks and spent the evening very merrily.

Liverpool—Friday, April 1st, 1774. Got to Liverpool before Dinner, found my Chest and goods at Mr. Latham's. Captn. Parry informs me that the Ship will not sail this week.

4th. This morning my Brother set out for home with Mr. Baker. Supped and spent the evening at Mr. Sykeses, with Sam Jackson, Greatrex, and a Captain May. All of us very merry. Intend to go to Mr. Sykes to get acquainted with Navigation if the Ship does not sail next week. It will be much better than Idling about in the manner I do at present.

Liverpool, Tuesday, April 5th, 1774. This morning Sam Jackson and Greaterix set out for Manchester, And I entered at Mr. Sykes school. In the evening the Burrows, Captn. Bostock, from Guinea, come into the Dock, went on Board to see Bob Middleton who is Steward of her, but he was so disguised with dirt and sickness I did not know him indeed I never saw such a Scene of Sickness and Confusion before. The Captn. could scarcely stand and several of the men not able to get out of their Hammocks. As a remarkable instance of the Guinea Sailors being accustomed to Mortallity—A Gentleman came on board to enquire for a passenger from Jaimaica: "D–m my Blood," says one of the Sailors, "He's dead three weeks ago. But we have pul'd his Guts out and stow'd away on the Ballast below," With a great deal of indifference.

Liverpool, Wednesday, April 6th, 1774. I am pursueing a desperate design, at least it appears so in the eyes of all my Friends. In short, I have not one friend in the world, to my knowledge, that approves of my proceedings, Mr. Champion excepted. Therefore I ought to act with the greatest caution and prudence. I have a number of Difficulties to encounter. Brought up to no business and allmost ignorant of the ways of the world, the deceits and Knavery of mankind in general. More particularly the part of the world to which I am bound. My education very slender. In a Distant Country, No friend that I dare trust to advise with. And little money to support me. A certainty of loosing a considerable part of my Independence at home.

All these things added together, are not sufficient to counterballance a Natural impulse, and the uneasiness of mind I have laboured under at certain periods when at home. What I have undertaken is with a good design, not to wrong or defraud any one. But with this in view, to be a benefit to myself, and service to my friends. What will be the consequence is in the hands of the disposer of all things and the womb of time to bring forth. As I engage in it voluntarily, From honest and generous motives, I am reconciled to my Fate, be it what it will. If I am fortunate, I make no doubt but my friends will say that I have acted prudently and wisely to persevere. If I am unsuccessfull, not only my friends but every Rattlescull will condemn me, put on a wise countenance and say they knew my plan woud never answer, was too well at home, of a restless, rambling disposition. And possible in the heighth of their profound penetration, Tax me with extravagance and dissipation, without makeing the least allowane [sic] for the common vicissitudes of life. To avoid these imputations it is necessary to lay down short rules, to govern and direct my proceedings. First, To act Honestly and pay my debts as far as I am able, as an effectual means of procureing Credit when I may want it. Mem. Never to contract any debts that I can possibly avoid.

Secondly, Not to be over Hasty in makeing any purchase or engaging with any one for any length of time Til I have considered the Temper and disposition of the people, The Climate, Their trade and Commerce, The fertility of the soil, with the nature, quallity, and quantity of the produce, Their form of Government and Colonial or Provincial Polity. Thirdly, If I like the Country, to return as soon as I have made what observations I think necessary and endeavour to go out on a better footing, and live as frugally as I can with decency. These general rules observed may be of great use to me. Spent the evening with Mr. James Longsdon at the Fleece.

Liverpool, Thursday, April 7th, 1774. Find Navigation is not so hard to learn as I at first imagined. Spent the evening with Mr. Longsdon, who gave me a pattorn Book and desires me to do some business for him, but will avoid all connections in the Forreign trade.

8th. Orders to be on Board tomorrow morning by Seven O'Clock. Bought me a Sea Bed. Pay'd Captn. Parry my passage. Got my chest and things on Board. Understand we are to have three other passengers but do not know who they are. Spent the afternoon on Mount pleasant with Mr. Oaks of Sheffield. Wrote to Gustavus Bradford. got everything ready for going so soon as the wind serves.

Ship Molly towards America, April 9th, 1774. This morning got up very early and wrote to my Father. Got on Board about Nine O'Clock. Set Sail with a fair wind and Tide in our favour; in the afternoon Calm, and pleasant came to an Anchor off Ormshead. We are Four passengers, but don't as yet know the others. All of us very merry at supper tho' I believe most of us Young Sailors are rather squeamish at Eight in the evening A Breeze sprung up hove up the Anchor, About 10 saw the Skerry Lighthouse.

10th. Sunday. Last night in attempting to get into my Hammock the hook at the foot gave way and had like to have broke my bones with the fall, to the no small diversion of my fellow passengers. The Hammock is a large piece of

Canvas suspended to the roof of the Cabbin at each end with cords.

Ship Molly, towards America—April 11th, 1774. Fine pleasant weather. In the afternoon saw Bardsey Island on the Welsh Coast and Carmarthen Bay. Yesterday it Blew fresh and I was very sick but today I am something better. Sleeping in a Hammock is very agreeable tho very different from a Bed on Shore.

12th. Slept pretty well last night. This morning made St. David's Head, the N.E. promontory of Wales. Fine pleasant Breezes. much better of my sickness, at least I am as well as the rest of the passengers. Saw the Rocks, called the Bishop and Clarks at Night. . . .

13th. Saw Ireland about 12 leagues Dist. Fine pleasant weather. Believe I have got over my sickness.

Ship Molly, towards America—April 14th, 1774. Fresh Gales and a large Rolling Sea. Broke our Fore Top Gallant Yard. . . . Got Clear of the Channel with the wind at N.E. Find I am much deceiv'd. very sick all day.

15th. A Fair wind and pleasant. Drank a Quart of Sea water which Operated both ways very plentifully and did me great service. Spoke a Brig from Leghorn bound to Bristol.

16th. Fair wind and pleasant weather. Our passengers are the Rev. John Baldwin his Brother Thomas Baldwin from Chester, bound to Bermudas as they say for the benefit of their Health. But it seems a little strange that they should come a Board under fictitious names. The other is a certain Captn. Alexander Knox, a Scotchman bound to Maryland. This evening drank our Sweethearts in a large Can of Grog. It is a custom at Sea on Saturday nights. Very Sick indeed.

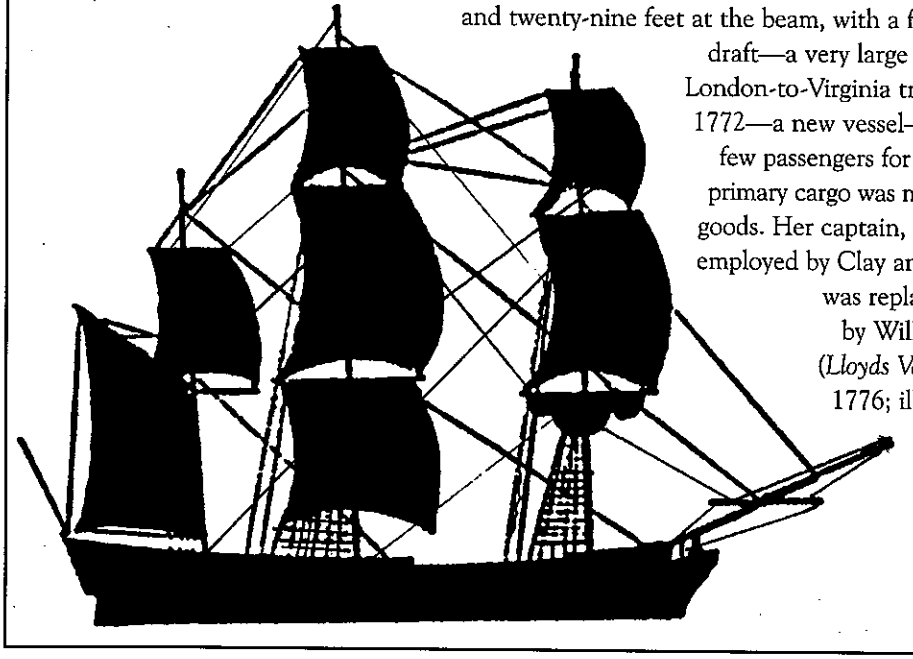
Ship Molly, towards America—April 17th. Sunday and we having a Parson on Board expected prayers. But instead of Praying he amused himself by reading a Treatise on the Scurvy, while most of the Sailors were reading in their Commonprayer Books. I find these men not such an unprincipaled set of beings as they are represented to be. It is true they swear most horridly in general, but when they pray, Which I believe is very seldom, they do it heartily. Pleasant weather and good wind. Pretty free from sickness.

April 18th and 19th. A fine N. E. Breeze and pleasant weather. Begin to be hungry, which they tel me is a sign that the sickness is going off. This is certainly one of the most disagreeable sicknesses in Nature Continually Sick at the Stomach Diziness in the Head and Listlessness, with a loathing to all sorts of food.

Ship Molly, towards America, April 20th, 74. Pleasant and a fine wind. Paid forfeit one Bottle of Rum for going aloft.

21st. Fine weather and Light Breeze. Saw a large Fleet of Porpuses playing about the Vessel. some of them appeared to be 10 ft. long, but we catch't none of them.

22nd. Spoke a Brig from Lisbon. Dined on Stock Fish and Potatoes. This Fish is cured in



The Molly, a 300-ton ship, measured ninety-eight feet long and twenty-nine feet at the beam, with a fourteen-foot draft—a very large vessel in the London-to-Virginia trade. Built in 1772—a new vessel—she carried few passengers for her size; her primary cargo was manufactured goods. Her captain, Henry Parry, employed by Clay and Company, was replaced in 1776 by William Bushoy. (*Lloyds Vessel Register*, 1776; illustration by Pete Wrike.)

the Frost without salt, before it is boiled they beat it with Iron hammers against the Anchor Stock to soften it. A general dish on Fridays and is reakoned a great dellicacy, but to me it is none, for I hate the smell of it. Saw Corvoe one of the Western Islands. . . . pretty well over my sickness the Sea begins to be agreeable.

Ship Molly, towards America, April 23rd, 1774. Fine pleasant Breeze this morning. But this evening blow's and I am sick.

24th. Sunday. Hard Gales from the Easwd.. The Ship rolls and pitches the worst I have yet experienced. Verry often the waves broke over the Longboat. Broke our Mizzen Yard. Very sick. Messrs. Baldwin's in the same condition.

25th. More moderate today

26th. Strong Gales and a high Sea. The first thing that I saw after I got upon Deck Was the Carpenter tumbling from one side of the Deck to the other in a great Sea . . . in which he lost his Hat and Wig, Saw him soon after and asked him what he had done with them. D—m my eyes says he they are gone to David Jones Locker. This is a common saying when any thing goes over board. Very Sick.

Ship Molly, towards America, April 27, 1774. Strong Gales all day my sickness continues so bad that I coud almost wish myself ashore again.

28th. Fine pleasant Breeze and smooth water took a drink of Sea water which operated very well, and gave me a good appetite. Mr. Baldwin caught a Fish called a Portugeeze Man of War it is about 9 Inches Long and appears like a bladder upon the water allways swimming upon the top. I believe it never goes under water. Of a Transparent Blue Colour. The part that appears like a bladder serves as a Sail. The body is like a bunch of red worsted with a long tail, the one that Mr. Baldwin caught was 16 Foot Long and no thicker than a Straw. If you touch the tail or body it causes a sensation the same as if you had touched a Nettle.

Ship Molly, towards America, April 29th, 1774. Fresh Breezes with Rain.

30th. Fresh Gales from the Eastward and Cloudy weather.

Sunday, May 1st, 1774. Light Breeze and Clear weather. Evening calm. No prayers today.

2nd. Pleasant weather with light showers of Rain.

3rd. First part of the day Strong Gales with Rain. Saw a Ship to windward. Evening very heavy Rain with Thunder & Lightning.

4th. Light airs with Clear hot weather. The Thermometer to 73 Degrees. Expect to make the Land in a Week. Evening Calm.

5th. Pleasant weather but Foul wind.

6th. Fresh Gales, But contrary, With cloudy, Hazy, Rainy weather. Saw a Ship to windward.

Ship Molly, towards America, May 7th, 1774. Foul wind with Cloudy weather. Lightning and Rain.

8th. Pleasant weather but a foul wind. Spoke a Brig from Georgia bound to Lisbon. No prayers today.

9th. Sultry Hazy weather. Saw several Grampuses [pilot whales]. They appear to be very large and throw the water a great height into the air, it is said from their nostrils. At six this evening the wind came to the Eastward. . . .

13th. A Ffair wind with Hazy, Cloudy weather at Six in the evening. Hove the Lead and struck Ground in 25 Fathom water. Sandy bottom, but see no Land.

Ship Molly, Chesapeak Bay, May 14th, 1774. At 10 O'Clock this morning made the Land from the Masthead. At 2 afternoon A Breast of Cape Henry from which we see Cape Charles E.N.E. about 18 Miles distant got a Pilot on Board. The Land appears low and sandy covered with Pines. Wrote to my Father by Ship bound to London. At 7 this evening came on a gust of Thunder Lightning and Rain from the N.W. Obliged to let go our Anchor in 6 Fathom water at the tail of the Horse Shoe. It is a custom with all Passengers to pay a bottle of Rum to the Sailors as soon as they make the Land. We agreeable to that custom have pay'd ours, and I believe every man aboard (the Captn., Passengers, and first Mate excepted) are drunk, Swearing and Fighting Like madmen. Blowing very hard. Thundering very loud and Lightning so strong and Quick that I can see to write without Candle.

Ship Molly, Cheapeak Bay, May 15th, 1774. Sunday. At 5 this morning weigh'd Anchor with a Fresh Breeze and Cloudy weather. At Noon Clear and pleasant. The Land appears from the Masthead to be level and covered with Lofty Pines. A great number of Rivers empty themselves into the Bay. Can count Nineteen Sail of Vessels and see the Land on every side. This is one of the finest prospects I have ever seen. What makes it more agreeable, not seeing land before these 27 days. At 7 in the evening Calm, let go our Anchor off Windmill Point.

16th. A Head wind and we have got an indifferent Pilot. the Captn. does not think it prudent to moove. Still at Anchor. Captn. Receiv'd a Letter from Liverpool that informs him the two Baldwins are in debt at home and Obliged to go abroad.

Urbanna, Rappahannock River, Virginia, May 17th: 1774. Contrary wind our Ship at Anchor. Captn. Parry, Captn. Knox, Messrs. Baldwin, and I went a shore in the Pilot Boat.

Landed at this place, After a passage of Thirty-Eight Days from Liverpool. This is a small Village pleasantly situated on a Creek of the same name: the Custom House for the Rappahannock River, and Tobacco warehouses for the County are kept here. Messrs. Baldwins went to the house of a Merchant whom they had Letters of introduction to, Knox and I stay'd at the Inn.

18th. At Urbanna. Waiting for the Ship took a walk into the Country, find the Land sandy and Barren to all appearance, but it produces excellent Garden stuff. Green Peas are in plenty. Intend to keep a Diary for the future.

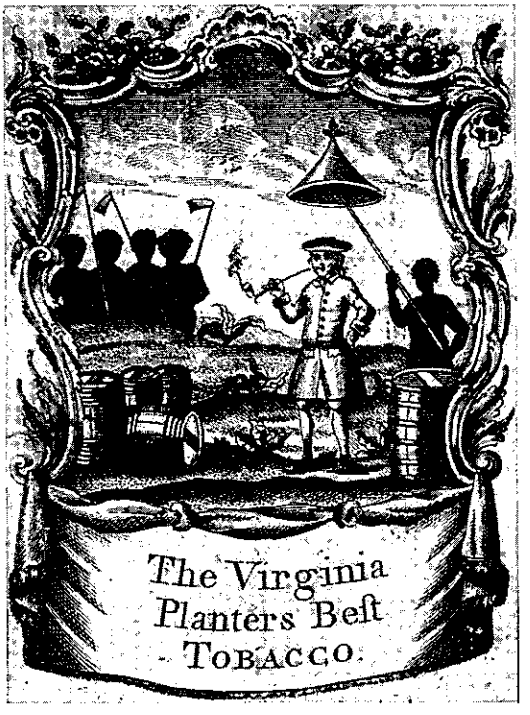
Urbanna, Rappahannock River, Virginia, May 19th, 1774. This day the Ship came up Captn. Knox and I hired a Boat to carry us to Nanjemoy on Potowmeck River. About 60 Miles from Alexandria, which place I intend to go to as soon as possible. Went up to Deep Creek, and got our Baggage on Board the Boat. Parted with Messrs. Baldwins, who are bound to Norfolk in Virginia. Got down to Urbanna but so late at Night, obliged to sleep in the Boat allnight.

20th. Left Urbanna about 8 in the morning our Boat mand with three Negroes. At 2 in the afternoon got into the mouth of Potowmeck River which is about 12 Miles wide. A Great number of pleasant seats on the Banks of the River. At 10, in the evening came to an Anchor in Majotack Creek.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, May 21st, 1774. Early this morning Weigh'd and stood over to Ladlor's Ferry in Maryland where we got breakfast at the Ferry house. After Breakfast got under way again, but run the Boat a ground on a sand bank in the River where we stuck 2 Hours but by lashing the Canoo to the Masthead and filling her with stones, Heel'd the Vessel on one side and got her off. Arived at Nanjemoy in the afternoon. Captn. Knox Brother has a House here but he is not at home. He introduced me to his Brothers partner Mr. Baily who behaves very civilly to me and insists that I shall stay a week with him. Don't intend staying any longer then I can get a passage to Alexandria.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, May 22nd, 1774. This is a small Village of About five house. All Planters except Knox and Bayley who keep a store. What they call stores in this country are Shops in England. In the afternoon drank Tea with Captn. Knox and Mr. Wallace (Knox and Baylie's Clark) at Colonel Harrison's. Captn. Knox introduced to every house in the Village. The people are remarkable civil and obliging, appear to live very well, and exceeding happy.

23rd. Captn. Knox and I went to Mrs. Marsden, a Widdow Lady in the neighbourhood. Got some very indifferent Strawberries and Cherries.



Tobacco paper, England, eighteenth century. Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

24th. Dined on Board a Scotch Ship called the Jenny, Captn. McLeash Master.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, May 25th, 1774. Saw them plant Tobacco. The Land is first hoed into small round hills about the size of Mole-hills and about 4000 of them in an Acre. The plants are something like small Cabbage plants they only make a hole with their finger or a small stick and put them in, one in each hill. Two Negroes will plant three Acres in one day. Small Blisters are broke out all over my body attended with an intollerable itching. They call it the Prickley heat and say it is very wholesome. It may be so, for everything I can tel but it is very troublesome.

26th. Waiting for an opportunity to go to Alexandria by water, but I believe Captn. Knox does everything in his power to disappoint me for fear I shoud go a way. Drank Tea at Mrs. Leftwiches.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, May 27th, 74. Dined on Board the Jenny, McLeash. It is true we had excellent Porter and Wine, but had our stomach's been of a Squemish nature, they woud have been disobliged at Scotch Cleanliness.

28th. The Land here is level sandy and barren in general, except where it is mixed with Oyster shels which renders it very fertile. Agriculture is in a very poor state. In short they know very little about Farming. Tobacco and Indian corn is all they make and some little wheat.

All done by Negroes. The Tobacco is all worked with Hoes, the Indian-corn with Plows, but of a bad sort and without a Colter the furrow they make is not more than 2 Inches deep and does little more than kill the weeds. Land sells upon an average here, about three Dollars Pr. Acre, Thirteen shilling and Sixpence Sterling.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, May 29th, 74, Sunday. Captn. Knox went to Bulo in Virginia to see his brother. Here is no Church within 14 or 15 miles of the place. Mr. Bayley and I went to see a Negro Ball, Sundays being the only days these poor Creatures have to themselves, they generally meet together and amuse themselves with Danceing to the Banjor. This Musical instrument (if it may be so called) is made of a Gourd something in the immitation of a Guitar with only four strings and play'd with the fingers in the same manner. Some of them sing to it which is very droll musick indeed. In their songs they generally relate the usage they have received from their Masters or Mistresses, in a very satirical stile and manner. Their poetry is like the Music—Rude and uncultivated. Their Dancing is most violent exercise, but so irregular and Grotesque, I am not able to describe it. They all appear to be exceedingly happy at these merrymakeings and seem as if they had forgot or were not sensible of their miserable condition.

30th. Dined at Colonel Harrisons. Nothing talked of but the Blockade of Boston Harbor the people seem much exasperated at the proceedings of the Ministry and talk as if they were determined to dispute the matter with the sword.

31st. Waiting for a Passage to Alexandria but cant meet with an opportunity. This is doing nothing.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, June 1sst, 1774. Waiting with a great deal of impatience for a passage to Alexandria. I am informed that the Land is much better the higher you go up the River. If it is not, I will not settle in this part of the Country.

2nd. Spent the afternoon at Colonel Harrisons. Find him a very inteligent man and seems to take a pleasure in communicating the Customs and manners of his countrymen. Captn. Knox returned to Nanjemoy this evening and gave me an invitation to go with him to Annapolis, which I intend to accept.

3rd. Hired a horse and cross'd Nanjemoy Creek. Got to Porttobacco in the evening. This is a small town situated at the head of a Creek of the same name. The County Courts are held here and a Warehouse for the inspection of tobacco. Several Scotch Factors are settled here.

Marlbro, Maryland, June 4th, 1774. Left Port Tobacco in Co. with Mr. John Creig, a Scotch Merchant, Doctor Gustavus Richard Brown and Captn. Knox. Dined at Piscataway a small town 16 miles from Porttobacco. Our victuals badly Drest, and sour Madeira Wine at 7/6 Pr. Bottle. From Piscataway to Marlbro 16 Miles. Saw the quarter of a Negro man chained to a Tree for murdering his overseer. Land in general appears barren and thinly inhabited some places Sandy and others a Sort of Stiff Clay but plenty of fine Orchards, and I observe they generally plant a Peach Orchard on the worst land. They had a Frost on the 9th. of May, which has kill'd a great number of Trees the woods for a Mile together seem dead and wither'd.

Annapolis, Maryland, June 5th, 1774. Sunday. Left Marlbro. early this morning. Crossed Patuxen River at Mount Pleasant Ferry. Some good Land after this River. Breakfasted at Rollins, a Public house, but in this Country called Ordinaries, and indeed they have not their name for nothing. For they are ordinary enough, have had either Bacon or Chickens every meal since I came into the Country. If I still continue in this way shall be grown over with Bristles or Feathers. From Rollins to London town on South River. This is a Small, pleasant place at the head of the Bay, but no great trade. Cross'd the South River and ot [sic] Annapolis to Dinner, 22 Miles from Marlbro. Land very indifferent from London town to Annapolis.

Annapolis, Maryland, June 6th, 74. This is the Capital town or rather City in the Province and the seat of the Governour, situated at the Head of Chesapeak Bay. It is not very large or populous. But regularly built and some of them good buildings. They are now building an ellegant State House of Brick, Which is to be covered with Copper. A place of very little trade, chiefly supported by the meeting of the Provincial Assembly. Here is a Great number of people collected together, to get Bills of Credit out to the provincial Loan Office. . . . These Bills are a lawful tender and the greatest part of the business is done with this sort of money.

Not only this Province, but every Province, and Colony on the Continent has large sums of this kind of money. Issued by their different Houses of Assembly. I suppose the Credit of these Bills must be indisputable, If one may be allowed to judge from the number of people that applys for them. It appears to me that there is a scarcity of Cash amongst the people of all ranks here. They Game high, Spend freely, and Dress exceedingly Gay. But I observe they seldom show any money, it is all Tobacco Notes. Great number of Scotch tradesmen here but very few English. Provisions are as dear here, as in England Mutton and Beef at 6d. Pr. lb.

A violent pain in my Head this evening.

Piscataway, Maryland, June 7th, 1774. This morning Captn. Knox and I lift Annapolis. Dined at Marlbro', Lodged at Piscataway. A most violent pain in my Head attended with a high Fever. Obliged to stop and rest myselfe at several houses on the road. Captn. Knox behaves exceeding kindly to me.

8th. Got to Port Tobacco with great difficulty. Captn. Knox insists on me applying to Docr. Brown. I have taken his advice and he told me it is a Fever with some cussed physical name, he has given me some slops and I am now going to bed very Ill.

9th. Find myselfe no better. However, the Doctor has given me more physic. Got to Nanjemoy. Allmost dead with Pain and Fatigue, added to the excessive heat which caused me to faint twice.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, June 10th, 1774, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th. Very ill. Confined to my room. This is the first day I have been able to stir out of it. I am much reduced and very weak but my spirits are good and I hope in God I shall get better. Captn. Knox, Mr. Bayley, and the whole neighbourhood behaves with the greatest kindness to me, some of them has attended me constantly all the time.

17th. Much better. The Doctor tells me I am out of all danger. But advises me to take some physic to clear my body, and to drink a little more Rum than I did before I was sick. In short I believe it was being too abstemious that brought this [sickness?] upon me at first, By drinking water.

18th. Able to walk about the house. It is such excessive Hot weather or I should mend faster.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, Sunday, June 19th, 1774. Dined at a Certain Mr. Hambleton's. Suped and spent the evening at Mrs. Leftwiches with some Young Lady's from Virginia. After supper the Co. amused themselves with several deverting plays. This seems very strange to me, But I believe it is common in this Country. Find myself much better to day. Hope I shall be able to go to Alexandria next week.

20th. Gathering strength very fast. the Doctor sent me a Box of Pills with directions to take two at Night and two in the Morning. These are the last I intend to take. Dined at Mrs. Leftwiches. After went over to Virginia with some Young Lady's but return'd in the evening.

21st. and 22nd. Takeing the Pills the Doctor gave me but they don't seem to work, only cause a bad taste in my mouth. Will take three this evening.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, June 23rd, 1774. This morning took 4 Pills which has caused a Violent pain in my bowels all day, attended with a constant thirst, and a very bad taste in my mouth. But affects me no other way. Colnl. Harrison sent me a Humming Bird. This is supposed to be one of the smallest Birds that is known. It is Green on the back, its Neck and Breast of a Beautifull Azure, The Belly and thighs are of a whiteish colour. It has a Long Beak about the thickness of a needle which it Darts into the Flowers and extracts the Honey upon which it lives. It weighs [blank in manuscript] They are only seen in the Summer time, their nests are very rarely found and are looked upon as a great curiosity.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, June 24th, 1774. Much worse. My throat and Tongue much swell'd. Have sent for the Doctor. Confined to my Bed. Am affraid that I am poysoned with his confounded Pills. A continual thirst but these people will not let me drink.

25th. Captn. Knox sent an express for the Doctor who came about Eight this morning. After he had examined the Pills he came with a truly phisical face to the Bedside and felt my Pulse. Began to beg pardon for the mistake he said his prentice had inadvertently commited by sending me strong Mercurial Pills, in the room of cooling one's. I immediately gave him as hard a blow as I could with my Fist over the Face, and would have given him a good triming had I been able.

This discomposed his physical Muscles a good deal, and made him contract them into a most Formidable Frown. He did not attempt to resent it. Beg'd I would moderate my passion follow his directions and in a short time I should be well again. I believed myselfe poysoned and grew desperate abused him most unmercifully. However, he left me some Brimstone and Salts, which I took immediately after he was gone, which worked very well and has given me a great deal of ease. Tho' I am still full of pain and much swell'd, Spiting and Slavering like a Mad Dog, My teeth loose and mouth very sore. I believe I have little to trust too but the strength of my Constitution for my life. Much difficulty to write but if I happen to Die I hope this will appear against the Rascal.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, June 26th, 1774. This morning took a Dose of Brimstone. Lay in bed all day and Sweat abundantly. This has made me very weak and faint. Doctor came to enquire after me but did not come into the room. Much easier.

27th. A great deal better but much relaxed and very weak Able to sit up most part of the day.

28th and 29th. Mending very fast. Able to walk about the room. The swelling gone away.

My throat got well but my mouth is very sore, which I wash every two hours with Vinegar. I understand the Doctor sends every day to enquire how I do. Had it not been for the extraordinary care of Captn. Knox, I must certainly have died.

30th. Took a dose of Salts. Able to walk into the Yard.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, July 1st, 1774 And 2nd. Continue mending, but very slowly.

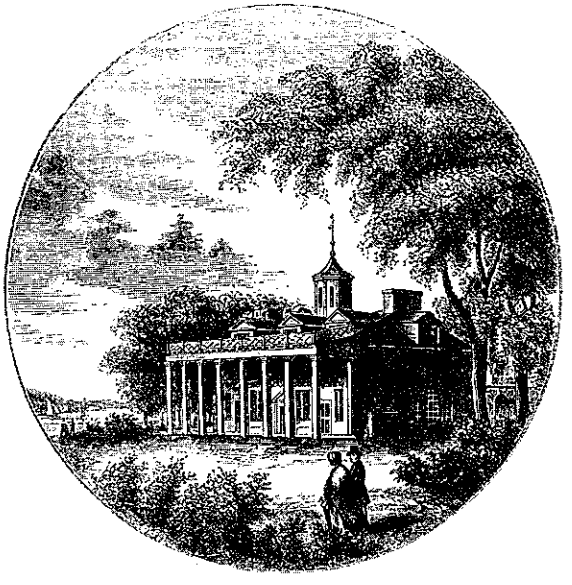
3rd. Rode out with Mr. Wallace to Collonel Taylors Plantation. It is only two miles, but I find it has Fatigued me too much.

4th. Went to see them Reap Wheat. The greatest slovens I ever saw, believe that one fourth part is left on the Field uncut. Some of them mow's it with sticks fixed on the scythe in parrallel lines to lay the Grain streight. These makes worse havock than the Reapers. The Grain is but indifferent and their crop very light, seldom that they get Seven Bushel from an Acre But they put it into the ground in such a Slovenly manner without any Manure it is a Wonder that they get any.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, July 5th, 1774. Took another Dose of Salts which I hope will be the last I shall have occasion to take at this time. Find myself pretty well. Free from pain, but very weak and much reduced, my Cloathes hangs about me like a skelleton. The Doctor has never come in my sight, since I struck him. Intend to go and pay the Rascal tomorrow.

6th. Went to see the Doctor, who (contrary to my expectation) Treated me with the greates [sic] kindness and acknowledged that he had given me just cause of complaint, though inadvertently. And absolutely refused being pay'd till I am quite recovered. I understand their Doctors' bills in this Country are very extravagant. Returned to Nanjemoy much Fatigued.

Nanjemoy, Maryland, July 7th, 1774. Took my passage on board a small Schooner bound to Alexandria. Captn. Knox and Mr. Bayley pressed me to stay a week longer and get a little stronger before I attempt to moove. I think I am able to go to Alexandria as it is only 100 Miles by water. I am under infinite obligations to these worthy people, every possible care has been taken of me in my late illness, had I been their Brother more tenderness coud not have been used for my recovery. They absolutely refuse takeing anything for my Board so that I must remain under obligations to them which I am afraid it will never be in my power to repay. Calm in the evening, the Captn and I went a Shore, to what they call a Reaping Frolick. This is a Harvest Feast. The people were very merry, Dancing without either Shoes or Stockings and the



Engraving of the house at Mount Vernon. CWF Collections.

Girls without Stays, but I cannot partake of the diversion.

Potowmeck River, July 8th, 1774. Contrary wind. Came to an Anchor off Maryland Point. Went a shore and Dined at Capt. Harrisons had a very genteel dinner but the Captn. is a violent opposer of the Government. Got on Board in the evening. Fair wind got up to Colonel George Washingtons came to an Anchor in the Creek. Here is a small Insect which appears in the Night like sparks of Fire every time it extends its wings there is something of a Luminous nature on the Body, just under the wing which only seen when it extends them, only descernible in the night. And is called the Fire Fly. A great number of pleasant Houses along the River both on the Virginia and Maryland side. All Tobacco Planters some of them People of considerable property. This River parts the Province of Maryland and Colony of Virginia.

Potowmeck River, July 9th, 1774. Waiting for a load of Flour from Colnl. Washingtons Mill. I am now got pretty well but weak and feeble.

10th. Went to see the Mill. It is a very compleat one. Dressing and Bolting mills the same as in England with a pair of Collogne, and a pair of French Stones. And make as good flour as I ever saw. Land much better here then it is lower down the River.

11th. Got our Cargo on board. Weighed and got up to Alexandria about three O'Clock. After dinner waited on Mr. Kirk with my letters. He seems to be very glad to see me gives me great encouragement and insists on me makeing his house my home as long as I stay here. Got my Baggage Ashore.

Alexandria, Virginia, July 12th, 1774. Viewing the Town, which is lay'd off in Square of an Acre each, Streets 80 Feet wide, several good Brick Buildings, and when it is compleated according to the plan, will be a Beautifull and Regular town. Their Chief trade is Wheat, Flour and Tobacco. Mr. Kirk tels me they exported 100,000 Bushels of Wheat and 14,000 Barrels of Flour from this Port, the last year. Here is as good Wheat as I ever saw, brought to this market from the back Country. I am told the land is very good about Eighty miles to the Westward of this town. I have told Mr. Kirk of my scheme, he approves of it. And advises me to take a Tour into the back Country as soon as I am able to travel on horseback.

Promises to give me every assistance that lyes in his power. In the afternoon introduc'd me to Captn. William Buddecombe a Gentleman from Liverpool and several other gentlemen in town. Am very glad to find him so well essteemed amongst the people.

13th. I begin to gather strength very fast, find this an agreeable place.

14th. An Election for Burgesses in town (their Elections are annual). There were three Candidates. The Poll was over in about two hours and conducted with great order and regularity. The members Colnl. George Washington and Major Bedwater. The Candidates gave the populace a Hogshead of Toddy (what we call Punch in England). In the evening the returned Member gave a Ball to the Freeholders and Gentlemen of the town. This was conducted with great Harmony. Coffee and Chocolate, but no Tea, this Herb is in disgrace amongst them at present.

"A Design to represent . . . an American settlement or Farm," London, 1768.
Colonial Williamsburg Collections.

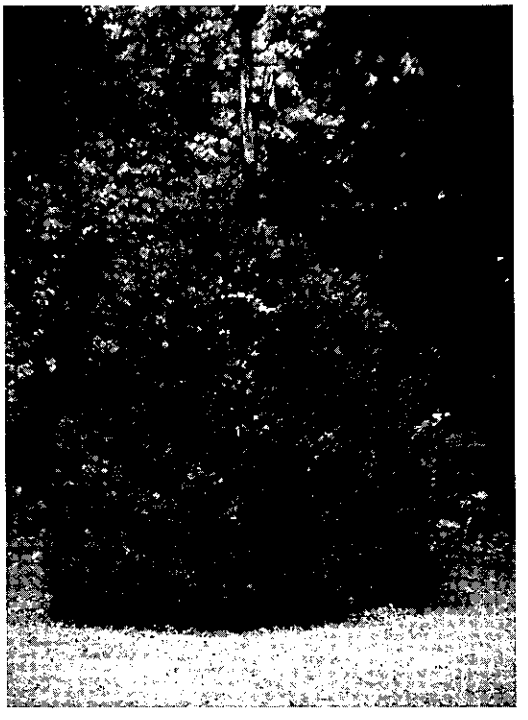
The Bothy's Mould

by Terry Yemm

Terry, longtime gardener, historical interpreter in the Department of Historical Interpretation, and member of the Interpreter *planning board, shares the best dirt (mould) from the gardener's hut (bothy).*

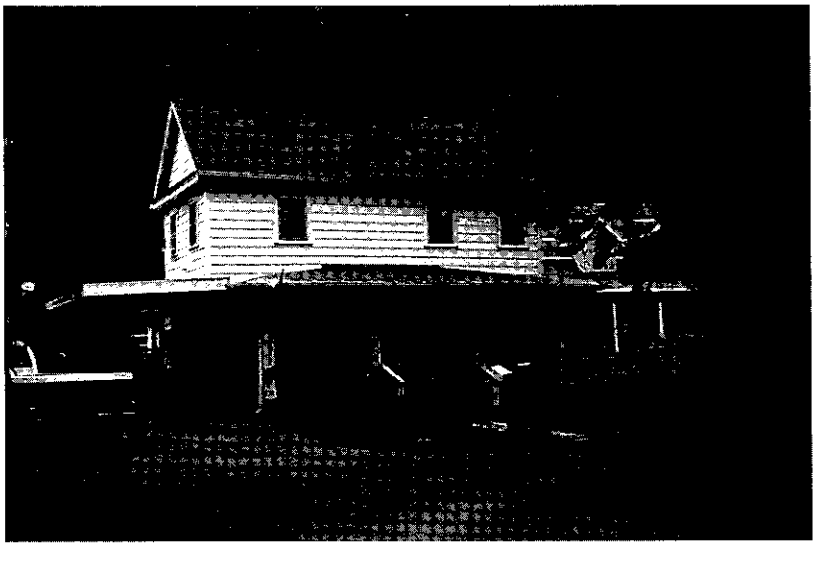
In June 1933, Justus Brouwers, the first landscape superintendent for the Colonial Williamsburg Restoration, explained how his background had prepared him for the planting of the Williamsburg Historic Area [see *Interpreter* 22, 2 (2001): 44–47, for a reprint of his memorandum]. Two positions he held in Virginia before coming to Williamsburg in October 1929 seemed especially influential in how Brouwers attempted to install plant specimens, including large boxwoods brought from other states, and how he chose to plant large examples of native species collected from "wild" situations in their native habitat.

The transcription of Brouwers's memorandum from the Colonial Williamsburg archives, details in length the experiences he gained while working for Mr. C. A. Becker of Damascus, Virginia, and Mr. C. T. Burroughs of Norfolk, Virginia. Research in these two areas revealed that the typist in Arthur Shurcliff's office who prepared the transcription of Brouwers's memo had probably misunderstood Mr. Brouwers's handwriting. Instead, he had probably written that he worked for C. A. *Backer* of Damascus, and C. F. Burroughs of Norfolk.



This large boxwood may have been part of Brouwers's landscaping at The Knoll, C. A. Backer's property near Damascus, Virginia (photo taken September 2001).

Clarence A. Backer was a resident of Massachusetts, but in the first decade of the 1900s, he was drawn to the economic potential of the mountainous terrain of southwest Virginia.[1] As rail lines were cut into the mountains, large tracts of timber became accessible to the American construction industry. A by-product of the



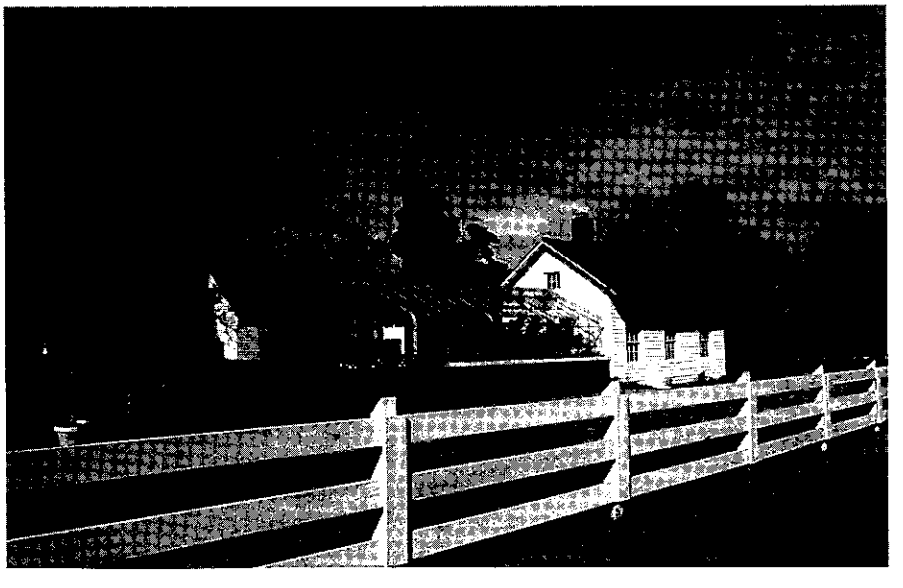
The Gardener's House at The Knoll (photo taken September 2001). (Photos courtesy of author, unless otherwise noted.)

View toward the front elevation of Bayville Farm, Virginia Beach (photo taken January 2002).

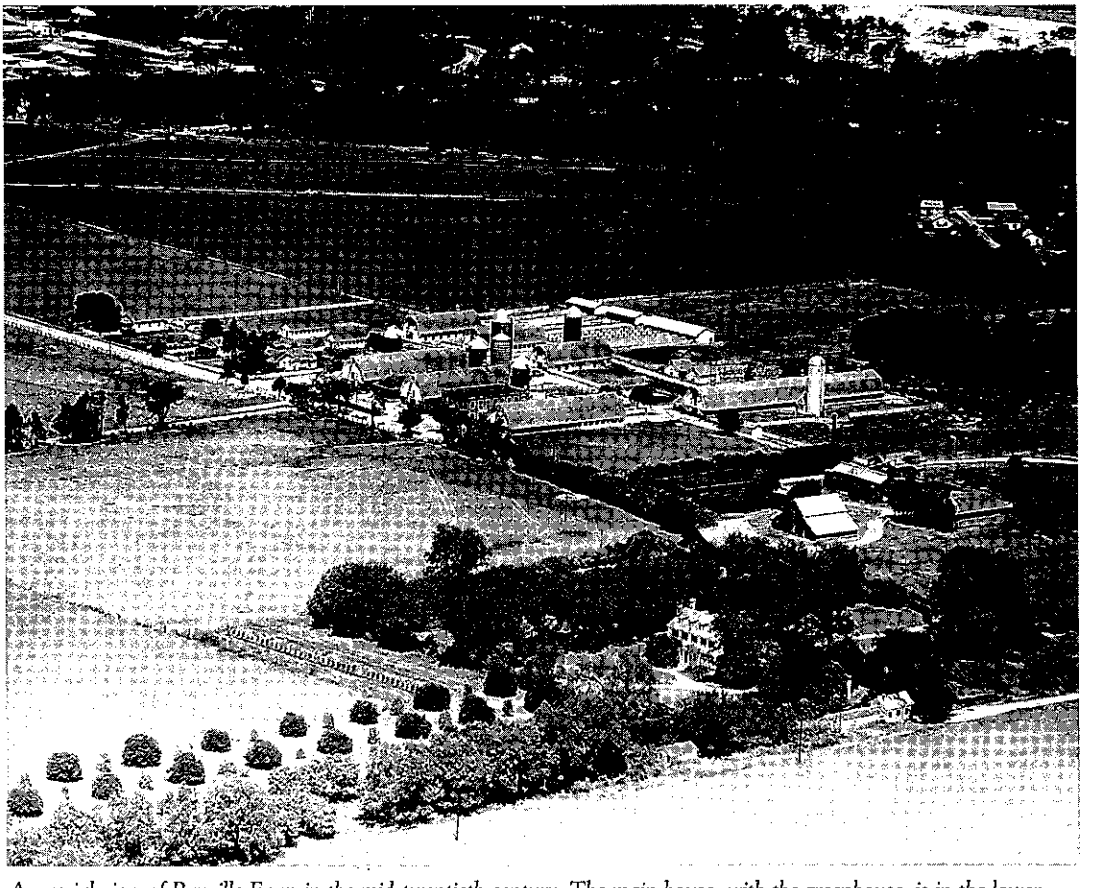
lumbering was millions of cubic yards of wood bark. In 1905, the Smethport Extract Company, established to manufacture and sell bark extracts, listed C. A. Backer as secretary-treasurer.

After the creation of this company, Backer purchased a piece of property situated on a steep hill next to a riverbank in Damascus, while continuing to maintain a home in Massachusetts. He constructed three houses on this property known as the Knoll. Sometime before his death in 1925, Backer hired landscape gardener Justus Brouwers to landscape the Knoll. In his June 1933 memo to Arthur Shurcliff, Brouwers stated:

Here it was that I started some experiments with Box bushes that proved successful, also did I get acquainted with all the wild native shrubs, trees, wild flowers, etc., so plentiful in this section. Here I moved large quantities of native trees, shrubs, etc., and learned considerable about the best time to plant and how to handle them after moving. I experimented a good deal with the best ways in moving trees, etc. and worked out a superior way in the general handling.



Greenhouse and potting shed, Bayville Farm, Virginia Beach (photo taken January 2002).



An aerial view of Bayville Farm in the mid-twentieth century. The main house, with the greenhouse, is in the lower right corner. The Atlantic Ocean can be glimpsed in the upper right corner. The large complex of buildings in the center is Bayville Farm Dairy. Courtesy, Mrs. H. Lester, Bayville Farm.

Today the three houses survive on the Knoll, along with some large plants that may date to the period of Brouwers's plantings. Further research may reveal which plants he brought to the site.

The other important Virginia patron who contributed to Brouwers's skills was Charles F. Burroughs of Norfolk.[2] Burroughs came to the Norfolk area in 1891 as an agent of the Royster Guano Company. By 1928, he was president of the company. Following a trip to Europe with his family around 1925, he purchased a large property on the Lynnhaven River known as Bayville Farm and began to improve it. He hired Justus Brouwers to direct the planting of the grounds. In his 1933 memo to Shurcliff, Brouwers said,

> *On Mr. Burroughs' estate we had a greenhouse and started a nursery with all the unheard of material that we could buy to beautify his estate. Here I had unlimited time to experiment with all the evergreens and rare deciduous shrubs and trees that could be possibly grown in this section. Here we had thousands of bulbs of all kinds and here I moved the first large live oaks successfully; also large hollies, Bays and lots of other native material which could not be moved successfully according to nurserymen at large. Here also I perfected again the crating and burlapping devices and seldom lost a tree or shrub. For 3 yrs. I experimented with more rare material than perhaps any one nurseryman to my knowledge.*

After Brouwers left, Burroughs continued his horticultural activities at Bayville Farm until his death in 1960. In addition to the plants mentioned in Brouwers's memo, Burroughs reportedly cultivated orchids, camellias, and peonies. According to his son C. F. Burroughs, Jr., the number of peonies eventually was so great that once a year while they bloomed, a freshly cut bouquet was given to each customer of the Bayville Farm Dairy with their milk delivery. How much of the surviving ornamental landscape today can be attributed to Justus Brouwers is still undetermined, but several large trees and shrubs are of a size that suggests they could have

been planted on the property in the 1920s.

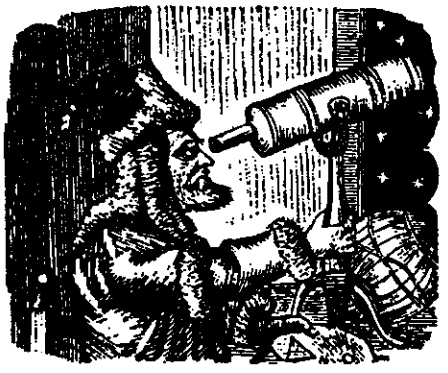
Of particular interest to the history of the Colonial Williamsburg Restoration is the role of the Lynnhaven River area in providing plant material. At the outset of the project, Shurcliff had required Brouwers to submit daily work reports. Several of these survive in the Colonial Williamsburg archives and refer to the collection of plant materials near Bayville Farm. In the January 13, 1931, report, Brouwers describes men working at Ocean Park, Virginia, "for Live Oaks & magnolias" to be used on the Courthouse Green project. Ocean Park is a small community along Shore Drive in present-day Virginia Beach, located across Pleasure House Creek from Bayville Farm. In his March 16, 1932, report, Brouwers lists five men and two trucks as "Transporting trees from Virginia Beach—Planting trees" for the Street Trees project.

Could these plants have come from the "nursery" that Brouwers had previously established at Bayville Farm while working for C. F. Burroughs, Sr.? His son does not believe the farm was the source for the Restoration plant material. Mr. Burroughs, Jr., indicated that nothing like a commercial nursery was created by his father and Mr. Brouwers. Additional research will, I hope, reveal the original habitat of the trees brought from the Lynnhaven River area by Brouwers to create the Colonial Williamsburg landscape.

[1] The information about Clarence A. Backer is drawn from conversations with residents of Damascus, Virginia, especially Mrs. Louise Fortune Hall, a local historian, and author of *A History of Damascus*, 1793–1950 (Abingdon, Va.: John Anderson Press, 1950).

[2] Much of the information about Charles F. Burroughs and Bayville Farms was provided by members of the Burroughs family, including Mr. Charles F. Burroughs, Jr., and Mrs. Harry Lester. Additional information was provided by Mr. Robert B. Hitchings, Librarian, Sargeant Memorial Room, Kirn Memorial Library, Norfolk, Virginia.

Southern Magnolia (Magnolia grandiflora), *Bayville Farm, Virginia Beach (photo taken January 2002).*



Q & A

Question: How was church attendance enforced in Colonial Virginia?

Answer: The two churchwardens in each Virginia parish (elected annually from among the vestrymen) bore responsibility for taking information about nonattendance and breaches of other moral laws to county court grand juries. In carrying out this duty, churchwardens relied upon their own familiarity with the people of the parish. They probably also took into account information reported to them by other parishioners.

Hard evidence about how many people actually obeyed church attendance laws in Virginia is hard to come by. Based on a survey conducted by the bishop of London in 1724, historians Patricia Bonomi and Peter Eisenstadt calculated that slightly more than half of white adult Virginians went to church on any given Sunday. Architectural evidence suggests that perhaps 50 to 60 percent of a parish's free adult population would fit into the average church building at any one time.

It is even more difficult to determine how many people in eighteenth-century Virginia regularly met the legal requirement that free adults (twenty-one years old and above) attend their Anglican parish church or one of the parish's chapels-of-ease once a month. (Attendance at a licensed dissenting meetinghouse also counted.) This law was not vigorously enforced, but we can say this much about our local area: between 1750 and 1774 York County grand juries presented at least 272 persons from the three parishes in the county (Bruton, Yorkhampton, and New Poquoson) for nonattendance. (Linda Rowe, Historical Research)

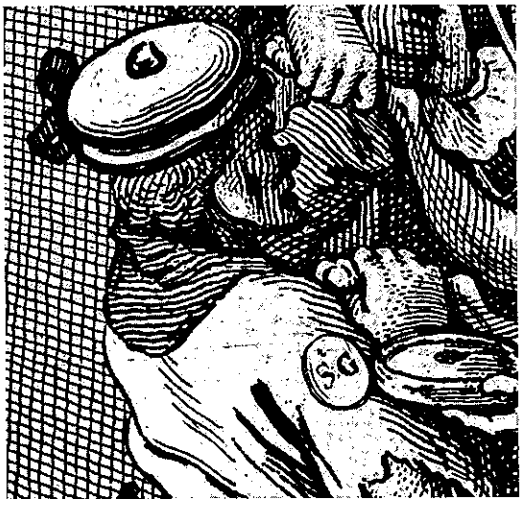
Question: Were the residents of Williamsburg's poorhouse hired out as day laborers or did they just work at the site? Didn't they have to wear identifying badges, too? (submitted by Noel Poirier, Historic Trades)

Answer: Because Bruton Parish's vestry records are so scanty, we cannot answer with any certainty what procedures were followed at the capital's poorhouse, which stood somewhat north of the city across Queen's Creek from Capitol Landing. We do know that in 1755 the Bruton Parish vestry complained that the burden of caring for the poor of the parish had nearly outstripped parish resources. The vestry petitioned the General Assembly for authorization to convert a dwelling near Queen's Creek into "a Workhouse, where the Poor might be more cheaply maintained and usefully employed." Moreover, the vestry asked for the right "to compel the Poor of their Parish to dwell and work in the said House" under whatever restrictions it might impose.

In response, the burgesses passed an act that gave Virginia parishes permission to erect, purchase, or hire one or more houses for the lodging, maintenance, and employment of poor people seeking relief from the vestry. The act required children residing in workhouses with their parents to be educated until they were old enough to be apprenticed. Adult inmates could be hired out as laborers to earn money to help with their upkeep, or they could be employed at the workhouse to produced goods for their own consumption and for market. We don't know whether there were beggars in and around Williamsburg, but the act permitted constables to convey people found begging to poorhouses, to put them to work there for twenty days or less, and to apply the profits of a beggar's labors to his or her maintenance.

Surviving records from other Virginia parishes show that some poorhouses were indeed workhouses where inmates manufactured

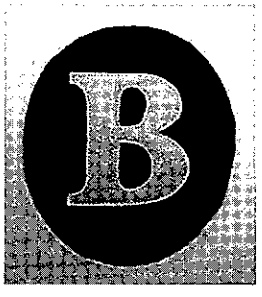
William Hogarth illustration from The First Stage of Cruelty *shows a badge for the Parish of St. Giles.*



cloth or raised food crops. Others simply provided food and shelter for their residents. Parishes with workhouses likely also continued to maintain some needy persons in their own lodgings when possible or in the homes of other parishioners.

The 1755 act for maintaining the poor stipulated that indigents wear a blue, green, or red cloth badge identifying them as wards of the parish. Unfortunately, we have no idea whether or not this provision was followed or enforced in Williamsburg. (Information from Autumn 2000 *Colonial Williamsburg* journal article, "Rich Man, Poor Man, Beggarman, Thief" by Martha W. McCartney and from Linda Rowe, Historical Research)

For the past few months, orientation interpreter James Harrison has been wearing reproduction Bruton Parish poorhouse badges on his outer garments as interpretive tools in the Historic Area. No original of such an item from a Virginia parish survives, but curator of textiles and costumes Linda Baumgarten, Linda Rowe from Historical Research, and Rick Hill of the Costume Design Center studied an image of such an emblem found in a Hogarth print. The badge stitched onto Harrison's coat and waistcoat sleeves is a dark green oval of wool appliquéd with the letter *B* in white.



This Bruton Parish poorhouse badge, developed by the Costume Design Center, features an off-white broadcloth letter sewed onto a green broadcloth ground.

Harrison doesn't overtly draw attention to the insignia he's wearing. But he says that guests frequently notice it and ask him what the *B* stands for. He likes to capitalize on these opportunities to initiate discussion about the lowest ranks of free Virginia society.

Question: How many hangings were there in Williamsburg? (submitted by John Greenman)

Answer: This is a question that can never be answered with certainty, because we do not have the records needed to get an accurate count. Most records of the General Court do not survive. However, interpreter John Lowe has done a tally of hangings mentioned in the *Virginia Gazette* from 1736 (the year the newspaper began) until 1775, after which date the courts of Virginia were in a state of confusion. Some seventy-four hangings of felons are noted in the *Gazette* for the forty-year period. This cannot be a complete tally, because many issues of the newspaper, especially from the 1750s and 1760s, are missing.

In addition to hangings resulting from trials at the General Court, there must have been hangings of slaves tried as felons in oyer and terminer sessions of the James City County court in Williamsburg. The number of slave hangings here will remain unknown because of the destruction of the county court records during the Civil War.

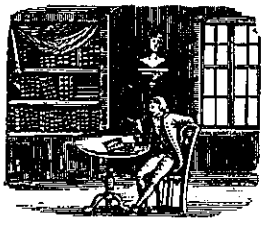
Data is, however, available for York County, where the court records survived largely intact, except for a period from 1754 to 1759. Anne Willis's compilation of slave hangings for the years 1700–80 reveal that some thirty-three slaves tried at oyer and terminer sessions of the York County court (Yorktown) were hanged. Another eight or nine were sentenced to hang but were pardoned by Governor Fauquier. Though the numbers apply to the whole of York County, some of the slaves mentioned in these records would have been residents of the York County side of the city of Williamsburg.

Question: When a person was pardoned in the General Court (as in the case of Abigail Briggs), did that mean the same as the granting of a pardon today? In other words, when Briggs was pardoned, was she granted benefit of clergy and burnt in the hand or was she just released? (submitted by Virginia Brown, Group Interpretation)

Answer: Usually a pardon was like it is today—the defendant was released without further punishment. Benefit of clergy and being burnt in the hand were different from a pardon. Those granted benefit of clergy and then burnt in the hand carried a stigma of punishment with them for the rest of their lives. They also had a permanent court record and could not get a reprieve for a second felony. As for Abigail Briggs, only two records of her survive: the letter of Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade asking for the king's pardon and the board's reply granting it. Thus we may assume that Briggs was released without further ado. (Nancy Milton, Staff Development, and Linda Rowe, Historical Research)

Q & A was compiled by Bob Doares, instructor in the Department of Staff Development and a member of the Interpreter Planning Board.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *New at the Rock*



Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Buying Respectability

Truxes, Thomas M., ed. *Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham, 1756–57, Merchants of New York and Belfast.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. [HF 491.G75 G74 2001]

The carefully edited and annotated correspondence of an Irish-American trading firm provides insights into transatlantic commerce of the period. While the firm specialized in the flaxseed trade, it carried on a full range of commercial activities, including occasional transport of tobacco and slaves. The letters are rich in detail about prices, finance, insurance, smuggling, and the effects of war and other calamities.

Wright, Robert E. *Origins of Commercial Banking in America, 1750–1800.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001. [HG 2466.W75 2001]

The focus here is on the origins and rise of commercial banking in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston in the Confederation and early Federal periods. The author begins, however, with a chapter on colonial finance that includes discussions of currency, credit, insurance, liquidity, securities, and taxes.

Redefining Family

Main, Gloria L. *Peoples of a Spacious Land: Families and Cultures in Colonial New England.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. [HQ 535.M25 2001]

The author's focus is "the intertwined processes of family formation and town founding by which the English took the land and displaced its original inhabitants." Descriptions of Native American family life are contrasted with English practices of gender relations, courtship, marriage, sexuality, childbearing, childhood, old age, health, and death.

Wulf, Karin. *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia.* Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000. [HQ 800.4.U62 P48 2000]

A wide range of primary sources is used to re-create the everyday lives of unmarried women in eighteenth-century Philadelphia. Quaker acceptance of spinsterhood had allowed participation by female heads of households in the economic and political life of the city. This tolerance was eroded, however, by new public policies rising from the more masculine and martial culture of the Revolutionary period.

Choosing Revolution

Brown, Gillian. *The Consent of the Governed: The Lockean Legacy in Early American Culture.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. [JK 54.B76 2001]

The author links John Locke's theories of consent, as expressed in the primers, fables, and fairy tales read by eighteenth-century American children, to the values of liberty and self-determination that formed the foundation of the American republic. In the early Federal period, the disenfranchised American woman described in novels illustrated problems inherent in the theory of consent of the governed as foreseen by Locke.

Haller, Stephen E. *William Washington: Cavalryman of the Revolution.* Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 2001. [E 207.W32 H35 2001]

A distant cousin of the American general, William Washington grew up on his family's plantation in Stafford County and reached his maturity as revolutionary fever was rising. As captain of a company in the 3rd Virginia Continental Regiment, William Washington was in Williamsburg in 1776, training and equipping his men and participating in festivities marking the resolutions of May 15 and the Declaration of Independence. He served throughout the war and distinguished himself as a cavalry commander in the southern campaigns of 1780–81. Colonial Williamsburg's own Stephen Haller provides the first well-documented biography of this significant Virginian.

Martin, Robert W. T. *The Free and Open Press: The Founding of American Democratic Press Liberty, 1640–1800.* New York: New York University Press, 2001. [PN 4738.M27 2001]

This book follows the development of press liberty discourse from an early unified concept of a public sphere of unhampered debate to later somewhat contradictory concepts of the press as defender of public liberty and the press as outlet for individual expression. By focusing on the debate in the eighteenth century, the author illuminates the character of American political thought more generally.

Freeing Religion

Aston, Nigel, and Matthew Cragoe, eds. *Anticlericalism in Britain, c. 1500–1914.* Stroud, Eng.: Sutton Publishing, 2000. [BR 755.A58 2000]

This series of essays examines an often-overlooked trend in British history. In the eighteenth century and earlier, anticlericalism opposed not religion itself but what it saw as a self-serving priestly elite that distorted and exploited religious belief. America is not the focus here, but the discussion helps explain the distrust of the institutional church and the desire for religious freedom that motivated a number of the founders of the American republic.

Sobel, Mechal. *Teach Me Dreams: The Search for Self in the Revolutionary Era.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2000. [E 209.S68 2000]

Israeli historian Mechal Sobel, author of *The World They Made Together,* has produced another original book. This study of more than two hundred personal narratives aims to uncover the struggle to achieve a new definition of selfhood in the Revolutionary period. Sobel focuses on the role of dreams in a culture that took dreams seriously and on the role of emerging religious groups in authorizing new forms of "self-fashioning."

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

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

- Manumission document, February 2, 1793: Josiah Cathon, a Quaker of Southampton County, Virginia, provides for the manumission of each of his slaves at eighteen years of age.
- Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* (London: A. Miller, 1765). This is the first English translation from the German original by Henry Fuseli, renowned English painter of the bizarre. Winckelman used the quaint practice of following each of the sections of his work by a pretended attack, accompanied by a further defense of its principles supposedly written by an impartial critic. The volume bears the signature of Henry Pelham, half-brother of Peter Pelham, first organist at Bruton Parish Church and stepbrother of artist John Singleton Copley.
- *General Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London: S. Crowder, 1765), 3 vols. Each section of this work was produced by authorities in the fields of agriculture, anatomy, architecture, fluxions, gardening, husbandry, mechanics, painting, sculpture, surgery, theology, etc. The ninety-six engraved plates include many foldouts.
- David Beman, *The Mysteries of Trade, or The Great Source of Wealth* (Boston: William Bellamy, 1825). This work contains recipes for preparing beer, ale, and wine; procedures for curing hams; and methods of cleaning and polishing, as well as other practical observations on useful arts.
- *Sermones de Sanctis Dormi Secure* (Strasbourg: printer of Jordanus de Quedlinburg, 1488). This unique example of incunabula, together with the books that follow, form part of the recently donated Mackey Collection. This work, printed in Latin, contains seventy sermons concerning biblical personalities and topics.
- *Speeches, Discourses, and Prayers of Col. John Bankstead, Col. John Okey, and Mr. Miles Corbet* (London: n. p., 1662). This account of regicides involved with the death of King Charles I describes their lives, escape to the Continent, capture in Holland, and eventual death at Tyburn.
- Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time,* 2 vols. (London: Thomas Ward, 1724). This work covers the period from the restoration of Charles II to the reign of Queen Anne. It is a first edition published by the author's sons six years after his death. Burnet, a well-known bishop and historian, had personal knowledge of such significant events as proceedings at The Hague prior to the Glorious Revolution and ascent of William and Mary of Orange.
- David Hume, *History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution of 1688,* 8 vols. (London: J. F. Dove, 1822). This work by the noted Scots philosopher, historian, and political economist first ap-

peared in 1761 and reflects his hatred of everything English. Nonetheless, it is considered to be the earliest comprehensive treatment of historic facts concerning English life, together with the nation's social and literary aspects, which Hume saw as being second in importance to the necessities of its political fortunes.

- Tobias Smollett, *History of England,* 5 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1785). This work was designed as a continuation of Hume's *History.* Smollett, a British novelist, in midlife became a literary impresario on an unprecedented scale by organizing the production of saleable standard works with great appeal to booksellers. He contracted out these works to his "myrmidons," subordinates who did the actual writing. The *History,* which appeared during this period, describes events from the revolution of 1688 to the death of King George II.
- James Anthony Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada,* 12 vols. (London: Longmans, 1870–75). This ambitious series, begun in 1856, relates history with literary excellence and treats it as historical drama. Particular attention—often marred by prejudice and incorrectness—is paid to personalities. The keynote of the *History* is that the Protestant Reformation was "the root and source of the expansive force which spread the Anglo-Saxon race over the globe." Nonetheless, it is recognized as an important and powerful account of the reformation in England.
- Thomas Babington Macaulay, *History of England from the Accession of James the Second,* 5 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1879). This immensely popular book went through many editions, both in England and America. The last volume carries the story through the reign of William III. Macaulay, an ardent Whig, wrote with a confidence that leaves no room for qualification or an equitable balancing of evidence.

Compiled by George Yetter, associate curator for the architectural drawings and research collection.

The Interpreter's Corner

Over the past year, work has been done to refine and revise the standards for interpreters in the Historic Area. This winter, interpreters attended workshops to revisit these standards and have the opportunity to discuss and practice the art of interpretation. Following is Colonial Williamsburg's Standards of Interpretation:

Standards of Interpretation

- Maintain or enhance visitor self-esteem. Show respect for everyone you encounter, guests and co-workers alike.
- Select and use accurate, relevant historical evidence.
- Organize your interpretation in a narrative framework when appropriate.
- Be flexible. Adjust to the interpretive situation.
- Use the Historic Area environment and material culture.
- Encourage visitors to participate. Use active language and behavior to invite their involvement.

We hope in future issues to provide some tips and information to help you develop and refine your interpretive skills. If you have a particular question or area where you would like some help, please contact Kate McBride at ext. 7620 or by email: *kmcbride@cwf.org.*

The Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter is a quarterly publication of the Division of Historic Area Presentations.

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