Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

VOL. 24, NO. 1 SPRING 2003

Small Gestures Make the Biggest Impact: Interpreting to Families and Children

by Conny Graft

Conny is manager, educational program evaluation, in the Department of Customer Research. A version of this article appeared in the summer 1996 issue of the Interpreter.

Every year, the arrival of the spring and summer seasons is announced by the high-pitched sounds of aspiring young musicians as they test their lung power on tin whistles on every street corner in the Historic Area. Accompanied by teachers, moms, dads, or grandparents, children make that familiar sound, reminding us that Colonial Williamsburg's busy seasons have arrived.

In all trade shops and historic buildings and on every tour, families with young children or school groups from around the country make up a large percentage of our audience. Interpreting to the "family" audience can sometimes be a challenge. How do you pitch your interpretation in such a way to hold the attention of children without boring the other guests in your group? What do parents and their children expect and how do they define a successful experience?

Colonial Williamsburg, and in particular interpreters and trainers, has worked hard to improve families' experiences in the Historic Area. In 1993, we noticed in our mail-back surveys that we had room for improvement. Ratings on a scale of 1–10 from families with young children were 8.4, yet ratings from adults without children were 9.0.

Our first step was to conduct focus groups with parents and children after they had spent a day in the Historic Area to find out why we weren't getting higher ratings and how we could improve their experience. The research has continued, and each year we make changes to our programs and interpretive training based on findings from the research. Every year the feedback from families improves: in 1996, the overall ratings from families moved up to 9.0.

Although not all families are alike, there are some expectations that many parents and their children share and have discussed with us in our focus groups again and again over the past years. As you prepare yourself for our busy seasons, I challenge all readers to review these findings and ask yourself how you can use this information to strengthen your interpretations and in turn our guest families' experiences.

1. **First impressions are critical.**
   The first five minutes of the family's experience are critical. During the focus group research we discovered that the families who were most negative about their experience al-

Also in this issue . . .

"Bruton Parish Vestry, 1774" by L. Rowe...... 5
"House of the Devil: Opposition to the Theater in Colonial America" by T. Goyens......... 8
"Who's Who in the African-American Community in 1774".................. 17
"Arts & Mysteries—The Colonial Timberyard in America" by N. B. Poirier............. 19
"Cook's Corner" by L. Arnold............ 24
"Signers of the 1765 Presbyterian Petition Still Active in the Williamsburg Area in 1774" by L. Rowe.......................... 26
"The Earl of Dunmore" by P. Wrike......... 30
"Who's Who at the College of William and Mary in 1774" by B. J. Pryor................. 31
"Delaporte's Folly: Virginia's French Corps of 1777–78" by N. B. Poirier............... 33
"Q & A" by B. Doares.................. 36
"Excerpts from the *Autobiography of the Reverend James Ireland*"................ 38
"Bothy's Mould"...................... 40
"New at the Rock".................... 42
"Summer Program Synergy at the Museums of Colonial Williamsburg" by T. Balderson..................... 45
"Editor's Notes"...................... 46

most always described their day as beginning with a negative encounter with the first interpreter they saw. Think about when you were a child or the last time you took your child or niece somewhere new. How long did it take for you or your child to form an opinion about that place? How easy is it to turn the child's opinion around if the first encounter is negative? On the other hand, if in the first five minutes the child feels welcomed, the child will be begging for more. And then you will discover. . . .

2. **If you make the child happy, you will make the parent very happy.**

Parents remarked over and over again that, if we can find ways to get their children excited and interested about the past, we will make the parents very happy. What do they mean by "happy"? Small gestures make the biggest impact. Bending down, making eye contact, and asking the child his or her name takes a few seconds, but makes the child feel very special. Asking the child to hold your basket, the lantern, a fan, a cedar shaving, your pocket, your *Visitor's Companion*—even the smallest job will make the child feel important. Over and over again the children told us that, wherever the interpreters were nice to them and acknowledged their presence, they felt important and that the interpreter cared about them. They also stated that when that happened, they found they really enjoyed the interpretation and felt they also learned a lot.

Asking the taller visitors in your group to allow the smaller ones to come up to the front so they can see you and the object/activity you are interpreting is another small gesture that makes all the difference in the world. If your interpretation is going to be more than a few minutes, allowing the children to sit down on the floor will also gain big points. We often forget what it is like to walk long distances with short legs, but believe me, if the child is uncomfortable, the most exciting, dramatic interpretation will be a lost cause.

3. **Parents want their children to learn about the past and to be inspired to love history.**

The parents we talked to wanted their children to learn about eighteenth-century Williamsburg. Often they stated their child had either just had American history in school and they wanted to enrich the classroom experience or the children were going to be exposed to American history in school in September and the parents wanted them to get a head start. Whenever a hands-on interpretive experience was not accompanied by information about the activity or the people associated with the activity, parents were disappointed.

Parents also want their children to leave believing that history is fun and can be an exciting adventure. Many parents talked about how they loved touring historic sites and how they hoped a trip to Williamsburg would cause their children to want to go to historic sites with them. I will never forget the words of the father who told us that he had lost one son the year before, that his wife did not enjoy touring historic sites, and that he hoped the son who accompanied him on this trip would enjoy the visit here so that he would have a pal with whom to tour historic sites.

4. **Children like to discover things for themselves.**

Children like to be challenged. Whenever you can pose a problem for them to figure out—like, "My kitchen is missing two things you may have in your kitchen, what could they be?"—children will become active and engaged learners. Discovering something new can be a rewarding experience when they have discovered it for themselves. Offering children some hands-on activities that are also connected to your interpretive theme will please both the parent and the child. The more children can learn about the past by experiencing some part of it, the more likely they will remember what they learned for a long time.

Asking them to take the role of a mother or father, a sister, or apprentice and asking them to see things through the eyes of that particular person will also

pique their interest. Just like the adults in the group, they are eager to feel they are back in the past and role-playing comes easy to them. Once you ask them to respond to a certain problem or situation then. . . .

5. **Count to ten after you ask a question.**

Children need time to formulate their response and then get all the words out. Often in the focus groups, the interpreters who received the highest compliments were those who took the time to listen to what the children had to say. Silence can feel awkward at first after you pose a question, but try to keep in mind it is only awkward for you. If you have posed an interesting question, the child might be busy thinking about it. Silently count to ten, and see if the child responds.

Children also have their own way of relating to things and ideas, and often they are eager to share their ideas and reactions with you. Although it may mean sacrificing time spent on a specific objective, allowing children the time to share their experiences is another element that separates a successful experience from an unsuccessful experience as defined by a child.

6. **Children will tell you how you're doing—all you need to do is ask.**

If you are ever in doubt about how your interpretation is going, all you need to do is ask. Children will not hesitate to tell you how you are coming across and what they would like you to do differently. Often some of the things they may say, such as, "I can't hear you" or "I can't see the thing you are talking about," are on the minds of the adults who may be too polite or shy to tell you what they need.

7. **Parents do not mind when you tell them at the beginning of the tour you will need their help in controlling the behavior of young children.**

Sometimes, even when you have tried everything to capture the attention of the young children in your group, they get bored. Their restlessness affects the experience for the others in the program. Whenever you see young children on your tour, you should always include in your introduction that you will need the parents' help in watching young children so they do not disturb the experience of the other people in the program. Then, after your interpretation begins, if the child's behavior gets to the point where it disturbs the other guests and you need to talk to the parent as you are moving from one room to another or from one site to another, the parent has been forewarned. This does not guarantee that the parent will take responsibility, but it will be helpful in most situations. If you are comfortable using humor, you might say something like, "For those of you who are accompanied by people with short legs who may become restless and small lungs that like to exercise themselves frequently, we need your help in making sure the experience for our other guests is not disturbed. If you need to find another space for your children to test their lung power or stretch their legs, I will be happy to show you a quick exit. Just let me know."

8. **If you want to teach the mind, you've got to touch the heart first.**

This principle, like many of those listed above, works for all ages. Wherever and whenever you touch the heart and direct your interpretation toward some type of emotional response, you will automatically engage the mind. Involving children in a dramatic re-creation of some type of conflict; reading aloud a primary source with feeling about someone in Williamsburg who is expressing fear, love, hope, happiness, sadness, etc.; or telling a story in a dramatic manner about real people from the past are just some of the ways you can evoke an emotional response that will also engage the mind. Selecting stories or objects that families and their children can relate to will also help them make a personal connection with the past. Stories about sisters and/or brothers, objects associated with growing up, a quote from a parent about a child or a child about a parent are just a few examples of things and

words that help families feel a connection with people of the past.

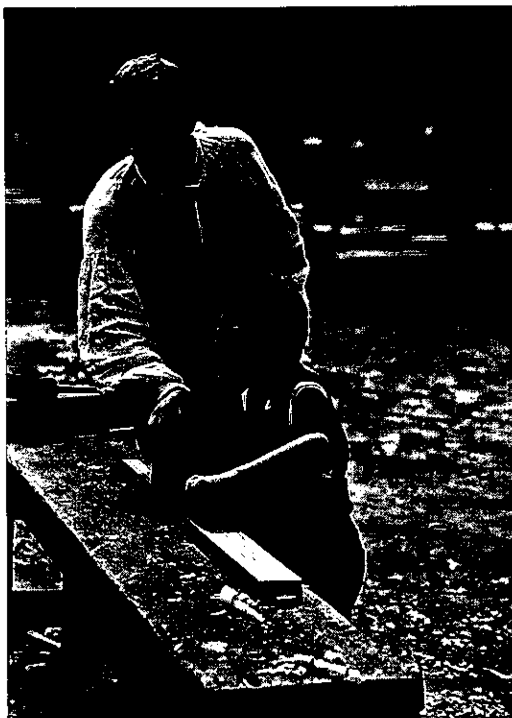
9. **If at first you don't succeed . . .**

   Whenever we do focus groups with parents and ask them if their children are enjoying the experience and whether they are learning something, parents often remark that they don't know yet. Whenever we interview the children, before the focus group begins, we always have to give them pictures of all the buildings to look at first so they can remember where they have been. They also write a postcard about their experience before they begin the focus group to help them start thinking about their experiences and decide what they like and what they don't like. Last year we invited the parents to join us in the room beside the focus group room and watch their children on a monitor. Parents were fascinated to hear what their children felt and thought about all the experiences they had in the Historic Area.

   Visitor research conducted in museums throughout the world reveals that often the best insights do not happen while people are touring the museum. It takes time for people of all ages to assemble, review, and filter through all the experiences they have had on their visits. Even though you do not see light bulbs going off in front of you as you throw all your energy into a dramatic, creative, and engaging interpretation or you observe that families are still staring at you with blank, frozen stares, barely breathing . . . it doesn't always mean that you have failed. The idea or concept you are interpreting may really make sense two doors down from your site or later at dinner that night, but unfortunately you won't be there when the light bulb goes off. Often it takes repeated interpretations using different techniques on the same theme before all the pieces and experiences begin to make sense. Never give up.

Summary

The findings listed above may not be new to you, but I hope that they will serve as a good reminder of what we know to date about the family experience. Many of the principles listed above also work for guests without children. In reviewing guests' comments over the past ten years, I have never heard an adult without children complain that our interpretations were too oriented toward children, but I have heard the same group complain about ways interpreters have mishandled someone else's children's questions or needs.



Research also shows that the greatest predictor of museum-going as a lifelong activity for adults is having a positive experience as a young child with your family. A valuable investment in the future of Colonial Williamsburg is creating a successful interpretive experience for families with children. This particular group is our future, and the busy seasons are approaching . . . can you hear those tin whistles yet?

READ MORE ABOUT IT

For more information about research on the family experience in museums and at Colonial Williamsburg, you can read:

Butler, B., and M. Sussman. *Museum Visitors and Activities for Family Life Enrichment.* The Haworth Press, 1989.

Christensen, Joel, "Interpretation Can Target Everyone," *Legacy* 1, no. 1.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., and Kim Hermanson. "Intrinsic Motivation in Museums, What Makes Visitors Want to Learn?" *Museum News* (May–June 1995).

Dierking, L. "The Family Museum Experience," *Journal of Museum Education* 14 (Spring/Summer 1989): 9–11.

For copies of the summaries of the focus groups at Colonial Williamsburg, call Conny Graft at ext. 7216.

Bruton Parish Vestry, 1774

By Linda Rowe

Linda is a historian in the Department of Historical Research and assistant editor for this publication.

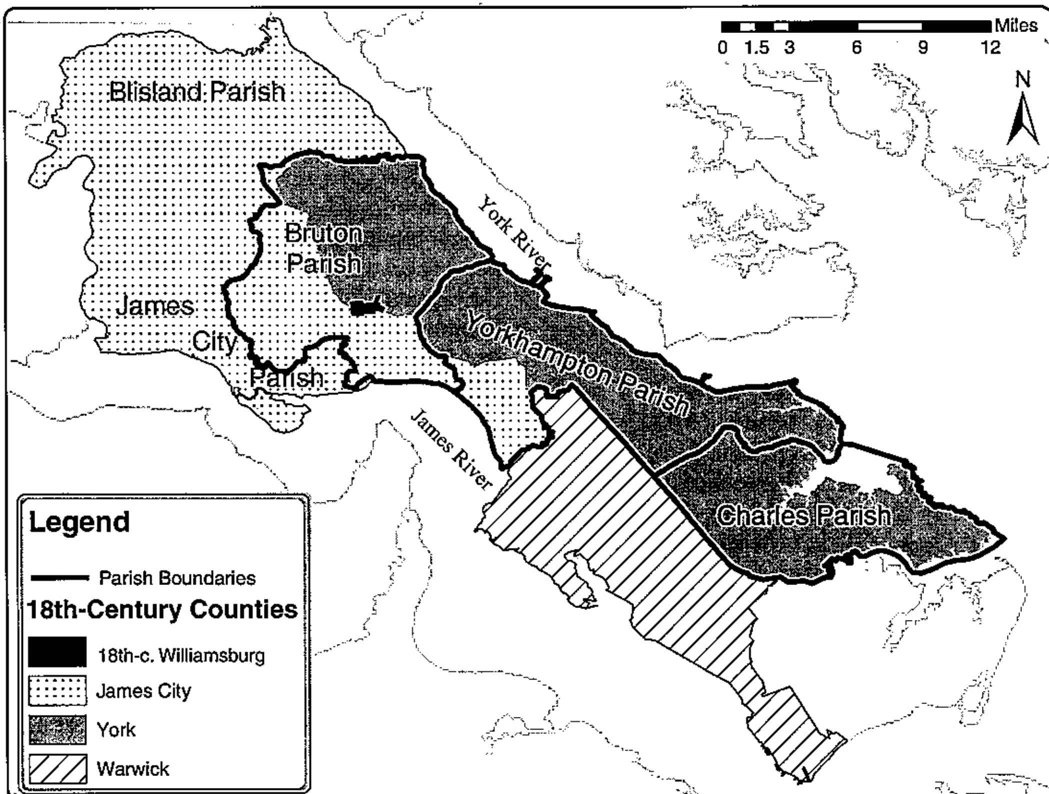
The governing body of Bruton Parish during the colonial period was the parish's vestry, made up of twelve vestrymen together with the parish minister and the parish clerk. When a parish was formed (1674 for Bruton Parish), parish householders elected the first vestry, which became self-perpetuating thereafter. That is, vacant seats were filled on the recommendation of the remaining vestrymen. In the 1770s, court officials administered the oaths of the vestry to newly appointed vestrymen who resided in York County and duly recorded the fact in the court records.

The vestry met in the fall to work out the vestry's expenses for the year, including the minister's salary (set by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco a year), construction and repair of church buildings, and the most expensive of all parish obligations—provisioning and supporting persons resident in the parish who were temporarily or permanently unable to get a living or needed assistance due to illness or injury.

Vestry books, in which parish clerks recorded proceedings of annual vestry meetings, do not survive for Bruton Parish. Consequently, the roster of vestry members in any given year is usually an approximation, dependent upon serendipitous finds in York County documents, personal papers, and other records.

By the 1770s, the majority of seats on the Bruton Parish vestry were filled by residents of Williamsburg; the rest hailed from rural areas within easy reach of the town, but their names are less familiar than their urban counterparts. By 1774, some of these men had served on the vestry for decades, others for just a few years, and still others were recent appointments. Peyton Randolph was not among the members in 1774, although he was a Bruton Parish vestryman as late as 1768.

Williamsburg-Area Parish Bounds. *Bruton Parish took in the whole of Williamsburg and parts of York and James City Counties. Though Bruton Parish Church itself was located on the York County side of Williamsburg, Bruton's vestry oversaw church affairs for the entire parish. The remainder of York County fell within Yorkhampton Parish (which also included a small piece of James City County, see map) and Charles Parish. Additional parishes in James City County included James City Parish (bounds not shown) in which Jamestown Island and part of the mainland were located, and Blisland Parish (bounds not shown) that covered much of the upper end of James City County. This map is a work in progress; additional parish lines will be added as research continues.*
Map created by: Carrie Alblinger, Research Associate for the Digital History Project



John Bracken
Rector of Bruton Parish (1773–1818)

Born in England, John Bracken arrived in Virginia in 1772. After the death of the Rev. Josiah Johnson, rector of Bruton Parish, the vestry elected Bracken minister on June 12, 1773. His competition, the Rev. Samuel Henley, had ardently sought the position, but lost out over questions about his religious views. During the controversy, Bracken enjoyed the support of staunch churchman and Bruton vestryman Robert Carter Nicholas. Bracken later served as master of the Grammar School at the College of William and Mary (1775–79) and still later became president of the college and professor of moral philosophy (1812–14). Bracken was single in 1774. He married Sally Burwell, daughter of Carter Burwell of Carter's Grove and great-granddaughter of Robert "King" Carter, in 1776. Born in the mid-1740s, Bracken was in his late twenties in 1774.

Matthew Moody (Williamsburg)
Clerk of the Vestry by 1773

Like his father and grandfather before him, Matthew Moody was a ferry keeper and tavern keeper. Formerly at Burwell's Ferry in James City County, Moody, in 1774, advertised food and drink for sale at his house at Capitol Landing. He also appears to have done some cabinetmaking and carpentry. Moody served York County as both grand and petit juror on several occasions. Interestingly, his father and grandfather also served in lesser county offices such as juror, sub-sheriff (deputy sheriff), inspector of beef and pork, inspector of flour, inspector of pitch and tar, tobacco teller (akin to a constable, kept a lookout for illegal tobacco crops), and surveyor of the highways. Whether or not Matthew's wife, Katherine (Kitty), was alive in 1774 is not known. Moody was born (date unknown) in Williamsburg probably at his father's residence at Capitol Landing. He was probably in his mid- to late thirties in 1774.

John Blair Jr. (Williamsburg)
Vestryman by 1771 or 1772

John Blair Jr. probably was named to fill his father's seat on the vestry not long after the elder Blair's death in 1771, but the earliest documentary reference to Blair Jr.'s appointment is July 15, 1775. In 1774, the younger Blair was bursar of the college, clerk of the Council, and justice of the York County court. In the recent past, he had been mayor of Williamsburg and burgess for the college. Blair owned several hundred acres of land in York County in addition to several lots and houses in Williamsburg. His wife, Jane, was alive in 1774. Born in Williamsburg, he was forty-three years old in 1774.

Lewis Burwell (Kingsmill, near Williamsburg)
Vestryman for at least twenty-five years by 1774

Planter Lewis Burwell lived at Kingsmill, several miles from Williamsburg, but he often identified his home as "near Williamsburg," as if to emphasize his association with the capital. He owned two lots in Williamsburg and had large landholdings in York, James City, and Isle of Wight Counties and elsewhere. In 1774, he was a burgess, a colonel in the militia, and a member of the board of visitors of the College of William and Mary. Born in James City County, Burwell was more than fifty years old in 1774.

William Eaton (upper York County)
Took oath as vestryman on March 21, 1768

William Eaton descended from the Eaton and Pinkethman families going back to late seventeenth-century York County. Their lands in rural York County were situated in the upper district of York County north of Williamsburg and below Skimino Creek. When William's father, Pinkethman Eaton, died about 1761, his estate was valued at £1,000 and included more than twenty slaves. He left William two tracts of land in Bruton Parish—the "home plantation" and his Mill Swamp Quarter. William began to appear in York County court actions with his mother, Mary Eaton, concerning the estate. Thereafter, he occasionally served on petit and grand juries. In 1768, he was appointed to the Bruton vestry and to a committee to consider proposals for a belfry (bell tower) for Bruton Parish Church. In 1774, he acted as appraiser for several York County estates, mortgaged three hundred acres of land to Joseph Hornsby, a fellow vestryman, and served as surveyor of the highways in his area of York County and Bruton Parish. Baptisms of a few of Eaton's slaves were recorded in the Bruton Parish register. He was probably more than thirty years old in 1774.

Thomas Everard (Williamsburg)
A vestryman for at least twenty years by 1774

Except for a stint as clerk of Elizabeth City County (1742–45), Everard lived in Williamsburg from his arrival in Virginia from England in 1734. He initially apprenticed to Matthew Kemp, merchant and clerk of the General Court. Everard was appointed to the important post of clerk of York County court in 1745, a position he held until his death some thirty-five years later. In 1774, Everard lived on Palace Green in Williamsburg (the York County side of town). He

was elected mayor of Williamsburg in 1766 and 1771. A widower for about fifteen years in 1774, he had an unmarried adult daughter at home. Another daughter, widow of the Rev. James Horrocks (president of the college and minister at Bruton Parish Church), had died in 1773 after a tedious illness. Everard owned six hundred acres in James City County and his house and lots in Williamsburg. Born in England in 1719, Everard was fifty-one years old in 1774.

William Graves (upper York County)
Vestryman for twenty-one years in 1774

William Graves was descended from several generations of the Graves family in York County going back as far as the 1630s. His father, Ralph Graves, served York County as a grand and petit juror on numerous occasions and as surveyor of the highways. The elder Graves died in possession of some 1,500 acres in Bruton Parish, York County, northwest of Williamsburg. William Graves achieved higher office than his father, although he served as a juror and highway surveyor as well. He was already a member of Bruton Parish's vestry in 1753, when he represented that body as churchwarden in a debt case. Graves was among the vestrymen who contracted with Benjamin Powell to build the steeple and make repairs to Bruton Parish Church. A substantial planter, he was appointed justice of the peace for York County in 1759. Several of his slaves, including an adult woman, were baptized in Bruton Parish. Graves was born in York County and was probably in his mid- to late fifties in 1774.

Joseph Hornsby (Williamsburg)
Known to be a vestryman by 1773

Merchant Joseph Hornsby inherited several hundred acres in York County (Bruton Parish), plantations in James City County, and houses and lots in Williamsburg from merchant Thomas Hornsby, his uncle who died in 1772. Joseph was named to the Bruton Parish vestry and appointed a justice of the York County court in 1773. Previously he had served on several petit juries in York County. In 1774, Hornsby was a captain in the militia and tithe taker for Bruton Parish. (Tithe takers were not tax collectors—they were appointed from among the court justices to assemble the list of tithables in the county.) Joseph Hornsby's marriage to Mildred Walker was announced in the *Virginia Gazette* in January 1769. His age in 1774 is not known, but he was probably in his mid- to late thirties.

Robert Carter Nicholas (Williamsburg)
A Bruton Parish vestryman for at least twenty years by 1774

Robert Carter Nicholas, grandson of Robert "King" Carter and a lawyer by trade, was ubiquitous in the halls of power in colonial Virginia. A former mayor of Williamsburg (1757), in 1774, he was treasurer of the colony, burgess for James City County, member of the board of visitors of the College of William and Mary, and justice of the peace for James City County. Nicholas and his wife, Anne, were widely known for their piety and staunch support of the established Church of England in Virginia. In 1774, Nicholas lived on the James City County side of Williamsburg. Born in 1729, probably in Williamsburg, Nicholas was forty-five years old in 1774.

John Pierce (upper York County)
Vestryman for thirteen years by 1774

John Pierce descended from a family resident in Bruton Parish, York County, at least as early as the third quarter of the seventeenth century. John himself began to appear in court in the 1760s, when he was appointed guardian to his brothers and sister. He served York County as a petit and grand juror many times and was recommended to Governor Fauquier as an inspector at an area tobacco warehouse in 1765. In 1768, he served with William Eaton on the committee to consider proposals for a belfry (bell tower) at Bruton Parish Church. In 1774, he was one of many claimants against William Rind's estate, which owed him £3.12.6. In 1775, Pierce, William Graves, James Shields, and James Southall were appointed "a committee to take care of" Elizabeth Prentis (widow of vestryman John Prentis who died in 1775) whom the York County justices adjudged to be of unsound mind. They posted £3,000 bond that they would take proper care of her and keep a true account of her estate. Pierce appears to have lived in York County northwest of Williamsburg in the same general vicinity as vestry members William Graves and William Eaton. He was perhaps in his late thirties in 1774.

John Prentis (Williamsburg)
Vestryman for at least five years in 1774

Merchant John Prentis was the son of William Prentis, owner of the Prentis Store in Williamsburg. According to William's will, John was to run the store after his father's death. In 1774, John had been a justice of the York County court for twenty years, and he was a colonel in the militia. A former mayor of Williamsburg, he had resigned as chamberlain (treasurer) of the Williamsburg Common Council in 1773. He owned lots and storehouses in Williamsburg and some rural acreage in York and Surry Counties. Born in Williamsburg, John Prentis was at least

fifty-two years old in 1774. He died in 1775.

John Tazewell (Williamsburg)
Took oaths as vestryman in 1772

John Tazewell attended the College of William and Mary from 1758 to 1762 and remained in Williamsburg until his death in 1781. His wife, Sarah, was alive in 1774, and they lived on the north side of Nicholson Street near Palace Green. (In 1778, he purchased the former residence of John Randolph, a handsome house built before 1762 at the end of South England Street, renamed Tazewell Hall.) In 1774, lawyer John Tazewell was a member of the Williamsburg Common Council and Williamsburg Committee of Safety. He was probably in his thirties in 1774.

Benjamin Waller (Williamsburg)
Vestryman for at least twenty-five years in 1774

Benjamin Waller came to Williamsburg about 1726. He attended the College of William and Mary until he was about seventeen after which he trained in the Secretary's Office. He obtained a license to practice law in 1738. In 1774, Waller had been married to the former Martha Hall for nearly thirty years. He owned a number of lots in Williamsburg and nearly 1,000 acres in York County. He was king's attorney for York County and clerk of the General Court. Born in 1716 in King William County, Waller was fifty-eight years old in 1774.

George Wythe (Williamsburg)
Vestryman for at least fourteen years by 1774

Born in Elizabeth City County about 1727, George Wythe came to the college in Williamsburg in the mid-1740s. In 1774, he lived in the Wythe House, which he held by life right of his second wife, Elizabeth Taliaferro. Wythe inherited a plantation in Elizabeth City County. A lawyer, legal scholar, and teacher of law, Wythe held many important posts in colonial government including attorney general (1754) and served as clerk of important committees in the House of Burgesses. He was a past mayor of Williamsburg and former burgess for Williamsburg and Elizabeth City County. In 1774, Wythe was clerk of the House of Burgesses, signer/overseer of treasury notes, and member of the Williamsburg Committee of Safety. Wythe was about forty-seven years old in 1774.

House of the Devil: Opposition to the Theater in Colonial America

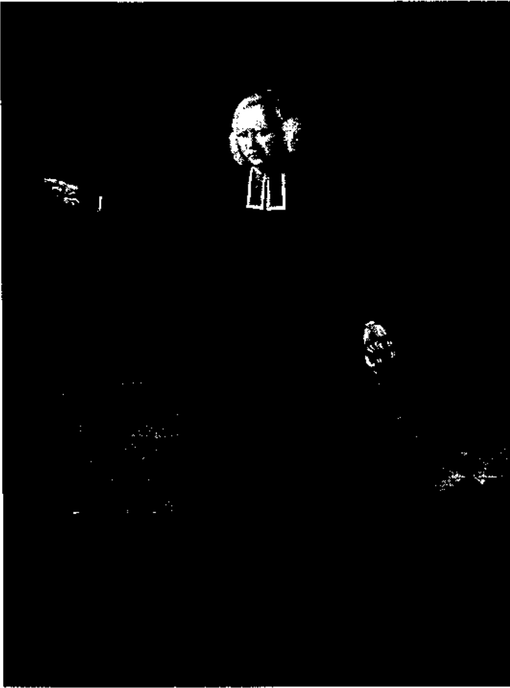
by Tom Goyens

Tom is a consulting historian for the Research Division and has done extensive historical work on Williamsburg's Douglass-Hallam Theater.

Englishmen and -women who ventured to the New World differed greatly in their attitudes toward the theater.[1] Some were indifferent, others sought its suppression, and still others had fond memories of attending a playhouse. As each of the settlement regions developed into colonies with distinct characteristics, so too did the respective responses to theater in those regions differ considerably.[2] At the start of the eighteenth century, two often-conflicting attitudes toward theater emerged in the mainland colonies. White southern colonials regarded theatrical entertainment as a heritage from English aristocracy and also from rural leisure pastimes; inhabitants from New England and the middle colonies rejected it as an aristocratic penchant for extravagant leisure and cautioned against excess, while not entirely dismissing playfulness and conviviality.

Dissenters from the Church of England who settled in America—especially Puritans in New England and Quakers in Pennsylvania—voiced the most resolute condemnation. They were not ambivalent toward the stage; to them it was downright evil.[3] In the plantation colonies, on the other hand, theater integrated comparatively easily into the social fabric. For one thing, the Church of England—more tolerant on matters of entertainment—was the established church from Maryland to Georgia. For another, southern mainland colonies had commercial imperatives that fostered a social hierarchy topped by an agrarian elite of slave-owning gentry impatient to emulate English aristocrats.

Debate and controversy about professional theater intensified when, after 1740, the intercolonial press emerged. A handful of ambitious theatrical companies operated profitable circuits and inspired amateurs to form their own troupes to play at local taverns or fairs. By mid-century, theater companies performed in most settled areas of the British mainland colonies, reaching backcountry hamlets as well as large towns.[4] With more and more people exposed to this new form of entertainment, political leaders, moral



"The Reverend George Whitefield, M.A." (CWF 1956-226). Shown preaching in the open air with a Bible in his left hand, this 1768 engraving of the popular cleric was taken from a portrait painted by John Russell.

guardians, and other pundits felt compelled to trumpet the merits and dangers of the stage.

What then were the arguments raised against theater? Can they all be summed up, or possibly dismissed—if one views the past with a secular sensibility—as stemming from fundamentalist intolerance or religious bigotry? If the godly were indeed in the vanguard of the antitheater campaign, what did other groups, such as Yankee merchants or women, have to say about the art of Thespis? Some criticism aimed at theater in America and England carried a distinct antiaristocratic tinge. It targeted the gentry, who, at least in the plantation colonies, were recognized as theater's most committed patrons. Even so, religious and moral objections persisted and cannot be relegated solely to a group of clerics because most colonial Americans—both northerners and southerners—were genuinely devout and respectful of tradition.

"A Cursed Engine of Pleasure, Idleness, and Extravagance"

First, many Puritans did not object to reading plays; only public theatrical performances became the subject of staunch reprobation.[5] The distinction between reading and acting out a play is an important one to make during this period. Performing meant exposing literature to the illiterate and the unsophisticated. In the minds of the moralists, this entailed a loss of control over the lower classes, who generally embraced theatricals. The popularity of theater, in fact, was a manifestation of broader sociocultural changes that swept Europe from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries. This period witnessed the emergence of what Jürgen Habermas has called the "public sphere," an amorphous realm of activity somehow different from the governmental sphere of officialdom and the private world of individuals. Entertainment assumed an important role in this new dimension. What made the public arena in the colonies a truly exciting—and for others a frightful—domain, was the simultaneous commercialization and urbanization of Anglo-American culture.

Plays, indeed any form of entertainment, especially paid entertainment, were to many religious leaders a reprehensible waste of time. Time was intricately related to personal piety; every person had only a finite period on earth. One commentator wrote that attending the theater amounted to "unprofitably wasting your time and substance at plays."[6]

Religious and moral opposition to the theater reached its height in America during the late 1730s and 1740s. English evangelist George Whitefield stood in the vanguard of a religious revival movement in America (later known as the Great Awakening), although awakenings began in New England before Whitefield's arrival there. Whitefield's sharp attack on luxury and leisure pastimes could account for the relative silence inside the playhouses during that period in the northern colonies. "Religion and virtue," he once proclaimed, can never bloom "under the shadow of a theatre." Whitefield's antitheater rhetoric may have had some effect in Williamsburg since no plays were performed here from 1739 to 1745.[7] It is, however, doubtful that the effect of one sermon in Williamsburg ended all theater activities in this provincial capital. Still, the only theatrical activities during the 1730s and 1740s took place in Williamsburg, Charleston, and Providence, Bahamas.

Secular considerations entered the debate when people contended that attending plays squandered valuable resources that ought to be spent on charity or poor relief. "The money thrown away in one night at a play," one New Yorker remarked in 1767, "would purchase wood, provisions and other necessaries, sufficient for a number of poor."[8] References to the needs of the underprivileged were not so uncommon and make for interesting glimpses into class stratification in larger towns.

Financial concerns were sometimes linked to

"Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn" (CWF 1967-570). This print by William Hogarth, dated March 25, 1738, illustrates the indiscriminate mixing of sexes and lack of modesty that helped fuel criticism of the theater and of thespians.

moral ones, especially when theater attracted those with lean pocketbooks, such as laborers and apprentices. According to critics, this situation stood to ruin the lower classes and reflected a rejection of industry on the part of those workers. Some writers used guilt to bolster their polemics against the theater: "Have you not found a shyness to duty after attending the stage?" as one Providence commentator put it in 1774.[9] In this sense, secular and religious critics found common ground on which to denounce theater, portraying it as a sinful and costly waste.

It didn't help that some actors and managers faced financial difficulties to keep their companies afloat. In 1752, a Williamsburg apothecary heard of the rapid sale of tickets of a newly arrived theater company, but quickly noted, "never were debts worse paid."[10] In fact, many of the actors themselves were unable to pay their creditors, which forced Lewis Hallam (1740–1808), one of the first professional theater managers in the colonies, to sell his playhouse in Williamsburg in order for his actors to avoid jail time.

One way of countering accusations of extravagance, selfishness, and parasitical behavior leveled at theater companies was to donate the proceeds to charitable initiatives in the community. By the 1760s, such performances became common, and troupes advertised their good deeds profusely. For some ultra-orthodox New Englanders and people from the middle colonies, theater managers' charity and public responsibility merely amounted to a ruse in order to gain support and sell more tickets. Such posturing, they believed, revealed even more the corrupt nature of theater.

In 1761, New York newspapers provided a platform for a spirited debate on the alleged financial burden of the theater. The dispute centered on the exact amount the theater company earned from ticket sales. The advocate for the theater dismissed his opponent's figure of £6,000 by arguing that the company was able to make no more than £180 a night given the size of the playhouse, which, for a total of sixteen nights would come to £1,920. Moreover, the company spent about £1,300 on rent, scenery, and costumes, all to the benefit of the town, leaving £620 to pay for "lodging, washing, and diet." Lastly, the theater supporter skillfully took the moral high ground over well-to-do members of society by stating that theater companies

> *earn it much more fairly and honestly than those who have raked together thousands by an inflexible attachment to their own dear interests, by oppressing the fatherless and widows, and unfeelingly grinding the face of the poor. How opposite has been the conduct of those very comedians?*[11]

Some historians have rightfully pointed to the fact that many of those Puritan conservatives were members of a mercantile class whose business differed substantially from the planter-merchants in the southern colonies.[12] But it was business, all the same. Their concerns, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, increasingly focused on commerce and economic viability in light of British encroachments. Religious morality and commercial ethics were strongly interwoven in New England, and antitheater arguments were often voiced in terms of economic survival and prudent spending as well as moral imperatives.

"Artful Seducers"

Colonial conservatives viewed the entertainment function of the stage as a failure. The two elements inherent in theater were also the most obvious targets for the dogmatists: public display and interpretive content. Unlike literature, music, dance, or sports, theater offered the immediacy of fiction within the elaborate spatial dimension of the playhouse. These characteristics challenged traditional and religious ideas about privacy, civil deportment, sexual license, and gender roles. Theater was make-believe and could leave one dissipated and confused. In part stating the obvious, theater critics sought to strike at the heart of stage performance, which was seen as untruthful and hypocritical, and thus harmful. Actors uttered lies, they said, and were admired for their skill at deceit, or as Shakespeare himself wrote: "I am not that I play." William Prynne (1600–69), the English Puritan polemicist, for instance, called actors "artificiall changelings."[13]

The fear was that theatergoers who enjoyed the antics of less reputable stage characters would uncritically manifest "an inclination to verge as far upon those criminal indulgences as ever they can consistent with their reputation."[14] It was, of course, understood that theatrical pieces were fictional, but to act out stories on stage in front of hundreds of spectators was giving literature an entirely new dimension.

Religious conservatives in England and America further discredited the amusement value of theater by pointing to its potential for sexual license. From its inception, theater had always been implicitly associated with sexuality. In England after the Restoration (1660), women were allowed to appear on the stage, and the sexual implications became even more apparent. Not only did women enter a public space, but they also performed in speech and gesture before a crowd of (initially mostly male) onlookers.[15] In a time when women were strictly confined to the domestic sphere and ranked as second-class citizens, actresses bore the brunt of vicious attacks by religious and secular reactionaries. In 1700, English writer Tom Brown, for example, characterized the playhouse as "the country of Metamorphoses," in which "honest-women [were converted] into arrant whores."[16]

The same period also prescribed a strict sexual morality in which sexual expression was firmly repressed. On one level, theater provided—or evolved into—an arena for sexual discourse and can be considered a venue for both exhibitionist and voyeuristic purposes. To some extent, an association between theater and prostitution is founded in reality. The Drury Lane and Covent Garden theaters were situated in the shabby neighborhood of London's West End. Women of "ill repute" frequently seized the opportunity to solicit their trade in and near the playhouses in the area.

In America, explicit accusations of harlotry against actresses and female patrons in the eighteenth century press were rare, although both male and female commentators alluded to it. A polemic between Philodemus (male) and Amanda (female) in the *New York Gazette* of 1761 illustrates the debate on sexual and gender issues related to the theater. Philodemus zealously derides the theater "lately introduced among us," and expresses special concerns for women.[17]

> *I must therefore beg pardon of my readers, and especially of the Fair Sex, if I say that I have but a very indifferent opinion of the modesty of a lady that frequents the playhouse, which has so often proved fatal to the reputation of the sex by criminal assignations, and lascivious intrigues.*
>
> *[Amanda, 17 December:]*
>
> *They condemn what they do not understand. —Cicero.*
>
> *Nay, should think it unworthy of mine (being one of the female tribe) had he not spirited up my resentment to the highest pitch, by the deflamatory [sic] treatment of my sex; in the scurrilous insinuation on the modesty of ladies that frequent the playhouse; . . . Impudent fellow! Ought not*

this, ladies, to be resented in the highest manner: Surely all must join with me in answering in the affirmative. And now, scurrilous sir, in the name of all my incented [sic] females, let me ask you whether you can affirm as matter of conscience, that plays in general will so corrupt a female mind, as to make her lose all sense of virtue. . . . I'll maintain that plays have not this tendency. At present I can recollect but one that there is in it a loose amour carry'd on; and that is the Fair Penitent.

[Philodemus, 24 December:]

You call on all the ladies to resent the affront. The play-house ladies you mean madam, for others are not at all affected with it. . . . You put the question to my conscience, whether I think plays will so corrupt a female mind. . . . What has been madam, may be again, if you want an instance, read the celebrated history of Clarissa Harlowe, and see where the ruin of poor Sally Miller, took its rise. . . . I perceive you and your play-house ladies, have been made to believe you are all Goddesses, and proper objects of adoration—A doctrine frequently taught at the theatre!

Antitheater commentators in the colonies were apprehensive about theaters as a place of courtship. Parents and masters were especially advised to supervise their youthful dependents if they fancied going to the playhouse, a venue "chiefly designed for assignations."[18] In this context, young people, especially girls, were seen as helpless creatures falling prey to the gallantries performed by rakes and fops in the playhouse audience.

The accusation of sexual depravity was not only directed toward women, but sometimes toward men. A few conservative and religious authors on both sides of the Atlantic, who called upon the Bible to condemn what they labeled *effeminacy* on the stage, sometimes hinted at homosexuality. Throughout the British world the term *effeminacy* was used in different ways, however. On the one hand it meant excessive devotion to luxury and denoted the "surrender to private desire and passion" or a man neglecting his public responsibilities in favor of collecting stylish objects.[19]

Effeminacy, therefore, had a wider meaning than just sexual. Typically, when women started performing female roles (instead of boys in female garb) after the Restoration, Puritans held that a coed cast was likely to incite fornication and adultery. Either way, theater perverted the traditional mores of chastity, virtue, and piety.

Even as late as the 1770s the attention given to dress, cosmetics, and gesture by the actors in order to enhance the spectacle caused one Virginia writer to ponder: "Let us search the theatre for the remains of manly taste."[20] Here again, terms such as *manly* and *unmanly* alluded to indulgence in sumptuousness rather than to sexual orientation. Other comments referred to "blasphemous passions" and "filthy jests."

Theater also was associated with an assortment of unlawful activities, such as thievery, pick pocketing, and fighting. Critics also warned against diseases that might spread in crowded places such as playhouses.

Much of the prejudice against actors and actresses stemmed from the simple fact that they traveled about, thereby defying the norm of a stable, settled lifestyle. In seventeenth-century England, players were judged vagrants unless they carried a signed letter from a noble patron. Critics frequently linked the peripatetic nature of eighteenth-century play-acting on both sides of the Atlantic to promiscuity or an uninhibited lifestyle on the part of the actors. In a July 1768 letter to Virginia planter Landon Carter, the Rev. Isaac W. Giberne lamented about the elopement of his wife, "who, I am credibly informed, keeps company every night with some strolling players."[21]

At that time, the Virginia Company under manager William Verling had just left Williamsburg although some players had stayed behind. Only days after their departure, Williamsburg tavern keeper Jane Vobe advertised a runaway—her thirty-eight-year-old slave Nanny: "it is supposed that she has gone off with some of the comedians who have just left this town." Vobe also asserted that the "brisk, genteel sensible wench" had connections with the players for she was seen "very busy talking with some of them."[22] The irony was, of course, that some evangelical preachers such as Whitefield were themselves itinerants who came in for considerable criticism from Church of England ministers in Virginia and South Carolina.

Competing with the Church

The Church of England, the established church throughout much of the southern colonies, did not condemn plays as such, only the abuse of the medium.[23] Anglicans argued that decent plays could have a moral and educational value. Playwrights, actors, and patrons voiced similar arguments by stressing drama's potential as an alternative way of teaching moral and civil lessons, praising the popular theater as a "school of politeness and virtue."

In Virginia where Anglicanism was most entrenched, the upper echelons of society were

"Anglican Bishop Holding a Wine Glass" (CWF 1993-442). Dating to 1740–50, this painting of an Anglican bishop by an unknown artist illustrates the prejudices that many dissenters had against the Church of England: worldly concerns were more important than spiritual ones.

eager to support theater as long as it remained true to English fashion. In the summer of 1751, when a traveling theater company arrived in Williamsburg, acting governor Lewis Burwell, a wealthy planter and President of the Council, immediately approved the building of a playhouse. "A taste for the elegancies as well as the more erudite parts of literature," one early historian remembered, "shone out beneath the patronage and example of the president [Burwell]."[24]

If Virginia Governor Dinwiddie had initial doubts about granting permission to another London theater troupe in Williamsburg in 1752, an impatient public quickly overturned his decision. Moreover, Thomas Jefferson and George Washington were avid theatergoers during the 1760s and 1770s whenever the players came through the Virginia capital. The pursuit of cultural legitimacy in the eyes of their British counterparts gave these gentry colonials a compelling reason to patronize the theater in their communities.

In sharp contrast, New England Puritans viewed theater as a threat to the institution of the church and its teaching. Sects and denominations dissenting from Anglicanism harbored many concerns about the effect of theater on the souls of ordinary colonials. They loathed the planter lifestyle and its indulgence in leisure activities, including gambling and plays. Samuel Davies, an evangelical Presbyterian who was critical of Church of England clergymen in Virginia as well as of the gentry, settled as minister in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1747. Eight years later, he lamented that in the colony of Virginia, "Plays and Romances [were] more read than the History of the blessed Jesus."[25]

Religion, as understood by Congregationalists and Presbyterians, entailed strict observance of scriptural truth and a repudiation of the "worship of images." They feared that, like the devil, a sinful temptation could present itself on stage in a cloaked manner and snatch an innocent soul. This argument is implicit in a quote initially published in England in the 1760s: "They say, diversions are lawful; that the stage is only a diversion; that people go to it without meaning any harm, and therefore there can be no sin in it."[26]

It has been suggested that the clergy in the northern colonies resented actors as artistic competitors. For New England divines preaching was the cornerstone of the church meeting and the sermon often a stunning piece of oratory. On numerous occasions Cotton Mather (1663–1728), the Boston minister and orator of merit, described the pulpit as a stage. In this sense, secular theater became a rival to religious practice on two levels: its content (false learning) and its form (false pulpit). This insight led one historian to ponder the following: "had the theatre's true potential for propaganda been recognized, men like Cotton Mather might have been extraordinary playwrights."[27]

By the 1760s, colonial religious leaders in the northern colonies realized that heavy-handed preaching against theatrical entertainment had little effect, and many shifted toward accommodation. They would arrange with the top managers, such as David Douglass (circa 1720–89), an ambitious theater manager and builder of playhouses in several American cities, to see that theater at least offered serious and instructive plays. Some even became patrons of the theater and helped "pacify" it. In May 1762, Douglass donated a "handsome sum" destined for the charity school to the churchwardens of New Haven, while the local newspaper praised the "unblamable" conduct of his company.[28]

Riots

Opposition to the theater was not always a verbal affair; physical violence broke out on some occasions in and around the playhouse.[29] Tension was usually the result of the prohibitive atmosphere created by certain elements in a community or town, particularly in the northern

colonies. As soon as a traveling theater company arrived and requested permission to play, leading local personalities, usually clergy, mobilized a section of the populace against the players.

When in 1750 two English actors attempted to stage a play in Puritan Boston, a small riot ensued.[30] The event that probably incensed theater opponents the most was the ceremonial opening of a new theater building. These festive occasions proved to be very worrisome to antitheater advocates who sought the complete suppression of the stage, not its encouragement and proliferation. In Philadelphia, for example, despite longstanding Quaker opposition, theater had ingratiated itself into the booming city since midcentury, but the opening of the majestic Chestnut Street Theater in 1794 unleashed loud protest. "When it was first opened," recalled traveler Francis Bailey, "there were sad disturbances and riots among the populace for several nights; they attacked and insulted almost every person who went in." Bailey entertained no high opinion of the foes of theater, whom he described as "a few unenlightened fanatics."[31]

In the spring of 1764, David Douglass left for England to recruit new talent.[32] The following year, a group of actors employed by Douglass's company opened the theater on Nassau and Beekman Streets in New York. Meanwhile, Parliament passed the Stamp Act causing many popular disturbances in the American colonies throughout the spring and summer of 1765. As one historian wrote: "Parliament unintentionally politicized consumer goods."[33]

Theater was a commodity too and was implicated in the Stamp Act crisis because it was widely perceived to cater to royalist taste. In October 1765, Douglass had sailed back from London and began rehearsals of the comedy in New York. When news of the March 1766 repeal of the Stamp Act reached America, *The Twin Rivals* was still in rehearsal. The May announcement of the upcoming performance coincided with news of the repeal. The actors anxiously expressed the hope that "the public has no objection to the above performance."[34]

Alas, their hope was in vain. The announcement offended many New Yorkers, who threatened violence if the comedy was not canceled. According to some historians, the Sons of Liberty expressly organized themselves to counter the performance of this play, which was viewed

"Mr. Garrick in the Farmers Return" (CWF 1973-259). Taken from a painting executed by Johann Zoffany, this scene from "The Farmer's Return" shows popular actor David Garrick in 1766 in one of his successful roles. Although professionals such as Garrick made the stage more acceptable, a career in the theater continued to be viewed as less than respectable well into the nineteenth century.

as a provocation. When the performance began, a mob stormed the playhouse, injuring several people in the process. The building was utterly destroyed, and afterward, the vandalizing crowd "carried the pieces to the Common, where they consumed them in a bonfire."[35]

Modern readers may be inclined to dismiss the reactionary rhetoric of those who opposed theater as unenlightened and bigoted. While many critics of the theater undoubtedly fit that description, numerous Americans and Britons were not so much opposed to the wantonness or alleged immoral tendencies of the theater as they were concerned about the growing superficiality of their culture as a whole.

Theater, it should be noted, was not only a part of the emerging secular culture of leisure, but was also a product of the consumer revolution. Aristocratic patronage during the eighteenth-century restyled the theater and theater culture into a vehicle for display and, arguably, shallow gratification. As a result, many members of the middle and learned classes reacted against what they saw as frivolousness and superficiality.

As early as 1700, English writer Tom Brown wittily derided the post-Restoration stage. He pointed to its crude superficiality and dismissed new plays as "damned insipid, dull farces, confounded toothless satire, or plaguy rhymy plays." These "new plays" dominated the English and later the American stage during the eighteenth century. John Adams also lamented the spread of frivolous pastimes and the consequent loss of industry and truthfulness. Some postwar critics discredited the theater companies' fashionable spectacles as "rank nonsense."[36]

Objections against theater were more directed at theater's perceived shift toward low entertainment and away from its original purpose of imaginative and creative amusement. Intelligent reactions against commercialism could be found at both ends of the political spectrum. Progressive critics stressed citizens' duty to strive for noble democratic ideals, in which personal satisfaction and communal harmony might coexist. Conservatives tended to invoke the bliss of a former age of moral order in a hierarchy of saints or masters, in which Mammon dared not intrude.

By 1800, theater nonetheless had established itself as a popular and respectable pastime in the new republic. During the colonial period, opposition to theater was vigorous, but by no means evenly spread among the thirteen colonies. Religious objections prevailed and this accounts for the striking discrepancy between an intolerant north and a tolerant south. The Anglican-dominated plantation colonies of the south saw no harm in elegant English entertainment. The dissenting denominations in the north, who railed against a lax established church as well as the aristocratic aspirations of the gentry, launched a sustained campaign against immoral and frivolous pastimes. Bostonians did not see a theater building until 1795, while Williamsburg, with the support of an eager governor, laid the foundation for the first recorded purpose-built playhouse in America in 1716. Apart from its many pleasures, the success of theater must also be attributed to the managers of the companies who, though they were keenly aware of the objections against their trade, nevertheless established theater on firm footing.

---

[1] After the restoration of Charles II the ban on theatrical performances was lifted throughout the empire. The colony of Jamaica authorized theater in 1682, and the restrictions in Pennsylvania were repealed by London in 1692. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, however, enacted another law in 1700 restricting stage-plays. See Odai Johnson and William J. Burling, eds., *The Colonial American Stage, 1665–1774: A Documentary Calendar* (Madison, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London; Canbury, N. J.: Associated University Presses, 2001), 94–97; George B. Bryan, *American Theatrical Regulations, 1607–1900, Conspectus and Texts* (Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1993).

[2] See for instance M. Moses and J. Brown, eds., *The American Theatre as Seen by Its Critics, 1752–1934* (New York: Norton, 1934). For regional studies, see among others, Loren K. Ruff, "Joseph Harper and Boston's Broad Alley Theatre, 1792–1793," *Educational Theatre Journal* 26 (March 1974): 45–52; George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927–49); Thomas C. Pollock, *The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century Together with the Day Book of the Same Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933); George Willard, *A History of the Providence Stage, 1762–1891* (Providence, R. I.: Rhode Island News, 1891); Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century, with Social Settings of the Time* (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1968); Hugh Rankin, *The Theatre in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

[3] For Philadelphia, see William S. Dye, "Pennsylvania Versus the Theater," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 55 (1931): 337; Harold Shiffler, "Religious Opposition to the Eighteenth Century Philadelphia Stage," *Educational Theatre Journal* 14 (October 1962): 215–223.

[4] Weldon B. Durham, ed., *American Theatre Companies, 1749–1887* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986). This work is a useful reference tool, although incomplete. See also, Johnson and Burling, eds., *Colonial American Stage;* James Bost, *Monarchs of the Mimic World; or, The American Theatre of the Eighteenth Century Through the Managers—The Men Who Made It* (Orono, Maine: University of Maine, 1977).

[5] *New-York Gazette & Weekly Post-Boy,* 1 February 1768. See for instance Bruce C. Daniels, *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1995).

[6] *New York Journal,* 28 January 1768. Interestingly, this argument persisted throughout the nineteenth century and surfaces in Horatio Alger's mid-century work-ethic essays. If a man "wanted to succeed in life," he once wrote, "he must do something else than attend theatres and spend his evenings in billiard saloons." Quoted in Madelon Powers, *Faces Along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman's Sa-*

loon, 1870–1920 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 42.

[7] Twice Whitefield made sweeps down through the American colonies beginning in New England. Quoted in Johnson and Burling, eds., *Colonial American Stage,* 125. Whitefield preached at Bruton Parish Church in 1739. *Virginia Gazette,* 16 December 1739.

[8] *New York Journal,* 7 January 1768.

[9] *Providence Gazette,* 23 April 1774.

[10] George Gilmer to Walter King, 30 November 1752. Gilmer Letter Book, quoted in Hugh F. Rankin, *The Colonial Theatre: Its History and Operations* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1961), 1: 79.

[11] *New York Mercury,* 28 December 1761.

[12] See Peter A. Davis, "Puritan Mercantilism and the Politics of Anti-Theatrical Legislation in Colonial America" in *The American Stage: Social and Economic Issues from the Colonial Period to the Present,* ed. Ron Engle and Tice Miller (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[13] Quote from Jürgen Wolter, ed., *The Dawning of American Drama: American Dramatic Criticism, 1746–1915* (Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 1993), 35; *Twelfth Night,* I, v, 184; Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theatre in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 100.

[14] *New York Gazette,* 7 December 1761.

[15] See for instance William J. Pritchard, "Outward Appearances: The Display of Women in Restoration London" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998).

[16] Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical and Other Works* (1700), ed. Arthur Hayward (London: Routledge, 1927), 35.

[17] For an excellent feminist analysis of the relation between theater and patriarchy, see Sue-Ellen Case, *Feminism and Theatre* (New York: Methuen, 1988). See also Lesley Ferris, *Acting Women: Images of Women in Theatre* (New York: New York University Press, 1989); Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," *Theatre Journal* 40 (December 1988): 519–531. The newspaper entries have been reproduced selectively.

[18] *Boston Evening Post,* 6 April 1767.

[19] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 1997), 80.

[20] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 21 January 1773.

[21] Walter R. Wineman, *The Landon Carter Papers in the University of Virginia Library: A Calendar and Biographical Sketch* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1962), 20.

[22] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 30 June 1768.

[23] A clarification of the position of Bishop Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715) and Archbishop John Tillotson (1630–94) appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (26 March 1754): "He [Burnet] likewise allows that there are good plays, such as are capable of forming virtuous sentiments, and mending the heart; but dislikes, and justly, their being accompanied with any thing that may efface the good, and leave bad impressions."

[24] John Burk, *The History of Virginia: From Its First Settlement to the Present Day* (Petersburg, Va., 1804–16), 3: 140, quoted in Paul Leicester Ford, *Washington and the Theatre* (New York, Benjamin Blom, 1899), 3.

[25] Quoted in Ford, *Washington and the Theatre,* 2.

[26] *Pennsylvania Chronicle,* 9 February 1767.

[27] The well-spoken Virginia politician Patrick Henry once wrote that he acquired his oratorical skills by listening to Presbyterian minister Samuel Davies. Walter J. Meserve, *An Emerging Entertainment. The Drama of the American People to 1828* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1977), 22. London-born actor and playwright James Fennell (1766–1816) recalled the request of a clergyman to visit him in order to receive instructions on oratory. The priest demanded complete secrecy lest his congregation find out about his contact with an actor; Fennell declined the invitation. James Fennell, *An Apology for the Life of James Fennell,* written by himself [1814] (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 439–440. See also Norman Blaine Potts, "The Acting Career of James Fennell in America" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1969).

[28] This term comes from Bryan F. LeBeau, *Religion in America to 1865* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 196; *Connecticut Gazette,* 1 May 1762. David Douglass was extremely successful in deflating much of the opposition toward theater by a well-designed public relations campaign during his tenure as foremost theater manager in the colonies from 1758 until 1774.

[29] See Richard Butsch, "American Theatre Riots and Class Relations, 1754–1849," *Theatre Annual* 48 (1995): 41–59.

[30] Charles William Janson, *The Stranger in America, 1793–1806* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935), 2.

[31] Francis Baily, *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797,* ed. Jack D. L. Holmes (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University, 1969), 29.

[32] See for instance David D. Mays, "The Achievements of the Douglass Company in North America: 1758–1774" *Theatre Survey* 23 (November 1982): 141–149.

[33] Ron Engle & Tice L. Miller, eds., *The American Stage: Social and Economic Issues from the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 23.

[34] *New York Mercury,* 5 May 1766.

[35] Engle & Miller, eds., *The American Stage,* 8–9; *New York Gazette & Weekly Post-Boy,* 8 May 1766.

[36] Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical,* 35; Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and the Theatre . . . 1763–1789* (New York, 1976), 547.

Who's Who in the African-American Community in 1774

Aggy (also known as Great Aggy)

Born 1753; enslaved woman owned by Peyton Randolph. Aggy, one of twenty-seven slaves listed in Randolph's Williamsburg household in the estate inventory of 1776, was valued at £60. In his will dated August 1774 (he died in October 1775), Randolph left Great Aggy and her children to his wife, Betty. Great Aggy and Randolph's other slave women had domestic responsibilities in the kitchen, dairy, and laundry behind the Randolph House. Great Aggy and her son Henry were among the Randolph slaves who ran to Dunmore after his November 1775 proclamation.

Isaac Bee

Son of a free black man, John Bee (also known as John Insco Bee), and an enslaved woman who belonged to John Blair Sr. Isaac Bee's name appeared on a list of students attending the Bray School in November 1765. He became the property of Lewis Burwell of Mecklenburg County in the Piedmont section of Virginia after the death of Burwell's grandfather John Blair Sr. in 1771. Bee ran away from Burwell in the summer of 1774. An advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* in September 1774 stated:

> *RUN away from Subscriber, about two Months ago, a likely Mulatto Lad name ISAAC BEE, formerly the property of the late President Blair, and is well known in Williamsburg, where I am informed he has been several Times seen since his Elopement. he is between eighteen and nineteen Years of Age, low of Stature, and thinks he has a Right to his Freedom, because his Father was a Freeman, and I suppose he will endeavour to pass for one. He can read, but I do not know that he can write; however, he may easily get some one to forge a Pass for him. I cannot undertake to describe his apparel, as he has a Variety, and it is probable he may have changed them.*

Lewis Burwell recovered Isaac and returned him to Mecklenburg County. Isaac appeared on the 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785 personal property tax lists of that county. These lists also indicate that he had a family in Mecklenburg.

Bristol

Waiting man owned by Gov. Francis Fauquier and later Thomas Everard. He was described as a "new adult" when he was baptized in early 1767. It is likely that Fauquier purchased Bristol soon after the enslaved man's arrival in Virginia from the west coast of Africa. Bristol was valued at £55 in the inventory of Fauquier's estate. Permitted to choose a new master under the terms of the governor's will, Bristol selected Thomas Everard, who then paid £41 for him by September 1768. The proximity of Everard's house to the Palace may have been especially important to Bristol because of friendship ties with people at the Palace. Bristol was hired out to Lord Botetourt on several occasions between January 1769 and May 1770.

Lydia Cooper (also known as Lydia Richardson and Lydia Blue)

Free black woman; wife, mother, and slave owner. Lydia gave birth to son James on February 11, 1753, by her first husband, William Richardson. She was married to Joseph Cooper by March 9, 1768, when their son William was born. Lydia worked occasionally in the Palace kitchen in 1769. She owned two enslaved men, Mann and Doctor. In 1770, Lydia rented a house in Williamsburg from Thomas Hornsby. The York County grand jury cited her in December 1773 for failure to appear in court to pay a fine for not listing her tithables. It is possible that she had moved to Elizabeth City County where a strong community of free blacks had formed.

Eve

Enslaved woman owned by Peyton and Betty Randolph. Her son George was baptized on July 6, 1766. A value of £100 indicates that Eve was an important part of the day-to-day activities in the household, possibly Betty Randolph's personal maid. Eve and George are thought to have run to the British in 1781.

James

Slave owned by Carter Burwell and Nathaniel Burwell. A skilled gardener who lived at Carter's Grove, James hired out to Governors Fauquier, Botetourt, and Dunmore from 1764 to 1771 to work in the Palace gardens. In September 1769, James Simpson, the Palace gardener, ordered a pair of shoes for him. James had the privilege of tending some land on his own time—Palace butler William Marshman paid him for 58 pounds of hops at one shilling per pound in October 1769 and for 44 pounds of hops in September 1770. James left the Palace and returned to Carter's Grove in 1771 and remained there until at least 1786.

Johnny

Enslaved waiting man owned by Peyton Randolph and later his nephew Edmund Randolph. Peyton Randolph took his "man Johnny" and an enslaved boy with him when he traveled to Philadelphia in 1775 to attend the Continental Congress. (It's possible that Johnny accompanied Randolph on all of his trips to Philadelphia.) After Randolph's death in 1775, Johnny, valued at £100, was left to Edmund Randolph. Johnny was a runaway by December 1777 when Randolph advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that he

> *would give a reward of five dollars, besides what the law allows, to any person who will apprehend Johnny, otherwise called John Harris, a mulatto man slave who formerly waited upon my uncle, the late Peyton Randolph, Esq; and secure him, so that I may get him again. He took with him, when he went away, a green broadcloth coat, and a new crimson waistcoat and breeches, a light coloured Bath coating great coat, a London brown bath coating close bodied coat, a pair of old crimson cloth breeches, and some changes of clothes. He is about five feet seven or eight inches high, wears straight hair, cut in his neck, is much addicted to drinking, has grey eyes, can read and write tolerably well, and may probably endeavor to pass for a freeman. The above reward of five dollars will be given if he is taken in Virginia, but five pounds, besides what the law allows, will be paid to any person who apprehends him out of Virginia, and conveys him to me.*

There is no evidence that Randolph regained possession of Johnny.

Judith

Slave owned by William Prentis (1761–65), Elizabeth Prentis (1765–70), and John Prentis (1770–75). In his will, Williamsburg merchant William Prentis left Judith and her children Effy, Molly, and Jimmy to his thirteen-year-old daughter, Elizabeth. Judith and her children were valued at £115, suggesting that she was a young woman with domestic skills. Prentis's widow, Mary, sent Molly to the Bray School in November 1765. Judith bore two children, Pompey and Nancy Lewis, between early 1766 and late 1768. Elizabeth Prentis died on October 5, 1770, at age eighteen, and her brother John gained possession of Judith and her children. After John Prentis's death in 1775, Judith was probably sold. The identity of her purchaser is unknown.

Nanny

Enslaved woman owned by Gov. Francis Fauquier and later by silversmith James Geddy. In 1758, under the terms of Fauquier's will, Nanny selected James Geddy as the new master for herself and her daughter, Sukey Hinderkin. Her daughter died before Geddy took possession of the pair. Nanny and another slave woman performed the domestic work in the Geddy household under the supervision of Elizabeth Geddy. The Geddys and their slaves moved to Dinwiddie County in 1777.

Selim (circa 1735–after 1789)

Algerian immigrant to Virginia and Mohammedan convert to Christianity. Selim, a native of North Africa educated in Constantinople, was captured near Gibraltar and sold into slavery in New Orleans. He escaped and traveled on foot to Kentucky, where Indians captured him. After escaping from the Indians he was taken in by a kindly hunter in Augusta County, Virginia, circa 1760. Selim regained his health and learned English. Later near Staunton, Virginia, he met the Rev. John Craig, a Presbyterian minister, who took him in and gave him religious instruction. Selim converted to Christianity and was baptized. He traveled back to his home in North Africa, but was disowned by his parents because of his conversion. Eventually, Selim returned to Virginia. Sometime between the Revolution and 1789, he was admitted to the Public Hospital as a mental patient. Eventually, John Page of Rosewell became his patron.

Will

Enslaved man owned by Anthony Hay (by 1770) and James Southall (1771–after 1786). A coachman and carter, Will was one of twenty enslaved men, women, and children owned by tavern keeper Anthony Hay when he died in late 1770 (sometime between November 19 and December 17). Will was valued at £60. In May 1771, James Southall purchased both the Raleigh Tavern and Will. Southall paid £101 for Will, indicating that this enslaved man was "a good Coachman and Carter" (as noted in the *Virginia Gazette*). It's possible that Southall had Will run errands between the Raleigh and his plantation in Charles City County. (Southall's receipt book indicates that he purchased a variety of foods and beverages from planters in York, James City, Charles City, and Elizabeth City Counties between May 1771 and January 1776. He also bought items from ship captains anchored in Yorktown.)

(Excerpted from the Becoming Americans story line book *Enslaving Virginia*.)

Arts & Mysteries

The Colonial Timberyard in America

by Noel B. Poirier

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

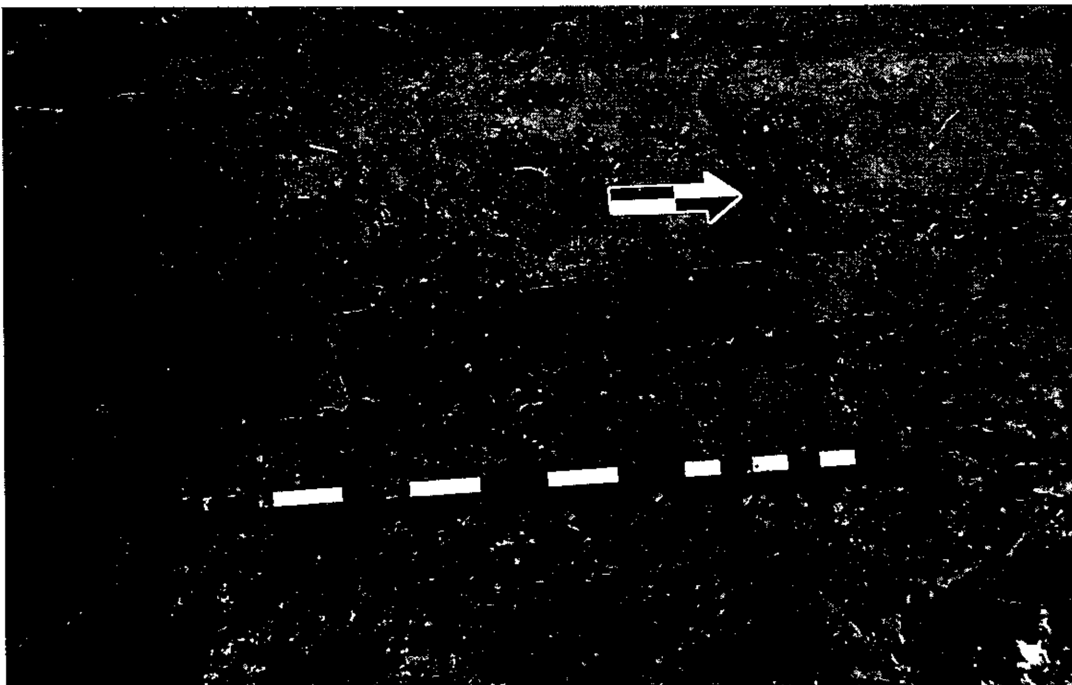
When considering the buildings that made up colonial American cities, the amount of material used to construct such attractive and resilient structures can be awe inspiring. It is a testament to the men who worked so diligently and skillfully to construct those buildings that many still stand today for thousands upon thousands to enjoy. While many people, through their visits to Colonial Williamsburg or other historic cities, have a cursory knowledge of the building trades, rarely are they aware of the work that occurred before a house carpenter ever picked up a saw or chisel. The preparation of the raw materials used to construct America's colonial cities may lack the drama of a frame raising, but without the sawyers at the colonial timberyards, the carpenters, coopers, cabinetmakers, and other tradespeople who used wood as a medium would have found it difficult to compete.

The question of timberyards in the American colonies has never been adequately addressed. What did the operation look like? What was sold in these timberyards? Who worked there? These questions need to be answered to discover what the colonial timberyard offered the eighteenth-century woodworker. Those who worked the pitsaw played as vital a role in the construction of colonial cities, furniture, and wheels as any carpenter, cabinetmaker, or wheelwright. Also, all tradespeople who work in wood should be aware of the historic source of their medium, how it was shaped, and what it took to get it into their hands.

One way to illuminate colonial timberyards is to examine the timber business throughout Britain and her colonies. The many physical descriptions of sawing operations found in British dockyards and timberyards might mirror the situation in the American colonies. These sources paint a picture of what colonial American timberyards looked like at the height of their operation. The many runaway advertisements and court records that speak to us about the types of men who labored in the yards help determine who staffed them. Another valuable source on those laborers are descriptions by writers and diarists of sawyers. These descriptions include not only the sawyers' methods but, in many cases, their personalities. Studies of the use of enslaved labor in the wood trades add to this knowledge and clarify the role that people of African descent played in colonial American timberyards.

Without exception, the most important part of any eighteenth-century timberyard was its sawpits. These were areas where teams of

Four-and-a-half-foot section of a pitsaw recovered from the saw house within the James Wray site in Williamsburg.



sawyers worked to saw out the various timbers to their finished dimensions. The appearance of these sawpits can be gleaned from a variety of sources. In 1737, Blaise Ollivier, master shipwright to the king of France, toured the dockyards of Britain and Holland in an effort to improve French shipbuilding techniques. He made some observations about the sawpits found in those shipyards:

> *They have at their dockyards sawpits which are 22 to 25 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 6 feet deep, situated 3 to 4 feet one from the other. . . . The walls of these sawpits are lined with brick, with two or three small lodging places cut into the walls where the sawyers keep their tools. When they wish to saw up a timber they place it on rollers over one of the pits; the rollers are blocked with wedges; one of the sawyers descends into the pit, the other stands on top of the timber, and after they have sawn the full length afforded by the pit they slide the timber easily on its rollers with no need of a device other than a crow.*[1]

Ollivier was impressed enough by the sawing methods that he composed a sketch of the pits. Such sawpits can also be found in the British colony of Antigua, where His Majesty's ships were often refitted or repaired.[2]

George Sturt, a turn-of-the-century British wheelwright, described the local sawpits of his youth as an enclosed pit, "five or six feet" deep, with brick sides. The sides of the pit contained open spaces where the pitman could stash small pots of oil and wedges. Sturt remembered the sawpit fondly, saying that it provided him with "a sense of great peace." An English chairmaker, Thomas Hudson, described a sawpit as being a "rectangular hole dug in the ground with . . . a few boards wedged in the ends to keep the earth from falling in" and that the pit was "damp and dark." In his book *The Village Carpenter*, Walter Rose provides a photograph of an old, English sawpit that probably resembled those found on colonial plantations and in timberyards.[3]

The use of sawpits is also well documented in America. In February 1760, George Washington inscribed in his diary that "Mike and Tom sawed 122 feet of oak" in the sawpit at Mount Vernon. Thomas Jefferson had a sawpit built on Mulberry Row at Monticello, adding a structure for wood storage and drying adjoining it.[4]

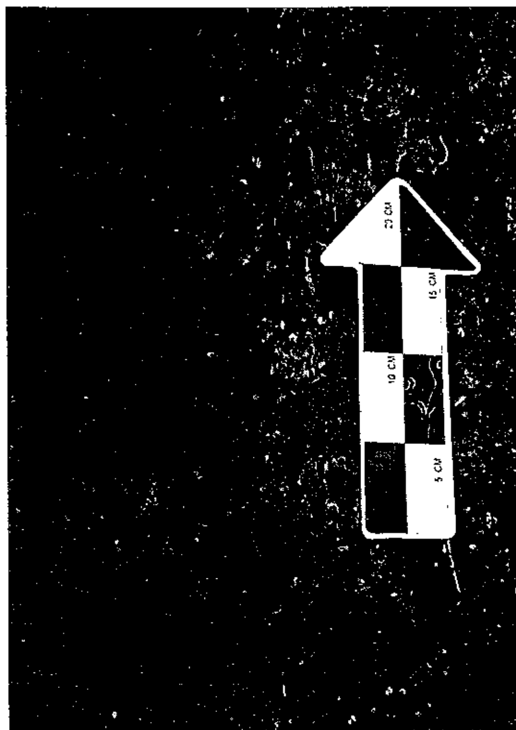
In some cases sawpits were enclosed in houses to protect the sawyers and the pits from the weather. Sometimes, in the mild English summers, the sawyers would work in sawpits in the woods, which often had no covering at all. In the winter months, the sawyers preferred to work in the shelter of a saw house. In March 1768, a Warwick County, Virginia, landowner advertised that he had a "saw-house for three pairs of sawyers." The sawpits in Antigua were covered by a simple post building with a gable roof and open sides. In the far larger and more industrial dockyards of Britain, the sawpits were often entirely enclosed in large brick buildings.[5]

At these timberyards were found many different species of wood stacked up in great piles, some still in log form, others squared and ready for the saw. In the case of whole logs, the oak timbers may have been simply piled up and allowed to remain out in the weather, uncovered, to season. Meanwhile, "pitch pine" (American longleaf yellow pine) timbers were buried in the ground or left to soak in man-made pools in an effort to keep the resin, or "pitch," in the heartwood from drying out.[6] These two methods of storing pine were in use in British shipyards during the eighteenth century. There were also alternatives to leaving the material outdoors to season. In 1754, an immigrant sawyer, who had begun a business in New York City, advertised that he had "a good house for keeping timber out of the weather."[7] As noted above, Thomas Jefferson constructed a storage building at Monticello for the stockpiling of his building materials.

Once the material had been sawn out, it needed to be stacked and sorted so that it could dry properly. Often sawn plank was stored by laying down a bed of cinders, then stacking the plank in such a way that air flowed freely between the boards, thus drying them sufficiently. This was commonly referred to as "stickering" the plank. There are illustrations of this practice in Diderot's *Encyclopedia* showing the top set of planking tilted at an angle to allow the rain to flow off the boards easily. A circa 1810 watercolor of a London dockside, *The Adelphi Terrace and Coal Wharf*, clearly shows a timberyard in the background with its inventory stacked in tall, "stickered" piles and covered with angled boards to shed rainwater and shield the wood from the sun.[8]

Timber was also stacked in what was called a "timber-perch," two vertically placed forked posts with a pole running between them, with the sawn timbers resting diagonally on the horizontal pole for storage. This type of storage method can be found in a woodcut in Thomas Bewick's *Vignettes* and in Thomas Malton's 1765 watercolor painting, *The Royal Crescent in the Course of Construction*. English carpenter William Rose remembered that the perches provided alcoves that "were lofty and cool, even in the hottest weather."[9]

Timberyards in the British Isles contained in-



Close up of James Wray pitsaw.

digenous woods like oak, ash, elm, sycamore, and beech. In the large, urban dockyards, woods, primarily firs and pines, also were imported from Europe and North America. As in Britain, colonial timberyards dealt primarily with indigenous woods of their specific region. In 1774, a King William County, Virginia, timberyard contained quantities of white oak, black walnut, sweet gum, ash, poplar, birch, longleaf yellow pine, and cheaper slash pine. Material including walnut, cedar, and white pine was also exported from the British colonies to the mother country during the eighteenth century.[10]

It was not until the early half of the nineteenth century that Great Britain saw the value in American longleaf (or "pitch") yellow pine for shipbuilding. After 1804, the British Navy lost its prejudice against the wood and realized its qualities as a shipbuilding material.[11] In general, the British market favored its native woods over those of the colonies. Lloyds of London, in considering a wood's use in shipbuilding, consistently rated American woods lower than their British or European counterparts.

A woodworker wishing to purchase material from a colonial timberyard could select from a variety of sizes and products. In Britain and America, material was available in timber form as plank, deal, board, and scantling. To a British woodworker, *timber* was the term applied to material that was larger than 8 inches in thickness. The term *plank* usually referred to material that was sawn from 2 to 8 inches in thickness. If a piece was thinner than 2 inches, it was often referred to as *deal*. In colonial America the words *board* and *scantling* appear in the record of timberyard material. In Burlington, New Jersey, a timber merchant referred to pine and cedar pieces 1¾ inches and ½ inch thick as *boards*. Forty years later, a Charleston timber merchant used the term *board* to describe material that was 1¼ inches thick as well. The word *scantling* was used by this same merchant to describe material that was anywhere from 3 inches by 3 inches to 4 inches by 10 inches and larger. As both *scantling* and *plank* could be anywhere from 12 to 30 feet in length, the length of the material seemed not to affect the term applied to it. Advertisements for timberyards in South Carolina, New York, Virginia, and New Jersey all include the above terms in their descriptions of their available products.[12]

It is likely that most colonial timberyards fell somewhere between the large sawing operations found in British dockyards and the smaller sawhouses found on Virginia plantations. Using the descriptions above, one can piece together a picture of how most colonial timberyards probably looked and the materials they offered, but who brought these colonial American timberyards to life? Who were the men handling the tiller and box of the pit saw?

Again, a great deal of information about the men who worked in colonial timberyards can be gleaned from an examination of their British brethren. The use of the pit saw required that men work in teams of two: one to handle the upstroke, the other to pull down on the saw to make the cut. Sometimes the more skilled man would stand on the top of the log guiding the saw, only referring to his pitman by the title "donkey," "marrow," or simply "man." On occasion the top-sawyer was also the owner of the saw and would "swear down at the man sweating in the saw-pit" if he failed to perform to expectations. However, being a sawyer required a great deal of cooperation, and the two men had to get along. If not, disagreement could lead to one man "adjourning to the public-house," thus spoiling the day's work.[13]

While the majority of sawing in Britain was done by the large, semiskilled population of sawyers, a great deal of labor involved in the timbering process in colonial America was done by the large, unskilled enslaved population. Very few in-depth studies of the role of African Americans in the building trades have been written. However, the ones that have, offer insights into the amount of enslaved labor used in timber preparation.

In the period from 1760 to 1800, there were more than 796 references to slave sawyers operating in the Charleston, South Carolina, area alone. These men often worked not only as sawyers but as carpenters, coopers, and shingle makers as well.

There are also many Williamsburg references to enslaved men laboring in the timber business. In 1763, Williamsburg leatherworker Alexander Craig paid Thomas Cowles £4 for the hire of two enslaved sawyers. In 1780, Allen Chapmen claimed that he had lost a twenty-five-year-old slave sawyer to the British army. He received £125 in compensation for his loss. The location of Jefferson's sawpit on Mulberry Row indicates that slaves were doing the majority of sawing at Monticello. This fact is borne out by Jefferson's hiring, at £40 a year, two enslaved sawyers.

In all, roughly 21 percent of the 302 known African-American building tradesmen in Virginia were trained as sawyers.[14] Notwithstanding the large number of enslaved sawyers, the evidence demonstrates that white and black labor was called upon to toil together in colonial Virginia's timberyards.

Sawyers, Anglo American or African American, either learned their work on the job or served a more traditional formal apprenticeship. While the trade of sawing was typically viewed as unskilled, there are a few references to young orphans in Virginia who were apprenticed to learn the trade of sawing. One example, from Lancaster County, Virginia, stated that Francis Hattaway (age 5) was apprenticed to John Davis to "learn the trade of a sawyer." Another young man in Princess Anne County was apprenticed to be a sawyer.[15]

Sawing required some specialized skills. George Sturt described the process as being "full of skill" and thought sawyers were "specialists of no mean order." While Sturt admitted that the sawyers may have looked "stupid," he argued that their skill was "an organic thing, very different from the organised effects of commerce." Walter Rose described the sawyers of his community as having "considerable skill and intelligence" in spite of their apparent "dumb mentality." Simply sharpening the saw was "no mean act of skill" and required years of practice, being handed down from one generation of sawyers to the next.[16]

References to sawyers are also found in the records of a number of colonial Virginians. In 1748, John Mercer paid Peter Murphy over £16 for four months of sawing. If Murphy worked at sawing year-round, his annual income could have been as much as £64! As mentioned earlier, Alexander Craig paid a person named Cowles £4 for the hire of two sawyers. Richard Henry Lee paid a sawyer £3, plus provisions, for twenty-six days of work on his plantation in Westmoreland County. Even though Jefferson employed many slave sawyers at Monticello, he also hired white sawyers when needed. In October 1795, Jefferson hired two men to come to Monticello and "saw for me." The men were paid by the piece and, as in Lee's case, provided with "provisions."[17]

The most interesting aspect of studying the eighteenth-century timberyard is the descriptions of the sawyers and their personalities. The most common thread among observers of these men is that of the drunken sawyer. George Sturt, describing the sawyers he knew, commented that one of the pair might "drift off to a public-house" for four days, thus preventing any work from occurring. Sturt observed that, when need be, the sawyers would determine to drink nothing but tea so as to meet the demands of their employers and to repent for their past absenteeism.

Walter Rose, an English carpenter, observed that "a sawyer's faith in beer was absolute" and they often found "relaxation at the pub." Wheelwright Percy Wilson noted that the sawyers "lost a lot of sweat" and that they replaced it with beer because they believed it "was safer than water." Was alcohol the "provision" that Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Jefferson supplied their sawyers? While it is true that Jefferson opposed dispensing hard liquor to his workmen, one gets the impression that alcohol and sawing went together.[18]

The colonial American timberyard resembled, in many ways, the modern lumberyard. The customer could select from a broad spectrum of products and materials, sawn to specific and reasonably standard dimensions. The material was sitting out, probably under some sort of shelter or covered with angled planks. The wood, of all species, would be stacked up in large, stickered piles or perched on end pointing toward the sky. A customer could buy anything from a whole log to a thin plank and could select the type of wood best suited to his needs.

In the background were the sawpits, along with the colorful men occupying them. The size and number of sawpits were determined by the ability of the timber merchant to acquire material and employ sawyers. In the South, it is probable that many sawyers were enslaved individuals while in the northern colonies there was a majority of free men. The buyer could inspect the material, making sure it was of the quality, size, and length needed. The air would be filled with the faint smell of wood, damp sawdust, sweat, and alcohol. In the background, instead of hear-

ing the whir of the power saw, the customers heard the sounds of the pitsaw and the oaths of the sawyer as they fell upon his unfortunate "donkey."

---

[1] Blaise Ollivier, *18th–Century Shipbuilding: Remarks on the Navies of the English and Dutch from Observations Made at Their Dockyards in 1737*, ed. and trans. David H. Roberts (East Sussex, England: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1992), 75.

[2] Jonathan G. Coad, *The Royal Dockyards, 1690–1850: Architecture and Engineering Works of the Sailing Navy* (Aldershot, Harts., England, and Brookfield, Vt.: Scholar Press, 1989), 359.

[3] George Sturt, *The Wheelwright's Shop* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 reprint edition), 57–58; Elizabeth Seager, ed., *The Countryman Book of Village Trades and Crafts* (London: David and Charles, 1978), 103–104; Walter Rose, *The Village Carpenter* (New York: New Amsterdam, 1987), 29.

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

[5] Sturt, 29; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 7 March 1768, p. 3, col. 1; Coad, 359.

[6] Robert Albion, *Forests and Seapower: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652–1862* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926), 70–71.

[7] *New-York Gazette, or, The Weekly Post-Boy*, 6 June 1754, cited in Social History Database, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

[8] Albion, 70; Charles Gillispie, ed., *A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1987), plate 292; Celina Fox, *Londoners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 173.

[9] Rose, 3; Thomas Bewick, *Vignettes: Being Tail-Pieces Engraved Principally for His "General History of Quadrupeds" and "History of British Birds,"* ed. Iain Bain (London: The Scolar Press, 1978), 64; James Ayres, *The Building of an 18th-Century City: Bath Spa* (Bath, England: Bath Preservation Trust, 1991), 3.

[10] Rose, 1–3, 16; Albion, 3–38; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 7 April 1774, p. 3, col. 1; Ibid. (Rind), 25 December 1766, p. 2, col. 1; Ibid., p. 2, col. 2; Albion, 31.

[11] Albion, 325, 36–38.

[12] Ibid., 8–10; *New-York Gazette, or, The Weekly Post-Boy*, 3 June 1754, p. 3, col. 1 and 23 September 1751, p. 3, col. 1; *South-Carolina State-Gazette & Timothy & Mason's Daily Advertiser*, 1 December 1797, p. 3, col. 3; *The South-Carolina Gazette*, 25 September 1736, p. 3, col. 1; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 7 April 1774, p. 3, col. 1.

[13] Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19; Sturt, 39.

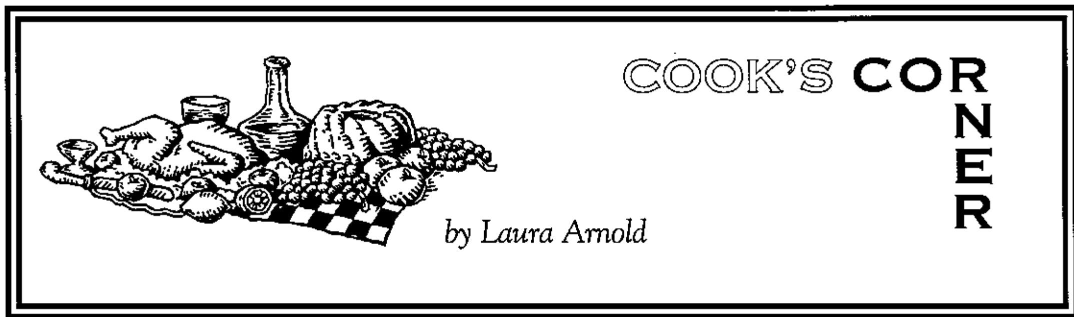
[14] Mary Allison Carll, *The Role of the Black Artisan in the Building Trades and the Decorative Arts in South Carolina's Charleston District, 1760–1800* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1982), 112–120; Alexander Craig Account Book, 29 June 1763, cited in Social History Database, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, M-153-3; York County Claims for Losses, 1780, cited in Social History Database, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, M-1.45, 8; McLaughlin, 85, 429n.; Vanessa E. Patrick, "'as good a joiner as any in Virginia': African-Americans in Eighteenth-Century Building Trades" (Colonial Williamsburg Research Report, 1995.) This work offers the most comprehensive examination of African Americans in Virginia building trades to date and deserves attention.

[15] Lancaster County Order Book 1729–1743, 14 July 1738, cited in Social History Database, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 209; Princess Anne County Order Book, 1728–1738, 4 December 1728, as cited in Social History Database, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 6.

[16] Sturt, 32, 33; Rose, 32, 6.

[17] John Mercer Ledger G 1741–1750, 1748, cited in Social History Database, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Richard Henry Lee Memorandum Book, 1776–1794, 7 February 1786, 116; McLaughlin, 427n.

[18] Sturt, 39; Rose, 33; George Ewart Evans, *Tools of Their Trades: An Oral History of Men at Work, c. 1900* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1971), 31; McLaughlin, 235.



COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

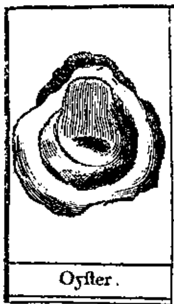
Laura is a member of the Interpreter *Planning Board.*

Saturday mornings, during the summer and fall of 2002, found Williamsburg residents and visitors enjoying the new Farmer's Market in Merchants Square. Clams and oysters, breads and cookies, free-range chicken, herbs, honey, and bouquets of flowers added to the variety of produce offered by the friendly vendors. The asparagus and peas of spring gave way to the beans, corn, and tomatoes of summer. As the changing leaves on the trees ushered in fall, apples, pumpkins, and squash replaced peaches, strawberries, and melons.

Hen

Bee Hive

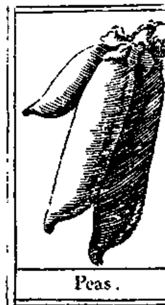
For those of us accustomed to buying strawberries in December, the market was a reminder of how eighteenth-century cooks were dependent upon the seasonal availability of ingredients for their tables. Many of the twenty-first-century shoppers, dressed in casual clothes, soon fell into the eighteenth-century habit of carrying a basket to hold their purchases. As they walked back to their cars, they became shadows of the men and women who, six days a week, patronized similar stalls in Market Square more than two hundred years ago. Without refrigeration, frequent visits to the market were a necessity for those earlier shoppers. Menu planning focused on what was available, according to the season.



Oyſter.

While the present-day Farmer's Market is a weekly event, Colonial Williamsburg's guests are encouraged every day to explore the kitchen gardens throughout the Historic Area. Some of these small gardens are tucked away at the back of a property. Larger, more visible gardens can be found at the James Geddy House, behind the George Reid House, and at the Colonial Nursery. Eighteenth-century kitchen gardens supplemented the provisions bought at the local market, but residents of Williamsburg who also owned plantations (like Robert Carter and Peyton Randolph) brought in food grown on their plantations for consumption by their families and slaves.

The garden and farm books of Thomas Jefferson are probably the best guides to what Virginians were planting (and eating) in the eighteenth century. Patrick Henry accused Jefferson of coming home from France "so Frenchified that he adjured his native victuals."[1] The accusation was only partially true. Jefferson was interested in French wines before he lived in France, and the size of his gardens and orchards at Monticello allowed him to experiment with a large variety of seeds and plants imported from Europe or received as gifts from friends. His meticulous records document the effect of weather on his crops and reinforce the seasonality of food preparation.

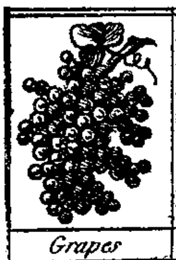


Peas.

Some of Jefferson's notations for 1774 include sowing two varieties of peas on March 10 and two kinds of cabbage, lettuce, salsify, radishes, and sorrel on March 15. The entry for March 21 reads "Peas of Mar. 10. are up."[2] Plantings for March 23 listed two other varieties of peas, three kinds of beans and carrots, and two types of parsnips in addition to spinach, broccoli, lettuce, onions, and radishes. By the end of March, Jefferson had added more peas, lentils, black-eyed peas, cresses, celery, and asparagus—a list that reveals his fondness for salads and vegetables. Jefferson's slaves continued to plant throughout April. Then a sad entry on May 5: "a frost which destroyed almost everything. it

Carrots

killed the wheat, rye, corn, many tobacco plants, and even large saplings. the leaves of the trees were entirely killed. all the shoots of vines. at Monticello near half the fruit of every kind was killed; and before this no instance had ever occurred of any fruit killed here by the frost."[3]


Grapes

Much has been written about Jefferson's fascination with peas and garden vegetables. Yet his orchards contained more than a hundred varieties of apples, apricots, cherries, nectarines, peaches, pears, and plums. He also grew almonds, chestnuts, filberts, hazelnuts, hickories, pecans, and walnuts as well as currants, figs, gooseberries, grapes, raspberries, and strawberries. The springtime frost of early May 1774, considered a "partial loss," was followed in March of the next year by a week of cold weather and frosts that "killed every peach at Monticello . . . apples and cherries were also killed [i.e., the fruit, not the trees]."[4] Jefferson's cash crops of grain and tobacco could be replanted, but it would take years to recoup the losses from the destruction of plants and trees bearing fruits and nuts.

Artic Plumb

Pear

Cherries

Never one to worry about financial details, Jefferson's palate no doubt suffered more than his pocketbook until fair weather and incremental planting replaced the damaged orchards. If recipes calling for fruits or nuts were deleted from *Thomas Jefferson's Cook Book,* an already slim volume would be reduced to pamphlet size.

Thomas Jefferson's Cook Book, with Jefferson's commentaries about food and drink, is largely a collection of recipes adapted from those of his chefs, his family, and his friends. The adaptations simplify their preparation by substituting modern equipment and terminology. When you try the following recipes, you will experience the essence of Virginia foodways: preservation of food for future use, the preparation of a recipe using seasonally available ingredients, and the use of rich sauces to enhance cakes and other fruit-based dishes. Enjoy the fruits of spring!

Brandied Peaches

(From the section "Thomas Jefferson's Paris Recipes")

Peach

Wipe off the peaches to remove the down. Prick them in four or five places with a fork. Drop them into boiling water for a moment, remove, and place immediately in cold water. Remove and let them drain. Make a syrup of sugar and a little water, using one pound of sugar to four pounds of peaches. Boil until, when you dip two fingers into it, they will stick together. Let cool. Add the peaches and let stand for twenty-four hours. Bring the syrup to a boil again and add 1 pint of brandy. Do not leave the syrup on the fire while you are doing this. You will burn your face if you do not take this precaution. Let the syrup cool again and add the peaches. The following day remove the peaches again, bring syrup to a boil and add as much brandy as you wish. Put in the peaches and let simmer until tender. Let them cool, then remove gently and put in jars. Strain the syrup over them through a cheesecloth.

Sliced Apple Pudding

(From the section "The Monticello Recipes")

Beat 5 eggs very light. Add 1 pint of milk. Pare 3 apples or 5 peaches, very thin and lay in a baking dish. Add enough flour to the milk and eggs to make a medium thick batter. Add a pinch of salt and 3 tablespoonfuls of melted butter. Pour over the fruit and bake until set. Serve with sugar, melted butter and nutmeg.

Almond Custard

(From the section "The Monticello Recipes")

Blanch ¼ pound of almonds and put them through the food chopper, using finest grinder. Put them in 4 cups of milk and bring to boiling point. Beat 6 eggs with 6 tablespoonfuls of sugar and a pinch of salt. Pour milk on them, put in double boiler and stir until the custard has thickened.

---

[1] Marie Goebel Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson's Cook Book* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1976), vii.

[2] Robert C. Baron, ed., *The Garden and Farm Books of Thomas Jefferson* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum, 1987), 60.

[3] Ibid., 67.

[4] Ibid., 68.

Signers of the 1765 Presbyterian Petition Still Active in the Williamsburg Area in 1774

by Linda Rowe

Linda is a historian in the Department of Historical Research and the assistant editor of this publication.

A group of Presbyterians began meeting in Williamsburg after filing the following petition with the York County Court in 1765:

> *At a Court held for York County in the Town of York at the Courthouse on Monday the 17th day of June 1765 and in the fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Third.*
>
> *These are to Certify the Worshipful Court of York that We intend to make use of a House in the City of Williamsburgh Situate on part of a Lott belonging to Mr. George Davenport as a place for the Public Worship of God according to the Practise of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination which we desire may be Registered in the Records of the Court and this Certification we make according to the direction of an Act of Parliament comonly called the Act of Toleration*
>
> *P.S. As we are not able to obtain a Settled Minister we intend this Place at present only for occasional Worship when we have opportunity to hear any legally qualified Minister.*
>
> *William Smith*
> *John Connelly*
> *Walter Lenox*
> *James Holdcroft*
> *Robt. Nicolson*
> *John Ormeston*
> *James Douglas*
> *James Atherton*
> *William Gemmell*
> *Edward Cumins*
> *Thomas Skinner*
> *Daniel Hoye*
> *John Bell*
> *James Smith*
> *William Brown*
> *Jo. Morris*
> *Charles Hankins*

The Presbyterian Meetinghouse near the Capitol today depicts the simple setting in which this group of Presbyterians was accustomed to meet. Their action signaled an important change in the religious landscape of eighteenth-century Williamsburg. Since the town's founding in 1699, Williamsburg had had only one place of public worship, Bruton Parish Church, the center of religious life in colonial Virginia with its legally established, or state, church—the Church of England (Anglican).

The Presbyterians met irregularly and only when a licensed Presbyterian minister was in town, but, by notifying the county court of their dissenting status, the Presbyterians obtained legal sanction for their meetings. The seventeen original signatories of the petition all lived in rural York County or on the York County side of Williamsburg. Most were tradesmen, and some held minor county offices.

By 1774, at least six of the signers still lived in Williamsburg. The congregation never acquired a permanent minister, but visiting Presbyterian preachers continued to serve the congregation intermittently until the late 1770s. Note that the births and baptisms of children and slaves of several of these Presbyterians continued to be recorded in the Bruton Parish register as required by law. They may even have attended services at Bruton Parish Church in order to keep within the church attendance law (i.e., repair to the parish church or chapel at least once a month), since they did not have a permanent minister of their own.

All biographical information is documented in the York County Project files in the Department of Historical Research.

James Atherton

Active in Williamsburg and York County 1759–78

Age in 1774: At least 36 (date and place of birth unknown)

Residence: Williamsburg, York County

Land/Lots: Owned one lot in the Moody subdivision 1762–74. (The Moody subdivision consisted of twelve lots along the west side of Capitol Landing Road. They were annexed by the city of Williamsburg in 1759.) Atherton sold his lot to John Shepard, harnessmaker, in November 1774.

Family: Wife, Lucy, was alive in 1774. In 1775, James advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that Lucy was unfriendly to him and that, as a consequence, he would not pay her debts. One son, James, was born in 1759.

Occupation(s): Guard at the Magazine (1762), carpenter/joiner

Status: Atherton was a corporal under the command of General Braddock in 1756. Wounded in the wrist, he was temporarily rendered incapable of getting a living. Atherton called himself "very poor" in 1762 after the guard at the Magazine was discontinued, claiming that he was too poor to acquire proper arms for the militia muster from which he had been exempt while a guard at the Magazine. Atherton's financial situation seems to have improved over the years. He acted as security for a defendant

in York County court in 1766. In 1767, he advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that "by great severity, and many misfortunes," he was no longer able to carry on the carpentry business "in the manner he had done for several years past." He hoped "to engage with any Gentlemen by the year, either in Virginia, Carolina, Florida, or the West Indies" and claimed to have "tools for eight or ten hands." In spite of this notice, there is evidence that Atherton practiced his trade locally through 1774. He had left the area by 1778.

Slaves/servants: Unknown. Usually listed as having one tithable (himself) or two tithables (himself and perhaps a son, an apprentice, a hired slave or laborer).

Offices held: Petit juror, York County (twice in 1762, thrice in 1763, once in 1764)

Special notes: Retailed liquor without a license in 1766. In that same year, he submitted a public claim to York County court for taking up a runaway. Advertised that he planned to leave Virginia for several months in 1775. Atherton was found not to be a resident of York County during a 1778 debt case in which he was named defendant.

John Connelly

Active in the Williamsburg area 1762–78 (died in Williamsburg)

Age in 1774: At least 33 (date and place of birth unknown)

Residence: Williamsburg

Land/Lots: Custis tenant in Williamsburg in 1769. In 1772, he purchased a Williamsburg lot and house on Prince George Street from James and Frances Wray.

Family: Wife, Mourning, was alive in 1774. Births of sons Newton (b. 176?) and John (b. 1766) and daughter Nelly (b. 1768) recorded in the Bruton Parish register.

Occupation(s): Guard at the Magazine (1762); hatter (1764); several estate settlements in the 1770s show him to have been owed money, possibly for shoes and other articles of clothing.

Status: Called himself "very poor" in 1762 when the House of Burgesses discontinued the guard at the Magazine. While a guard, he was exempt from the militia; afterward he claimed he was too poor to acquire proper arms for the militia muster. Within two years, however, Connelly was security for persons in York County court. He purchased a riding chair for £8 from Francis Fauquier's estate in 1768.

Slaves/Servants: none

Offices held: Petit juror, York County (once in 1767 and once in 1771); jailer for James City County 1772– ca. 1775

Edward Cummings [Cumins]

Active in Williamsburg and York County 1750–74, 1777–86

Age in 1774: At least 41 (date and place of birth unknown)

Residence: Williamsburg, Norfolk (1774–76?)

Land/Lots: Lived on Nicholson Street near the Capitol in 1752, had a tailor as a lodger. Possibly still there in 1768 when he advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that articles were stolen from "an outhouse where the subscriber now lives." The missing items included twelve soup plates, one shallow soup plate, and a "Quart pewter tankard, all marked E^C^S."

Family: Possibly a wife, Sarah Cummings, who had a claim against the Rind estate on October 18, 1773

Occupation(s): Printer, bookbinder, clerk?

Status: Employed by William Hunter 1751–52. He settled the books and accounts of a deceased person in 1769. Later, Cummings worked for the Rind printing office. In 1772, he advertised in the *Virginia Gazette:* "Just Published and to be Sold, by Edward Cumins, at the New Printing Office in Williamsburg, The Storer, or the American Syren. Being a collection of the newest and most approved Songs, Price one Pistereen." Cummings petitioned York County court to be paid £140.0.2 by the estate of William Rind in October 1773. In 1774, he advertised, "Just come to hand, and to be sold by Edward Cumins, a Parcel of Books, among which are several Sets of Juliet Granville, and many other, which may be seen in the Catalogue."

Slaves/Servants: Baptism of slave James, in 1761, recorded in Bruton Parish register

Special Note: Cummings worked as a bookbinder in John Hunter Holt's printing office in Norfolk after the Rinds died. Holt's *Norfolk Intelligencer* was harshly critical of Lord Dunmore during the events of 1775. Dunmore ordered Holt's printing equipment and workmen seized and brought on board his ship where he hoped to print his side of the story. Cummings was among those pressed aboard. Later released, Cummings appears to have been back in the Williamsburg area until about 1780.

Walter Lenox

Active in Williamsburg and York County 1759–84

Age in 1774: At least 36 (date and place of birth unknown)

Residence: Williamsburg (1766–80); lived at Red Lion from 1768 onward

Land/Lots: Tenant of members of the Ludwell family, owners of lots 44 (Red Lion) and 45 (Ludwell-Paradise House)

Family: Wife, Elizabeth. Births of sons John (b. 1763), William Allen (b. 176?), Thomas (b. 1766), and [ ]ter Randolph (b. 1768) recorded in the Bruton Parish register.

Occupation(s): Barber/perukemaker, boardinghouse keeper

Status: Master of his own shop. His household usually included apprentices, hired servants and slaves, and apprentice and/or journeymen barbers/perukemakers. In the 1760s and 1770s, Lenox was often in York County court as plaintiff or defendant in debt cases. In 1773–74 Lenox mortgaged furniture and stock to Joseph Hornsby: eight feather beds and furniture, eighteen black walnut chairs, three black walnut tables, bedsteads and curtains, twenty-four pictures and prints, black walnut desk, buffet with glass doors, safe, dairy, two large looking glasses, eighteen candle molds with stands, black walnut tea chest, twelve silver spoons, pair of silver tea tongs and strainer, pair of hand irons with brass heads, pair stillyards, cart and gear for four horses, three horses, and three cows. Lenox was to forfeit the items if he was unable to pay Hornsby £101.8.0 by March 1, 1774. Lenox owned a bright bay gelding that went missing in November 1774. He offered 40 shillings reward for its return and, if the animal was stolen, another £5 on conviction of the thief. Lenox advertised for journeymen barbers in the 1770s.

Slaves/servants: In 1763, Lenox hired a female slave, Sally, from the estate of Carter Burwell and possibly Cuffy, property of the Rev. John Fox of Gloucester County. Cuffy and a free black named Isaac came to trial in York County court that year for the attempted poisoning of the Lenox household including the slave Sally, a female servant, five apprentices or journeymen, and Walter, Elizabeth, and John Lenox. In 1771, Lenox hired a slave (name unknown) whose husband, Gaby, was owned by James Burwell of Queen's Creek, York County. Gaby was a runaway thought to be in Williamsburg where his wife was working—at Walter Lenox's. She later worked for Robert Nicolson (see below).

Offices held: Petit juror for York County in 1763, 1765, 1767, 1768, 1769, and 1771

Special note: Charged with absenting himself from Bruton Parish Church in 1770; case dismissed.

Robert Nicolson

Active in Williamsburg and York County 1749–after 1799

Age in 1774: At least 46 (date and place of birth unknown)

Residence: Williamsburg (Duke of Gloucester Street)

Land/Lots: Nicolson owned thirty-five acres in James City County and the Nicolson Shop and lot in Williamsburg. He was highest bidder (£230) for 130 acres in York County in 1774.

Family: Wife, Mary, alive in 1774. Her death at the age of 73 in 1795 recorded in the Bruton Parish register. Births of sons William (b. 1749), John (b. 1750), Robert (b. 1753), George (b. 1757), and Andrew (b. 1764) and daughter Rebecca (b. 1766) recorded in the Bruton Parish register.

Occupation(s): Tailor, merchant, lodging housekeeper

Status: Nicolson owned his own tailor shop. He advertised for journeymen tailors ("good Workmen, and soberly disposed") in 1767, 1771, and 1772. Nicolson purchased a reading stand from the estate of Francis Fauquier in 1772. He advertised in 1766 that "Gentlemen who attend the General Courts and Assembly may be accommodated with genteel lodgings, have breakfast and good stabling for their horses." Nicolson stopped taking gentlemen lodgers in 1777.

Slaves/Servants: Baptisms of Nicolson's slaves recorded in Bruton Parish register: adult slave Dunbar in June 1766; Molly, daughter of slave Cloe, in 1766; Sylvia, daughter of slave Phillis, in 1782; John Todd in 1782 and Phillip Barber in 1785, sons of slave Clamina; Willow, son of Phillis, in 1785; Chloe Hoops, daughter of Molly, in 1790; and Henry, son of Molly, in 1797. Nicolson hired a female slave (name unknown) in 1768 from James Burwell of Queen's Creek, York County. Burwell advertised that the woman's husband, named Gaby, also owned by Burwell, was likely being hidden by his wife in Williamsburg at Nicolson's where she worked. Gaby's wife previously worked for Walter Lenox (see above).

Offices held: Petit juror for York County (twice in 1762, once in 1773); grand juror for York County (once in 1763). In 1774, he served as an appraiser and executor of several estates recorded in York County court.

Thomas Skinner

Active in the Williamsburg area 1760–82

Age in 1774: At least 30, possibly older (date and place of birth unknown)

Residence: Williamsburg

Land/Lots: By 1773, Skinner either rented or owned a house in Williamsburg, but its exact location is not known. In August 1774, Skinner opened a shoemaker's shop "at the back of the Raleigh Tavern." In 1778, he purchased a lot and houses on Capitol Landing Road in the Moody subdivision from Mary Tuell of Williamsburg.

Family: Unmarried in 1774. Married Elizabeth Ryan in 1775. No record of any children.

Occupation(s): Shoemaker. In 1773, John Leitch of Warwick County, possibly a lodger in Skinner's house, offered a reward for the return of his portmanteau and other belongings that were stolen sometime during the night of December 7 from Skinner's house in Williamsburg.

Status: Appears to be on firm financial footing. Master of his own shop. Advertises in the *Virginia Gazette* on several occasions for journeymen shoemakers. For example:

> *Williamsburg, August 18, 1774*
>
> *THE Subscriber having opened a Shop at the Back of the Raleigh Tavern, intends carrying on the SHOEMAKING Business in all its Branches, as he has got some good Hands, and will do every Thing in his Power to serve Gentlemen and others, who may please to employ him, upon the shortest Notice, and on reasonable terms; but, at the same Time, he intends to work no Kind of leather, or any Thing else, but what is within the Limits of the Association, and he works for ready Money only.*
>
> *Thomas Skinner*
>
> *[Purdie and Dixon, 18 August 1774]*
>
> *Williamsburg, October 29, 1774.*
>
> *The Subscriber having just set up the SHOEMAKING Business in a House the Back of the Raleigh Tavern, and got a quantity of very fine Boot Legs, with a Number of English and Philadelphia Calf Skins, and good Workmen, should be glad to serve Gentlemen and other, on short Notice, for ready Money only. I shall be much obliged to those indebted to me to make Payment this Meeting [of the General Court], as I may be enabled to pay my Creditors; those who fail may expect that as soon as Law take Place I shall put such Accounts as are not paid into an Attorney's Hands, which will be very disagreeable to me.*
>
> *Thomas Skinner*
>
> *[Purdie and Dixon, 20 October 1774]*

Slaves/Servants: Since 1770 had hired slave Dolly, the property of Col. Philip Johnson. In October 1774, she ran away and was suspected of hiding on one of Johnson's quarters. Skinner offered 10s. reward for her return and forewarned all persons from harboring her.

Offices held: Petit juror, York County (twice in 1768, once in 1769, and twice in 1771); acted as security and special bail for parties in debt cases in York County court.

Special notes: Produced a public claim in York County court for taking up a runaway in 1764. In 1774, declared his intention to work only on leathers and other materials that were within the limits of the Association. In 1775, Skinner appeared in York County court on behalf of Francis Driver, an apprentice to John Sclater, against Sclater. York County justices discharged Driver from Sclater's service, whereupon the churchwardens of Bruton Parish bound out Francis Driver, a poor orphan, to Skinner "to learn the art of shoemaker as the law directs."

The Earl of Dunmore

by Pete Wrike

Pete is a historical interpreter for the Department of Educational Program Support, a member of the Interpreter *Planning Board, and the author of numerous books and articles.*

Between 1770 and 1789, various parties named more than two dozen vessels the *Dunmore, Lord Dunmore,* or *Earl of Dunmore,* all after the same individual, John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore and Virginia's last royal governor. Many of these vessels represented private interests, but several were government owned and operated. One of these, the schooner *Earl of Dunmore,* sailed on Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan from 1772 until 1803.

Richard Cornwall, a New York shipbuilder, designed and constructed the schooner under the direction of John Blackburn, a British Treasury Department contractor. In 1772, Cornwall launched, outfitted, and rigged the *Earl of Dunmore* at Fort Detroit, then part of Virginia. The schooner measured 60 feet on the deck, 20 feet at the beam; she drew 7 feet; and her burden was 106 tons. Cornwall placed aboard her ten four-pound carriage guns and a twenty-two-man crew. Cornwall, who earlier constructed the transport *Chippewa,* also built the armed schooner *General Gage* in 1772. The *Earl of Dunmore* and these consorts moved men, supplies, and information to the trading posts and forts on the Great Lakes.

The *Earl of Dunmore* spent much of her early active service on Lake Erie and maintained both British and Virginian rights to govern the vast territories bordering on the Great Lakes. The *Earl of Dunmore* represented part of the maritime forces under her namesake's authority. As a vice admiral, Lord Dunmore had dominion and authority that extended over the Great Lakes and the Mississippi; however, he was still militarily subordinate to British Lt. Gen. Thomas Gage.

It is unlikely that Lord Dunmore ever visited the schooner *Earl of Dunmore.* Quite probably, the schooner and her consorts were part of the plans of Lt. Col. (Dr.) John Connolly for securing the frontier for the governor in the fall of 1775. Connolly's capture in Maryland in late 1775 ended those plans. At the same time, implementation of the Quebec Act brought three civil governors to the Great Lakes region—all under the authority of Maj. Gen. Sir Guy Carleton. Carleton significantly augmented the Lakes' maritime forces and added seven hired sloops and schooners to the fleet on Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. However, during the American Revolution, Lakes Ontario, Champlain, and George saw most of the freshwater naval action.

At the war's conclusion, the fleet on Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan shrank to three vessels, including the *Earl of Dunmore.* On the Great Lakes, the British naval department numbered 515 officers and men, including 47 in the dockyards. This number was reduced to 214 and, by 1785, numbered under 100. The *Earl of Dunmore* continued to sail year-round, including the difficult winter months, and, by 1790, was the oldest vessel on the Lakes. She had survived for more than eighteen years at a time when wind, waves, and ice reduced the average life of Great Lakes' vessels to less than ten years.

In 1794, Detroit shipwrights rebuilt the *Earl of Dunmore* from the frames upward. She received new framing, planking, decking, rigging, and armament. With a crew of thirty-two and eight four-pound carriage guns, the schooner continued in active service until 1803. She ended her career as a hulk near the shore at Amherstburg in Ontario, Canada.

References

Collections and researches made by the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan.

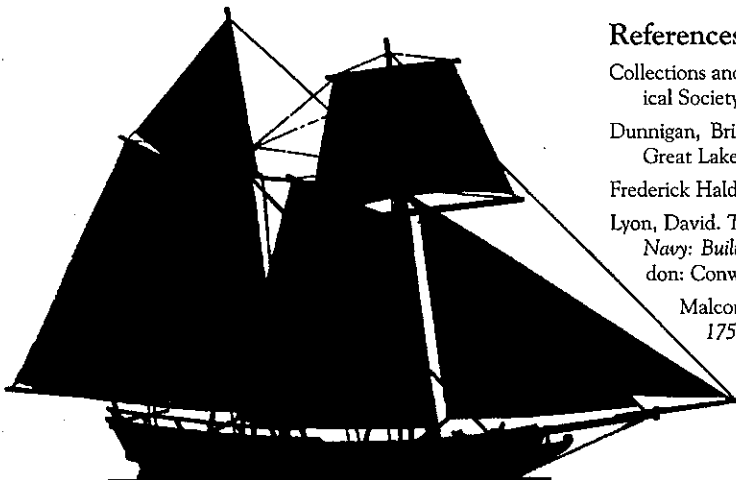
Dunnigan, Brian L. "British Naval Vessels on the Upper Great Lakes, 1761–1796" *Telescope* 31 (1982).

Frederick Haldimand Papers, British Library.

Lyon, David. *The Sailing Navy List: All the Ships of the Royal Navy: Built, Purchased, and Captured, 1683–1860.* London: Conway Maritime Press, 1993.

Malcomson, Robert. *Warships of the Great Lakes, 1754–1834.* London: Chatham, 2001.

National Archives of Canada, Record Group 8, British Military and Naval Records: British Library, Frederick Haldimand Papers.



Drawing by Pete Wrike 2003

Who's Who at the College of William and Mary in 1774

Chancellor

Richard Terrick—bishop of London (and North America); see "Who's Who in the World of 1774," *Interpreter* (Winter 2003)

Rector of the Board of Visitors

John Murray, earl of Dunmore—Governor General of Virginia; rector (chairman) of the board of visitors and governors since 1772

Members of the Board of Visitors

Edward Ambler—of Jamestown; appointed in 1770

Carter Braxton—appointed in 1769

William Byrd III—of Westover Plantation; appointed in 1769

The Rev. Thomas Field—appointed in 1773

The Rev. James Maury Fontaine—appointed in 1767

Col. Benjamin Harrison—of Berkeley Plantation; brother of Peyton Randolph's wife Betty; appointed 1773

Dr. Arthur Lee—of Williamsburg

Thomas Nelson (Jr.)—of Yorktown; appointed in 1770

Robert Carter Nicholas—of Williamsburg

John Page—of Rosewell Plantation

Richard Randolph—of Curles Plantation; appointed in 1770

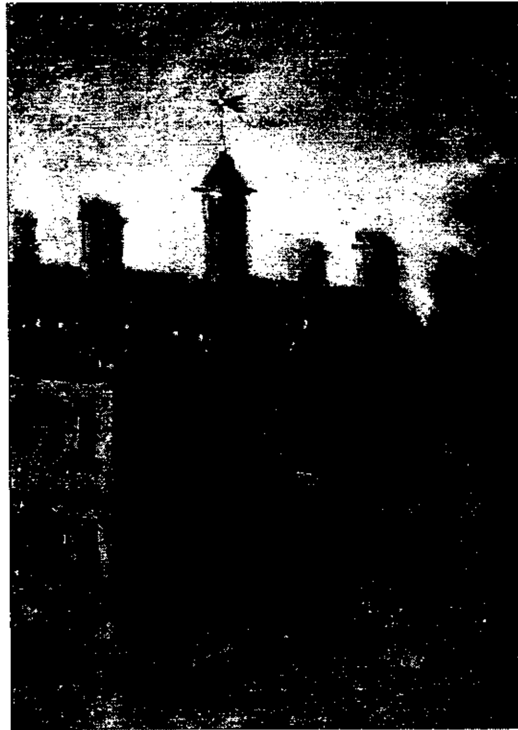
George Wythe—of Williamsburg

The Faculty

President, The Rev. John Camm—named temporary president in 1771; permanent president and commissary of the bishop of London in 1772; salary £200 per annum (see *Interpreter* [Winter 2003])

Professor of Divinity, The Rev. John Dixon—born in Kingston Parish circa 1725; attended William and Mary in the early 1740s; Grammar School usher in 1749; ordained in 1748; rector of Kingston Parish 1750–70; professor of divinity since before 1770; salary £150 and fees; died 1777

Professor of Moral Philosophy, The Rev. Samuel Henley—born in England in 1774; son of Samuel Henley of Abbots Kerswell, Devon; attended Doddridge Academy, Northhamptonshire, 1760–66; assistant minister at St. Neots Chapel, near Cambridge, 1766–69; recommended for position at William and Mary in November 1769; ordained by bishop of London in December 1769; arrived in Virginia in April 1770; newspaper controversy over Henley's non-orthodoxy began in May 1773; salary £100 and fees; left Virginia for England in 1775; died in 1815



This detail from the Charles Bridges's portrait of Commissary James Blair (owned by the College of William and Mary) is the earliest view of what we today call the Wren Building.

Professor of Natural History and Mathematics, James Madison—born 1749; from Augusta County; cousin of James Madison (later United States President); recommended to the visitors as a scholar in November 1770; appointed to first studentship in November 1771; appointed writing master in 1772; given the medal for classical learning and degree of bachelor of arts in July 1772; appointed professor of natural history and mathematics in May 1773; ordained in 1775; later president of the college (1777–1805) and first bishop in Virginia (1790–1812)

Master of the Grammar School, The Rev. Thomas Gwatkin—born in Middlesex County, England, in 1740; attended Oxford in 1762; ordained in 1770; came to Virginia; served as professor of natural philosophy and mathematics (1773–75); named professor of

humanities and chaplain to Lord Dunmore in 1774; left the colony with the governor in 1775 and returned to England; salary as grammar master £150

Master of the Brafferton School, Emmanuel Jones—by 1774 had been a part of the college for twenty years; also librarian and clerk to the "Society"; salary approximately £100

Usher, James Innes—born in 1754; son of the Rev. Robert Innes of Drysdale Parish, King and Queen County; matriculated into the college in 1770; recommended to the visitors as a Nottoway Scholar and so appointed by November 1770; admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts and appointed usher in July 1773; joined the Masonic Lodge in August 1773; perhaps began his legal studies in 1773/74; frequently absent from the college on military business after May 1775

Assistant Usher, William Yates—born circa 1755; son of the Rev. William Yates of Gloucester County and Williamsburg (president of the college, 1761–64) and Elizabeth Randolph Yates; attended Grammar School (1764–72); in the Philosophy School in January 1773; named assistant usher in July 1773; appointed usher in November 1775; left to enlist in 1775; died 1789

Writing Master, Robert Burton—son of William Burton of Albemarle County; charged for board from April to July 1772; recommended by visitors as a student of the foundation to which he succeeded in July 1772; appointed writing master in May 1773 and served in that position until March 1775

Others Connected to the College

Bursar, Robert Miller—salary £50

Gardener, Caretaker, and Steward, James Wilson—hired in January 1773; salary £50

Housekeeper, Maria (Molly) Digges—hired February 1773; salary £30

Keeper of the Chapel, Edward Digges—hired June 1774.

Nurse, Phoebe Dwit—employed since before 1771.

Servant to Phoebe Dwit—Mary Smith

Clerk to the Board of Visitors, Keeper of the College's Philosophical Instruments, Matthew Davenport

Burgess representing the College—John Randolph

Compiled by B. J. Pryor, character interpreter in the Department of Historic Interpretation.

Delaporte's Folly: Virginia's French Corps of 1777–78

by Noel B. Poirier

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

When the Chevalier de Pontgibaud came ashore near Hampton, Virginia, in the autumn of 1777, it was not the arrival in America that he had hoped for. His ship had run aground in its efforts to escape a British warship patrolling Hampton Roads. Once lodged, the ship became the target of a raiding party of loyalists and ex-slaves who looted the vessel of any valuables. Pontgibaud's belongings, which he had planned on selling to pay for his passage to the Continental Army's camp near Philadelphia, were gone, and he found himself with just "nine or ten louis" that he happened to have in his pockets. Pontgibaud walked from Hampton to Williamsburg hoping that he could obtain information on the best way to proceed to Washington's camp.

This adventurer, who couldn't speak English, thousands of miles from home, and nearly penniless, worried that he would be unable to find food much less the Continental Army. One can imagine Pontgibaud's surprise when, upon arriving in the capital city of Virginia, "Frenchmen . . . are to be met with everywhere."[1] Adding to Pontgibaud's surprise must have been the presence of a small cadre of French-speaking soldiers, some from France and others from various islands of the West Indies, who were at that time providing guards for the some of the city's public buildings. These troops were members of a short-lived unit of the Virginia State Garrison Regiment under the command of Captain Bejeau Delaporte (de la Porte), recently transplanted from the island of Martinique.[2]

Delaporte, by trade a merchant, had been a friend of Russian traveler Theodore Karjavin

during the latter's stay on the island of Martinique and had traveled to Virginia sometime in early 1777. Delaporte planned to get permission from either the Continental Congress or the Commonwealth of Virginia to recruit several hundred Frenchmen from the islands of Martinique and Santo Domingo for service of the Continental Congress against Great Britain.

Delaporte, referred to in the Council's journal as Delaporte DeCrome, along with "several french Gentlemen,"[3] applied to the Virginia Council in April 1777 for permission to recruit, train, and uniform a company of men "in the manner of French troops." The Council approved the petition, believing that such a corps would introduce "good discipline, neatness in the dress and laudable spirit of emulation amongst our troops and wou'd most probably greatly interest the french in general." Delaporte was ordered to enlist as many foreigners as would fill a company and, upon doing so, he was to receive the captaincy of the company.[4]

While he welcomed the decision of the Virginia Council, Delaporte was also interested in having his plan approved (and perhaps adopted) by the Continental Congress and Continental Army. To that end, he sent the plan to Congress and the Board of War for their consideration.

Delaporte, along with M. de Grandmaison and M. de Rondemare, petitioned Congress in early May 1777 for permission to recruit "3 or 400 troops" with an eye toward "as many Tradesmen and Artificers as possibly may be got" in order that "at the end of the War" there would be a "useful little colony" of Frenchmen in America. Delaporte went on to say that he and his compatriots had already petitioned the governor of Virginia and his Council for just such a plan, incorrectly (and somewhat misleadingly) stating that its approval would be forthcoming only if the Continental Congress approved.

Delaporte did not have long to wait for Congress's answer.[5] The Board of War decided later in May to postpone any decision on the petition. The Frenchman, undoubtedly disappointed, received the news while he was recruiting in and around Williamsburg.[6] Delaporte had failed to convince Congress of the efficacy of his plan, but he had already begun recruiting the men for his French Corps as a part of Virginia's military establishment.

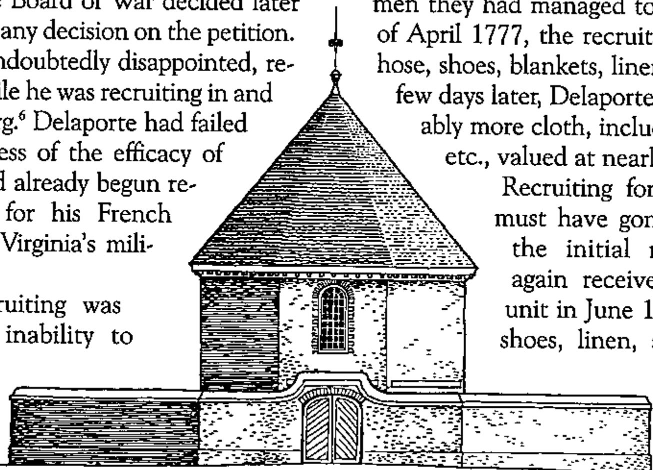
Delaporte's recruiting was hampered by his inability to travel extensively to the port communities of Virginia and North Carolina, so to assist him, the state of Virginia provided him with a horse and about £180 to enhance his ability to recruit the necessary quota of men. Other Frenchmen were also petitioning the Council for permission to recruit men for Delaporte's corps.

Joseph Carlivan, serving as a lieutenant in the company, attempted to raise enough men to assure his lieutenancy while serving garrison duty with the corps in Williamsburg during the summer of 1777. James Louis de Beaulieu was issued a warrant for £64 in October 1777, so that he might raise enough men to obtain a vacant ensigncy in the French Corps. De Beaulieu must have raised his quota because he received his commission in February 1778. Other men, like Piere [sic] Du Chatelier and Peter Dubar were merely given funds by the state in the ongoing effort to keep the company at full strength.

Not surprisingly, recruiting for a company of Frenchmen in tidewater Virginia and North Carolina proved difficult, but not impossible. In April 1778, Delaporte was warranted a further sum of £102.8.0 to recruit another second lieutenancy quota of men. De Beaulieu's success as a recruiter gained for him a first lieutenancy in the company.

The desire to maintain the unit in service is demonstrated by the Council's willingness to continue to offer monies for the ongoing recruiting, including the commissioning of Andre LeBaud as an ensign.[7] Delaporte's recruiting also took him to North Carolina where he apparently found himself in "a quarrel" significant enough to warrant Governor Henry's intercession.[8]

Recruiting for the company continued throughout the year or so of its existence. The biggest challenge in clothing the company came from Delaporte's desire to have the men dressed "in the manner of French troops." Delaporte and his subordinates were issued uniform material from the Public Store in Williamsburg for the men they had managed to recruit. By the end of April 1777, the recruits had received hats, hose, shoes, blankets, linen, and thread. Just a few days later, Delaporte requested considerably more cloth, including shalloon, linen, etc., valued at nearly £58.



Recruiting for the French Corps must have gone fairly well during the initial months. Delaporte again received clothing for the unit in June 1777, including hats, shoes, linen, and thread for the fabrication of uniforms valued at £33.[9] During the summer of

1777, the unit continued to draw supplies such as shirts, shoes, hose, and blankets from the Public Store in Williamsburg. In early June, the company received twenty-one yards of cloth for coats, six yards of oznabrugs, eighteen yards of shalloon, nearly thirty-two yards of linen for jackets, twenty-six yards of material for breeches, and two dozen of the "best plated" buttons. It would appear that, rather than the hunting shirts commonly worn by Virginia forces, the French Corps was having success in being uniformed in more traditional French-style regimental coats.[10]

During the French Corps's short existence, its military activity was limited. As mentioned above, the company protected Williamsburg's public buildings and stores. The company was primarily commanded by 1st Lt. Carlivan, while Delaporte continued to travel throughout tidewater recruiting men. The company seems to have remained on garrison duty in Williamsburg until the spring of 1778, when Delaporte himself took part in a celebration of British General Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga.[11]

On the orders of Lt. Gov. John Page, the company prepared to travel to either Portsmouth or Hampton in April 1778 to relieve the smallpox-stricken garrisons there. Delaporte's preparations included drawing more supplies from the Public Store in Williamsburg, comprising enough material to fabricate fifty regimental uniforms. There is no record of whether the company ever actually marched to either town, but the cost of the preparations placed an incredible financial burden on Delaporte, the company's commander.[12]

The French Corps began to disintegrate in the spring of 1778. The officers could no longer limit their recruiting to Frenchmen, as evidenced from the following desertion notice:

> *Deserted from Capt. De Laporte, the following soldiers, viz. Patrick Cary, an Irishman, about 5 feet high, has chesnut coloured hair, round face, blue eyes, flat nose, small mouth, has the mark of a sore upon his leg, and is about 26 years old; had on when he went away a brown coat and breeches, and dark jacket.*[13]

Desertions were not the only problem in the French Corps. Delaporte resigned, asserting that his company was "being reduced by Desertions & other accidents, to a very inconsiderable Number." Delaporte's resignation was accepted by the governor and Council. The French Corps ceased to exist. Those who remained were absorbed into the existing Virginia state forces, and many French officers in the company vanished from the historical record.[14]

Delaporte left Williamsburg shortly afterward and established a store in Edenton, North Carolina.[15] However, his troubles did not end with his resignation. Many of the supplies he had received from the Public Store in Williamsburg had not been paid for, and he was held responsible for the debt. In August 1778, Delaporte found himself under arrest as a result of the debts he carried (more than £360) on the Public Store's account books. Once again Gov. Henry interceded and ordered Delaporte's release on the understanding that he would eventually pay off the debt.[16]

Delaporte returned to Edenton to run his business importing European goods with his partner Galvan Debernoux. Their store offered everything from French pins to German steel, as well as a variety of English manufactures. Ships from Bordeaux and Cadiz called at Edenton with goods.[17] However, business in Edenton must not have been what Delaporte expected, for in June 1779, he advertised that he was selling his "top gallant sail schooner" of 50 tons burden. A week later he advertised the sale of his house and lot in Edenton.[18]

Having met with little success in North Carolina, Delaporte returned to Williamsburg. Using his old rank as part of his advertising campaign, he made it known, in June 1779, that his Russian friend from his days on Martinique, Theodore Kharjevin, was offering language lessons from Delaporte's store "next door to Mrs. Vobe's." Captain Delaporte moved his store to "the house lately occupied by Mr. Beall" in October 1779, where he offered "rum by the gallon," among other items. Delaporte ran this store until at least May 1780, when he advertised that a man named Thomas Andrews had purchased more than £12,000 worth of goods with a fraudulent draft on the state treasury.[19]

Shortly after this event, Delaporte was once again on the move, opening a store in Fredericksburg with his old business partner Bernoux. In September 1780, Bernoux decided to return to France, leaving the business in Fredericksburg entirely in Delaporte's hands.[20] Delaporte apparently oversaw the store, then known as Laporte, Galvan and Company, until his death in 1782, when the "dry goods, household furniture and a schooner, late the property of Bajieux Laporte, deceased" were offered for public sale.

Ultimately Virginia's French Corps and its commanders were of no military significance during the American Revolution. Their service to the Commonwealth of Virginia, short and without battlefield experience, amounted simply to providing security to the various state buildings and military camps in and around the city of Williamsburg. The boredom of this task and the attractions of the Virginia countryside led to

wholesale desertion and the corps was ultimately absorbed into more stable military organizations. The French Corps was significant, however, simply because it existed, and its existence speaks volumes about the Williamsburg community as a whole.

Williamsburg, as capital of the new commonwealth of Virginia, was no longer a provincial little town of two thousand souls. The city teemed with bureaucrats and politicians from all over Virginia, foreign adventurers, artificers in state employ, and, of course, soldiers—hundreds of them. Men from Russia, Sweden, France, and the West Indies came to Williamsburg during the few years it served as Virginia's capital.

There were so many foreigners in town that the governor, "having experienced very great inconveniences for some time past," felt the need to have an interpreter of "French & other foreign Languages." That interpreter, the famous Charles Bellini, had served in Delaporte's French Corps.[21] Thus the real value in an examination of the history of Delaporte's folly lies in how it helps illuminate a view of life in Williamsburg during the turbulent years of the American Revolution.

---

[1] Robert B. Douglas, ed. and trans., *The Chevalier de Pontgibaud, A French Volunteer of the War of Independence* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898; repr.: New York: New York Times and Arno Press, 1969), 34–37.

[2] There has been some confusion as to the identity of Captain de la Porte, but a careful examination of the primary source information reveals that Bejeau de la Porte (or Delaporte) is the man who petitioned the Virginia Council in 1777 (referred to by the Council as Delaporte Decrome) to raise a company of Frenchmen for Virginia. This is confirmed by de la Porte's later petition to the Continental Congress in May 1777, in which he references his earlier petition to the Virginia Council. Delaporte's name appears in a number of butchered versions throughout the records of this period. Even the "Williamsburg People File" at Colonial Williamsburg's John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library erroneously refers to Delaporte as "Bojien Laport."

[3] It is likely that these "gentlemen" were Monsieur de Grandmaison and Monsieur de Rondemare, Delaporte's copetitioners to congress.

[4] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1931), 1: 389.

[5] *Papers of the Continental Congress* (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), Rockefeller Library microfilm, M-1900.39, reel 48, Item 41, 1: 131.

[6] Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1907), 7: 342.

[7] McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the Council*, I: 473; 2: 19, 84, 108, 116. James Louis de Beaulieu also appears in the record as Joseph Lewis de Beaulieu.

[8] *Letter from Gov. Henry to Gov. Caswell of North Carolina*, 9 July 1777, cited in H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, Vol. 1: *The Letters of Patrick Henry* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1926), 169.

[9] Mary R. M. Goodwin. *Clothing and Accoutrements of the Officers and Soldiers of the Virginia Forces, 1775–1780 from the Records of the Public Store at Williamsburg.* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report, 1962), 122, 123, 126.

[10] Virginia. *Records of the Public Store in Williamsburg, 1775–1780, Day Book, October 12, 1775–November 30, 1778* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library) Rockefeller Library microfilm, M-1016.1; Deserter advertisement, *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter and Dixon), 28 August 1777, p. 3, col. 1.

[11] McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the Council*, 1: 473; E. M. Sanchez-Saavedra, *A Guide to Virginia Military Organizations in the American Revolution, 1774–1787* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1978), 115; *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon), 31 October 1777, p. 2, col. 1.

[12] McIlwaine, ed., *Letters of the Governor*, 266; Peter F. Copeland and Marko Zlatich, "Captain De La Porte's French Company, Virginia State Forces, 1777–1778," *Military Collector and Historian* 18 (Spring 1966): 17.

[13] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 1 May 1778, p. 3, col. 2.

[14] McIlwaine, ed., *Letters of the Governor*, 300; Copeland and Zlatich, "Captain De La Porte's French Company," 17.

[15] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 29 May 1778, 3: 2.

[16] Copeland and Zlatich, "Captain De La Porte's French Company," 17.

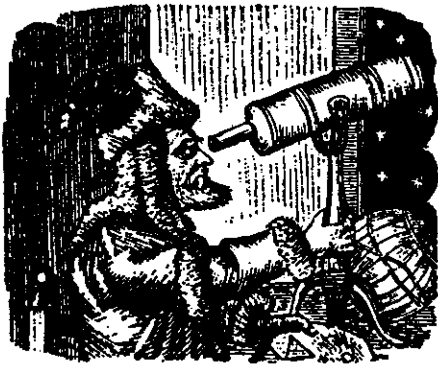
[17] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 16 October 1778, p. 4 col. 2; ibid. (Dixon), 12 February 1779, p. 4 col. 1.

[18] Ibid., 26 June 1779, p. 1 col. 2; 10 July 1779, p. 3 col. 1.

[19] Ibid., 26 June 1779; 30 October 1779, p. 4 col. 2; 13 May 1780, p. 4 col. 2; Eufrosina Dvoichenko-Markov, "A Russian Traveler to Eighteenth-Century America," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 97 (September 1953): 352.

[20] *Local Notices from the Virginia Gazette, 1780, 6 September 1780*, cited in *The Virginia Genealogist*, 5 (January–March 1961): 38.

[21] McIlwaine, ed. *Journals of the Council*, 2: 109; Sanchez-Saavedra, *Guide to Virginia Military Organizations*, 116.



Q & A

Question: I've heard that merchants scammed would-be silk producers in early Virginia by selling them paper mulberry trees, which are not the proper food of the silkworm. Is there any truth to this?

Answer: There has indeed been some confusion about the paper mulberry tree *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*, which is not really a member of the mulberry family (genus *Moraceae*). Though worms do eat the paper mulberry, they prefer true mulberry *(Morus)*, of which there are ten species. In the Historic Area today, we have two types of true mulberry: the Chinese white mulberry *(Morus alba)* and the American red mulberry *(Morus rubra)*. Silkworms like the white mulberry best, and the production of silk is based on this species.

We do have, at Colonial Williamsburg, the so-called "paper mulberry" *(Broussonetia)*, an East Asian/Polynesian tree long used in making paper (not silk) before its importation into Europe. John Clayton's *Flora Virginica* (1760s) shows that the paper mulberry made it to eighteenth-century Virginia, but it was not used for silk production. Its use here seems to have been purely ornamental. Over time, erroneous lore became attached to the paper mulberry.

It is very unlikely that the paper mulberry was involved in a scam. For starters, this tree was introduced into Virginia in the mid-1700s, long after the dream of silk production in Virginia had died out. The main effort at silk production was in the seventeenth century. To that end, Gov. Francis Wyatt imported the first true white mulberries in 1639. In 1642, instructions to Wyatt's successor, William Berkeley, stipulated "every Plantation to plant a proportion of Vines, answerable to their numbers, and to plant white Mulberry Trees, and attend Silk worms." Maj. Thomas Walker of Gloucester County planted 13,642 white mulberries in 1664 and 56,755 the next year.

Some Virginians saw no need to import even white mulberries for silk, due to the indigenous *Morus rubra*. In 1610, Thomas Gates wrote of the abundance of the native red mulberry "which in so warme a climate may cherish and feede millions of silke wormes, and returne us in a very short time, as great a plenty of silks as is vented into the whole world." Many other seventeenth-century writers referred to the red mulberry as suitable for raising the worms. In the early eighteenth century, William Byrd II observed large stands of red mulberries that he believed would be suitable for silk production.

Clearly, there was little reason to have paper mulberries masquerade as true mulberries. Colonists wrote with ease about the differences among species of mulberries, and it seems unlikely that they mistook paper mulberries for the real thing.

Paper mulberries do have a long history in Williamsburg and the surrounding area, as the Clayton *Flora Virginica* attests. Photographs of pre-Restoration Williamsburg show paper mulberries (or French mulberries, as they were known) scattered throughout the town. For whatever reason, the mulberries captured the imagination of Arthur Shurcliff, our first landscape architect, who went to great lengths to preserve them. Today, paper mulberries are as "Williamsburg" as the boxwood.

A good place to view a paper mulberry is in the center of the formal oval behind the Orlando Jones House on Colonial Street, the street that runs from the Williamsburg Inn to Duke of Gloucester Street.
(Lawrence Griffith and Wesley Greene, Landscape)

Question: Did Lord Dunmore have title to any land in the Ohio Territory?

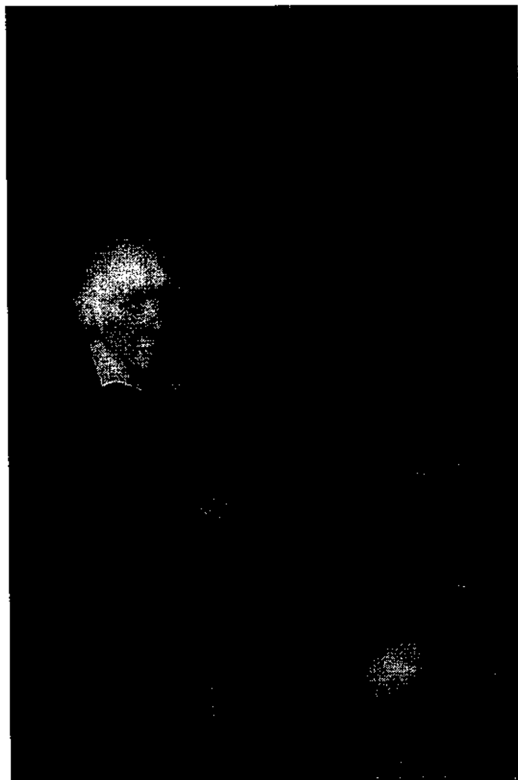
Answer: No. When Lord Dunmore returned from his trip to the West in September 1773, he petitioned the king in council (Privy Council) for 20,000 acres for each of his five sons, in the back part of Virginia, being free of quitrents, to be located together or in five separate lots as may be most convenient to the petitioner. In November 1773, the request was forwarded to the commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Attached was a request from Capt. Edward Foy, secretary to Lord Dunmore, for a grant of 20,000 acres in the back part of Virginia.

By June 20, 1774, the commissioners had made their decision: the petitions from Lord Dunmore and Captain Foy would not be approved. The commissioners cited as their reason the recently issued instructions by the crown for the surveying and disposing of all crown lands. These instructions called for land to be surveyed

into smaller plots and sold to the highest bidder.

There is no doubt that Lord Dunmore would have continued to press his claim for western lands had the war not intervened.

(Phil Shultz, Interpretive Training)



Shown in old age, Lord Dunmore appears in this portrait (painted by an unknown artist) wearing a tartan with his Scots bonnet on the table by his side (Private Collection).

Question: Did Lord Dunmore own land in Virginia?

Answer: Yes. In his schedule of losses, dated February 25, 1784, to the Commission on Losses of American Loyalists, he claims the following property in Virginia:

- "579 Acres of land . . . Porto Bello and (adjoining) Old Farm in York County." The property, about five miles from Williamsburg, was purchased in three separate pieces from Robert Carter III, Rachael Drummond, and Dr. James Carter between May 1772 and November 1773.
- Mount Charlotte, 2,600 acres, Berkeley County. Purchased from Lord Fairfax by 1773.
- 3,645 acres in Hampshire County from Lord Fairfax.
- House and lot in Williamsburg, south side of road from Williamsburg to Yorktown. Purchased from Donald Ross, December 1773.

The Commission reimbursed Dunmore for each of these properties.
(Phil Shultz)

Question: Was Lord Dunmore a party in any of the speculative land companies?

Answer: Yes. By deed dated October 18, 1775, with the Piankashaw Nation, Lord Dunmore claimed 2/20 shares of 37,497,600 acres between the Quabache (Wabash) and the Ohio Rivers. The land company, known as the Wabash Land Company, was made up of twenty speculators, including the governor and his son John. Dunmore was never reimbursed for any costs associated with this venture.
(Phil Shultz)

Question: Was the word* boycott *used in the eighteenth century?

Answer: No! *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines *boycott* as "to combine in refusing to hold relations of any kind, social or commercial, public or private, with (a neighbour), on account of political or other differences, so as to punish him for the position he has taken up, or coerce him into abandoning it."

The word arose in the autumn of 1880 to describe such action taken by the Irish Land League against those who incurred its hostility. The first such person to be "boycotted" was one Captain Boycott, an Irish landlord. This would make the word eponymous in origin.

So, what does *eponymous* mean? This, too, is a nineteenth-century word. Again, the *OED* definition of its noun form *eponym:* "One who gives, or is supposed to give, his name to a people, place, or institution. One whose name is a synonym for something." For example, *Pennsylvania,* derived from the family name *Penn,* is an eponym or an eponymous word.
(Phil Shultz)

Q & A was compiled by Bob Doares, training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training, and member of the Interpreter *Planning Board.*

Excerpts from the *Autobiography of the Reverend James Ireland*

Third Installment, circa 1768

James Ireland (1748–1806), a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, and Presbyterian by upbringing, immigrated to Virginia sometime after the French and Indian War. He settled in the Shenandoah Valley around 1766. There he came under the influence of the Baptist community of believers and was ordained as a minister of that faith in 1769. Ireland's first-person account of the struggle for religious freedom in colonial Virginia is preserved in an autobiography published posthumously by J. Foster of Winchester, Virginia, in 1819. There has been no subsequent edition. Bob Doares, training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training and Interpreter *Board member, owns one of these rare 1819 imprints.*

Beginning with the fall 2002 issue of the Interpreter, *Bob has shared some of his favorite excerpts from* The Life of the Rev. James Ireland, Who Was, For Many Years Pastor of the Baptist Church at Buck Marsh, Waterlick and Happy Creek, in Frederick and Shenandoah Counties, Virginia. *[Punctuation and spelling have been minimally edited for clarity.] The story continues here.*

Book III, Chapter 2, Running Afoul of the Established Church

Hearing that the gentleman who had disappointed us in coming on the aforesaid visit, was to preach about forty miles from us, I was very anxious to go to hear him. There is no necessity, to secret his name; it was Mr. John Pickett of Fauquier County; he was to preach at Capt. Thomas M'Clanagan's. At that time the Church of England Parsons were exalted in domination over all dissenters in the colony, as it was then called, of Virginia. The dissenters had to pay their proportion for the building of Churches, and sixteen thousand weight of tobacco annually for the support of those Clergymen, exclusive of building their own houses for worship, supporting their own Ministers, and being precluded the benefit of marrying the members of their own society, except they procured and paid to the Church Parson of their Parish a full marriage fee for each couple. And this galling yoke continued on the necks of the dissenters until some time after our glorious revolution took place.

The Church Parson in Culpeper County had made it a practice, where any of those Baptist Preachers would have an appointment for preaching, to go in person to those meetings, taking some aids with him, who were as much prejudiced against that sect as he was. . . . This personage attended at Capt. M'Clanagan's in order to detect the falsity of Mr. Pickett's doctrines before his parishioners. Being acquainted with Mr. Pickett's turn of mind, I felt very uneasy that day, when I saw the position the Parson took. The place Mr. Pickett was to preach in, was pretty capacious for the congregation; the parson had a chair brought for himself, which he placed three or four yards in front of Mr. Pickett, on which he seated himself, taking out his pen, ink and paper, to take down notes of what he conceived to be false doctrine. By the countenance of Parson Meldrum's Parishioners, they appeared to be highly elated, under an assured expectation of his baffling the new light, as they called him.

As soon as Mr. Pickett had finished his discourse, the Parson called him a schismatick, a broacher of false doctrines, and that he held up damnable errors that day. Mr. Pickett answered him with a great deal of candour, and supported the doctrines he had advanced, to the satisfaction of all those who were impartial judges of doctrine. He was a man slow in argument, and when contradicted it would in a measure confuse him, which I soon observed, by some points he advanced, in which, in my judgment, he was perfectly right. The Parson at the same time, I observed, was taking notes of what the other said, which made me careful to retain it on my memory, standing close to Mr. Pickett when he spoke. The notes the Parson took, were absolutely the reverse of what Mr. Pickett delivered, and the Parson asserting them with dogmatical precision, and his parishioners exulting in the same, I could not forbear immediately interfering.

I addressed the Parson to this effect, "Sir, I presume you will grant the privilege of other's hearing and determining as well as yourself: I have got eyes to see, ears to hear, and a judgment to determine with others. With respect to these remarks you have made, upon what you say Mr. Pickett asserted, they are of no avail; he did not say those things with which you charge him, and in justification of what I assert, I could freely appeal to others." He wheeled about on his chair towards me, and let out a broadside of his eloquence, with an expectation, no doubt, that he would confound me with the first fire. I gently laid hold of a chair, and placed myself upon it close by him, determined to argue the point with him from end to end.

Understanding he had been raised Presbyterian, before he commenced Episcopalian, I formed the plan of entering into a discourse with him. First, upon the doctrines of religion, and secondly, upon the practice of it. This was with a

view to endeavor to gain his consent that what he called damnable errors were consistent with gospel principles and practices; which consent I obtained in the sequel. . . .

However, I discovered that pursuing the argument was and would be at the risque of incurring the displeasure of both gentlemen and ladies of his society, and perhaps the greater bulk of them. They would look at me with utmost contempt and disdain, supposing it no doubt, presumption in such a youth as I, to enter into an argument with the teacher of the county. In the course of our argument, they would repeatedly help him to scripture, in order to support his arguments, which made me observe to them that they did not treat me with common justice, that I had none that helped me, whilst they were supplying their Pastor with every help they could afford.

I immediately got up and addressed one of the gentlemen who had been so officious in helping his teacher; he was a magistrate at that time, and one of those who afterwards committed me to prison.

Book III, Chapter 3, The North Carolina Baptist Association and Fending Off Ruffians

Hearing that there was to be an association in North Carolina, at a place called Sandy Creek, Shubalstarn being the stated pastor there; at which place the ministers of the separate order, from South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia were to meet, likewise a number of regular Ministers from Virginia. They were delegated from their association to attend that association, in order to bring about a union between the two bodies which was not effected at that time, but it was some years afterwards.

The solicitations of my dear friends at Smiths Creek as well as a consciousness of duty, determined me to attend the aforesaid association, in order to give them a relation of what I hoped God had done for my soul; there not being an ordained Minister in Virginia, of the separate order to administer baptism, that being also one principal object with me in going there; as also to exercise my gift among them, whereby they might judge of the propriety of granting me credentials to exercise in the Ministry. One disadvantage, with regard to this journey, I laboured under: the ministers that went out from Virginia, went together in a body, and had got considerably the start of me to the association. However, by crossing the country, and obtaining good directions, I overtook them, in traveling about one hundred and fifty miles, in Amelia County, on the other side of James River, where they had an appointment for evening meeting. . . . I was agreeably entertained with a sermon delivered by the Rev. Nathaniel Sanders.

A disagreeable piece of business took place next morning, just as we were going to family worship. Three very dissipated men, who had been at certain race paths in the vicinity early that morning, trying the speed of their horses, came riding up to the porch of the house where we were. Our [Baptist] Landlord had no connection with the race paths. One of these men, the most daring in wickedness, most insultingly abused one of the ministers, accompanied with horrid oaths. Another minister reproving him for swearing after he was dismounted and in the porch among us; the ruffian instantly flew at him, seized him by the throat, and choaked him till he was black in the face; the minister making no resistance, the landlord and I, interfered in his behalf and with difficulty, disengaged the ruffian's hands from his throat. After this, we had no small trouble and difficulty to get rid of this outrageous banditti; but at length we succeeded and they went off apparently both mortified and ashamed.

Book III, Chapter 5, A Virginia Gentleman Turns Baptist

The ministers from the different states [i.e. colonies] were exceedingly satisfied with me and my gifts; got me to attend the stage in preaching to the publick; but the press of business prevented my being baptized &c. at that time and place, for which they expressed their sorrow. However, the plan for fully accomplishing my objects was formed and communicated to me. Col. Samuel Harris was to be ordained at this Association, by which means the ordinances of the Gospel would be administered by him in Virginia, until he received co-aids in the work, and by my riding to his residence where a number of ministers were to attend him, for certain purposes, I could have my own ends accomplished.

He was a great favourite of the ministers in Virginia, and they had planned it among them, that I should be the first person he would baptize. I saw him ordained, and a moving time it was. . . . When the Association concluded, we took our course for Pittsylvania County in Virginia, until we arrived at Mr. Harris's residence. When Col. Harris was a member of the Virginia legislature he was disposed to figure high in life. His old house, though a very good one, did not answer his wishes; he therefore constructed one on a more elegant plan; but, by the time he had finished the out works of it, it pleased God to convert his soul, and he appropriated or converted his new building into a meeting house. The baptist church met there for government and disci-

pline; and their preaching was statedly there.

Three days and greater part of the nights were employed in preaching to the people at Mr. Harris's; many of the listeners having come great distances. . . . The third day the whole body of the church went into their meeting house, and according to their rules, sat as a Church to hear experiences and receive subjects for baptism. . . . After some short interrogations, only for the satisfaction and edification of the church, they gave me the right hand of fellowship, and declared me to be a proper subject for baptism. Next day in the afternoon, was appointed for the administration thereof; it being Sunday, we were to meet very early in the morning for preaching, eleven ministers being there with other inferior gifts. Considering the distance I lived from there, it was proposed among them, and acceded to, that I should preach my trial sermon, and obtain credentials.

Gardner and Barrow

Bothy's Mould

In the 1760s, Attorney General John Randolph (circa 1727–84), younger brother of Speaker Peyton Randolph, built a house (later named Tazewell Hall) at the end of South England Street. Over the next ten years he laid out behind this dwelling one of the largest gardens in Williamsburg. The following planting calendar, taken from A Treatise on Gardening *written by Randolph, presents the latest dirt (mould) from the gardener's hut (bothy).*

JANUARY.

PREPARE, hot beds for Cucumbers; as little can be done this month in a garden, I would advise the preparing of your dung, and carrying it to your beds, that it may be ready to be spread on in February.

FEBRUARY.

Sow Asparagus, make your beds and fork up the old ones, sow Sugar Loaf Cabbages, latter end transplant Cauliflowers, sow Carrots and transplant for seed, prick out endive for seed, sow Lettuce, Melons in hot beds, sow Parsnips, take up the old roots and prick out for seed, sow Peas and prick them into your hot beds, sow Radishes twice, plant Strawberries, plant out Turnips for seed, spade deep and make it fine, plant Beans.

MARCH.

Slip your Artichokes, if fit, plant kidney Beans, Cabbages, Celery, Parsley, Cucumbers, Currans, Chamomile, Celandine, Nasturtium, Featherfew, Fennel, Ivy, Horse Radish, Hyssop, Lavender, Lettuce, Radishes twice, Marjoram, Marsh Mallow, Mint, Melons, Millet, Mugwort, Onions and for seed, Peas twice, Potatoes, Raspberry, Rosemary, Rue, Spinach, Tansy, Thyme, Turneps;—You may begin to mow your grass walks, and continue so to do every morning, and roll them, turf this month, plant Box.

APRIL.

If Artichokes not slipped last month, do it this, Bushel and garden Beans, sow Cabbages, 12th, sow Cauliflowers, sow Celery, Cresses, Nasturtium, Lettuce, Peas, sow Radishes twice, Sage will grow in this or any other month, Turnips, sow Salsify early, Pepper, Turf this month.

MAY.

Latter end Broccoli, Celery, Cucumbers for pickles, Endive, Featherfew, Hyssop, cuttings of M. Mallow, Melons, Peas, sow Radishes twice, Kidney Beans, turf this month.

JUNE.

Cabbages should be sown, sow Radishes twice, transplant Cabbages, Prick out Cauliflowers, do. [ditto] Broccoli, Draw up by the roots all your weeds.

JULY.

Transplant Broccoli, sow Cabbages, Coleworts, transplant Cauliflowers to stand, Endive, gather Millet seed, take up Onions, sow Radishes twice, sow Turnips, plant Kidney Beans to preserve.

AUGUST.

Sow Cabbage, latter end Carrots, get your Cucumber seed, sow Cresses, prick out Endive, early sow Lettace, Mullein, gather Onion seed, plant Garlick, get Parsnip seed, Bean?, sow Peas for the fall, sow Radishes, middle sow Spinach, tho' some say not till after the 20th, sow Turnips.

SEPTEMBER.

Sow Cabbages, 10th, sow Cauliflowers, plant cuttings of Currants, Clary, Comfrey, plant cuttings of Gooseberries, sow Radishes, plant layers or suckers of Raspberries, Rosemary, plant out Strawberries, string your Strawberries, and dress your beds, plant Tansy.

OCTOBER.

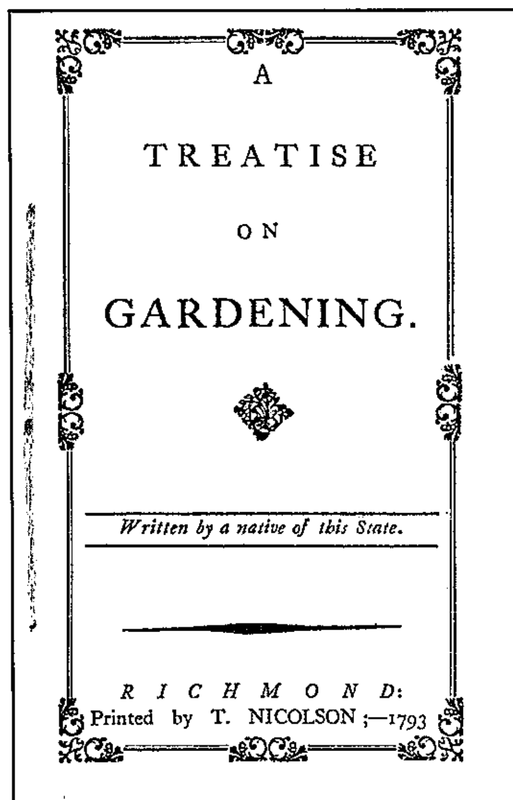
Latter end cut down your Asparagus, and cover your beds with dung, plant Beans for spring, sow Cabbages, 20th, transplant Cauliflowers, plant Horse Radish, prick Lettuce into boxes, sow Peas for the hot bed, Radishes, turf this month.

NOVEMBER.

Take up your Cabbages, sow Cabbages, take up your Cauliflowers, such as are flowered and house them, take up your Carrots, trench all your vacant land, prune your trees and vines, plant out every thing of the tree or shrub kind, that has a root to it, if any thing is done to your Artichokes, this is a good month, plant Box, turf early.

DECEMBER.

Cover your Endive with brush, cover Celery, and every thing else that needs shelter, if the weather will admit turn over your ground that is trenched, in order to mellow it, and pulverize it—Whatever will prevent delay and enable you to begin spading in February, should be done this month.


A

TREATISE

ON

GARDENING.

Written by a native of this State.

RICHMOND:
Printed by T. NICOLSON ;—1793

Frontispiece of A Treatise on Gardening. *The only surviving copy of this treatise is located in the Special Collections of the Wyndham Robertson Library at Hollins University, Roanoke, Virginia. It is reprinted at the Colonial Williamsburg's Printing Office by the kind permission of the university.*

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *New at the Rock*

Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Taking Possession

Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. [E 98.F39 R53 2001]

Focusing on interactions with Europeans east of the Mississippi, this survey of Native American history from pre-contact times to the early nineteenth century attempts to reintegrate Indians into the history of North America. The author sees the French and Indian War as the pivotal divide between possibilities of coexistence and the inevitability of conflict.

Gallay, Alan. *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002. [HT 1162.G35 2002]

For several decades, a flourishing commerce involved the export of Indian slaves to finance the purchase of African slaves, the latter seen as less likely to flee or revolt. The focus here is on South Carolina and the cooperative arrangements between the English and various Indian confederacies. The Indians abruptly ended the commerce in 1715 by killing English traders and attacking the colony.

Enslaving Virginia

Fett, Sharla M. *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations.* Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. [RA 448.5.N4 F48]

Slaveholders were interested in the "soundness" of slaves, meaning their capacity for labor and reproduction. The slaves had a more spiritual concept of health that connected individual well-being to broader community relationships and also provided opportunities for self-expression and resistance. The author draws on plantation records, diaries, slave narratives, and early-twentieth-century interviews with former slaves.

Newman, Richard S. *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic.* Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. [E 446.N48 2002]

The formative period of the antislavery movement, roughly from the late eighteenth century through the 1830s, saw the transition from "first-wave" to "second-wave" abolitionism. Elite white men with conservative republican views espoused a rational and dispassionate variety of antislavery reform. The more egalitarian second-wave included females and black activists and developed mass-action strategies that aimed to transform public opinion.

Redefining Family

Fischer, Kirsten. *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina.* Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002. [F 257.F53 2002]

Concepts of race, sex, and gender changed significantly in the eighteenth century, and these shifts affected each other. In particular, they interacted to reformulate racial theories into "biological racism," the idea that one's race consists of an inherited set of moral, intellectual, and physical qualities. The author examines court cases involving interracial relationships, the illicit activities of lower-class white women, slander suits, and sexualized violence to show how the actions and attitudes of ordinary people contributed to the evolving concept of racial difference.

Gillespie, Joanna Bowen. *The Life and Times of Martha Laurens Ramsay, 1759–1811.* Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2001. [F 279.C453 R364 2001]

This biography of the daughter of a prominent Charleston family and mother of eleven spans the period from the American Revolution through the Early National era. Drawn mainly from her father's papers and her own memoirs as edited by her husband, Martha Ramsay's life appears to have been confined to a patriarchal world. The author emphasizes the spiritual framework through which Martha sought to understand her experiences.

Choosing Revolution

Krawczynski, Keith. *William Henry Drayton: South Carolina Revolutionary Patriot.* Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 2001. [E 302.6.D7 K73]

In this detailed biography, a low-country planter and opponent of nonimportation, makes a late choice for revolution. With the enthusiasm of a recent convert, however, he becomes a central figure in South Carolina's revolutionary movement. The author emphasizes Drayton's concerns for personal reputation and class privilege, but provides little on his experiences as planter and slaveholder.

Lee, Wayne E. *Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina: The Culture of Violence in Riot and War.* Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2001. [E 263.N8 L44 2001]

Incidents of public violence in eighteenth-century North Carolina reveal the cultural norms and other factors that influence a society's tolerance for violent dissent. The public's sense of the legitimacy of violent actions is crucial to the conduct of mobs and armies. The course of events during the Revolution is analyzed to show how concepts of legitimacy can evolve, through demonization of the enemy and the "necessities" of war, to include acts of revenge and retaliation.

Freeing Religion

Bourne, Russell. *Gods of War, Gods of Peace: How the Meeting of Native and Colonial Religions Shaped Early America.* New York: Harcourt, 2002. [BL 2525.B685 2002]

This is an attempt to examine Indian-white relations through the prism of the parties' spiritual systems. The author contends that the cross-fertilization of native and Christian religions was significant in the process of our becoming Americans. His authority is undermined somewhat, however, by a lack of documentation and a tendency to focus on personalities rather than broader societal changes.

Murphy, Andrew R. *Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America.* University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. [BR 757.M87 2001]

The emergence of religious toleration in seventeenth-century England and America is examined to see if there are lessons for contemporary society. The author argues that the earlier concept of religious toleration was different from our own. Then, there was an uneasy coexistence that required no surrender of an exclusive claim to the truth; now, identity politics involve an affirmation of the equal value of lifestyles.

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

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

Land grant. [MS/00/1768/Sep 20/1X Oversize]

John Blair, council president, Williamsburg, to Thomas Miers for 250 acres in Nansemond County, Virginia, September 20, 1768.

Letter: Greg Cunningham & Co., New York, to Mssrs. Newton and Gordon, Madeira, June 18, 1774. [MS/00/1774/Jun 18]

Sent by the provisioning agents for the British army to wine merchants in Madeira, a Portuguese island just off the Canary Islands, this communication offers insight into the difficulties of conducting business during the early days of the Revolutionary War, particularly the importation of goods into the colonies.

Letter: John H. Norton, Yorktown, to George William Fairfax, York, England, June 31, 1774. [MS/00/1774/Jun 31]

This letter to Fairfax, a close friend of George Washington, includes personal and business matters, together with a description of the anti-British mood in America following Parliament's response to the Boston Tea Party. Referred to the first of the "Intolerable Acts," which closed the port of Boston.

Commission: George III appoints Henry Goldsmith as lieutenant in the 54th Regiment of Foot, November 27, 1775. [MS/00/1775/Nov 27]

The document includes the signature and paper seal of the English monarch.

Letter: Ross & Gray to Henry Goldsmith, Bristol, March 21, 1776. [MS/00/1776/Mar 21]

This communication from military agents forwards the above-mentioned commission to Goldsmith and instructs him to hold himself "in Readiness to embark for North America."

Newspaper: *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), April 25, 1755.

Newspaper: *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), June 20, 1755.

This issue includes references to the beginnings of the French and Indian War with news of Fort Duquesne on the Ohio River.

Newspaper: *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), June 27, 1755.

This issue includes notice of Governor Dinwiddie ordering preparation of county militias against expected incursions by the French.

Newspaper: *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), July 17, 1755.

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

New Books for Children

Janice McCoy Memorial Collection Rockefeller Library

Activity Books

Berkeley, 1619–1726: Life on the James River Plantations in Colonial Days: A Book to Read and Color. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1977.

Carlson, Laurie. *Colonial Kids: An Activity Guide to Life in the New World.* Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1997.

Dosier, Susan. *Colonial Cooking.* Mankato, Minn.: Blue Earth Books, 2000.

African-American History

McKissack, Patricia C., and Fredrick L. McKissack. *Christmas in the Big House, Christmas in the Quarters.* New York: Scholastic, 1994.

Musgrove, Margaret. *The Spider Weaver: A Legend of Kente Cloth.* New York: Blue Sky Press, 2001.

Biography

Ferry, Joseph. *Thomas Jefferson.* Stockton, N. J.: Mason Crest Publishers, 2003.

Fritz, Jean. *Why Not, Lafayette?* New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1999.

———. *Will You Sign Here, John Hancock?* New York: PaperStar Books, 1997, 1976.

Furbee, Mary Rodd. *Outrageous Women of Colonial America.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2001.

Kozleski, Lisa. *James Madison.* Philadelphia: Mason Crest Publishers, 2003.

Marcovitz, Hal. *James Monroe.* Philadelphia: Mason Crest Publishers, 2003.

Snyder, Gail. *George Washington.* Philadelphia: Mason Crest Publishers, 2003.

Watson, Virginia. *The Legend of Pocahontas, Retold by Karla Dougherty.* New York: Children's Classics, 1995.

Education and Etiquette

Morse, Flo, and Vincent Newton, eds. *A Young Shaker's Guide to Good Manners.* Woodstock, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1998.

Sateren, Shelley Swanson. *Going to School in Colonial America.* Mankato, Minn.: Blue Earth Books, 2002.

Lewis and Clark Expedition

Blumberg, Rhoda. *The Incredible Journey of Lewis and Clark.* New York: Beech Tree Paperback Books, 1995.

Gunderson, Mary. *Cooking on the Lewis and Clark Expedition.* Mankato, Minn.: Blue Earth Books, 2000.

Kroll, Steven. *Lewis and Clark: Explorers of the American West.* New York: Holiday House, 1994.

Reference Books

Coddon, Karin, ed. *Colonial America* [Interpreting Primary Documents Series]. San Diego, Calif.: Greenhaven Press, 2003.

Ganeri, Anita. *The Story of Maps and Navigation.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Williamsburg, Virginia

Alter, Judy. *Williamsburg.* Minneapolis, Minn.: Compass Point Books, 2002.

Gourley, Catherine. *Welcome to Felicity's World, 1774.* Middleton, Wis.: Pleasant Company Publications, 1999.

Waters, Kate. *Mary Geddy's Day.* New York: Scholastic, 1999.

Wirkner, Linda. *Mystery of the Blue-Gowned Ghost.* Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1994.

Summer Program Synergy at the Museums of Colonial Williamsburg

by Trish Balderson

Trish is manager of museum education in the Museum Division.

With support from around the Foundation, cooperation, integration, and creative collaboration will be the name of the game this summer at the museums of Colonial Williamsburg. Historic Area interpreters, museum educators, and the Hennage Auditorium programmers have been busy creating educational programs incorporating themes and resources shared by the museum exhibitions and the Historic Area. *The Language of Clothing* exhibition at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum has been the launching point for many new joint programs. The exhibition's numerous themes, abundance of objects, and visual appeal offer unlimited program possibilities.

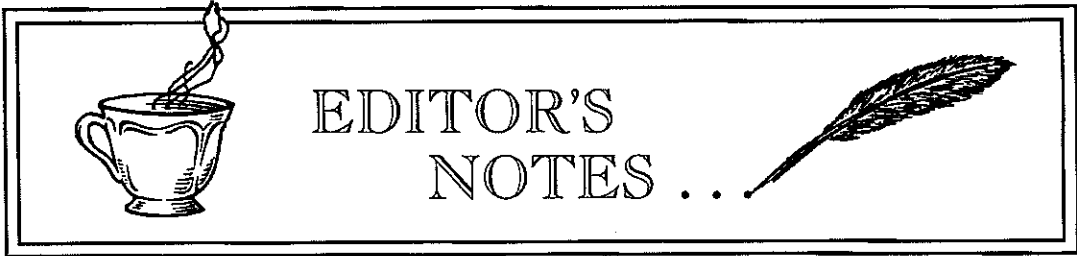
Since *The Language of Clothing* opened last October, museum staff and volunteers have given daily highlights tours of the exhibition at 1:30 P.M. In an attempt to add another dimension to the touring experience, "Fashioning Fashion" tours began in March. Every Wednesday and Friday at 3:30 P.M., a fashion tradesperson from the Historic Area gives a costumed tour of the exhibition from his or her special perspective. On Wednesdays, guests view the exhibition from the experiences of a milliner, and on Fridays, guests learn what life was like for a colonial tailor.

"Fashioning Fashion" integrates the hands-on historical expertise of trade interpreters into modern museum exhibition spaces helping guests make connections between the Historic Area and the museums. A similar experience is offered at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum with weaver Max Hamrick setting up shop in the afternoons this summer. Max, with the tools of his trade and help from other Historic Area weavers, demonstrates the art of weaving for guests in conjunction with their visit to *Made in America: Coverlets from the Collection of Foster and Muriel McCarl*. While interpreting a weaver's perspective on making period bed coverings, Max and his assistants are weaving a one-of-a-kind folk art coverlet. The weaving shop's afternoon home is at AARFAM from June 16 through Labor Day.

Exciting programming initiatives combining the strengths of the Historic Area and the museums are further augmented by the incorporation of character interpreters in both museums. In addition to costumed tours at pre-arranged times, guests come face-to-face with first-person characters in the galleries on a regular, weekly basis. Character interpreters personalize the exhibitions by relating their individual experiences to the objects on view. They make connections between original objects and the Historic Area. Guests to the museums are encouraged to visit a diversity of sites in the Historic Area to learn more about material culture and its many aspects and manifestations.

Classic program favorites remain at the core of expanded museum programming. The Hennage Auditorium offers an exciting and diverse schedule of music, entertainment, lectures, and first-person interpretive programs. Schedules for successful recurring programs such as "Wee Folk" and Weekend Family Programs have also been expanded this summer. "Wee Folk," for example, is offered twice a week this summer at AARFAM. During these programs, three- to seven-year-olds and their adult friends can enjoy exploring the galleries through stories and art activities. Throughout the summer, Family Programs are offered three times a week at both AARFAM and DWDAM. During scheduled times, families participating in these programs learn about an object on display or a particular aspect of an exhibition and make a related art project to take home. Guests can check the *Visitor's Companion* for dates, times, and program themes.

Through collaborative programs in the museum exhibitions and Hennage Auditorium, Historic Area interpreters as well as museum staff and volunteers hope to promote all the resources of Colonial Williamsburg. Integrated interpretation, entertainment, and activities will reinforce the visitor experience in the Historic Area, as well as educate guests about original objects preserved and interpreted by the museums and collections of Colonial Williamsburg.



We regret that the following sources were inadvertently omitted as footnotes in "Archaeological Excavations at the James Wray Site" by Jameson Harwood, Julie Richter, and Tom Goyens in the Winter 2003 issue of the *Interpreter:*

Gaynor, James M., and Nancy L. Hagedorn. *Tools: Working Wood in Eighteenth-Century America.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1993.

Marzio, Peter. "Carpentry in the Southern Colonies during the Eighteenth Century with Emphasis on Maryland and Virginia." *Winterthur Portfolio* 7 (1972): 229–250.

Poirier, Noel. "The Colonial Timber-yard in America." *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association* 54 (June 2001): 54–59.

The amended version can be found on Colonial Williamsburg's website.

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

Editor: Nancy Milton

Copy Editor: Mary Ann Williamson

Assistant Editor: Linda Rowe

Editorial Board: Cary Carson
Ron Hurst
Betty Leviner
Emma L. Powers

Planning Board: Laura Arnold
Harvey Bakari, Bertie Byrd
Bob Doares, Jan Gilliam,
Noel Poirier, John Turner,
Ron Warren, Pete Wrike,
Terry Yemm

Production: The Print Production
Services Department
Diana Freedman

© 2003 The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. All rights reserved. All images are the property of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, unless otherwise noted.

Spring