

interpreter

VOL. 17 NO. 2

SUMMER 1996

The White Loyalists of Williamsburg

by Kevin P. Kelly

Kevin is an historian in the department of Historical Research.

The climactic moment in *Williamsburg—The Story of a Patriot* comes when John Fry answers John Randolph's question whether he, too, is going home: "I am home." The movie quickly moves to resolution with John Fry bidding his son farewell as he marches off to war and the old flag is replaced by the flag of a new state. John Randolph's leave-taking is portrayed as cordial; Fry and Randolph shake hands as respected friends. But the actual departures of several other loyalist residents of Williamsburg were far from cordial. The first Tories fled from what Robert Beverley labeled "the Terrors of Torture or the Spirit of Persecution" during 1775 and 1776.

The tension of those years had been building since at least the spring of 1774 as news of the closing of the port of Boston became widespread in Virginia. Shortly after his arrival in Virginia, Nicholas Cresswell, an English traveler, noted that on Monday, May 30, 1774, "Nothing talked of but the Blockade of Boston Harbour." Cresswell also caught the tone of the conversations, "[The people] talk as if they were determined to dispute the matter with the Sword." During the next several months the debate about how Virginians should respond to Boston's plight re-

mained genuinely open. For example, in mid-June James Parker, a Norfolk merchant, wrote that the colony's political leaders were split. Even in September he felt "the honest 6 hhb [hogshead] planters" were still unsure of the proper course of action. Yet by autumn of 1774, as the Continental Association was put into effect, rebel rhetoric hardened and real open debate ceased. Again Cresswell, who had returned to Virginia after spending the summer in the West Indies, observed this new state of affairs: "October 24th 1774. Everything here [Alexandria] is in the utmost confusion. Committees are appointed to inspect into the Character and

Conduct of every tradesmen. . . . Independent Companies are raising in every County." Rumors of intimidation against those who did not conform circulated widely. In late November James Parker reported that a liberty pole had been erected opposite

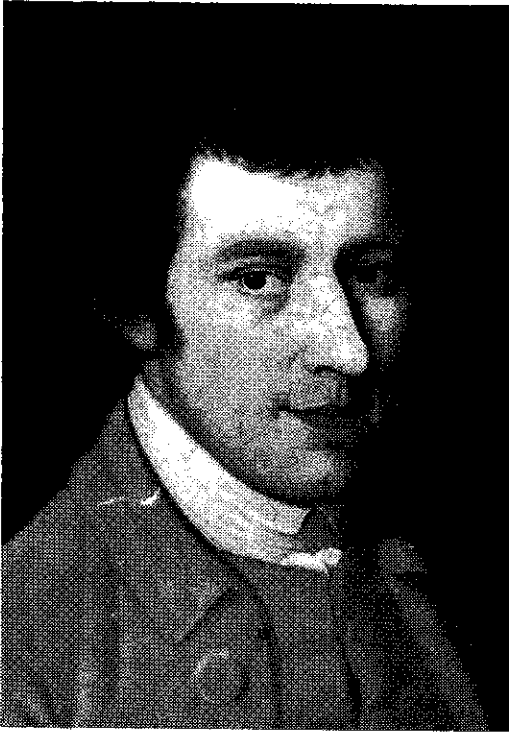
the Raleigh Tavern, "upon which was hung a large map & a bag of feathers, [and] under it a bbl [barrel] of tar." At nearly the same time, Cresswell confided in his diary that he must be careful what he wrote in letters because he believed they would be

opened before they got to England.

The climate of fear did not improve during the spring of 1775. County committees of safety continued to ferret out those not complying with the association. They seized and inspected merchants' account books, intercepted and read letters, and closely monitored public conversations. Individuals that the committees judged to be "inimical to the liberties of America" might find their names



GEORGE III KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.



Nicholas Cresswell, by an unidentified artist, ca. 1780, in the Colonial Williamsburg collection.

and sins published in the *Virginia Gazette*. Or they might be forced to sign a public confession acknowledging their wrongs and promising to reform. Parker declared it was by such "bullering conduct" that the rebels expected to bring the British government around to their terms.

Governor Dunmore's removal of the gunpowder from the Magazine, coupled with news from Lexington and Concord, only compounded a tense situation. Nor was the situation helped in and around Williamsburg when several independent companies—at least 200 armed men in all—encamped in the capital city in June and July 1775. In July, Robert Beverley wrote his good friend William Fitzhugh decrying the changes in public life as he had known it. Men once could hold different opinions free from "inflamed passions," he declared. Now, he said, the person in the minority must withdraw his opinion or face the "Vengeance or Persecution of the Majority." If that were not bad enough, Beverley wrote, during these "tumultuous Times" even formerly close friends would mistreat those thought to be Tories. Neutrality was quickly becoming impossible. The steady number of suspected Tories carted through town toward the Public Gaol in late

1775 and throughout 1776 was a reminder, if any was needed, of the price of loyalty.

Given the oppressive climate in Virginia, it is not surprising that most of the Williamsburg loyalists who left town in 1775 and 1776 reported the verbal and physical abuse they received as a principal reason for their choice. Richard Pitt testified that because his father, Dr. George Pitt, the keeper of the Magazine, refused to turn its key over to the rebels, he was the target of angry abuse in June and July. Robert Miller noted his outspoken contempt for the acts of some Bostonians, and in his position as a revenue officer he was subjected daily to threats and insults before he joined Dunmore in June 1775. The Reverend Mr. Thomas Gwatkin testified that after he refused Richard Henry Lee's and Thomas Jefferson's invitation to write a defense of the Continental Congress, a gang of armed men came to the college intent on forcing him to change his mind. On September 5, 1775, Joshua Hardcastle was dragged from his lodging to Benjamin Waller's woods. There he underwent a mock court martial that threatened to give him a "coat of thickset." On September 9, he published his intent to leave Virginia "soon." Richard Corbin, Jr., reported that he, too, was nearly tarred and feathered. In Adam Allan's case it was more than a threat. Allan, the proprietor of the Stocking Manufactory, moved to Fredericksburg in February 1776 after making himself very unpopular in Williamsburg by capturing and returning the colony's seal to Dunmore. But Allan was even less popular in Fredericksburg. He reported that on June 6, 1776, he was "stript naked to the waist tarr'd & feather'd" and in that situation, "carted through Fredericksburg upwards of two hours."

Sixteen Williamsburg individuals or families have been identified who felt compelled to leave the city in 1775 and 1776 because of their loyalty to the king. Lord Dunmore and Attorney General John Randolph and their families were the most socially important. John Randolph Grymes and Richard Corbin, Jr., both Virginia-born, were younger sons in two of the more prominent gentry families. Not all were as prominent as these men. Although Joshua Hardcastle was first noted in the York County court records in 1770, few other circumstances of his life are known. Irish-born Bernard Carey, a linen draper, was described as a "Middle Trader, not one

ADVERTISEMENTS.

WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 9, 1775.

I intend to leave the Colony
soon.
JOSHUA HARDCASTLE.

of the first rate." The social distance between Carey and Randolph, fellow residents and loyalists, was great; Randolph testified that all he knew about Carey was that he kept a shop in Williamsburg.

Despite the lowly status of Hardcastle and Carey, most of the first wave of Williamsburg loyalists were either merchants like William Maitland, professionals like Dr. Alexander Middleton and the Reverends Gwatkin and Henley of the College of William and Mary, or placemen like Robert Miller, treasurer of the college, and James Menzies, private secretary to the governor. Other defining characteristics of these early Tories were that most were born in Great Britain, were unmarried, and had lived in Virginia less than ten years. Most, like William Maitland, who said he came to Virginia in 1771 as an "adventurer," migrated to the colony hoping to establish themselves in the New World. But the "troubles" of 1775 and 1776 occurred before they could develop the ties that would make Virginia their "home."

But even an immigrant as well rooted as George Pitt chose to leave. Born in Worcester, England, in June 1724, he studied to be

W I L L I A M S B U R G.

IN consequence of a report last Tuesday morning that a certain Joshua Hardcastle, of this city, had the preceding evening been guilty of uttering expressions highly degrading the good people who compose the several companies now in this place; and moreover, that he had frequently spoke of the cause of America in a most disgraceful and menacing manner; the volunteers, exasperated at this insulting behaviour, and thinking themselves bound, by the ties of honour and love of country, to enquire into the nature of the offence, accordingly waited upon the said Hardcastle, and conducted him to the *Grove* (the habitation of the soldiers) where the officers and men were immediately drawn up. They then proceeded to his trial, and after a candid, mature, and deliberate examination of the witnesses, found him guilty of the facts laid to his charge. One of the principal officers then made the following propositions: Whether the said Hardcastle should be *complimented with a coat of thickset*; whether he should be *drowned through the city*; or whether he should make *public concessions*. The officers then divided, when ten were for **DRUMMING**; and a like number for **CONCESSIONS**. However, they at last agreed that he should *only ask pardon of all the officers and soldiers present, and give his promise that he never would be guilty of a like offence, and also be published in the Virginia gazettes, as a warning to those who may hereafter sport with the great and glorious cause of America.*

Virginia Gazette 1775.

a surgeon and an apothecary with his father and at age twenty sailed to Virginia. In 1753 he married Sarah Packe Garland, the wealthy widow of Mr. John Garland. His medical business prospered, gaining him wealth independent of his wife's, and he also held several important public offices. In the summer of 1775, Dr. Pitt was a widower with seven children, the eldest not yet twenty-one. In possessions and experience, he was as much a Virginian as any of his neighbors. Yet his refusal to become a rebel and the in-

results that decision earned him forced his departure. It was a costly choice. His son reported that once in England the thought of all his father had abandoned preyed on Dr. Pitt's mind and health. Broken, George Pitt died four months after his arrival.

By the end of 1776, loyalist departures from Williamsburg had subsided. For the next four years only three individuals with a link to Williamsburg are known to have left Virginia. William Francis Bickerton, a British merchant, moved to Williamsburg in 1773 to oversee his company's affairs. When he was confronted to take the oath of allegiance to Virginia in 1777, he refused and was made a prisoner on parole and "sent up the country." He escaped to New York in 1779. Edith

Robinson, the elderly widow of the Reverend Thomas Robinson, a former professor at the college, left Williamsburg sometime before 1778. A teenaged William Tarpley joined the British army in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780. The grandson of Elizabeth Rippling Tarpley and a nephew of Williamsburg merchant James Tarpley, he had been a grammar school student at the college from 1772 to 1775.

Why so few Williamsburg residents who still harbored loyalist sentiments chose not to leave in those four years is unclear. The establishment of a stable government on June 29, 1776, and the final departure of Lord Dunmore from the Chesapeake Bay on August 5 may have eased rebel fears of tories as a subversive element. Furthermore the most vocal early loyalists were either in exile, in jail, or on parole in the backcountry out of harm's way. Although the newspapers stopped mentioning tories being imprisoned in the Public Gaol after 1777, it is likely that some of the 300-plus prisoners housed

in the Williamsburg jail between December 1777 and March 1780 were there for committing political crimes. If so, any political prisoners jailed in town would serve as a reminder to Williamsburg's "closet loyalists" that discretion was the better part of valor. This may also explain why some of those later loyalists served in the rebel militia or took the oath of allegiance to Virginia in 1777.

Furthermore, public officials may have tolerated a rising level of discontent. By 1779 and 1780, war weariness had settled on Virginians. Rampant price inflation caused real hardships. In July 1779, a number of

Williamsburg's private citizens took the unprecedented action of calling a town meeting of all the free inhabitants; the meeting decided to fix the price of food items and also appointed a committee of overseers to enforce compliance. The failure to recapture Savannah, Georgia, in October 1779, the fall of Charleston, South Carolina, in May 1780, and the defeat of General Gates at Camden, South Carolina, in August 1780 were generally seen as military disasters. Even as steadfast a Virginia patriot as George Washington was troubled.

The lack of an easy opportunity to escape may have been another reason why so few of Williamsburg's remaining loyalists left before 1780. After Dunmore's departure in August 1776, there was no sustained British military presence in Virginia until late 1780. In August 1777, a British fleet entered the Chesapeake Bay to ferry British troops to Head of Elk, bypassing Virginia. On May 8, 1779, a British expeditionary force captured Portsmouth, burned Suffolk, then sailed off on May 24. On October 20, 1780, British General Leslie led an invasion force into Hampton Roads but was recalled to South Carolina on November 22, 1780. With no British lines to cross or garrisons to flee to, any Williamsburg loyalist wishing to go over to the British faced the prospect of a long and dangerous trip to New York City. Furthermore, such an escape exposed a loyalist's property to seizure. Better to let events work themselves out and hope for a change in military fortunes.

That change came in late December 1780 when the newly commissioned British general Benedict Arnold led another expedi-

Tuesday, 14 November 1775
Royal Chief Magistracy

An Oath of Allegiance

Whereas a Set of factious men, under the Names of Committees Conventions and Congresses have violently under various false pretences usurped the legislative and executive powers of Government and are thereby endeavouring to overturn our happy Constitution and have incurred the Guilt of actual Rebellion against our Gracious Sovereign. I A.B. do therefore adjure all their Authority and solemnly promise in the presence of Almighty God to bear faith and true Allegiance to his sacred Majesty George 3d. and will to the utmost of my Power and Ability, support maintain and defend his Crown and dignity against all traitorous Attempts and Conspiracies whatsoever.

So help me God

Doc., MS trans., in unidentified clerical hand (Loose Papers of the Fourth Virginia Convention, VSL)

tionary force into Virginia waters. Unlike earlier intrusions, this force meant to stay. To make his intentions clear, Arnold led a lightning strike up the James River, capturing Richmond before settling into winter quarters at Portsmouth on January 19, 1781. His presence began to draw the attention of Virginia's remaining loyalists. For example, James Tait of Cabin Point, a former engineer and land surveyor, offered his services as a guide and scout. Knowing Tait's knowledge of the region's geography would prove useful, Arnold accepted his offer. After Major General William Phillips arrived with 2,800 reinforcements in March 1781, William Peter Matthews, a Hampton merchant who briefly operated a store in Williamsburg after he married Williamsburg milliner Margaret Brodie, joined the British. He, too, provided Phillips and Arnold with maps of the area and helped secure supplies for the army.

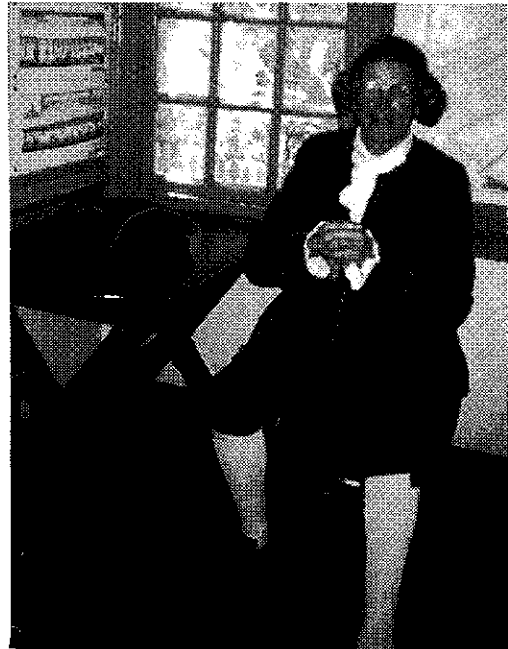
The presence of the British army also heartened the spirits of some Williamsburg loyalists. In March, William Hunter, a former printer, was able to slip into Portsmouth to provide the British with important intelligence. On April 20, Phillips and Arnold passed through Williamsburg on their way to burn the shipyard on the Chickahominy River. John Jarret Carter, who had served under Washington at the battle of Trenton, volunteered to guide them. Loyalists such as Carter, Matthews, and Tait continued to provide essential aid to the British after Lord Cornwallis joined Arnold on May 20, 1781. With the arrival of 1,500 reinforcements from New York on May 21, Cornwallis commanded an army of approximately 7,000 soldiers.

Arnold's arrival caught Virginia off guard, and state officials reacted little better when Phillips and Arnold took the offensive in late April. The arrival of Cornwallis only compounded the problem for Virginians. A widespread panic set in across the Commonwealth in the spring of 1781. It reached its peak in early June, when Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe and his Queen's Rangers captured Point of Fork, Virginia's main military supply depot, and Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton and his dragoons nearly caught the entire General Assembly napping at Charlottesville. Consequently, when the scattered legislators reassembled, they granted the new governor, General Thomas Nelson,

nearly dictatorial powers. With the advice of the Council, he could marshal the militia at will, commandeer necessary equipment, property (signalling a renewed hostility to those not fully committed to the American cause), jail any person suspected of "disaffection" without bail, and banish suspected Tories upon pain of death. As in 1775 and 1776, the time to choose had come; neutrality was no option.

After the raids on Charlottesville and Point of Fork, Cornwallis pulled his army back toward the Tidewater, where he hoped to receive new orders from General Clinton in New York. On June 25 he reached Williamsburg, where he encamped until July 4th. Cornwallis's army included not only 7,000 soldiers but also some several hundred slaves who had taken refuge with him and a smaller number of loyalists and their families. Supported by civilians like Matthews and Tait, who were commended for procuring provisions in Williamsburg "by consent of the inhabitants without using force," the army's company of cattle drivers was soon herding cattle and sheep into town, and its carters brought in wagonloads of shelled corn, bacon, and other foodstuffs.

While the British army rested and replenished its supplies, a number of the town's residents decided the time had come to make their loyalty known. William Hunter did so happily. He had made an overture in March,



John Greenman as William Hunter, loyalist Williamsburg printer.

but the British chances of winning were poor then, so he returned to Williamsburg. With Cornwallis looking unbeatable, however, Hunter saw little to risk and much to gain by joining the winners. James Hubard may have joined the British as a way out of what was an intolerable situation. A prominent attorney before the war, Hubard had been an early supporter of the colony's protests against the closing of Boston's harbor. He was elected to the Williamsburg Committee of Safety in 1774 and 1775. He was also appointed a judge of the Admiralty Court on July 4, 1776. But he must have harbored doubts about the direction the protest was taking, because he declined to serve on July 5 and he refused to take the oath of allegiance to Virginia in 1777. As a result, he was imprisoned briefly, and his law practice was destroyed. By 1780, Hubard, his wife, and eight children were living in greatly reduced circumstances. Furthermore his steadfast refusal to abandon his loyalty caused dissension within his family; his oldest son, James, joined the American side, while his second son, Matthew, strongly supported his father. Hubard may have attempted to return to Williamsburg after the siege of Yorktown, only to have to flee back to the protection of the British fleet. He sailed on the *Bonetta* with other loyalists to New York. In spring 1782, Matthew Hubard traveled with his mother to New York to visit his ill father. They arrived shortly after James, Sr.'s, death. The fifteen-year-old Matthew refused to return to Virginia, placing himself instead under the care of Lord Dunmore, who sent him to England with James Menzies.

Two other residents joined Cornwallis's army while it was in Williamsburg, and, like Hunter and Hubard, they escaped to New York after Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. Of the four, William Parker was the only one actually to enlist; he joined the American legion. The other three served as citizen volunteers. Except for the fact that he was married, little else is known about Parker. Theodorick Bland, who had married into the prominent Fitzhugh family, was the other individual who joined in June. The only reason he gave for doing so was that he found it "prudent to place himself under the protection of Lord Cornwallis."

The Common Hall of Williamsburg also accused six additional townsmen (Jacob Williams, Joseph Thompson, Henry Drake Watson, William Hill, James Ross, and Benjamin Bucktrout) of joining Cornwallis's

army. The Common Hall felt they warranted extra condemnation because they had returned to Williamsburg after the siege of Yorktown to resume their lives as if their betrayal was of little consequence. Except for Bucktrout, the historical record offers no evidence on why these men may have joined. In August 1779 Benjamin Bucktrout put his house and personal property, including his cabinetmaking tools, up for sale. He also announced he was leaving Virginia in October. Again no reason was given, but the advertisement suggests he was willing to cut all ties to Williamsburg. Interestingly, only Bucktrout stayed in Williamsburg after 1781 for any length of time; he died in Williamsburg about 1813. All the others disappeared from town by 1784 at the very latest.

These six men may not have actually joined the British Army the way Hunter, Hubard, and the others had. They may have simply sought out Lord Cornwallis's protection. This could have meant they were paroled by Cornwallis, which would have freed them from imprisonment as prisoners of war on their oaths not to take up arms against the British. They then could use these paroles as an excuse not to join the Virginia militia. Needless to say, Virginia authorities viewed such actions as a sure sign of "disaffection to the state." Francis, John, and Thomas Jaram, father and two sons, asked for Cornwallis's protection. Sometime after Cornwallis left Williamsburg to move on to Portsmouth, the Jarams were ordered arrested for "disaffection." Thomas, one of the sons, went into hiding, however, and eventually made his escape to Portsmouth and the safety of the British army. But Francis and John Jaram were not so lucky. They were taken to the public jail in Richmond, where they remained imprisoned until at least late 1781.

The social profile of the second wave of Williamsburg loyalists was similar in some ways to that of the 1775-1776 loyalists. The majority of both groups were born in Great Britain and, like the earlier loyalists, the later ones had lived in Virginia only a short time (seven years on average) before openly declaring their loyalty. The Virginia-born loyalists of the second wave were a little younger on average than their 1775-1776 colleagues. More of the later loyalists were or had been married (40 percent *versus* 20 percent.) But the biggest difference between the two groups can be seen in their occupations. The occupations for far more of the second group cannot be determined; they left too few clues

in the surviving records. For those whose occupations are known, more who became or were suspected of being loyalists were artisans than was true in 1775 and 1776. Whereas the commercial and professional ranks dominated in 1775 and 1776, few of their kind can be found among the later loyalists. This is not surprising, since few British-born merchants should still have been in Virginia because they had been banished from the state in 1777.

As *HMS Bonetta*, a sloop of war, cleared the capes in late October 1781 on its way to

New York City, its five Williamsburg passengers (Hunter, Hubbard, Bland, Jaram, and Carter) faced an uncertain future. Already ill, James Hubbard would die in New York. John Jarret Carter sailed in July 1782 to England, where he found part-time work driving a hackney coach. He dropped from view in 1783. Thomas Jaram disappeared in early 1782. After the peace treaty was signed in 1783, Theodorick Bland made repeated efforts to

return to Virginia, but he had not been permitted to land. Nor had he received any messages from his wife and family at the time his memorial was written in March 1784. William Hunter also attempted to return to Virginia from Nova Scotia in 1783, only to be unceremoniously "banished from his Native Country." He moved to England, where he found work as a journeyman printer. Although he was recommended for an al-

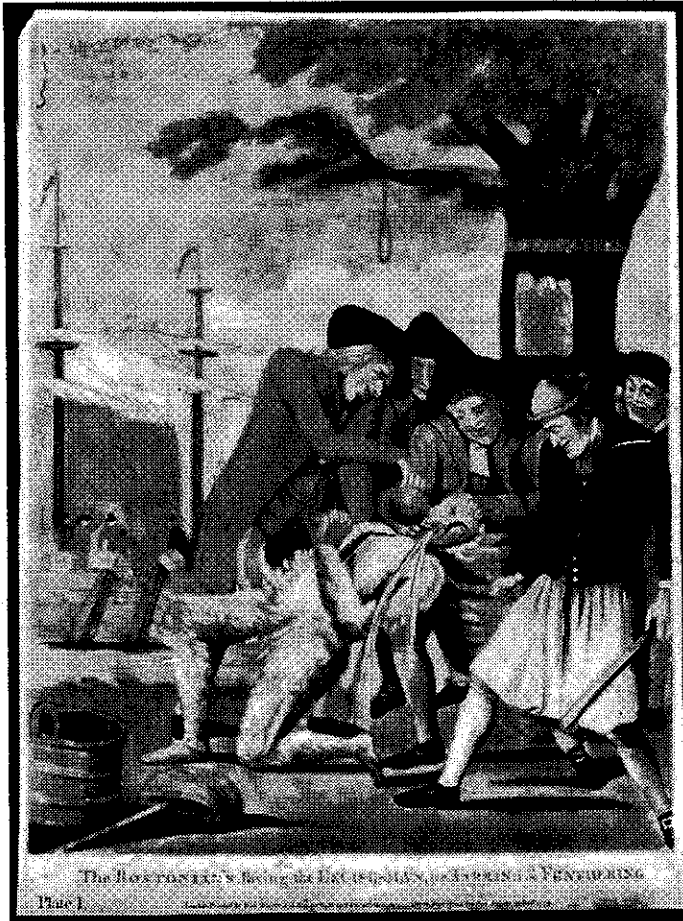
lowance of £30 a year, he was judged a person who "betrays a total Want of principles."

The fates of the other Williamsburg loyalists who went to England were equally mixed. Because of their former social standing, John and Ariana Randolph, Richard Corbin, Jr., and John Randolph Grymes received some of the largest annual allowances and awards granted the Williamsburg loyalists. Still, they would remain exiled in England living in genteel poverty. Yet their fate was better than Richard Floyd Pitt's. Soon after landing in England he took up the upholstery trade

and got married. But by 1783 he was bankrupted. In October 1786, Pitt, along with his wife and child, was thrown into Fleet Prison as an insolvent debtor. When last heard from in February 1788, he and his family were still there. Adam Allan settled in New Brunswick, and William Tarpley was given £20 to pay for his passage to Halifax. In 1783, Dr. Alexander Middleton petitioned the state to become a Virginia citizen. There is no evidence that his request was granted. He was living in

Calais in 1788. William Parker and Edith Robinson reached England and petitioned for assistance. Edith Robinson moved to Warcop, Yorkshire, to live with her sister Mary Preston. She was still living at Warcop in 1786. Nothing more is known about what happened to Parker. It is not even known if Joshua Hardcastle actually left Virginia, despite his published intent.

Although experiencing varying hardships



The Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring and Feathering, attributed to Philip Dawe, 1774, in the Colonial Williamsburg collection.

upon arriving in England, many of Williamsburg's British-born loyalists seem to have been successfully reabsorbed into British society. Bernard Carey had been settled in Ireland for two years by the time he submitted a claim. His story was deemed preposterous. When no award was granted, it was likely he went back to Ireland. After living with relatives until 1779, William Maitland also settled in Ireland. Because William Francis Bickerton and Robert Miller maintained commercial ties to Virginia during and after

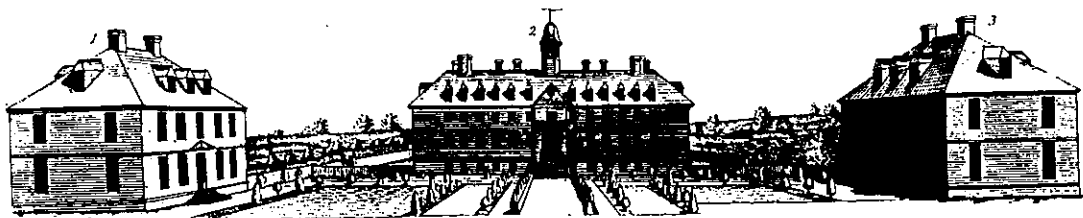


Dunmore china plate excavated at Palace site.

the war, they both seem to have avoided the economic distress other loyalists encountered. Although short of funds when he presented his claim, James Menzies had maintained close ties to Lord Dunmore. It was likely that Dunmore secured employment for him; Dunmore had done so for the Reverend Gwatkin. Because Dunmore felt obliged to his son's tutor, he had Gwatkin appointed vicar in Chousley, Berkshire, worth £80 a year. The Reverend Samuel Henley also easily reestablished himself in England. In 1776 he married and became assistant master of Harrow School. Later he was appointed curate in a parish in Northall, Middlesex.

As a peer of the realm, John Murray, the Fourth Earl of Dunmore, never doubted he would resume a life of privilege when the war in America was over. He had hoped to return in triumph to his government in Virginia. In anticipation of a British victory, he and many Virginia loyalists set sail for Virginia in early October 1781. The news of Cornwallis's surrender dashed their hopes. Upon return to England in 1782, Lord Dunmore had to settle for an award of £32,723 sterling (minus the £15,000 he had already received) for his lost property and an appointment as governor of Bahamas worth £1,000 sterling per annum.

Only thirty-two individuals stand out in the record as confirmed or suspected loyalists. By at least one measure their number was not impressive. Male loyalists accounted for only 14 percent of the military-aged men living in Williamsburg in 1776. Despite all the anxiety they may have generated, they posed no real threat to the rebellion. Yet their choices did ripple through the Williamsburg community. William Parker's wife joined Arianna Randolph in following her husband into exile. Children, like Dr. Pitt's seven youngsters, were uprooted and carried into a strange country. Families were split as fathers and sons disagreed about revolutionary politics. But families were split in other ways too. Sarah Bland would not see the father of her infant son, John, for three years at least. William and Joseph Hunter, neither one four years old in 1781, were twice orphaned, by the death of their mother and the desertion of their father. The ripples need not have had such tragic consequences, however. The Reverend Gwatkin worried that his departure would disrupt the education of his private students and asked Reverend Bracken to take care of them. The Revolution in Virginia and Williamsburg was a multilayered phenomenon. It was a story of triumph and promise, but it was also a story of deadends and disappointments. No matter how dissonant a note the loyalists struck, they are a part of the texture of the piece. Their story deserves to be told. ■



White Loyalists of Williamsburg

Name: Adam Allan.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Great Britain.
Date of Birth: By 1751.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1772.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: 2/1776; late 1776.
Occupation: Proprietor, Stocking Manufactory.
Offices: None known.
Family: Appears to be unmarried.
Remarks: Tarred and feathered in Fredericksburg, June 1776; in New Brunswick, 1786.

Name: Bernard Carey.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: North of Ireland.
Date of Birth: ?By 1748.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1766.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: Fall 1776.
Occupation: Linen drapery trader.
Offices: None known.
Family: Not married in Virginia.
Remarks: Imprisoned four days as "inimical to liberty"; in Ireland, 1781-1783.

Name: Richard Corbin, Jr.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: 1751.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: August 1775.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: Private secretary to father, Richard Corbin, Sr., Receiver General.
Occupation: None.
Offices: None.
Family: Second son of Richard Corbin, Sr.; unmarried.
Remarks: Nearly tarred and feathered before leaving Virginia.

Name: John Murray, Fourth Earl of Dunmore.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Scotland.
Date of Birth: 1732.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: September 1771.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: June 1775; August 1776.
Occupation: Royal Governor.
Offices: Same.
Family: Married Charlotte, daughter of the Earl of Galloway, 1759; seven children.
Remarks: Governor of Bahamas, 1786-1798; died 1809.

Name: John Randolph Grymes.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: 1747.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: March 1776.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: Private gentleman unconcerned with profession or trade.
Occupation: None.
Offices: None.
Family: A younger son Philip Grymes, Esq.; unmarried in Virginia; married Susannah Randolph, daughter of John and Ariana Randolph by 1780.
Remarks: A leading Virginia loyalist in England; probably died in England by 1797.

Name: Thomas Gwatkin.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Hereford Co., England.
Date of Birth: 1741.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: January 1770.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: June 1775.
Occupation: Professor of Natural Philosophy (1770) and Language (1775), College of William and Mary; private tutor.
Offices: None.
Family: Not married in Virginia.
Remarks: Tutor to Lord Fincastle; accosted by armed men at College; awarded a small living in Berkshire.

Name: Joshua Hardcastle.
Loyalist Evidence: Named in the Virginia Gazette.
Place of Birth: Unknown.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: By 1770.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: After Sept.9, 1775.
Occupation: Unknown.
Offices: None.
Family: Unknown.
Remarks: Subjected to a mock court martial by the Independent Companies encamped around Williamsburg, early September 1775.

Name: William Maitland.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Great Britain.
Date of Birth: ?By 1755.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1771 as an "adventurer."
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: January 1776; April 1776.
Occupation: Merchant; partner with Robert Miller.
Offices: Assistant treasurer at the College in Robt. Miller's absence, June 1775.
Family: Not married in Va.; was a dependent in Robt. Miller's household in 1774.
Remarks: Treated with violence and malice; settled in Ireland by 1779.

Name: Robert Miller.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Scotland.
Date of Birth: ca. 1730.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1749.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: June 1775.
Occupation: Merchant.
Offices: Treasurer of the College (1770); Comptroller of the port of Williamsburg (1773); Member Williamsburg Common Council (1773).
Family: Single; no evidence ever married.
Remarks: Received daily threats and insults for being outspoken and a revenue officer.

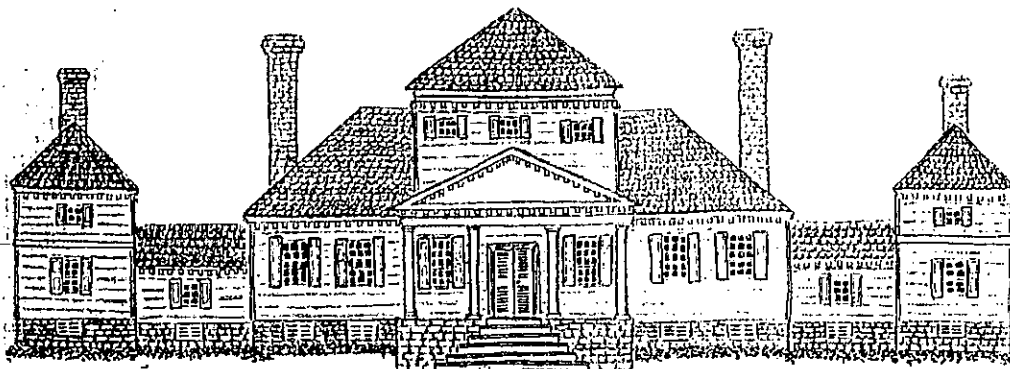
Name: Samuel Henley.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: England.
Date of Birth: ca. 1740.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1770.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: May 24, 1775.
Occupation: Professor of Moral Philosophy and College Chaplain, College of Wm & Mary.
Offices: None.
Family: Not married in Virginia; married by Dec. 1776 in England.
Remarks: Planned to leave before 1775 but stayed to ensure John Randolph was elected the College Burgess.

Name: Alexander Middleton.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Unknown.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1776.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: After spring 1776.
Occupation: Physician.
Offices: None.
Family: No evidence married in Virginia; married by 1778.
Remarks: Kind treatment of political prisoners in Public Gaol earned rebel displeasure; Captain of Maryland loyalists; petitioned to be a Virginia citizen 1783; living at Calais 1788.

Name: James Menzies.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Scotland.
Date of Birth: ca. 1745.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1763.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: June 1775; Aug. 1776.
Occupation: Private secretary to Lord Dunmore 1772+.
Offices: Deputy Auditor in Auditor General's Office 1763-1772; superintendent of Auditor General's Office, 1772-1775; Clerk to Committee to Encouragement of Arts & Manufactures.
Family: Unmarried in Va.; Lived in Dunmore's family after March 1772.
Remarks: Appointed Receiver General, Bahamas, 1795.

Name: George Pitt.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Worcester, England.
Date of Birth: 1724.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1744.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: August/September 1775.
Occupation: Surgeon and Apothecary.
Offices: Keeper of the Public Magazine 1755-1775; Muster Master General.
Family: Widower (Sarah Packe Garland Pitt died 1772) with 7 children, none over 21 in 1775.
Remarks: Refused to give key to the Magazine to the rebels; thought to have helped Dunmore remove the gunpowder; granted a royal patent for a process to make gunpowder; died at Stratford-on-Avon early 1776.

Name: John Randolph.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: ca. 1727.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: September 1775.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: Barrister.
Occupation: Attorney General and Judge Vice-Admiralty Court.
Offices: Married with two daughters and one son; son Edmund stayed in Virginia as a rebel.
Family: Leading Virginia loyalist; died in England 1784; daughter Ariana married loyalist James Wormley; daughter Susannah married loyalist John Randolph Grymes; widow Ariana died in England 1801.
Remarks:



John Randolph's home, Tazewell Hall. Drawing by Lucy Smith.

Name: Richard Floyd Pitt.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: Nov.15, 1754.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: August/September 1775.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: None in Virginia; Upholsterer in England.
Occupation: None.
Offices: None.
Family: Not married in Virginia; in England, married with one child by 1788.
Remarks: Bankrupted 1783; imprisoned for debt at Fleet Prison October 1786-February 1788+.

Name: William Francis Bickerton.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Great Britain.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1773.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: 1777/1779.
Occupation: Merchant.
Offices: None.
Family: No evidence married while in Va. Made prisoner on parole 1777 and sent to backcountry; escaped to New York 1779.
Remarks:

Name: William Tarpley.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: ca. 1762 (father, John died 1762/63).
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: By 1780.
Occupation: Unknown.
Offices: Unknown.
Family: Not married; grandson of Elizabeth Ripping Tarpley, son of John Tarpley, and nephew of James Tarpley; grandmother left William one-half of some lots in town and a plantation near Williamsburg.
Remarks: William and brother Thomas students at William and Mary 1772-1775; enlisted in the 84th Foot in Charleston, S.C., 1780; provided passage to Halifax.

Name: Joseph Thompson.
Loyalist Evidence: Accusation.
Place of Birth: Unknown.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: By 1777.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: Between 1782-1784.
Occupation: Gardener.
Offices: None.
Family: Probably not married.
Remarks: Accused of joining Cornwallis, 1781; advertised lot for sale September 1782.

Name: Jacob Williams.
Loyalist Evidence: Accusation.
Place of Birth: Unknown.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: Unknown.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: 1781.
Occupation: Unknown.
Offices: None.
Family: Unknown.
Remarks: Accused of joining Cornwallis 1781; jailed for "disaffection" late 1781. (There was a Jacob Williams living in the Norfolk area, 1774-1782.)

Name: Edith Robinson.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: James City Co., Virginia.
Date of Birth: 1726-1731.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: By 1778.
Occupation:
Offices:
Family: Since 1765, widow of the Rev. Thomas Robinson; daughter Mary and son-in-law Thomas Jameson died in 1771; grandchildren underage in 1778.
Remarks: Forced to leave Virginia by the violence of the rebels; joined widowed sister, Mary Preston in Warcop, Yorkshire; still there in May 1786.

Name: William Hunter.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: 1754.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: June 1781; Oct. 1781
Occupation: Printer.
Offices: None.
Family: Married (widowed by 1784) with two young children.
Remarks: Took oath of allegiance; served in Virginia militia; joined Cornwallis out of loyalty and belief British would win; unable to return to Virginia; journeyman printer in England in 1787.



Name: James Hubard.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: By 1738.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: June 1781; October 1781.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: Attorney.
Occupation: Williamsburg
Offices: Committee of Safety, 1774 and 1776.
Family: Married with 8 children.
Remarks: Refused to take oath of allegiance; imprisoned briefly; law practice collapsed; joined Cornwallis as volunteer; died in New York City, May 1782.

Name: Thomas Jaram.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Great Britain.
Date of Birth: ca. 1754-1758.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1774.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: July 1781; October 1781.
Occupation: Unknown (father or brother was a carpenter).
Offices: None.
Family: Unmarried (father and brother lived in Williamsburg).
Remarks: Escaped imprisonment for disaffection; joined Cornwallis in Portsmouth, in New York City spring 1782.

Name: William Parker.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Unknown.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: By 1774.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: June 1781; October 1781.
Occupation: Unknown.
Offices: None.
Family: Married, probably had children.
Remarks: Enlisted in the "American Legion"; moved family to New York upon his discharge; in England June 1783.

Name: Theodorick Bland.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: England.
Date of Birth: ca. 1752.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: by 1772.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: June 1781; October 1781.
Occupation: Planter.
Offices: None known.
Family: Married with at least one son.
Remarks: Found it "prudent" to seek Cornwallis's protection; not permitted to return to Virginia after 1783; still in England 1784.

Name: Matthew Hubard.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: 1767.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: April/May 1782.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: None.
Occupation: None.
Offices: None.
Family: Unmarried; second son of James Hubard.
Remarks: Traveled to New York to join dying father; refused to return to Virginia; sent to England under care of Lord Dunmore; planned to go to East Indies with Cornwallis spring 1783.

Name: John Jarret Carter.
Loyalist Evidence: Claim.
Place of Birth: Unknown.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: Unknown.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: April 1781; October 1781.
Occupation: Publican/tavern-keeper.
Offices: None.
Family: Married, probably with children.
Remarks: Served in the American army 8 months; refused to take oath of allegiance; joined Cornwallis in April 1781; drove a hackney coach in England 1783.

Name: Benjamin Bucktrout.
Loyalist Evidence: Accusation.
Place of Birth: Great Britain.
Date of Birth: By 1745.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1766.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: 1788 to 1793?
Occupation: Cabinetmaker.
Offices: Petit juror, York Co., 1768, 1772; purveyor for the Public Hospital, 1777-1779; Williamsburg road surveyor, 1804.

Family: Married or widowed in 1781.

Remarks: Advertised property for sale and intent to leave Virginia, August 1779; accused of joining Cornwallis 1781; died in Williamsburg, ca.1813.

Name: John Jaram.
Loyalist Evidence: Imprisonment.
Place of Birth: Probably Great Britain.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1774.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: By 1782.
Occupation: Unknown. (Owned cattle and sheep in 1777.)

Offices: None.
Family: Unmarried/widower? (It is not clear which Jaram, John or Francis, was the father, which was the son.)

Remarks: Took oath of allegiance 1777; put on parole by Virginia June 1781; jailed for "Disaffection" in late 1781.

Name: James Ross.
Loyalist Evidence: Accusation.
Place of Birth: Virginia.
Date of Birth: ca. 1758.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: After 1781.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: After 1781.
Occupation: Carpenter.
Offices: None.
Family: Probably unmarried.
Remarks: Convicted of breaking the peace in July 1780 and September 1780; accused of joining Cornwallis 1781.

Name: William Hill.
Loyalist Evidence: Accusation.
Place of Birth: Unknown.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: By 1773.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: By 1782.
Occupation: Carter.
Offices: None.
Family: Unknown.
Remarks: Took oath of allegiance 1777; accused of joining Cornwallis 1781; lot owner until 1784 (not on personal property tax lists).

Name: Francis Jaram.
Loyalist Evidence: Imprisonment.
Place of Birth: Probably Great Britain.

Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: 1774.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: After 1783.
Occupation: Carpenter/builder.
Offices: None.
Family: Unmarried/widower? (It is not clear which Jaram, Francis or John, was the father, which was the son.)

Remarks: Took the oath of allegiance 1777; jailed for "disaffection" in late 1781.

Name: Henry Drake Watson.

Loyalist Evidence: Accusation.
Place of Birth: Unknown.
Date of Birth: Unknown.
Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.: By 1780.
Departed Wmsbg./Va.: By 1782.
Occupation: Unknown.
Offices: None.
Family: Unknown.
Remarks: Accused of joining Cornwallis 1781.



A Short Bibliography on Loyalists

Wallace Brown. *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution*. New York, 1969.

Robert McCluer Calhoun. *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781*. New York, 1973.

Emory G. Evans. "Trouble in the Backcountry: Disaffection in Southwest Virginia during the American Revolution." In Ronald Hoffman, *et al.*, *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*. Charlottesville, VA, 1985.

Adele Hast. *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia: The Norfolk Area and the Eastern Shore*. Ann Arbor, MI, 1982.

William H. Nelson. *The American Tory*. New York, 1961.

Mary Beth Norton. *The British Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789*. Boston, MA, 1972.

Gregory Palmer. *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*. Westport, CT, 1984.

John E. Selby. *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775-1783*. Williamsburg, VA, 1988.

Paul H. Smith. "The American Loyalists: Notes on Their Organization and Numerical Strength." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, XXV (1968), 269-277.

Paul H. Smith. *Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy*. Chapel Hill, NC, 1964.



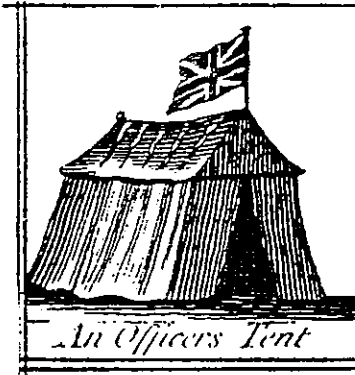
Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment

In November 1775 Virginia's last Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, issued a proclamation to the people of his rebellious colony. In this document the governor declared martial law and demanded that all able-bodied citizens of Virginia, capable of bearing arms, report "to his Majesty's STANDARD, or be looked upon as Traitors. . . ." Dunmore then shocked most white Virginians by offering freedom to slaves "appertaining to Rebels" who would be willing and able to bear arms for the King.

As a result of this decree thousands of

slaves throughout the colony fled to the British lines. Hundreds, including some free blacks, joined the newly created Royal Ethiopian Regiment under the command of British officers. Many wore badges with the motto "Liberty to Slaves" mocking the rebels' badges imprinted with "Liberty or Death."

At the end of July two hour-long programs depicting the formation of this regiment will be presented at the site of the military encampment. Even though this recruitment did not take place in the capital city, some slaves from Williamsburg



By his Excellency the Right Honourable JOHN Earl of DUNMORE, his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governour-General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice-Admiral of the same:

A P R O C L A M A T I O N .

AS I have ever entertained Hopes that an Accommodation might have taken Place between *Great Britain* and this Colony, without being compelled, by my Duty, to this most disagreeable, but now absolutely necessary Step, rendered so by a Body of armed Men, unlawfully assembled, firing on his Majesty's Tenders, and the Formation of an Army, and that Army now on their March to attack his Majesty's Troops, and destroy the well-disposed Subjects of this Colony: To defeat such treasonable Purposes, and that all such Traitors, and their Abettors, may be brought to Justice, and that the Peace and good Order of this Colony may be again restored, which the ordinary Course of the civil Law is unable to effect, I have thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, hereby declaring, that until the aforesaid good Purposes can be obtained, I do, in Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given, by his Majesty, determine to execute martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Colony; and to the End that Peace and good Order may the sooner be restored, I do require every Person capable of bearing Arms to resort to his Majesty's STANDARD, or be looked upon as Traitors to his Majesty's Crown and Government, and thereby become liable to the Penalty the Law inflicts upon such Offences, such as Forfeiture of Life, Confiscation of Lands, &c. &c. And I do hereby farther declare all indentured Servants, Negroes, or others (appertaining to Rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining his Majesty's Troops, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper Sense of their Duty, to his Majesty's Crown and Dignity. I do farther order, and require, all his Majesty's liege Subjects to retain their Quitrents, or any other Taxes due, or that may become due, in their own Custody, till such Time as Peace may be again restored to this at present most unhappy Country, or demanded of them for their former salutary Purposes, by Officers properly authorized to receive the same.

*GIVEN under my Hand, on Board the Ship William, off Norfolk,
the 7th Day of November, in the 16th Year of his Majesty's
Reign.*

D U N M O R E .

G O D S A V E T H E K I N G .

By the representatives of the people of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia assembled in General Convention.

A DECLARATION.

Whereas [Lord Dunmore, by his proclamation, dated on board the ship William, off Norfolk, the 7th day of November 1775, hath offered freedom to such able-bodied slaves as are willing to join him, and take up arms, against the good people of this colony, giving thereby encouragement to a general insurrection, which may induce a necessity of inflicting the several punishments upon those unhappy people, already deluded by his base and insidious arts; and whereas, by an act of the General Assembly now in force in this colony, it is enacted, that all negro or other slaves, conspiring to rebel or make insurrection shall suffer death, and be excluded all benefit of clergy: We think it proper to declare, that all slaves who have been, or shall be seduced, by his lordship's proclamation, or other arts, to desert their masters' service, and take up arms against the inhabitants of this colony, shall be liable to such punishment as shall hereafter be directed by the General Convention And to the end that all such, who have taken this unlawful and wicked step, may return in safety to their duty, and escape the punishment due to their crimes, we hereby promise pardon to them, they surrendering themselves to Col. William Woodford, or any other commander of our troops, and not appearing in arms after the publication hereof. And we do farther earnestly recommend it to all humane and benevolent persons in this colony to explain and make known this our offer of mercy to those unfortunate people.]

In December of 1775 representatives of the Fourth Virginia Convention responded to Lord Dunmore's proclamation.

did enlist. More than a dozen African-American interpreters have volunteered for the regiment. In addition, half a dozen interpreters from the independent company will play the parts of British officers. Check the *Visitor's Companion* for the dates and times of these two daily events.

This program offers an important opportunity to explore some of the choices that Virginia's African-American community had during the Revolution, and to show the paradox that the War for Independence created for those proclaiming liberty for themselves while enslaving others. ■

SUPPLYING VIRGINIA'S REGIMENTS

By Mark Hutter

Mark is an assistant Historic Trades interpreter in Fashion Trades.



"Wanted Immediately for the Army, camp kettles, either tin or brass, to hold about three gallons; a large quantity of DUCKING, or RUSSIA DRAB for tents; OSNABRUGS, for hunting shirts; CHECKS, coarse white LINEN, or Country made LINEN for under shirts; also BLANKETS and coarse STOCKINGS. Any person who

has any of the above articles for sale will be pleased to inform me by letter, per Post, directed to be lodged at the Post Office, Aylett's . . . CANTEENS are also much wanted, and it is requested of the respective Committees to make immediate Inquiry after those taken from the Magazine, and continue them to the Head Quarters; not omitting those that are damaged, which may be repaired. . . I will also give ready Money for any Quantity of SALTPETRE, SULPHUR, or LEAD. WILLIAM AYLETT, Contractor.

SPADES, SHOVELS, and MATTOCKS, are also wanted. Those who have them will apply as above." *The Virginia Gazette*, Dixon and Hunter, October 7, 1775.



Mark Hutter as James Slate, tailor.

William Aylett was the newly appointed State Agent for Virginia and Commissary for the Publick Store in Williamsburg, and was charged by order of the Third Virginia Convention with the daunting task of procuring all needed matériel for supplying the colony's recently organized regiments. Virginia had been put into "a posture of defense," and had been divided into sixteen districts which were to recruit the officers, rank and file of six state regiments, and also a number of companies of minute men, totalling thousands of enlisted soldiers. All of them were to be provided with the arms, equipage, clothing, and accoutrement of a standing army. Aylett's task was an urgent one.

Aylett worked feverishly to purchase all that he could from shopkeepers and merchants. Tailors were contracted to make the needed hunting shirts, leggings, match coats, tents, haversacks, knapsacks, colours, and more. Stitchers across the counties, professional and otherwise, took up needles to manufacture uncountable piles of shirts. Weavers were encouraged to produce utili-

tarian country-made linens and wools, and a factory was set up across Queen's Creek outside the city. Barbers sharpened razors and shears as orderly books commanded that "the Officers and Soldiers are to ware (*sic*) their hair short and near alike as possible" and "their beards shaved." Cordwainers worked to shoe a marching army. Millers were exempted from armed service only to be kept busy helping to feed the soldiery and, of course, armourers worked constantly to build and maintain the weapons of war. By the autumn of 1775 it seems as though an army of artificers was needed to supply an army of soldiers.

For the summer of 1996 the tailor, weaver, milliners, and wigmakers of Colonial Williamsburg will be busy "Supplying Virginia's Regiments." Every Tuesday through August the Fashion Trade sites will shift their focus of interpretation to discuss the tremendous efforts of their respective trades in clothing and sheltering the army as war becomes imminent.

"Supplying Virginia's Regiments," which premiered June 11th, is a day-long program which utilizes character and first person interpretation and third person analysis. The use of multiple sites and multiple interpretive techniques will allow the visitors a variety of experiences through which they may learn of the effect of Revolution upon these trades and their artisans. Visitors to the program may begin at either the Wig Shop, the Millinery, or the Weaving Room. At all of these sites visitors will be oriented by the visitor aide, and encouraged to continue to the other locations.

On entering the Wig Shop one will find that work on fashion heads continues, but has been supplemented by grooming of officers and soldiers. There is discussion among the wigmakers (Regina Blizzard, Betty Kelly, and Pam Young) of the need for barbers to travel with the regiments, and there is speculation as to whether a new and provincial army will be able to maintain the European formality of war. One of the wigmakers comments to the customers that she has taken in laundry to supplement her income, and needs to fetch some shirts from the tailor across the street.

In Margaret Hunter's Millinery, tailor James Slate (Mark Hutter) is busy amidst piles of coarse linens and wools. He has been commissioned by captains of several regiments to get up hunting shirts and leggings, tents and haversacks. He has also hired on a journeyman (Robert Trio, intern from Historic Buildings), and their work for the army has begun to consume Miss Hunter's Shop. The fashionable millinery is now sparse as the agreements of Non Importation have

taken effect. The milliners, Margaret Hunter (Janea Whitacre) and Elizabeth Carlos (Doris Warren) are currently occupied sewing plain checked and white shirts to sell to the Publick Store at a shilling and eight pence each. They would be pleased to be relieved of the tedium to show out what fashionable goods remain in the store, but are prudently put away. The few good chintzes and silks yet in the shop are resplendent compared to the utilitarian stuffs of local manufacture. While tending to shop, Marilyn Wetton discusses the result of preparing for war upon the economy, the community, the trades, and individuals.

In the workshop behind the Millinery, weaver Max Hamrick speaks to visitors of the transition from being reliant on European manufacture received through England to the necessary increased domestic production to supply an army and an emerging nation.

This Choosing Revolution program has been organized through the combined ef-

forts of the Fashion Trades Staff, the Visitor Aide Department, Military Programs, and the Special Projects Team of the Costume Design Center. Training sessions conducted by John Caramia and Jim Loba of Military Programs have supplemented the research of the trades interpreters and have been shared with the Visitor Aide staff. The Millinery staff and Special Projects team have in conjunction with one another developed patterns for hunting shirts and several other items to be produced by both, and used by the Military Programs and the Millinery. As the program continues through the summer, personnel from Military Programs will be added in the roles of captains commissioning work from the various trades. Character Interpreters from across the city are welcome to become involved in the program, and all persons are encouraged to visit and maybe even be put to work "Supplying Virginia's Regiments."

Please watch the *Visitor's Companion* for further information. ■

Suggested "Becoming Americans" Bibliography

The Theme

1. Warren W. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate. *Colonial Virginia*. White Plains, New York: KTO Press, 1986.
2. Edward Countryman. *American Revolution*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1985.
3. Theodore Draper. *A Struggle for Power: The American Revolution*. New York: Times Books, 1996.
4. Rhys Isaacs. *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982.
5. Gordon S. Wood. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. Knopf, 1992, New York: Vintage Books, 1993.



"Transforming Families"

Stephanie Grauman Wolf. *As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1994.

"Enslaving Virginia"

Mechal Sobel. *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987.

"Freeing Religion"

Patricia Bonomi. *Under the Cope of Heaven*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

"Buying Respectability"

Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffmann, and Peter J. Albert, Editors. *Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1994.

"Possessing the Land"

Michael N. McConnell. *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples 1724-1774*. Lincoln, Nebraska: The University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

The Storylines

"Choosing Revolution"

John E. Selby. *The Revolution in Virginia 1775 to 1783*. Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988.

Small Gestures Make The Biggest Impact

by Conny Graft

Conny is director of the department of Interpretive Education and Support.

Even if the humidity didn't increase and the temperatures didn't soar up into the nineties, we would still be able to detect the arrival of the summer season in the Historic Area at Colonial Williamsburg. Every year, around the third week in June, the arrival of the summer season 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 mom and/or dad and grandparents, that familiar sound reminds us that the summer season has arrived. In all trade shops and historic buildings and on every tour, families with young children make up 60 percent 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 the young children without boring the other

visitors in your group? What do parents and their children expect and how do they define a successful experience? Over the past three years, Colonial Williamsburg and in particular interpreters and trainers have worked hard to improve the families' experience in the Historic Area. In 1993 we noticed in our mailback surveys that we had room for improvement. Ratings from families with young children on a scale of one to ten 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 visitor research has continued for the past three years, 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 three years. As you prepare yourself for the summer season, I challenge all readers to review these findings and ask yourself how



"If you make the child happy, you will make the parent very happy."

you can use this information to strengthen your interpretations and in turn the families' experience.

1. First impressions are critical.

The first five minutes of the families' experience are critical. During the focus group research we discovered that often the families who were most negative about their experience almost 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 Compan-*

ion, 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



"Bending down and making eye contact takes a few seconds but makes the child feel very special."

Kit Arbuckle and Josh Grainer

up to the front so they can see you and the room 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 in the room, 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 your child is uncomfort-

able, 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.

Every parent we talked to wanted their child 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 experience they had in classrooms or they were going to be exposed to American history in school in September and wanted their children to get a head start. Whenever the interpretive experience was hands-on but was not accompanied by any information about the activity or the people associated with the activity, parents were very disappointed. Parents also want

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

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 very 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 children will be very busy thinking about the question you posed while you are silently counting to ten, waiting for the child to respond. 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 are sometimes 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 all of the above 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 towards 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 vice versa 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 so first 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 in the focus group on a monitor. Parents were fascinated to hear what their children felt and thought about all the experiences they had in the Historic Area. 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 lightbulbs 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



The Hoop does run, the Doll makes run.

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 lightbulb goes off. Often it takes repeated interpretations using different tech-

niques on the same theme before all the pieces and experiences begins to make sense. Never give up.

Summary

The findings listed above may not be new to you, but hopefully 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 visitors without children. In reviewing visitors' comments over the past ten years I have never heard an adult without children complain that our interpretations were too oriented towards children, but I have heard the same group complain about ways interpreters have mishandled someone else's children's question 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. Children are our future and summer is here. . . . 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:

Csikszentmihalyi, M. and Hermanson, Kim, "Intrinsic Motivation in Museums, What

makes Visitors Want to Learn?", *Museum News*, May, June 1995.

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

Dierking, L. "The Family Museum Experience", *Journal of Museum Education* 14, no.2, (spring/summer 1989): 9-11.

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

For copies of the summaries of the focus groups at Colonial Williamsburg call Conny Graft at 220-7216.

WAGES AND PRICES

by John A. Caramia, Jr.

John is manager of economic and commercial studies in the department of Trades/Presentations and Tours.

With the introduction of colonial currency this summer questions concerning wages and prices (always a favorite with visitors) will continue to be asked. The search for ways to answer these questions has long been part of training classes and short research reports. In 1977 Harold Gill, then a member of the department of Historical Research, wrote a short essay on prices and wages in the year 1750. He also developed a data base of retail prices which came from a number of merchant account books. So using Gill's information, how should we respond to the visitor's question, "How much did they make?" One of the fundamental problems is that most people in the eighteenth century were self-employed, and, of course, did not have to report their annual income to the government. Thus, little data survives to help answer that question. For those salaries that do exist we find young, single, journeymen craftsmen were paid between £25 and £35 per year. In addition most of them received room and board, so their salary could be considered discretionary income. For older journeymen less data survives because most have either become masters of the shop or have left their trade to become planters. A few salaries, however, do exist. For example the

foreman (senior journeyman) at the Printing Office (Hunter & Royle) was paid between £40 and £60 per year. James Vaughn, the journeyman miller at Burwell's Mill, was paid £50. Taking this data as a whole, it would be better to say that the salary range was between £25 and £60 per year. In the case of masters of the shop it is almost impossible to determine what their net profit was each year. Some evidence suggests that it may have been between £60 and £100. Other examples include merchants (who worked for someone else) whose salaries ranged from £75 to £300 per year; the usher at the Grammar School who received £75 in 1770; and Jon Boucher, schoolmaster in Caroline County, who received £60 in 1759. In summary while we do know the salaries for some very specific people, it is impossible to provide visitors with an average salary for workmen in eighteenth-century Virginia. The question concerning wages is only one part of a larger question. "What could be purchased for that amount of money?" In other words, "What was the cost of living?" In responding to this question, we do have a variety of retail prices to quote. But we need to remember that most items for sale had more than one price. These multiple prices reflected varying qualities of a particular item. It is also impossible to know how individual consumer decisions affected specific purchases. Below is a short price list of representative items being sold in Virginia in the eighteenth century. For much of the period (until the Revolution) there was little inflation. The following retail prices are taken from a variety of account books of merchants

and tradesmen, and reflect the period before 1776. They can be used to help our visitors get a better idea of what could be purchased during the colonial period with treasury notes. (Note: 6d is read 6 pence; 2/6 is read 2 shillings 6 pence; and £1.10..0 is read 1 pound 10 shillings 0 pence)



A. Food:

Apples (bushel)	2/6
Bacon (pound)	6d
Beef (pound)	2d to 5d
Butter (pound)	7.5d to 1/3
Cheese (pound)	7.5d
Chocolate (pound)	2/6
Chickens (each)	6d to 1/0
Eggs (dozen)	7.5d
Oranges (dozen)	3/6
Pork (cwt)	25/0
Salt (bushel)	2/6; 4/0
Sugar	
•Brown (pound)	3d to 7.5d
•Double refined (pound)	11.25d to 1/6
•Loaf, singled refined (pound)	1/6
Rum	
(pint)	7.5d
(quart)	1/3
(gallon)	5/0
Tea (pound)	
•Suison	12/10
•Bohea	7/0 to 8/6
•Green	6/3 to 15/0
•Hyson	£1.10..0
Turkey (each)	1/6 to 3/6
Veal (pound)	4d
Vinegar (gallon)	1/3
Wine (bottle)	
•Lisbon	4/9
•Maderia	2/6 to 4/0
•Virginia (quart)	5/0



B. Clothing:

Buckles	
•Knee (pair)	7.5d
•Shoe (pair)	11.25d to 2/6
Spectacles (pair)	1/0
Breeches (pair)	6/8 to 12/0
•Leather	6/0
Gloves (pair)	1/6 to 7/0
Handkerchief	1/6 to 10/0
Hats	
•Felt	1/6 to 6/6
•Leghorn	1/8 to 3/0
•Woman's Black Silk	10/0
Hose (pair)	
•Men's Thread	3/4
•White knit Thread	6/0
•Woman's Worsted	5/0
•Men's Brown Thread	5/6
•Plaid	1/4
•Silk	£1..2..6
Shirt (cotton)	6/0
Scissors (pair)	7.5d to 1/3
3 lb of Powder	3/9
Shoes (pair)	
•Didsbury	5/9
•Virginia	6/6
•Calamanco	6/8
•Coarse	6/0
•Men's Turned Up	7/6
•Negro	4/0
•Women's	5/0
•Women's Silk Damask	17/6
•Women's Leather	2/6 to 5/0
Wigs, Curls, & Shaving	
•Brown dress gueue wig and ribbon	£2..4..0
•Brown dress bag wig	£1.12..6 to £2..3..0
•Brown drop queue wig with ribbon	£2..3..0

- Brown bob wig £1.12..6 to £2..3..0
- Brown dress queue wig £2..3..0
- Brown plain bob wig £1.12..6
- Brown tye wig £4..0..0
- Pair of Curls 7/6 to £1
- Shaving (1 year) £1.10..0 to £2..3..0
- Shaving & Dressing (1 year) 15/0 to £4..1..0



C. Books & Stationary:

Almanac	7.5d
Horn book	3d to 7.5d
Ink powder	4d to 9d
Paper (Quire)	7d to 2/3
Pencil	3.25d
Primmer	6d to 10d
Sealing wax (stick)	5d
Bible	
•Common	1/9
•Complete	6/9
•Quarto	17/6
•Large	£1..1..0
Blank Book	5/0 to 15/0
Gulliver's Travels (1Vol.)	5/0
Fountain Pen	1/6
Ledger	12/0 to 1..8..0
Prayer Book	
•Common	6/0
•Guilt	4/2 to 7/0
Spelling Book	1/6 to 2/0
Watt's Hymns	1/6 to 3/6
Watt's Hymns/Psalms	6/6
Wise's Arithmetic	3/0
Mercer's Abridgement of Laws	£1
Burnet's History	£1..2..0
Jewish Spy (5 Vols.)	£1.10..0

D. Miscellaneous Items:

Candles (pound)	3.5d to 1/3
Candlesticks (pair)	
•Iron	10d to 1/3
•Flat Brass	9/0
Candle Wax (pound)	1/3
Cards	
•Playing (pack)	7.5d to 1/0
•Cotton (pair)	3/4 to 6/0
•Wool (pair)	2/4 to 2/6
Gun Powder (pound)	1/6 to 2/6
Shot (pound)	
•drop	4d
•goose	5d)
•swan	5d
Firewood (cord)	7/6
Lanthorn	2/0 to 5/9
Razor	1/3
Large money scales	14/0
Gun	
•painted stock	£1..6..0
•walnut color stock	£1.10..0
Pistols (pair)	£3.15..3
Saddle	
•hunting	£1.16..0 to £2..3..0
•Side & furniture	£2..5..0
•bags (pair)	£1..1..0
•portmanteau	£2..5..0
Fiddle & bow	19/6
Violin & bow	£1..0..0
Walnut Bedstead	12/6



E. Tools and Hardware:

○ File	
•cross cut saw	5d to 1/0
•hand saw	2d to 8d
•pit saw	10d to 1/0
•smith's small	6d
Axe	
•broad	6/6 to 7/6
•cooper's	5/0
•grubbing	3/6
•hand	5/9
Knife	
•butcher	7/5d
•cutloe	7.5d
•jack	9d
•pen	4d to 1/3
•pruning	1/0
Garden spade	6/0
Screw driver	7.5d
Gun lock	5/0 to 6/8
Hoe	
•Virginia made	6/6
•broad	3/4 to 4/3

•hilling	3/9
•narrow	2/0 to 3/9
•weeding	4/9
Saw	
•hand	5/0 to 6/6
•panel	9/0

F. Land Prices and Rents

1. Unimproved rural land in York County:
 - Ranged from 13/6 to £3..4..3 per acre
 - Average was £1.10..0
2. Rents (Williamsburg)
 - 1750s
 - £16.15..0(Avg.) £14.10..0 (Median) £2..5..0 – £40 (Range)
 - 1760s
 - £15.0..0(Avg.) £10 (Median) £1..15..0 – £45 (Range)
 - 1770s
 - £20.15..5 (Avg.) £14.10..0(Median) £5 – £70 (Range)

○ *Editor's Notes*



More Loyalists

For interpreters seeking additional information about Virginia's and Williamsburg's loyalists consult your **Choosing Revolution Resource Booklet** entitled "The People and Revolution."

Footnotes

Because of space limitations we are unable to include most footnotes with articles in this publication. Anyone interested in these references, feel free to contact the editor or assistant editor.

Bibliographies

Books and articles listed in this issue are available in the Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

Thank yous

Thank you to Lucy Smith, Visitor Aide, for again sharing her artistic talent with us; to Sarah Thumm, interpreter in Historic Buildings and a D.I.E. volunteer, for her help with our summer issue; to Mark Hutter, interpreter in Historic Trades, for fulfilling a last minute request for an article on the Fashion Trades' "Clothing the Army" program; to Mark R. Wenger for providing us with an architectural drawing of Tazewell Hall.—*N.M.*

The Colonial Williamsburg interpreter is a quarterly publication of the Department of Interpretive Education and Support.

- Editor:* Nancy Milton
Assistant Editor: Mary Jamerson
Copy Editor: Donna Sheppard
Editorial Board: Steve Elliott, Conny Graft, and Emma L. Powers,
Planning Board: Laura Arnold, John Caramia, David DeSimone, Jan Gilliam, Linda Rowe, Ron Warren
Production: Bertie Byrd and Deanne Bailey
 © 1996 by The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
 ISSN 0883-2749



Summer

17