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Wetherburn's Refurbished: Re-creating an Eighteenth- Century Virginia Tavern

by Robert Leath

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Perhaps one of the greatest pleasures in the Department of Collection's work is the ability to reevaluate a building based on new and exciting historical evidence. The closing of Wetherburn's Tavern in January 2001 for maintenance and several important mechanical upgrades provided the curatorial staff with exactly such an opportunity. During the months of the closing, Wetherburn's became a center for renewed scholarship on tavern life and architecture in eighteenth-century Virginia. Colonial Williamsburg's architectural historians took full advantage of the time to carefully analyze the building and to better document many of its structural changes. For an improved understanding of the building's paint chronology, conservator Mark Kutney conducted microscopic paint analysis, resulting in his important new findings on the building's original color. Simultaneously, the curators took a fresh look at evidence for the tavern's historic interiors and reconsidered how to present them more vividly to the public.

Following the Appraisers' Footsteps

Henry Wetherburn's probate inventory, taken only a few weeks after his death in November 1760, provided the curators with a meticulously detailed road map to follow for re-creating the tavern. Taken by some of Wetherburn's fellow tradesmen and tavernkeepers—Hugh Orr, Edward Charlton, Alexander Craig, and James Southall—it listed more than one thousand objects owned by Wetherburn and, unlike the inventory for Peyton Randolph's house, it was recorded room-by-room with a explicit listing of the contents within each space. Thus it was possible for the curators to retrace, in a highly me-

thodical way, the appraisers' footpath through the building—from the personal living quarters of Henry Wetherburn and his family into the rooms reserved for public and private entertaining, into the public and private sleeping quarters, and into the outbuildings and slave quarters that completed Wetherburn's tavern keeping ensemble.

Careful scrutiny of the inventory by Ron Hurst and Betty Leviner in 1984 and 1985 had revealed many of the implicit details of how Wetherburn's Tavern had originally functioned. Like all taverns, Wetherburn's existed to provide three basic human needs: food, lodging, and entertainment. Every aspect of the building and its surrounding structures revolved around fulfilling these needs. By law, tavern owners were required first to petition their local governments for permission to operate in a given location, and, in exchange for their licenses, they agreed to provide a basic level of these

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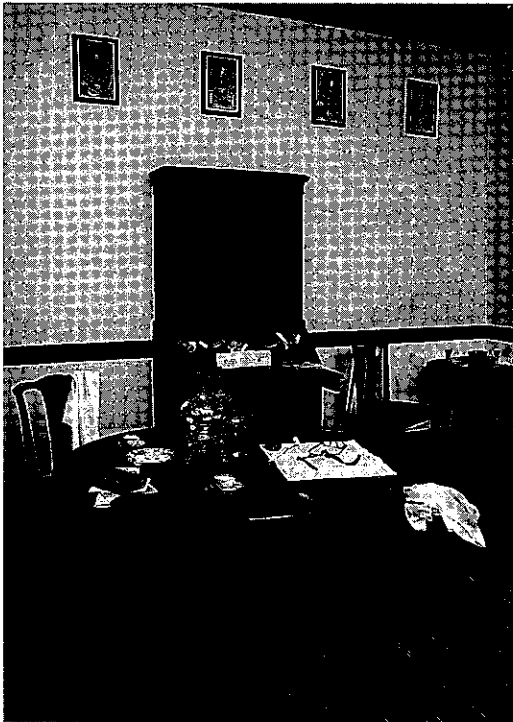


Figure 1. The Bull Head Room.

services at rates that were fixed by the county court. Failure to abide by the court's regulations could provoke a fine or perhaps even the loss of a tavern keeper's license. A surviving list of rates for York County taverns in 1750, for example, required that stable room and fodder for all horses was to be charged at seven and a half pence per evening. By the time of Henry Wetherburn's death, nearly a-half dozen taverns competed with Wetherburn in and about Williamsburg. Each tended to attract a distinct clientele. For example, Nathaniel Crawley's establishment enjoyed the business of the sometimes-rowdy students of the College of William and Mary, while others focused on the patronage of visiting politicians or traveling artisans and tradesmen. Henry Wetherburn earned his livelihood and reputation by operating one of the most elegantly appointed taverns in the colonial capital.¹

Following the many subtle clues left by Wetherburn's appraisers, Hurst and Leviner recognized a clear hierarchy among his furnishings that pointed directly to the function and relative importance of each space. The values assigned to Henry Wetherburn's furniture and other decorative accoutrements established the trail. In the two downstairs back chambers, for example, the two inexpensive bedsteads, valued at between three and four pounds, two sets of

leather-bottomed chairs, priced at only a few shillings each, an old pine press for storing household linens, and a desk and bookcase for conducting business suggested that this was where the Wetherburn family themselves lived and oversaw the daily operation of their tavern. From this vantage point, they had easy access to the public rooms in the front of the building as well as the outbuildings and slave quarters in the yard.

Directly facing Duke of Gloucester Street, the Bull Head Room was very different. It featured expensive and fashionable furnishings similar to a gentry-level parlor. (Figure 1) Its furniture included a set of one dozen mahogany chairs and a mahogany tea table, two oval tables, a tall case clock, and an expensive desk and bookcase with glass doors for display. A costly pier glass and chimney glass combined with a set of eight framed prints to ornament the walls. Clearly this was a room for genteel entertainment. In eighteenth-century Virginia, all successful tavern keepers kept such a space. It was where paying customers and gentlemen travelers could gather for convivial conversations and share social activity with gentlemen of equal social status.

Daniel Fisher, an English merchant who came to Virginia in the early 1750s with letters of introduction to "People of the First Rank and Fashion," described a similar room in his journal. Upon entering at a tavern in Leeds on the north side of the Rappahannock River, he took note of the furnishings:

The chairs Tables &c of the Room I was conducted into was all of Mahogany, and so stuft with fine large glaized Copper Plate Prints: That I almost fancied myself in Jeffriess' or some other elegant Print Shop.

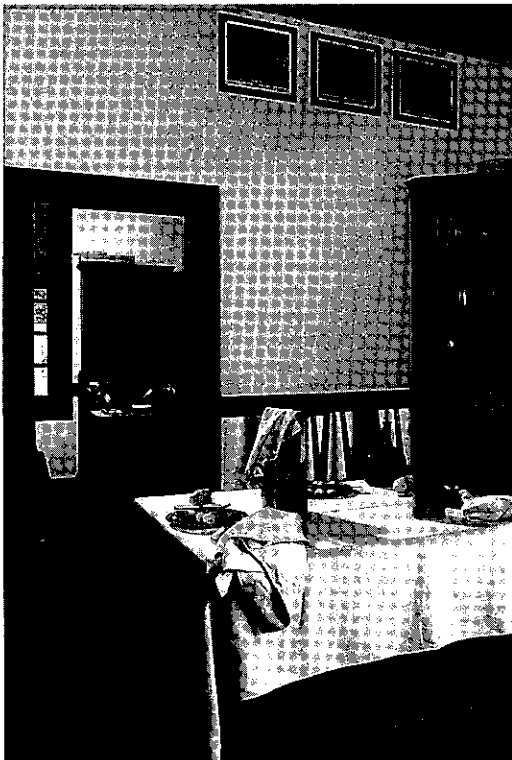
Fisher described the building as "esteemed the best Ordinary in the Town, and indeed the House and Furniture, has as elegant an appearance, as any I have seen in the country, Mr. Finnays or Withbernes [sic] not excepted." With its mahogany furniture and set of eight framed prints, the Bull Head Room was obviously Henry Wetherburn's space for similar gentry-level amusement.²

Luckily, a surviving account kept by Wetherburn's stepson, James Shields, documents the types of social activities that would have transpired in the Bull Head Room. In 1752 and 1753, Shields recorded fees for tavern services at Wetherburn's charged to Edmund Berkeley (d. 1767), a Middlesex County gentleman and former burgess whose close ties to the

Burwell and Nelson families of Williamsburg made him a recognized member of the colonial gentry. Referring to the practice of tavern customers sharing the expenses for food and alcoholic beverages, known as clubbing, Berkeley was charged at various times for "dinner and club," "supper and club," "club at billiards" and "club in punch and cyder."³

A man of Berkeley's social and political stature probably spent little time in the room described as the Middle Room opposite the passage from the Bull Head Room. Located in the strategic heart of the tavern next to the chamber that contained Wetherburn's desk and bookcase, the Middle Room was furnished in a manner that bespoke its much humbler purpose. It was the middling-level space required by law for all tavern keepers to provide a foursquare meal to travelers at the cost of one shilling. (Figure 2) The Middle Room was supplied with utilitarian furnishings consisting of a dozen chairs made of native-grown walnut (instead of imported mahogany) and two inexpensive square tables for gaming and dining. The tavern's least expensive pier glass and chimney glass hung on the walls along with a set of eight large prints priced at only one shilling apiece. Edmund Berkeley and his friends might have traversed the Middle Room while en route to the Great Room beyond, but they would not

Figure 2. The Middle Room.



have lingered there.

As the assembly room added by Henry Wetherburn during the town's great building boom of the 1750s, the Great Room was where the tavern's most luxurious and costly furnishings were located. Its fashionable fittings included a large leather screen, priced at five pounds, and a woven carpet to cover the floor. A large gilt chimney glass stood over the marble mantel along with two gilt scone glasses, ten maps, and fourteen "small" prints to decorate the walls. The Great Room's furniture consisted of a mahogany dining table and a walnut dining table, six small square tables, and two sets of more than two-dozen chairs, one made of walnut and one of mahogany. The cumulative value of the Great Room's fittings exceeded sixty-nine pounds, nearly twice that of any other room in the tavern and more than four times the value of the furniture in the family's private quarters; nearly one fourth of the value of the tavern's total household furnishings resided in the Great Room (see Table 1).

Presumably, this was the space rented in 1751 by Williamsburg's mayor and town aldermen for a banquet to welcome to Virginia the colony's newly arrived lieutenant-governor, Robert Dinwiddie. Similarly, Henry Wetherburn sponsored subscription balls in this room, allowing the local gentry and aspiring members of the middling sort—for a fee—to attend elaborate musical entertainments. In 1752, Wetherburn advertised in the local newspaper,

*For the LADIES and GENTLEMEN,
There will be a BALL,
At Henry Wetherburn's, on Tuesday
Evening next, the 10th Instant
And on every Tuesday during the Sitting
of the General Assembly.
TICKETS half a Pistole*

With furnishings that matched the elaborate parlors of most gentry-level households, Henry Wetherburn's Great Room finery clearly distinguished him from his competitors in the local tavern keeping business.⁴

The listings for Wetherburn's ceramics and glass, silver, household textiles, and alcoholic beverages document his entrepreneurial investment in the niceties required to cater and host such lavish entertainments. Among his ceramics were significant amounts of Chinese export porcelain dinnerware and teaware as well as a large quantity of white salt-glazed stoneware; his glassware included more than one hundred pieces for serving an elaborate dessert course. He owned damask linen tablecloths, and his cellar was stocked with large quantities of beer

Table 1. Value of Furnishings per Room and as a Percentage of Total Household Furnishings in Wetherburn's Tavern, 1760

Room	Value of Furnishings	% of Total Value
Family Quarters		
Chamber	12.12.0	4.5%
Office	3.12.0	1.5%
Total:	16.4.0	6.0%
Entertaining Rooms		
Bull Head Room	38.4.0	13.5%
Middle Room	22.7.6	8.0%
Great Room	69.2.0*	24.5%
Total:	129.13.6	46.0%
Sleeping Rooms		
Over Bull Head	8.5.6	3.0%
Porch Chamber	4.5.0*	1.5%
Over Middle Room	21.7.0	7.5%
Mr. Page's Room	15.7.0*	5.5%
Wheat Room	10.17.0	3.5%
End Room	8.12.6	3.0%
Total:	68.14.0	24.0%
Kitchen and Laundry	68.15.6	24.0%

* Assigned value may be slightly lower than the actual original value because partial mutilations of some pages of the inventory make some values illegible. See note 4.

and porter, rum, arrack, madeira, and claret. Totalling more than one hundred serving pieces, Henry Wetherburn's silverware was valued at more than two hundred pounds and like his furniture it included all the necessities for gentry-level entertaining. For tea service, he owned two silver teapots and a large teakettle, nineteen teaspoons and a pair of sugar tongs. For setting a fashionable dinner table, he possessed

four silver candlesticks, two salvers and two stands, four salts, and a set of silver-handled cutlery. For mixing and serving alcoholic beverages, he had two silver punch ladles, a punch strainer, and several tankards and cans. Of all the separately listed goods in Henry Wetherburn's probate inventory, his silver was by far the most valuable, constituting roughly 25 percent of his total personal estate (see Table 2).

Table 2. Total Value of Goods Listed Separately in Henry Wetherburn's Probate Inventory and as a Percentage of his Total Personal Estate, 1760.

Goods Listed Separately	Total Value	% of Personal Estate
Silver	204.8.4	25.0%
Alcoholic Beverages	69.15.6	8.5%
Household Textiles	47.7.0	5.5%
Ceramics and Glass	23.10.3	3.0%

Assigned value may be slightly lower than the actual original value because partial mutilations of some pages of the inventory make some values illegible. See note 4.



Figure 3. *The Chamber over the Bull Head.*

Upstairs, Wetherburn's furniture pointed to the same hierarchy as below stairs, clearly distinguishing between the middling- and the gentry-level spaces. Again, the law required all tavern keepers to provide basic lodging at the rate of seven and a half pence per night. But through offering more private accommodations, Henry Wetherburn could maximize his potential for profit. As Daniel Fisher had noted, the typical eighteenth-century tavern keeper "proportions his regard, to their [customers'] extravagance." There were six chambers in the rooms above stairs, and Wetherburn could offer a variety of affordable options, from the basic to the very comfortable. The furnishings in the "Room over Bull Head," for example, were sparse and inexpensive, suggesting a dormitory-style sleeping arrangement for the general public willing to pay only the seven and a half pence (Figure 3). Its utilitarian furnishings corresponded with the public dining room function of the Middle Room below. The room contained two inexpensive lowpost bedsteads with only minimal bedding, an easy chair, and a close stool chair and pan. Its three leather chairs, described as "old," were of relatively little value, and there were no tables or looking glasses for the common travelers' convenience.

Figure 4. *Mr. Page's Room.*



The space over the Middle Room and the room described as Mr. Page's Room, however, were kitted out with exactly these amenities (Figure 4). They included highpost bedsteads with curtains for the sleeper's warmth and comfort. The room also included an oval table at ten shillings and a dressing glass priced at one pound, fifteen shillings. More impressively, Mr. Page's Room was the tavern's only space with its own dressing table, suggesting accommodations for a gentleman of particular distinction.

An examination of the roster of burgesses serving when Henry Wetherburn's inventory was taken reveals only one member of the prominent Page family sitting in the legislature at that time. This evidence suggests that Henry Wetherburn had rented his best upstairs chamber to John Page (1725-74), a burgess who represented Gloucester County⁵ from 1752 until his appointment to the Governor's Council in the late 1760s and grandson of Virginia's wealthiest colonial planter, Robert "King" Carter. By renting out private accommodations to men of John Page and Edmund Berkeley's standing, Wetherburn could charge more than the prescribed amount for public lodgings and enhance both his pocketbook and public reputation.⁶

The Importance of the Outbuildings

How did Henry Wetherburn sustain such a large and successful tavern keeping operation

on a daily basis? Again, his inventory provided the clues. Among the final categories listed in the document are twelve slaves and an itemization of the cooking and washing equipment in his kitchen outbuilding. Totaling more than four hundred pounds, the values of the slaves ranged from Caesar at seventy pounds to Judy, Clarissa's child, at only seven pounds. Sylvia, priced at fifty pounds, was the most highly valued female and, therefore, probably the tavern's cook. Singlehandedly, Sylvia was probably the most important person to Henry Wetherburn's tavern keeping success. From her kitchen emanated the meals that supplied the common tavern diet in the Middle Room, the gentry-level feasts in the Great Room and the Bull Head Room, and the regular meals that fed Henry Wetherburn and his family as well as the twelve slaves who inhabited the property.

Cumulatively, the value of the kitchen and laundry equipment, totaling more than sixty-eight pounds, was the second largest of any space in the tavern and nearly rivaled that of the decorative objects in the Great Room (see Table 1). The kitchen contained more than one hundred pieces of pewter for ordinary dining. Wetherburn's kitchen utensils, numbering more than eighty pieces, including gridirons, frying pans, cheese toasters, stew- and saucepans, chafing dishes, Dutch ovens, and a spit—all the specialized equipment necessary for operating a large-scale, commercial kitchen in the eighteenth century, and one that could produce a variety of foods—from the most fashionable to the humblest.

Reinterpreting the Tavern

Armed with this vital understanding from Henry Wetherburn's inventory, the curators set about re-creating the reality of an eighteenth-century Virginia tavern. First, each object considered for exhibition in the building was matched carefully to the original inventory reference to ensure that it accurately reflected the description and the hierarchy described in the document. The characteristics of age and simplicity were factored into the selection, paying close attention to the assigned values given each object. Furniture described as "old" was considered to pre-date the 1760 recording of the inventory by at least twenty years, i.e., fashioned before 1740. Objects of the appropriate style, period, and place of origin were then chosen. The elaborateness of a particular object had to be calibrated carefully to its assigned value; objects of greater cost were assumed to be more elaborate and more stylishly up-to-date than objects of identical function but lesser value. The hierarchy of looking glasses is an excellent example. The pier glass in the Middle Room, priced at only one pound, six shillings, led to the choice of a looking glass with a plain, unadorned wooden frame that would have been considerably old-fashioned by 1760; however, the value of the pier glass in the Bull Head Room, priced at roughly four times that amount, guided the selection of a larger looking glass with a more stylishly up-to-date frame enhanced with shell and plume carving in the pediment and decorative gilding along the interior border. The most expensive looking glasses

Figure 5. Plate III of William Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress*. Note the high placement of the looking glass and the framed prints on the walls. CW collections.



in the Great Room were specified in the inventory as "gilt," referring to wooden frames that were first gessoed and then decoratively gilded all over. Totalling more than twenty pounds, the chimney glass and two looking glasses in this room were the most expensive throughout the tavern and guided the curators' choice of large, elaborately carved and gilded frames that were appropriate to the appraisers' assigned values.

Curators Margaret Pritchard and Laura Pass Barry paid special attention to the choice of prints. Noting that the values assigned by the appraisers fluctuated from the Middle Room to the Bull Head Room to the Great Room, they considered three important factors: size, age, and framing technique for each print. For the inexpensive prints in the Middle Room, priced at only one shilling apiece and described as "large," they agreed that a set of William Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*, published in London in the early 1750s and advertised for sale in colonial Virginia, seemed appropriate. The relatively low cost of each print, however, indicated that they were probably hung in simple, unadorned black frames and that the engravings were probably varnished instead of covered with more expensive, protective glass. The set of prints in the Bull Head Room priced at two shillings each was slightly more expensive and suggested the retention of the plain black frames but with the addition of the glass. The fourteen "small" prints in the Great Room, however, priced at seven times the value of the "large" prints in the Middle Room, presented a quandary. Turning to period documents for additional guidance, Pritchard and Barry discovered references in mid-eighteenth-century

print catalogs that provided the exact size of a "small" print during the period: seven by ten inches. The catalogs also made clear that prints were commonly sold in sets ranging from six or eight to a dozen and, therefore, the fourteen prints hanging in Wetherburn's Great Room must have comprised two or more sets. For this reason, three sets of prints totaling fourteen were chosen: six sporting prints, four architectural prints, and four perspective views. The subject matter of these images was highly popular for domestic settings in the mid-eighteenth century, and the higher cost of each piece led to the selection of black and gold frames combined with the protective glazing.

One of William Hogarth's engravings selected for the Middle Room documented the curators' decision to hang the prints high along the upper reaches of the wall (see figures 5 and 6). Depicting a bawdy scene in a London tavern, the third engraving in *The Rake's Progress* series shows exactly such an arrangement. Other eighteenth-century engravings, especially those depicting taverns, were consulted and confirm the common practice of hanging pictures and looking glasses slightly below the cornice in the eighteenth century.

For additional data on the ceramics and metals owned by Henry Wetherburn, curators Janine Skerry and John Davis consulted the archaeological evidence. Bill Pittman, Colonial Williamsburg's curator of archaeology, reviewed ceramic sherds and metal artifacts that were excavated at the site by Ivor Noël Hume in the 1960s. Together, these fragmentary objects brought new life to some of the inventory's vague references, and sometimes provided remarkable specificity. The



Figure 6. The Great Room.

ceramic sherds clarified the inventory's allusion to "5 Red and White Cups, 4 Saucers" and guided the selection of the Chinese imari porcelain teaware now exhibited in the Bull Head Room. Similarly, the pierced footring of a brass chafing dish in the Bull Head Room exactly matches an artifact discovered archaeologically. In the Middle Room, the reproduction bone-handled cutlery is modeled on examples excavated at the site from levels of Henry Wetherburn's occupancy.⁷

The addition of new Plexiglas security barriers in many of the rooms presented the curators with exciting, new opportunities for exhibiting antique objects at the tavern in newer and livelier ways. Behind the safety of the barriers, the antiques could be displayed to reflect fully their intended use in the eighteenth century. Objects that had previously been placed against the walls could now be moved into the center of the rooms just as the Wetherburns and their tavern guests would have used them. Important antique objects like the monumental silver teakettle produced by London silversmith Alexander Johnson in 1751/2, and the large walnut dining table made in Williamsburg, circa

Figure 7. Dressing Table and Glass presented in Mr. Page's Room with all the accoutrements for regular daily life: a wig on stand, hair curlers, brass soap box, sponge, pocketbook, spare change, hat, walking stick, riding boots, and chamber pot. CW collections.



1750, could take center stage in the rooms' presentations. Just as importantly, all the myriad of small objects to reflect human occupation—tobacco boxes, papers, knives and forks, teacups and saucers, tablecloths, napkins, wig stands, soap boxes, and wash basins—could be painstakingly re-created (Figure 7). Ultimately, the new security barriers at Wetherburn's Tavern afforded the curators the ability to create a vivid presentation of tavern life in eighteenth-century Virginia and a dynamic, object-centered teaching experience for our visitors to Colonial Williamsburg.

The final furnishings product at Wetherburn's Tavern is intended to echo the building's use by its original owner, Henry Wetherburn, as well as his family, their twelve slaves, and their numerous guests, both middling and gentry, and to reconnect our visitors to the tavern's heyday of operation in the mid-1750s. Wetherburn's room-by-room inventory, the site-specific evidence drawn from archaeology, the pictorial information from eighteenth-century tavern images, and the evidence from contemporary documents and manuscripts, were carefully used to re-create Wetherburn's tavern-keeping business, in some cases down to the minutest details. For instance, if you enter the Bull Head Room and look very closely, you'll notice a handful of letters sitting on the fallboard of the desk and bookcase. They await final delivery to two of the tavern's most important and best-documented guests of the eighteenth century, addressed respectively to Edmund Berkeley and John Page, Esquires, "at Mr. Henry Wetherburn's Tavern in Williamsburg."

¹ "Re-examination and analysis of Henry Wetherburn's Inventory," memorandum by Ronald L. Hurst and Betty C. Leviner to Graham Hood, November 9, 1984, revised October 9, 1985, Colonial Williamsburg research files. For more on eighteenth-century taverns in Virginia, see Patricia A. Gibbs, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1774," M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1968.

² Daniel Fisher, "The Fisher History" in *Some Prominent Virginia Families*, compiled by Louise Pecquet du Bellet (Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell Company, 1907), 2:753, 791.

³ Berkeley Family Papers, 1653-1767, University of Virginia (microfilm copy in the Colonial Williamsburg Research Center).

⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, September 5, 1752. Partial mutilation of Henry Wetherburn's original probate inventory has artificially lowered the cumulative values in three of the rooms. These involve the obliteration of the values assigned to fourteen small prints in the Great Room, nine chamber pots in the Porch Chamber, and one apparently lowpost bedstead in Mr. Page's room.

⁵ His seat was located in what is now Mathews County.

⁶ *The General Assembly of Virginia, July 30, 1619-January 11, 1978: A Bicentennial Register of Members* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1978), 88-90.

⁷ See Ivor Noël Hume, *Archaeology and Wetherburn's Tavern* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1969).

New Findings at Henry Wetherburn's Tavern

by Myron Stachiw and Mark Kutney

Myron was an architectural historian in the Architectural Research Office, 2000–2001. Mark is conservator of architectural materials in the Department of Conservation.

Between 1965 and 1968 the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation carried out what was considered by many to be the Foundation's ambitiously documented research and restoration project in its first preservation efforts at Wetherburn's Tavern. Hours of film footage and hundreds of photographs were taken in order to record the tedious work of the archaeological and architectural investigations of the building and property. Layer after layer of evidence was recorded and then removed in order to document the numerous changes that had taken place to the building over its more than two centuries of existence. The ultimate goal was to expose and interpret the original configuration of the structure and its outbuildings.

Architectural investigations were undertaken by Paul Buchanan, then director of Architectural Research, and Jim Waite, architectural records writer who is now architectural associate. Ivor Noël Hume, director of Archaeological Research, and his wife Audrey supervised the extensive dig that encompassed a large portion of Lot 20. The historical record was examined by Mary Stephenson, Mary R. M. Goodwin, and Ray Townsend. Pat Gibbs's 1968 master's thesis, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia, 1700–1774," provided a wider context in which Henry Wetherburn's tavern could be viewed. The Department of Collections, using these varying types of historical evidence as well as its own research, proceeded to gather appropriate furnishings for the tavern. J. Douglas Smith put together an interpretive scheme for use by interpreters. With all these pieces in place, Henry Wetherburn's establishment reopened to the public in the summer of 1968.

Thirty-three years later, in January of 2001, the tavern was closed again—this time for six months—in order to carry out needed electrical and plumbing work. This type of work often-times requires digging up ground or removing portions of plaster walls or floors, providing excellent opportunities for reexamining physical evidence. During this closing, the Departments of Architectural Research and Conservation had an opportunity to take another look at both

the structural and paint histories of the building. The archaeology department undertook a separate study of several areas of the tavern's property.

An important part of this study included re-examining the documentation generated in the 1960s in order to build on these earlier accomplishments. The following is an updated interpretation of the historical and archaeological evidence of Wetherburn's Tavern.

Structural Evidence

The original tavern building was constructed on Lot 20 between 1738, when Henry Wetherburn acquired the site, and 1746, when he was documented as operating a tavern on the site. The original frame building consisted of two rooms on either side of a central passage (presently the eastern two-thirds of the building). Two internal chimneys with corner fireplaces heated the four principal rooms on the ground floor—two larger rooms on the north or street side, and two smaller rooms to the rear—and two rooms in the garret. The roof originally had clipped gables as at present, as well as dormers lighting the finished garret spaces. Small porches provided shelter to both the front and rear doors.

Strong physical evidence for a bar somewhere in the original building was located during research undertaken in 2000, when two studs that had enclosed a movable bar screen were found within the walls of the building. Then during the work carried out in early 2001 to replace mechanical systems, when additional plaster was removed, further signs of wall partitions that may have enclosed a bar were found in two rooms. Sufficient evidence for a conclusive determination of the bar's location is no longer extant, but a plausible interpretation suggests that the original bar was located in the smaller southeast room or east chamber against the east gable end wall. It is likely that the northeast room—now known as the Bull Head or club room—was originally the public room or barroom of the tavern.

The first major change to the building probably was carried out by the end of 1751 with the addition of the Great Room.¹ It is also likely that during the same decade a continuous one-story porch was built across the front of the enlarged building, covering both entries and the space between them. This porch was still standing in 1781 when the Frenchman's Map of Williamsburg was drawn, and probably accounts for the designation of the new passage in the garret at the front of the house as the "Porch Chamber" in Henry Wetherburn's 1760

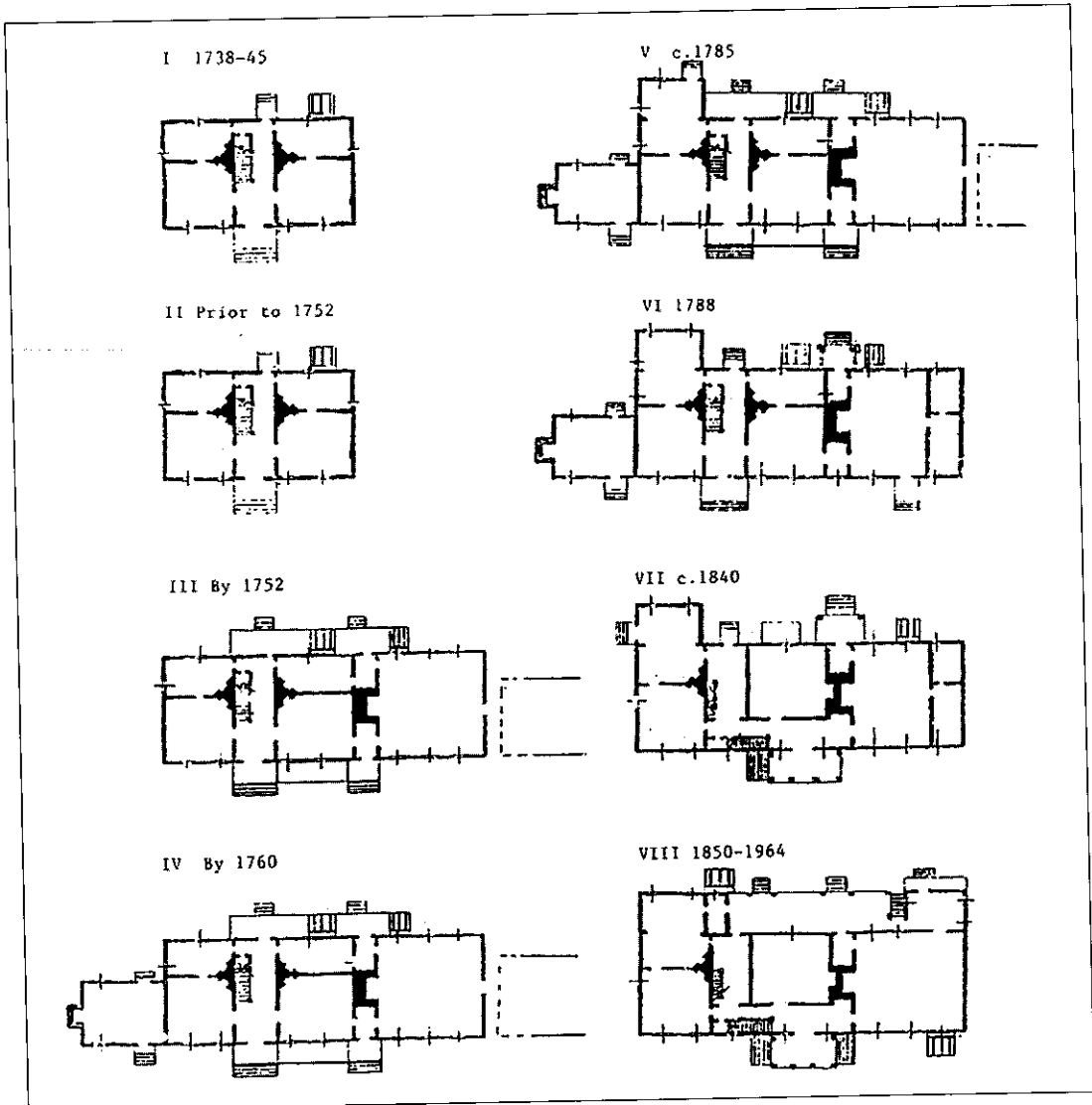
probate inventory. A long porch was also built across the rear of the building at this time.

The addition of the Great Room in 1751 caused a number of changes in the way the interior spaces were used. A second, larger bar was probably constructed in the "Chamber" behind the Middle Room during this period, as the Middle Room became the new public room. Physical evidence of the bar's size and location at the west end of the chamber survives only as a line of nail holes in a joist overhead. The new bar in the "west" chamber probably serviced both the Middle Room, now serving as the public room, and the Great Room, as suggested by the larger size of this bar (eight feet wide).

Lots 20 and 21 also contained two tenement buildings by 1760, one each on the east and west sides of the tavern along the street. The east tenement, which was built against the east gable end of the tavern, was rented to James

Martin, a barber, at the time of Henry Wetherburn's death in 1760. The west tenement was separated from the tavern by a narrow passage or walkway. Based on Wetherburn's 1760 inventory, it appears to have been used as additional lodging space for tavern guests. Physical evidence discovered in 2000 strongly suggests that a doorway in the west wall of the Great Room provided direct access to the west tenement.

The use of the building as a tavern appears to have ended by 1784 when William Rowsay occupied the building, first as tenant and then as owner. In 1783, mason Humphrey Harwood's accounts indicate that the east chimney was entirely rebuilt, and by 1785 the lean-to addition off the southeast room was constructed. Harwood's accounts list plastering a room in September 1785 and building steps. This probably refers to the new, enlarged room encompassing the east chamber and lean-to, with the steps providing



access to a door in the south wall of the lean-to.

Major interior renovations and reorganization of spaces occurred circa 1840 during what was likely a single, extensive building campaign. During this phase the original staircase to the garret was dismantled and relocated along the front wall in a newly created longitudinal entry and passage. The original front door was closed and a new opening with a one-story porch created in the center of the building. A smaller, secondary stair was built in the space occupied by the original staircase, but rising in the opposite direction and separated from the front entry lobby by a large arch. Room configurations in the garret were altered; the middle chimney was removed entirely, and the former middle room and chamber behind it were reconfigured into the entry lobby and a large room with a new fireplace built onto the east face of the west chimney (the Great Room chimney). The cellar beneath the Great Room was enlarged; and bulkheads were relocated. Fenestration was also altered as doors and windows were closed or moved to accommodate the new central entry.

The final stage of alterations occurred in the 1920s. These included the addition of a second rear lean-to off the west end of the building, addition of stairs to the cellar at the west end of the building, changes in fenestration, addition of bathrooms, and some changes in room size with the addition or removal of partition walls. During this period, the building was used as a residence, teahouse and restaurant, and antique shop.

In 1965, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation signed a long-term lease for the tavern, at which time was begun the enormous task of taking the building back to its 1750s appearance, a date chosen due to the surviving inventory of Henry Wetherburn. One of the final elements in any Colonial Williamsburg restoration project is the accurate reproduction of period interior and exterior color based on thorough examination and research. The ultimate goal in these studies has always been the same—to accurately interpret paint color as it was in the eighteenth century and not as it meets our modern sense of what is tasteful.

Paint Evidence

Paint research can be carried out on a building for a number of reasons, the most common one being to provide a color or decorative scheme, for either the interior, exterior or both, for the period or date of interest. Early methods relied on scratching down through multiple paint layers by sanding, scraping, or applying paint remover to reveal the sequence of early paint layers.

During the 1960s restoration of Wetherburn's Tavern, a weatherboard was found reused in one of the wall cavities with early paint layers well preserved and untouched by the numerous layers of paint applied later on the rest of the building. At that time, it appeared that this board represented the earliest color application—red—followed by a thick accumulation of whitewash.

The paint shop painstakingly reproduced the appearance of this weatherboard for the whole building, including the application of an imitation whitewash. True whitewash is primarily a mixture of lime and water, sometimes with one of a variety of minor additives in an attempt to improve longevity. The mixture was very thin and required application with large brushes. The poor hiding power of this thin coating would not have completely hidden the dark red underneath, and brush marks in the whitewash would have been very pronounced against the dark background. Since the 1960s the paint shop has painstakingly repeated this process at least five times on the outside of the tavern building.

Today our ability to extract information from the painted surface has greatly improved due to the use of forensic techniques similar to those found in an FBI crime laboratory. These techniques focus mainly on the use of a high-powered microscope and allow us to see aspects of a building's paint history not possible before.

Paint research carried out in 2000 showed that the red on the original weatherboard fragment was actually the third generation of paint. The newly discovered paint sequence was red, then gray, followed by the red previously thought to have been the first generation, then an off-white, and then five applications of whitewash. The new first-generation red was found on all the trim and siding, and was found to be heavily weathered before the application of the second-generation gray. Furthermore, the original paint layer on the 1751 Great Room addition matched the first red layer on the weatherboard fragment as well as the first red paint layer on the original building, suggesting that when the addition was constructed it was simply painted red to match. The amount of deterioration displayed by the red layer suggests that it survived a number of years past 1751 and up until Henry Wetherburn's death in 1760. Both the 1960s and the 2000 research found the first red on the exterior to be a finish color, but this time the whitewash will not be applied over it.

The 1960s research revealed the interior color scheme by drawing a long series of squares side-by-side on a painted surface and then peeling off one paint layer at a time with liquid paint

stripper, until all the layers were removed down to the wood. The first square showed one paint layer removed, the next square two layers removed, then three, and so on down to bare wood. The result was series of squares showing the chronology of successive paint layers preserved on that surface. The appearance of the layer appropriate to the chosen historical period was then carefully reproduced.

Both the 1960s and the 2000 research found red as the first paint applied to all the interior surfaces. During the earlier study, the initial red was assumed to be a primer. A fragment that was examined in the above manner during the 1960s Colonial Williamsburg restoration contains a complete series of squares showing the interior paint chronology. Next to the first layer found on the wood, which is red, is penciled in the word "primer." Recent examination of this first red layer under 200X magnification shows a significantly worn and degraded top surface, suggesting that it was exposed for a length of time before being painted over. These are classic signs of a finish layer as opposed to a primer.

What is very remarkable about the paint evidence at Wetherburn's Tavern is the presence of a number of early red layers on the interior. For example, the Bull Head Room was initially painted red, followed by a white in the second generation. In the third, fourth, and fifth generations, the room was painted red again before going to gray and then green with a verdigris glaze (similar to the parlor at the Thomas Everard House).

Also remarkable is the presence of a varnish and/or wax on top of at least the first five generations of paint, signifying that they were being maintained as a finish layer and not a primer. These coatings on the paint are rarely found elsewhere in the Historic Area and probably reflect

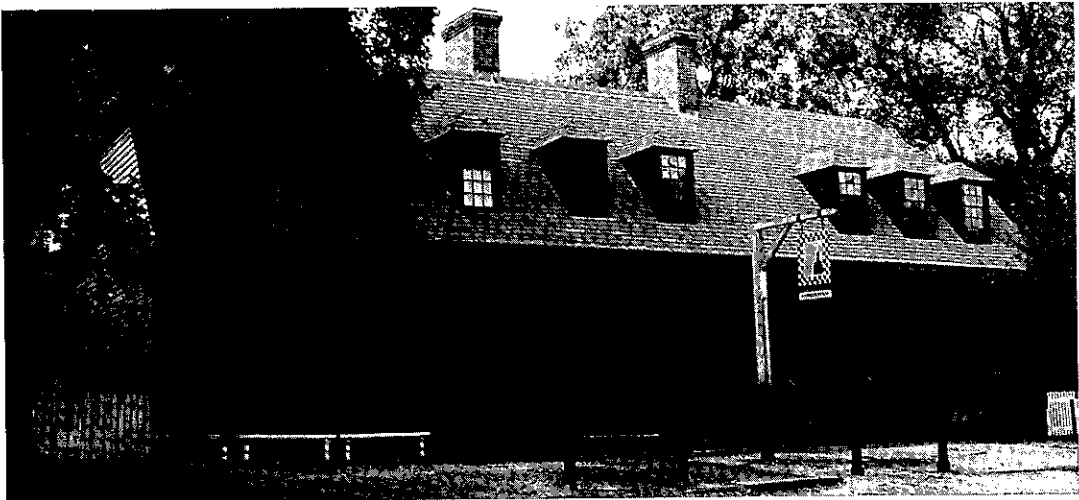
the greater frequency with which the walls and trim in a commercial building needed to be maintained and/or refreshed. Both the repeated use of red and the existence of varnishes and waxes on top of these layers supports our recent understanding that this color was used not only as a primer but was common as a finish color as well.

The garret east bedroom, above the Bull Head Room, is probably the only room in the Historic Area where we have been able to compare a room's trim paint history with the corresponding wall paint history. The east wall in this room is the largest extant eighteenth-century plaster wall in town, probably dating to at least 1760 when the two windows were plastered over, and possibly earlier. Up until about the mid-nineteenth century the wall was whitewashed at least ten times, while the trim was painted red, then white (with a gray primer), followed by two generations of red, then white, and then red again. It is not until the mid-nineteenth century that both the wall and the trim are painted with the same opaque light green paint.

The paint evidence at Wetherburn's Tavern is unique in that we are able to see how a commercial building in town was treated as opposed to one of the residences. The repeated use of red paint and whitewash, both on the interior and the exterior, and the practice of freshening up a painted surface with varnish portray a tavern owner trying to maintain appearances while minimizing expenses.

¹ See Historian Pat Gibbs' memo of August 22, 1984, in the Rockefeller Library Query File.

² Wetherburn's room-by-room inventory lists "In the Chamber" seemingly one discrete space within his tavern. However, objects included under the heading indicate that two rooms actually were being inventoried, i.e., one pair of andirons is listed midway through the entry and then a second pair at the end.



Matters of Menus, Men, Meals, and Meats

by Tanya Wilson

Tanya, assistant curator of historic interiors in the Department of Collections and Museums, is responsible for the exhibits of foods in the exhibition buildings and, for the last three years, produced the faux food used in those exhibits.

As summer 2001 approached, the reopening of Wetherburn's Tavern loomed large. Plans were under way to replicate accurately the meals believed to have been served in the tavern two hundred years ago, and the "cook" was beginning to fear she would be faced with making a "banquet" out of "leftovers." Although "tidbits" from past research—archaeological studies, inventories, wills, letters, diaries, journals, account books, cookbooks, newspapers, etc.—would help to make the tavern food displays believable, it was hoped that fresh, new information would allow us to showcase a "banquet" of accuracy and appeal.

Not being inclined to reinvent the wheel, the compiled foodways research gathered during the preparations for the 1999 reopening of Peyton Randolph House was reexamined. (See "Foods for Fashionable Families, Fresh or Faux" *Interpreter* 20, 3 [1999]: 43–47.) As expected, a comparison of the two sites revealed both similarities and differences. The most obvious difference was the domestic nature of the Randolph site versus the commercial nature of the Wetherburn site. On second thought though, Wetherburn's was also a "domestic site." Not only did Henry Wetherburn accommodate guests, but he housed his immediate family and "extended" family (composed of his slaves) as well.

[Cook's Notes: Site offers perfect opportunity to show all levels of foods typically served on a commercial site.]

Known documents referring to Wetherburn's were sparse by comparison. Fortunately, though, there was the curator's dream: A detailed probate inventory recording the material wealth of Henry Wetherburn had survived in the York County records, as had Peyton Randolph's. The Wetherburn inventory had been organized room by room and was remarkably complete. The record listed every knife and fork; teapot, coffeepot and milkpot; pepper box and sweetmeat pan; every butter boat and punch ladle; as well as pans for dripping, frying, stewing, and

sauses; a spit jack and chain, six spits and a spit rack; one fish kettle; and sixty-two jelly glasses valued at £1.10.0. It detailed every animal, even to the color of the horses. Amazingly, it itemized the liquor supply as well: Arrack, beer, port, Madeira, claret, porter, rum and cordial; plus hundreds of other items—all enumerated and monetarily evaluated.

[Cook's Notes: Equipage for poaching fish, frying and roasting meats; High number of jelly glasses; specific drinks—Claret, Madeira wines, and beer.]

There had been archaeological excavations on the site in the 1960s, but they occurred in the days before zooarchaeology (the study of faunal remains) became a part of the Foundation's Archaeology Department. The comprehensive study of more than a million bones at the Peyton Randolph site, plus data gleaned from comparative studies of more than a hundred domestic sites in the Chesapeake, had proved to be the most crucial cuisine-related research available and had been critical in determining the choice of foods prepared for the Randolphs' table. In the absence of such definitive research, it seemed apparent that the paper trail would become the major source of information regarding foodways at Mr. Wetherburn's Tavern.

From the well-known references to food and drink, repeated for years by almost every interpreter who conducted tours through the tavern, came a few "juicy morsels" that would probably be of value. Perhaps the best known of these references, from the diary of John Blair, gave the details of a special dinner served to Governor Dinwiddie upon his arrival in Williamsburg on November 21, 1751:

At the entrance of the town he was complimented by the mayor and aldermen, who (with the gentlemen) were got together to welcome him, and invited him and the council to a dinner they had prepared at Wetherburn's, where we all dined.

[Cook's Notes: Excellent reference to a special, private dinner for a group of gentlemen—obviously served in the Great Room.]

There were two other, less well-known primary sources that furthered the accumulation of information left behind by former patrons of Mr. Wetherburn's Tavern—William Byrd II's three diaries kept between 1717 and 1741 and the 1747–87 account book of merchant William Lightfoot.

William Byrd II of Westover Plantation spent a great deal of time in Williamsburg. He had the

rather strange (for the eighteenth century) habit of eating only one main dish at each meal, so the information gleaned from his diaries did not help demonstrate the wide variety of foods typically served at each mealtime. However, he did list the variety of singular meats he had consumed and, in one instance, evidently found a lack of variety tiresome. Sadly, his accounts only twice describe "how" the meats were prepared and presented.

In his earliest diary, Byrd most often mentions dining at Marot's Tavern with other members of the Governor's Council, occasionally with members of the House of Burgesses, as well. At these times, their meals were undoubtedly specially planned, prepared, and served as private meals. During this early period, Byrd listed on separate occasions roast beef, mutton, veal, chicken, goose, and fish.

[Cook's Notes: References mirror the meats most commonly consumed on domestic sites.]

In his second diary (1717–21), Byrd mentioned having two meals at Mrs. Sullivan's (probably "Sullivant's"—Anne Marot, widow of the Marot mentioned earlier, married Timothy Sullivant, who also lived at one time on the Shields site), where he was served boiled beef and broth. But by the time of Byrd's third diary (1739–41) Wetherburn's Tavern was considered one of the favored haunts of Byrd and his General Assembly friends. He listed dining on roast beef, veal, calf's head; pork, bacon, mutton, lamb, fowl, turkey, chicken and asparagus, Scotch collops, venison, and fish.

[Cook's Notes: Check on Receipt for Boiled Beef??? Note Calf's heads faunal remains found at Randolph domestic site and Wetherburn's.]

During the last week of April 1741, Byrd wrote, "Dined at Wetherburn's because nobody invited us and ate fish." During that week he indicated that he had fish three days out of four and by the fourth day he apparently was ready for a change as he wrote, "fish again." By including these references to food and the ordinary occurrences of eating, Byrd, unlike the majority of diarists, added to the supply of useful "leftovers."

[Cook's Notes: Must have fish! Similar to Zooarch's. Findings at Peyton Randolph.]

William Lightfoot's accounts revealed one of Henry Wetherburn's sources for foods and offered insights into the operations of other Williamsburg tavern keepers as well. Even those who owned their own lands, as did Wetherburn,

and had the potential for provisioning themselves with foodstuffs, were forced to rely on local merchants, such as Lightfoot, not only for imported necessities, but also agricultural produce and meats. Local tavern keepers Henry Wetherburn, John Duncastle, Christiana Campbell, Anthony Hay, and Alexander Finnie all had accounts with Lightfoot for a variety of meats. Finnie, a wigmaker by trade and owner of the Raleigh Tavern (1749–52), was still "operating" that tavern when he paid £31 in April 1754 and January 1755 for beef, mutton, veal, and pork.

[Cook's Note: When planning Menu same meats listed, further solidifying similarities between domestic and tavern foodways.]

Heather Wainwright's study of an account book kept by Ann Pattison between 1744 and 1749 has brought to light an incredible networking system that existed between some of the tavern keepers here in the colony's capital. Ann, an English emigrant, married Thomas Pattison in 1738. He operated a nearby tavern until his death in 1742, at the northeast end of Duke of Gloucester, on the property just west of Charlton's Coffeehouse.

When Ann took over her husband's lodging, food, and drink trade she assumed a much greater role than simply caring for a tavern. She was tavern keeper, merchant, dealer in commodities, and Trader, writ large. According to her records she relied on a large number of local and rural people for supplies: wood, cider, mutton, veal, corn, butter, ducks, and oysters. Tavern keeper Alexander Finnie provided her with a few bottles of wine and claret, and Joseph Gilliam supplied her with breads. Although they were also her competitors, Matthew Moody supplied pasturage, and John Taylor traded fifty lemons for four gallons of wine.

[Cook's Notes: Breads . . . Did Archaeology find signs of ovens?]

Between 1746 and 1748, Henry Wetherburn provided Pattison with two gallons of rum and other sundries. At other times he purchased a side of veal, a large rockfish, and punch. He also rented her chaise vehicle for his own use and for the use of his patrons. At one point, Pattison provided Wetherburn with wood that she had purchased from James Bray, perhaps as repayment for a debt owed or a favor done. She also sold Emery Hughes, a brick maker, two gallons of rum that she had purchased from Wetherburn. Pattison offered for sale a wide variety of meats, spices, and condiments such as honey,



hops, oranges, lemons and limes, molasses, mustard, olives, salt, and vinegar; the beverages tea, coffee, and chocolate; as well as breads, cabbage, candles, tobacco, and wood. Our list of "leftovers" continued to grow.

[Cook's Notes: *Large rockfish, veal and punch; Perhaps breads came from Pattison or Gilliam?*]

As "dining" became the proper, most preferred form of entertainment during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, numerous large dining rooms began to be added to existing structures throughout the Chesapeake by mid-century. Those new spaces were often outfitted with highly valued, fashionable furnishings and equipage as indicated in surviving inventories and account books. Having an elegant, fashionably furnished setting for the equally elegant dinners to be served to guests seems to have become a prerequisite for proper entertaining two hundred years ago.

Both Randolph and Wetherburn were among those who enlarged their "homes" in this manner in the early fifties. Their inventories enumerated and placed values on their furnishings—both had mahogany chairs and tables, gilt looking glasses, carpeting, and fireplace equipment. Wetherburn also had prints and maps and a large freestanding screen worth £5. Peyton Randolph had used an old carpet, according

to the low value placed on it. Judging from the extensive and impressive lists of cooking wares at both sites, large quantities of elaborately prepared foods could expeditiously be prepared. And the equally extensive lists of silver, ceramics, pewter, and glassware indicated that those prepared foods were then served graciously to their guests, whether "paying" or "invited guests."

Daniel Fisher's journal of 1750–55 also attests to the elegance of Mr. Wetherburn's in Williamsburg. Fisher had stopped at a tavern in Leeds, and found that

the House and Furniture, has as elegant an appearance, as any I have seen in the country. Mr. Finnays or Witherburnes in Williamsburg not excepted. The Chairs Tables &c. of the Room I was conducted into was all Mahogany, and stuff with fine large glazed Copper Plate Prints.

Before leaving the primary source trail, one must note that at least one of our most discerning founding fathers frequented this tavern during his stays in Williamsburg. In George Washington's famous diary there were thirty entries indicating that he had patronized Mr. Wetherburn's, usually by "dining" there.

Having exhausted the known documents, it was time to return to the basics, to the ground level so to speak, to the three-dimensional "left-

overs”—the archaeological discoveries extracted from the Wetherburn site. The results of the 1960s archaeological excavations directed by Ivor Noël Hume provided one very different bit of information about the preparation and preservation of food or drink (no one is quite sure of the original intent—food or drink). Eighteen intact “wide mouthed” and “wine shaped” bottles were discovered, buried in groups behind the building. The bottles contained cherries, some still in a brown liquid, while others were entirely dry. Whether the venture was to produce cherry brandy, brandied cherries, or preserved “bottled” cherries is unclear, although it is apparent that no one in the eighteenth century benefited from that obscure “aging” process. On the other hand, our twentieth-century archaeologists had benefited by retrieving the largest collection of intact bottles yet recovered in the area.

[Cook's Notes: Look up how to preserve & serve Cherries in Hannah Glasse & E. Smith's Cookbooks.]

The Wetherburn's Tavern site was a virtual treasure trove of more than 200,000 fragments of a wide variety of artifacts including an extensive collection of pottery, glassware, and metal sherds and fragments that had guided the curators' search for and acquisition of similar wares. Those sherds and fragments also confirmed the

documentary evidence that Henry Wetherburn was truly an eighteenth-century entrepreneur who had many fine objects to facilitate the operation of a successful tavern and was able to make it a comfortable, impressive “home away from home” for both elite and middling travelers.

[Cook's Notes: Janine Skerry and John Davis will provide appropriate antique silver, pewter, ceramics and glassware. Carefully check precise sizes and shapes.]

Because Joanne Bowen, curator of zooarchaeology, had provided the definitive information pertaining to the Randolphs' cuisine before settling on the final menu, it was important to ask if the more recent excavations, which had included zooarchaeological studies at two nearby “public houses” on Duke of Gloucester Street, might be helpful. Those excavations took place at the Shields Tavern site for the period of 1745–51, when James Shields II owned it, and the Charlton Coffeehouse dating from 1767–71. Since Wetherburn's was in operation from approximately 1742 until 1760, it was reasonable to wonder if the studies of these neighboring sites transcend time differences as well as property lines?

Bowen willingly shared her unpublished draft of the *Department of Archaeological Research, Appendix 2, Faunal Analysis* that will become part of the larger *Technical Report on the Excavations*



Wetherburn's Tavern Menu

GREAT ROOM—Private Dinner for
Fourteen

Two tables set for six and eight.

First course: Stewed Venison Soup has
been completed

Tureens replaced by dishes of Sheepshead
Fish Poached

Apple pies in center of tables

Roasted Hind Legs of Mutton, garnished
with New Potatoes

Dish of Veal Pasties, garnished with Peas
and celery tops

Rolled Beef Roasts, garnished with Beets
sliced

Rolls

Madeira and Claret Wines

Dessert: Dishes of Fresh Fruits have been
placed on a small dining table to the side
of the room, and Orange Marmalade
Jellies have been served up in the
kitchen and will be brought in as first
course has been cleared.

MIDDLE ROOM—Public Dining Room

One table set for three travelers.

Servings of Roasted Leg and Shoulder of
Mutton

Pan-Fried White Perch

New Potatoes and Beans

Rolls

Beer or Cider

KITCHEN—second Leg and Shoulder of

Mutton about to be roasted in spit
basket

White Perch pan-fried

Roasted Leg and Shoulder of Mutton in
process of being carved and served

Additional Potatoes and Beans prepared
and ready to be served

Pot of Great Hominy

Tray of Orange Marmalades

LAUNDRY—Plates of Great Hominy

Bread

Cider

*[Cook's Notes: Needed—Brandied Cherries to
replace the Orange Marmalade, when a good
method of replicating is discovered. Smaller
Plaster of Paris fish for the slaves' meals and a
large loaf of whole-grain bread. Additional
Beans of wax to fill the bowl in the kitchen. A
frothy Beer in a mug or beer glass for the 1
Shilling Diet in the Public Dining Room would
be perfect . . . was beer light, dark, frothy?]*

at the Coffeehouse Site, Williamsburg, Virginia. Wetherburn's, Shields, and the Coffeehouse were all in the easternmost block of Duke of Gloucester close by the Capitol. At different times they each catered to the leaders of the colony who were called to the Capitol for a variety of reasons. Bowen felt that the cuisine of the Coffeehouse and Wetherburn's would have been more similar perhaps than that at Shields. By the late tavern period that was studied, Shields seems to have lost its elite clientele.

Certain generalizations clarify some of the difficulties encountered when reaching back to recapture the foodways for specific people. It has been found that—particularly in urban areas where everyone lived in such close proximity to one another—faunal remains from domestic/commercial sites represent everyone's meals: the owner, his family, slaves, employees, travelers, and guests. It is impossible to separate the faunal remains to distinguish between foods eaten by various groups on the property. Also, in the Chesapeake, research has shown that local availability of meats significantly affected the foods consumed in public establishments. Just as in the homes of the elite, craftsmen, and professionals, beef made up the greatest contribution to the diet, while pork, mutton, and veal followed, in that order. Despite these similarities, distinct differences are evident as well. At both Shields and the Coffeehouse site, unusually large quantities of venison, mutton, chicken (both old and young), wild duck, and goose were found.

The Coffeehouse studies, based on more than 19,000 bones, show a frequent and diverse use of wildlife, which can probably be interpreted as speaking to the "maleness" of the establishment and the importance placed on hunting by the elite. Earlier in England, the elite had controlled hunting, which also served as an expression of their mastery over nature. Excavated faunal remains showed that there was a wide variety of seafood consumed, including crab, sturgeon, catfish, striped bass, sheepshead, and yellow perch. The wild ducks included mallard, black duck, wood duck, and canvasback. Turtles and small animals included snapping turtle, slider, opossum, raccoon, squirrel, and rabbit.

Bowen makes the point that, while some have theorized there is a link between the great fragmentation of bones on a site and the poor/slave diet suggesting numerous soups and stews, she has found that breakage of bones is probably not a good indicator of a lower-level cuisine, because the elite cuisine also included soups as well as "made" dishes such as ragoos,

collops, forced meats, collared meats, Beef à la Daub, or Beef à la mode, and fricassees. All of these prepared dishes required small, chopped meats and were considered high cuisine during the period.

Distinguishing between the private dinner and the standard middling meal would have to fall to good old common sense—the lesser cuts of meat to the “middling sort” while the best, most tender, leaner meats to the private parties. For instance the hind legs of mutton would be far superior to the forelegs and shoulders of mutton. The small white perch would not be as much of a treat as the much larger sheephead fish.

[Cook's Notes: Beef, mutton, veal, fish, seafood, and small wildlife. “Made” dishes popular.]

This “hunting and gathering” research phase had produced enough information that only two obstacles remained before the actual menus could be chosen. How was the standard fare for the traveler, or overnight guest, served? And what should be shown as the slaves’ meal in the laundry and kitchen? Now retired, longtime research historian Pat Gibbs, whose focus for years has been on taverns and foodways, gave very logical, commonsense answers to both questions. She pointed out that tavern owners had to protect their profit by maintaining control over the quantities of foods consumed. Undoubtedly then the foods would have been served individually in the kitchen to each person who was charged a shilling for the “Diet.” (One only need observe the quantities of foods consumed in buffet lines today to realize the logic of her answer.)

The diet of slaves is currently under investigation by Gibbs and is a complex issue, but as we await the completion of her ongoing research she suggested a pot of Great Hominy—hominy (corn meal) enriched with bacon, beans, meat scraps, and onions. She also suggested that a whole-grain bread and small fish could possibly augment the hominy. Cider may have accompanied the meal.

[Cook's Notes: Must have foods in the kitchen to show preparation, serving, as well as consumption.]

Even though the proper foods may be known after research, every menu-planning project must first be put through an entirely different set of checks and balances than those that might be used by a nutritionist or foodways his-

torian. First the restrictions of using the available appropriate antique ceramics dictate the size, weight, number, and form of foods to be chosen. The second filter is how will the foods appear when almost every table setting in the Historic Area will be seen from a distance, usually in diffused light, and most often across barriers that limit the field of vision? In the exhibition buildings, occasionally no one is nearby to answer questions or explain the dishes that are used, therefore every effort is made to make the displays of foods visually readable and ideally identifiable, and yet they must be neither edible nor nutritious.

A good example of the impact of this visual filtering is the knowledge that ragoos, fricassees, à la modes, and other “made dishes” should also be on our tables, but because they are not visually pleasing or readily understood by modern visitors, we do not currently use them in the Historic Area. Perhaps one day they will be added when we have a good cross-section of all of the representative meats that best illustrate the variety of foods consumed.

Where else in the world could one find in a “museum”:

- Extensive research reports and primary documents readily available for ongoing research.
- Archaeologists, zooarchaeologists, and curators willing to help establish correct equipage and foods.
- Rare breeds that can be used to show food preparation and presentation two hundred years ago.
- Rural tradesmen, in conjunction with a curator of zooarchaeology, capable of butchering, precisely as was practiced two hundred years ago.
- Well-equipped kitchens staffed by professionals so knowledgeable and capable of preparing a wide variety of foods that can be molded, and then serve also as models for the process of painting exact reproductions in conservation-safe materials.
- And to complete the process . . . the bones from the molded foods used to build up a zooarchaeology bone bank that will be used to teach students how to identify faunal remains found on historic sites.

Only here at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation!

“They came empty-handed, not empty-headed”

by *Harvey Bakari*

Harvey, a member of the Interpreter Planning Board, is program development manager of African-American history. This is the first of two journal accounts about his trip to West Africa in 2001.

This article is an account of my observations during my travels in Senegal, West Africa. This is not meant to be a definitive article about Senegalese history and culture. My experiences in Senegal raised many questions in regards to interpreting African and African-American history at Colonial Williamsburg. It also raised ideas about possible partnership projects between Colonial Williamsburg, IFAN (L'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire or Institute Fundamental of Black Africa), and Cheikh Anta Diop University (formerly the University of Dakar; the current name honors Cheikh Anta Diop, a revered Senegalese scholar).

The 1999–2001 International Partnerships Among Museums (IPAM) was awarded to Colonial Williamsburg and the Historical Museum of Gorée. My exchange partner was Dr. Abdoulaye Camara, curator of the Historical Museum of Gorée and professor of Prehistoric Archaeology. IFAN, an institution associated with Cheikh Anta Diop University, administers the Historical Museum of Gorée. I resided in Senegal from January to February 2001, and Dr. Camara resided in Williamsburg from September to October 2000.

I had never met Dr. Camara but perhaps we crossed paths in 1996, when several members of the African-American Interpretation Presentation Department visited Ghana and Senegal. During our trip to Gorée Island, we visited the House of Slavery and the Historical Museum of Gorée. But as I recall, the entire exhibition text panel was in French, making it difficult to understand and appreciate the exhibition.

During Dr. Camara's visit to Colonial Williamsburg, we explored several museum collections including those at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum. Dr. Camara immediately identified objects that he could parallel with African craftsmanship. He promised that I would see the connections between artifacts and craftsmanship in the history of Senegal and insisted that I would discover the ability of Africans to create whatever they needed from natural resources or found objects. The Africans' ingenious spirit continues to thrive today despite the legacy of the slave trade and nineteenth-century European colonialism.

Dr. Camara was most impressed by the rural historical depiction of colonial life at Jamestown's early Indian and European settlements and at the Carter's Grove slave quarter. The construction of the slave quarter, fencing, shell-covered courtyard, chickens, and gardens reminded him of a rural Senegalese village in Saloum. Perhaps the newly arrived African captives entered a physical living environment similar in appearance to regions in rural Senegambia.

Why study Senegal's history and culture? Current research by historian Lorena Walsh documents the origin of African ethnic groups into the Chesapeake from 1698 to 1774. In the



*Bakari and Camara
work in one of the
fields at Carter's
Grove.*



Bakari and Camara in the slave quarter at Carter's Grove.

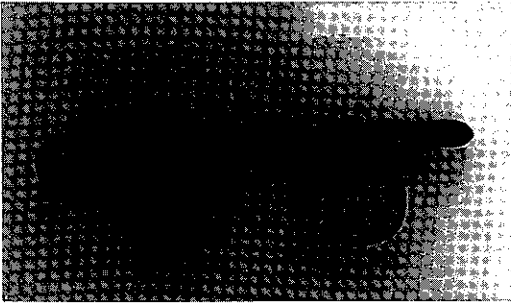
early- to mid-eighteenth-century slave trade, a substantial number of Africans from the Senegambia region arrived in the Chesapeake. Perhaps the Senegalese ethnic groups laid the foundation of what would become African-American culture in this region of the Chesapeake. By the mid-eighteenth century, groups from the region of modern-day Nigeria, such as Calabar, became the primary ethnic group.

In Dr. Camara's opinion, it was possible for enslaved Africans to make something like a small metalsmithing forge in order to create objects that were important to them. Did they create objects to imitate the owner's property? Dr. Camara believes that the process would not require a large space and the materials could be derived from natural resources. He believes that such activity could take place in secrecy on a given plantation.

On my 1999 trip to Gorée Island, I was perplexed by the beauty of Gorée, an island that held such a horrific history of trading human beings during the transatlantic slave trade. I assumed that everyone on the island would be conscience of its dreadful historical legacy. On my second trip, I realized that survival is the most important thing to the community of Gorée. The people are aware of their history, but it does not appear that they have the luxury of being consumed by it. There is money to be made from tourists who visit the island daily. Some tourists come to the island for an educational experience, a personal pilgrimage, or for fun and sun. Once identified as a tourist you can be assured that someone has something to sell you. There are markets and vendors throughout the island eager to sell souvenirs to visitors. Many of the vendors can speak four or five languages.

Harbor of Gorée Island, Senegal.





Shackles are part of the exhibit at the Historic Museum of Gorée, Senegal.

Dr. Camara discouraged me from the path of the tourist. I was to experience Senegal from an educational and cultural perspective. Our first meeting was with the director of IFAN, Professor Djibril Samb, who asked me if I would act as the ambassador for this project in Virginia. Later that day, the president of the University of Dakar made the same request. Of course I accepted the offer. As ambassador they requested that I help facilitate collaborative efforts between both institutions.

There are four museums on Gorée Island: the Historical Museum of Gorée, Sea Museum, Museum of Women, and the most well-known museum, Maison des Esclaves (the House of Slavery), which contains the famous Door of No Return. The Door of No Return issue raises much controversy because the door in question was not used for the purpose of leading captured Africans to waiting slave ships. The most logical explanation is that the captives were escorted through the front of the complex toward the natural harbor. The island is surrounded by volcanic rocks and is unapproachable except for the harbor. As the French and other Europeans occupied Gorée, their cannon were aimed in the only direction that an enemy could approach. The myth of the Door of No Return is dramatic and appeals to many of the international visitors who travel to the island. Some see the Door of No Return as symbolic of the slave trade, others want to take the myth out of the interpretation and reveal the horrific nature of the slave trade on its own historical terms.

Historic interpretation is another issue that affects the tourist's experience on Gorée Island. There are official and unofficial tour guides who are willing to provide a guided tour of the island for a fee or donation. Some people make a living this way. Unfortunately, because many of the tour guides are unofficial, the information that they provide is inaccurate. The official guides receive their licenses from the Office of

Tourism. Their training is extensive, and the official tour guides that I encountered were indeed knowledgeable of the history of Senegal.

I requested an official tour of the island with a young man named Mamadou Sall. Like most tour guides, he could speak four or five languages. He informed me that unofficial tour guides are problematic and on occasion give the tourist a negative experience. The misinformation and unprofessional appearance contributes to the negative experience.

I think issues of sensitivity to the African-American audience need to be developed. One example of this need is found in the House of Slavery. The curator, Mr. Eloi Coly, informed me that the museum has developed programs exclusively for African Americans on a spiritual pilgrimage during February's Black History Month. Many African Americans travel to Gorée Island's Door of No Return for an emotional spiritual pilgrimage rather than a vacation of sun and fun.

One idea suggested for a collaborative project is to develop an international interpretive program about the history of the transatlantic slave trade that links Virginia and Senegal. Colonial Williamsburg's living history programs can illustrate how newly arrived African captives resisted, adapted, and survived the institution of slavery

Door of No Return in the House of Slavery, Gorée, Senegal.



in Virginia. African-American tours, such as the "Other Half Tour," and the living history programs, such as "The Dipping Gourd," can benefit from such a collaborative project. This interpretive collaboration could provide increased understanding of the impact of African culture in the Chesapeake.

Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Collections lacks eighteenth-century objects from West Africa. It is important to be able to explore African artifacts from the eighteenth century that may have some relationship to the Chesapeake. Furthermore, the possibility of being able to acquire reproductions of eighteenth-century Senegalese objects can benefit our interpretation and programs. For example, the reproduction of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century musical instruments, such as drums and shakes, can enrich our African-American educational outreach and evening programs. Reproductions of objects used in daily life could materially enrich the African presence at the Carter's Grove slave quarter and Randolph kitchen and provide hands-on objects for the Teacher Institute program.

As Dr. Camara led me through the IFAN collection, I became aware of the variety of African objects that enslaved people could have made in the Americas. A slave could have created objects that the slave owner may not have recognized as useful. For example, the slave owner could mistake a wooden tool shaped like a baker's rolling pin for a small pestle. In reality, an example of such a wooden object was used for ironing clothing in Senegal. The wrinkles are beaten out of the clothing with the wooden tool. Could a slave, preparing for a religious

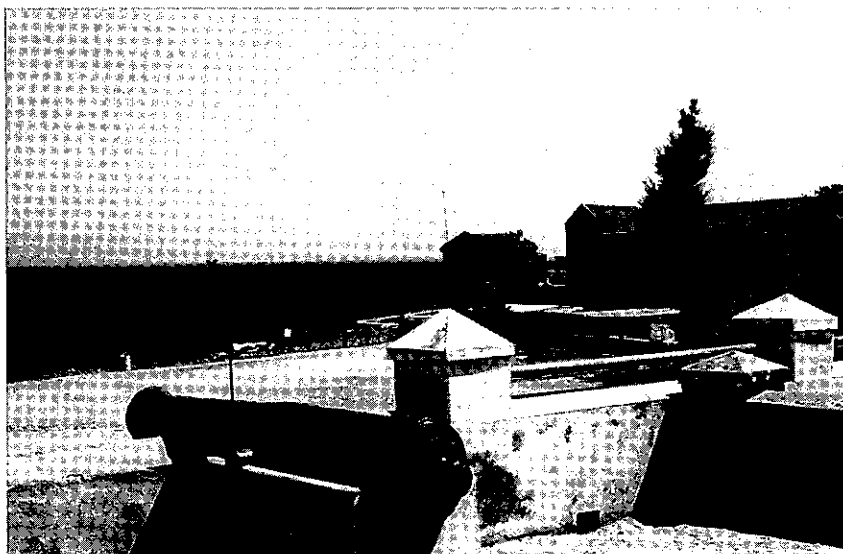
gathering or marriage union, iron her clothing with this device for such important occasions?

In addition, an exhibition in the Museum of Women demonstrates the importance of fertility in Senegalese culture, apparent by the fact that it is featured in one of the first exhibits in the museum. Because an infertile woman is considered a curse throughout much of traditional Africa, a woman might wear a fetish on her body to cure infertility and promote fertility.

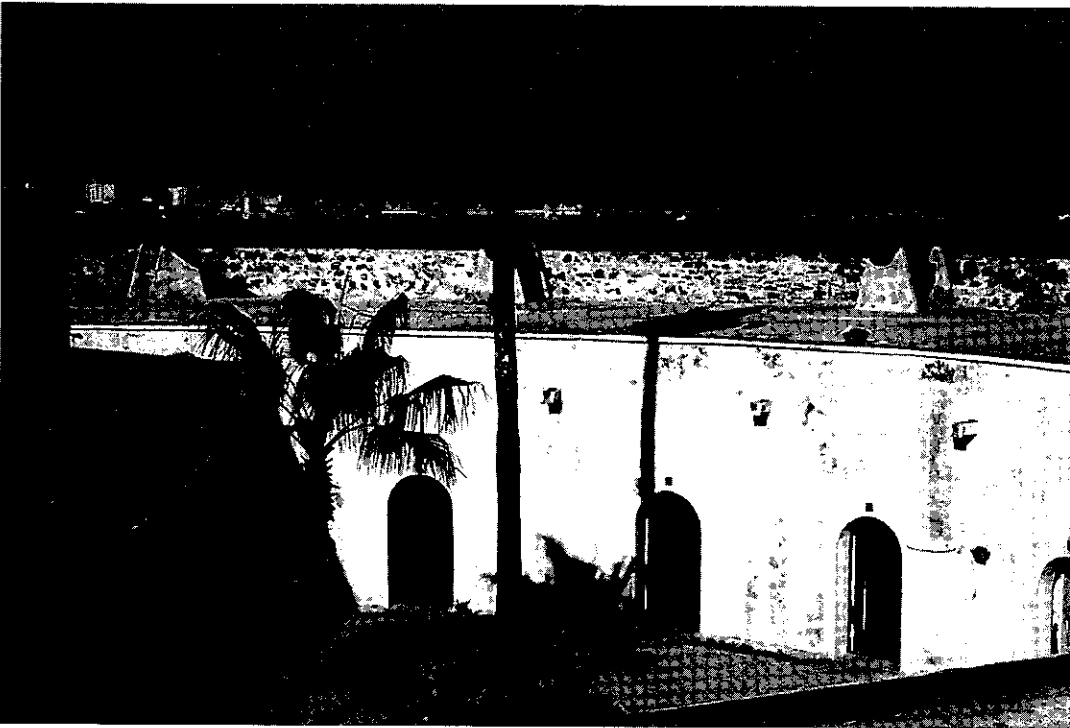
One exhibit panel depicted the complex fertility rituals that included the use of medicine, animal blood, milk, and a mortar and pestle. The mortar and pestle is closely associated with womanhood. The infertile woman sits on the mortar, which is turned upside down. The priest or priestess elder pours a mixture of sacrificed animal blood, milk, and medicine over her head. She is then bathed and her skin massaged with the medicinal concoction. In some instances, the occasion is accompanied by ritualistic music and singing by women of the community.

There is historical information that many African women who arrived in seventeenth-century Virginia had difficulty conceiving babies. How did enslaved African women, who survived the traumatic middle passage across the Atlantic, deal with the issue of infertility? Is it possible that an African priest or priestess could have conducted such a fertility ritual in the slave quarter? All of the resources are available.

There is evidence that African medicinal practices continued in the Americas despite the laws that prohibited slaves in Virginia to mix or administer medicine. Around 1729, Virginia Governor Gooch freed a slave for his ability to cure a type of venereal disease. What other



Cannon guarded the harbor of Gorée Island, Senegal.



Courtyard and roof of Historic Museum of Gorée show cannon emplacements overlooking the harbor.

African medical and ritualistic practices could be retained in an enslaved community and how would they benefit the white community as well?

The Museum of Women included many examples of beads, which were among the variety of goods offered by European merchants in exchange for African captives. Documentation indicates that some African captives wore beads on the slave ships. On some slave ships, African women were given beads to make necklaces, in order to keep them occupied with work on the long voyage.

The beads have a variety of decorative and protective properties. One type of bead that women wear around their waists consists of a composite of various roots and fragrances and is intended to help a woman keep her husband. The fragrance of another type of bead is enhanced by the urine of the baby that is strapped to her back. The collections of the IFAN museums and the Museum of Women provide insight into everyday objects that may have been reproduced in the colonial Chesapeake.

As I continued to explore the collections, I began to understand Dr. Camara's opinion about the range of possibilities that enslaved Africans in Virginia may have had to reproduce objects or rituals that were important to them and their survival. Survival could take the form of spiritual survival of the heart and soul or

physical survival from hard work and punishment. Survival also appears to give rise to creativity and innovation, which is abundant in African culture. The experience reminded me of the African-American Interpretation Presentation mantra: "The Africans arrived on slave ships empty-handed, but not empty-headed."

Without continued exploration of the vast variety of daily objects in West African cultures, is it possible that we have overlooked an important part of the interpretation of the slaves' material culture at Carter's Grove? Further study with museum partners such as IFAN, the University of Dakar, and Museum of Women may provide more information about slave material culture in the Chesapeake.

Another observation was the importance of oral history in Senegal. Oral history is an important aspect of African-American history. While it was not illegal in eighteenth-century Virginia to teach slaves to read and write, most were denied an education. Colonial Williamsburg's African-American Interpretation Department has more than twenty-one years of experience interpreting slavery and the slave trade. Such interpretive experience would be of great value to Senegal and Gorée historians should they choose to develop living history programs based on documentation and oral history.

Mrs. Lilyan Kesteloot, an IFAN professor of

African literature, stated that the tradition of oral history is fundamental in Senegal. Oral history retained by the griots is of great importance and value. Griots possess the history of their ethnic group by memory. One becomes a griot by heredity and training. Many griots are not only historians, but also musicians who play a variety of percussion, string and wind instruments as they recite the history of their community or nation. In the Historical Museum of Gorée the oral history of the griot is collaborated with the document history of the French.

In the Historical Museum of Gorée, I gave a presentation to the National Training School. I informed them of the challenges in Western scholarship concerning oral history and written history. In response, it was expressed that the Africans and Europeans will never see history from the same perspective. Since Senegalese Independence, they have sought to create history from an African perspective.

The Historical Museum of Gorée is divided into thirteen exhibition galleries. The typical gallery's exhibit design seems to derive from a traditional European methodology. There are a few exceptions. The Ambassador of Spain dedicated one of the galleries that makes use of contemporary exhibition design methodology. The gallery highlights African kingdoms prior to and after the slave trade. It contains a large colorful map of African kingdoms, ethnic groups, and their migration through the Senegambia region. Life-sized vertical display cases exhibit different Senegalese ethnic groups by using woodcuts of people dressed in their traditional clothing. Objects, such as Senegalese muskets, are included in the display cases. Each display case also contains text panels with the griots' oral accounts of Senegalese history.

Another gallery dedicated by an Islamic country, is under construction. The walls are covered with Islamic decorative tiles. I believe this gallery will highlight Islam in Senegal, a predominantly Muslim country. Before the gallery was closed for renovation, it consisted of panels depicting Senegalese marabouts. Marabouts are African-Islamic clergymen who are held in very high esteem. Many Senegalese and other Islamic visitors rub their fingers on the image of the marabout to receive his blessing. (Unfortunately, this practice began to erode the surface image of the marabouts.) It is interesting to note that the panels created a spiritual interaction with visitors in a way that the museum may not have anticipated.

While Islamic devotion was displayed by eroding the surface image of the African marabout, the same could not be said for the trans-Sahara slave trade exhibit. Panels were damaged if they depicted the Arab involvement in the enslavement of Africans. Visitors' hand rubbings, scratching, and other forms of deface-



Bakari stands on the threshold of the Door of No Return during his 1996 visit to Gorée Island, Senegal.

ment purposefully damaged the text and images of the panel. The time and effort that some visitors invested in defacing the exhibit speaks clearly of the sentiments concerning the history of the slave trade in that region. In addition, it is very sensitive to speak about slavery in the modern era when countries such as Sudan and Mauritania, which are north of Senegal, are currently accused of practicing chattel slavery of non-Moslem Africans.

There is one gallery that Dr. Camara would like Colonial Williamsburg to consider dedicating to the transatlantic slave trade and its impact on the Americas. The exhibition could use archival photos of the Carter's Grove slave quarter. Such images would expose the international audience and the local Senegalese community to the story of colonial slavery in Virginia and how Colonial Williamsburg uses living history and exhibition museums to interpret and preserve history.

One of the challenges of such an exhibition would be the physical environment of Gorée Island. Climate control does not exist within the galleries. The exhibit would have to withstand exposure to extreme heat, humidity, and ocean air. Materials would have to be selected for exterior exposure.

Another IFAN museum on Gorée Island is the Sea Museum. This museum exists because of the efforts and expertise of IFAN faculty member and conservator, Dr. Amadou Abdoulaye-Seck, a specialist in the study of shells. The museum highlights African fishing civilizations and man's relationship to the river and ocean. The exhibition consists of photographic panels, figurative models, paintings, jars of marine specimens, scaled wooden reproductions of fishing villages, and glass display cabinets. The exhibit

panels depict rice cultivation, oyster harvesting, salt cultivation, and fish farming. Examples of fishing instruments hang from the ceiling and shelves. The museum's collection continues in its laboratory and the university laboratories. The exhibition contains many examples of necklaces made out of shells and fish remains such as shark vertebrae. I began to immediately refer to Dr. Camara's statements about the possibilities of how enslaved Africans could have created necklaces and other instruments of protection from natural resources or discarded organic or inorganic material.

The more I traveled through Senegal, the more I began to realize that trash is not necessarily trash in the Western sense. The African's ability to take an object and reuse it and apply a new meaning to it puts trash in a different perspective. Did the slaves define material culture differently than their slave owners? Did the slaves live in a material culture that was "lost and found," a temporal material culture?

Trash is found almost everywhere in Senegal. However, a national campaign is under way to encourage people to clean up the trash. Billboard displays encourage people to be aware of the need for a clean environment. So is trash really trash if it can be transformed? Is trash simply perceived as material? Is it waiting to be transformed by human technology? Africa's discarded material today becomes tomorrow's ingenious product for sale to tourists at home and abroad. The concept of "discarding nothing" and yet transforming it into another shape and purpose is fundamental in African culture. How important is this perception of trash/material for those who research and interpret the history of slavery in the Americas? (To be continued in the spring 2002 *Interpreter*)

The Bothy's Mould

by Terry Yemm

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

As it cannot be expected a Soldier should fight without Arms, so it cannot be desir'd a Gard'ner should Work without the Tools that are proper for his Occupation; both which are absolutely Necessary. (The Retir'd gard'ner by François Gentil, translated by George London and Henry Wise, London, 1706.)

The large number and diversity of tools required by an eighteenth-century professional gardener is impressive even by today's standards. In his manuscript *Elysium Britannicum*, John Evelyn listed seventy different categories "Of the Instruments belonging to a Gardiner, and their various uses." Most of those categories contained several kinds of tools.

To provide an understanding of the range of equipment used by British gardeners, some samples have been taken from the descriptions contained in the 1706 English version of *The Retir'd gard'ner*. George London and Henry Wise were the royal gardeners. Instead of parrotting Gentil's French work, they claimed "the whole revis'd, with several alterations and additions, which render it proper for our English culture."

Of the Spade.

The Gard'ner is to begin with a Spade; which is, the First Instrument he is to learn the use of, to the end he may become skilful in breaking up the Ground, and digging it even. A Spade is what is first put into his Hands, and this is the Tool he uses the greatest part of his Apprenticeship.

Of the Dung-fork.

This Instrument is necessary to heap up or spread abroad Dung upon the Beds, and a Gard'ner cannot by any means be without it.

Of Rakes.

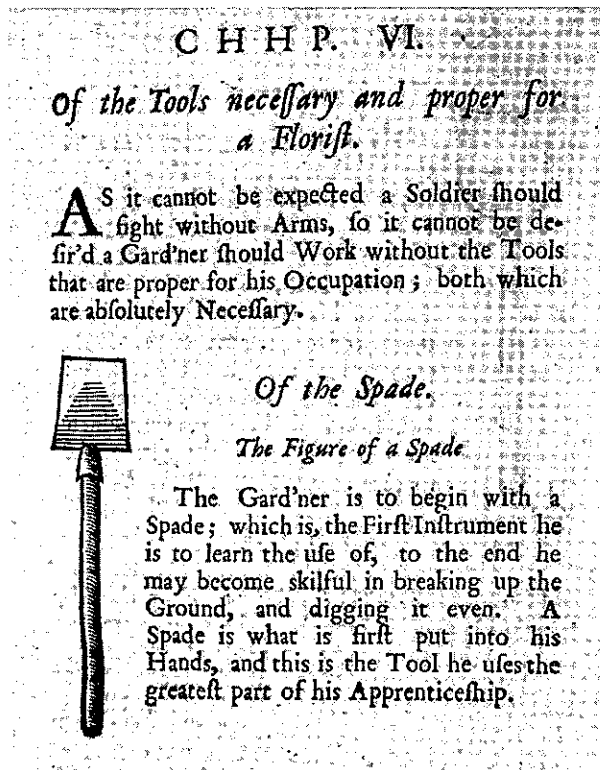
He must make use of a Rake to clear the Alleys of his Garden, and make the Compartments even. This instrument in a Gard'ner's Affairs is the very Symbol of Neatness. There are Two Sorts of them, one to even the Earth, as I have said before, of the Beds and Borders, and the other to clear the Alleys, after they are hough'd.

Of Watering-Pots.

There is nothing more useful in a Garden than a Watering-Pot, therefore a Gard'ner ought not to be unprovided of it; this Vessel imitates exactly the Rain that falls from the Clouds, by shedding the Water it contains out of a Thousand little Holes that are in the Rose of it. The relief the Plants receive by the help of this Vessel does them a great deal of good.

Of a Pruning-Knife.

As for the Pruning-Knife that is an Instrument so very necessary, that the Gard'ner ought always to carry it about him, there



The Retir'd Gard'ner. Vol. I.

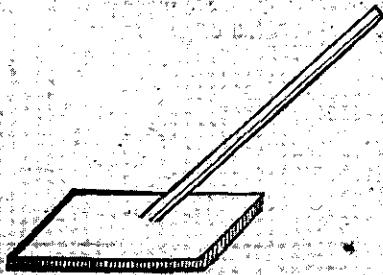
The Figure of a Watering-Pot.



Of the Beater.

The Gard'ner must not forget to have a Beater to make his Alleys even; there is nothing better to hinder the Weeds from growing, than beating the Ground with this Instrument, and nothing contributes more to the Neatness of a Garden.

The Figure of a Beater.

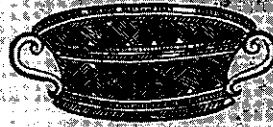


Of

Chap. VI. *The Retir'd Gard'ner.*

Of Baskets.

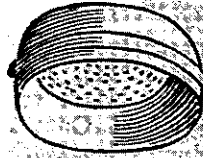
The Figure of a Flower-Basket.



A Gard'ner that cultivates Flowers must have Baskets to put them in, when he thinks 'tis time to gather 'em; these Sorts of Baskets show the Gard'ner's Neatness, and his handsome way of proceeding in his Profession.

Of the Sieve.

The Figure of a Garden-Sieve.



Of all the Implements that a Florist has occasion for, there is hardly any one more useful than a Sieve. 'Tis with this Utensil he reduces his Ground to a Mould, as fine as Dust; which is the Sort of Earth that *Anemones*, *Ranunculus*, and other tender Flowers require.

Of the Saw.

A Saw is not less Necessary to a Gard'ner than any of the other Tools we have mention'd. He employs it to cut off the Branches which he can't take away with his Pruning-Knife, and what is Cut with a Saw looks always very Neat after the Roughness the Saw has left has been smooth'd over with a Knife.

The Figure of a Gard'ner's Saw.



Of

being a Thousand Occasions in Gardening, where he'll want to make use of it. Some pruning Knives are to shut in, others not. They serve to trim the Roots of Plants before they are put into the Ground, and to prune Trees and Shrubs.

Of the Gard'ner's Trowel.

A Florist ought never to be without a Trowel, or a Groove; 'tis with that Instrument he takes up Flowers successfully with the Earth about them, which otherwise would be in Danger of being kill'd by taking them out of the Ground.

Of Straw-Mats.

Straw-Mats are very necessary for a Florist to preserve his Plants from Frosts, which would otherwise very much endanger the Flowers

he had sown in the Beds, especially such as are most averse to Cold.

Of Baskets.

A Gard'ner that cultivates Flowers must have Baskets to put them in, when he thinks 'tis time to gather 'em; these Sorts of Baskets show the Gard'ner's Neatness, and his handsome way of proceeding in his Profession.

'Tis not sufficient for a Florist to have all these Instruments and Tools by him, he must keep them safe, and when they come to be blunted, worn, or broken, by often using, he must get them mended or ground. He should likewise clear them from Rust, and above all take Care that no Body steals them from him.

Life on Courthouse Green: A View from the St. George Tucker House

by Kathleen Bragdon

Kathleen Bragdon, formerly with the Department of Historical Research, wrote the following article for the November 1986 Interpreter based on interviews with Dr. Janet Coleman Kimbrough, a direct descendant of St. George Tucker, Mary Haldane Coleman's journals, and other writings. Dr. Kimbrough died in 1992.

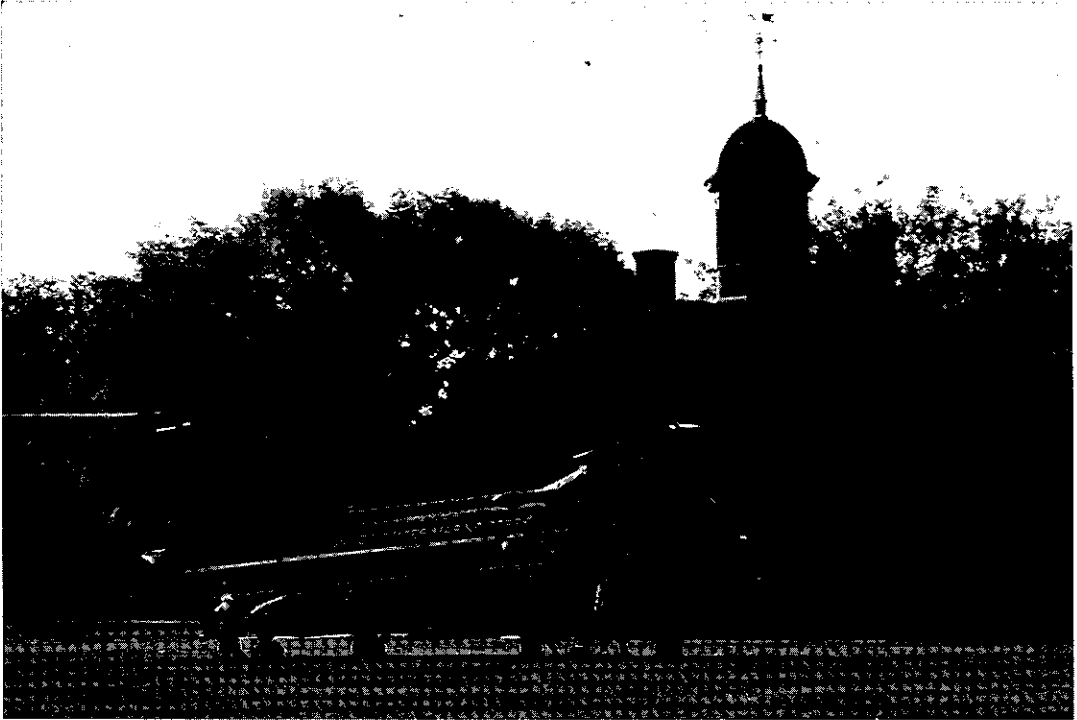
St. George Tucker, a resident and an admirer of Williamsburg, described the Courthouse Green of his day as "a pleasant square of about ten acres, which is generally covered with a delightful verdure." On this green, he witnessed some of the stirring events leading to the Revolution and later excitements as well. There, for example, he watched students of the College of William and Mary launch a hot-air balloon in April or May of 1801, and from there he made many of the astronomical observations that occupied his leisure hours and filled his memorandum books. For St. George and others, the grassy, open spaces of the Courthouse and

Palace greens gave the "old city" of Williamsburg an air of beauty and spaciousness and provided a place for social activity not always available in larger cities.

St. George's son Nathaniel Beverley Tucker moved into the St. George Tucker House in 1833 or 1834 and eventually purchased it from St. George's other heirs. He, too, delighted in the view of the "Court Green," as he called it, afforded by the location of the Tucker House and had additional windows installed in the two lower front rooms to take further advantage of it. There, after the Civil War, residents continued to meet, schoolchildren to play, and tradesmen to guide their wagons along the perimeters. As important as they were to Williamsburg's citizens, the greens suffered encroachments in the nineteenth century. Financial problems forced the city council to sell some of the public lands, particularly around the Magazine, to private citizens, prompting Cynthia Beverley Tucker Coleman, St. George's granddaughter, to remark that the city fathers had acted "more like step-fathers."

In spite of its diminished size, Courthouse Green in the early twentieth century was probably much as it had been in St. George Tucker's day. Dr. Janet Kimbrough, who moved to the Tucker House with her family in early 1907, remembers her first views of "the Green" through





a large hole in the front door. This hole, caused by a shotgun fired accidentally from inside the house, remained for several years to the delight of young Janet and her sister, Cynthia. Dr. Kimbrough remembers that the green was blanketed in long grass and filled in the spring with masses of buttercups, which she says, "were much more beautiful than now." The green was crisscrossed with paths and was scythed once or twice a year. Although easily passable in fine weather, it could become, in Dr. Kimbrough's words, "a lovely little lake" after a heavy rain. The green was still a place for social gatherings for adults and children as well. Dr. Kimbrough recalls ball games played when weather permitted and many other children's games as well. Contests, Maypole dances, athletic competitions, and school parades took place there. A particular sport for young children in summer was the capture of fireflies at dusk, when they seemed to swarm by the thousands.

Although there were a number of shops along Duke of Gloucester Street in the early twentieth century, tradesmen also did business door-to-door. Local farmers frequently visited houses on the greens and allowed residents to choose their own fresh fruits and vegetables. The "fishman" also stopped at each house where he would shuck oysters on the spot. Dr. Kimbrough recalls that the oyster shells were

left where they fell and "helped to pave the road and fill in the mud holes very nicely."

One prominent feature of Courthouse Green was the old Colonial Inn. Located on the eastern edge of the green, where Chowning's now stands, it served as the main hostelry for visitors to Williamsburg. Guests were brought from the railroad station to the inn by means of a carriage driven by a liveried servant, who drove them grandly around by Duke of Gloucester Street and up to the inn's entrance.

Special events occurred on the greens at all seasons. Traveling sideshows set up on Courthouse Green included games and spectacles. According to Dr. Kimbrough, "there would very often be the equivalent of a medicine man selling some sort of miraculous cure." There were minstrel shows as well as circuses. An entry from Mary Haldane Coleman's journal from April 21, 1919, reads

An enormous circus and wild beast show has planted itself on the green in front of the [St. George Tucker] house to be here for a week. Lions are roaring in front of the Garretts' house [Grissell Hay Lodging House]. The fat lady strolls along our fence gathering violets. There is a two-headed lady and a tattooed man, a Ferris wheel and everything else and of course an awful noise and crowd.

Entertainment of a more serious nature was provided yearly by the Chautauqua, supported through local subscriptions and by tickets sold at the gate. The Chautauqua had its origins in a summer school program developed in Chautauqua, New York, and sought to bring notions of morality and citizenship to small communities throughout the country through theater, art, and music. In Williamsburg, the Chautauqua offered plays, lectures, and entertainment in booths and tents set up on Courthouse Green. Dr. Kimbrough remembers being part of a children's dramatic group, which learned and then performed a short play for the community at the close of the Chautauqua's stay. Although the Chautauqua's popularity diminished over time, Dr. Kimbrough recalls that "later in life I found that all through Virginia, in groups where you really didn't know anybody and they had not had at all the same experiences, somebody would start up singing some of the Chautauqua songs and immediately everybody would join in."

The greens were also the location of political events, speeches, and parades. On January 1, Emancipation Day was celebrated by the black community in Williamsburg with a parade down Duke of Gloucester Street. Crowds gathered on the Courthouse Green to hear political speeches, including one made by Booker T. Washington on November 11, 1914.

In spite of their continuing importance to the community, the greens shrank even more in the early decades of the twentieth century when public sidewalks were laid and Matthew Whaley School was constructed in front of the site of the Governor's Palace. Mrs. Coleman wrote in her journal for the fall of 1919 that

All the town is much stirred by a proposal to erect a public school on the Palace Green and this evening there was a mass meeting at the Court House to protest against the action of the Council in permitting such a proposal.

Further diminishing of the greens occurred in the succeeding decade as roads were widened to accommodate increasing automobile traffic and poles were installed for electric wires and

telephone lines. By the mid-1920s, Courthouse Green, particularly on the south side of Duke of Gloucester Street, was thickly built up with several stores, a hospital, two banks, an office building, and the lovely Greek Revival Zion Baptist Church.

In part because of this threat to the historic "landscape" of Williamsburg, the Reverend Dr. W.A.R. Goodwin of Bruton Parish Church sought aid from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to restore the old capital. Early in the restoration process, the greens were cleared of later buildings and the spaces familiar to St. George Tucker gradually restored. During the restoration of the Tucker House, Mary Haldane Coleman wrote on November 12, 1930,

There is a great deal of tearing down and building up going on all over town. The old red brick hotel (lately used as a hospital) and the building which was once Spencer's Grocery store were torn down this week. The Powder Horn [Magazine] stands open and uncrowded now.

Along with the restored beauty and dignity of the greens came new experiences. Tourists visited Williamsburg in increasing numbers in the decades following World War II, strolling the streets, across the greens, and sometimes into private yards as well.

Residents had front-row seats for visits such as that of General Dwight Eisenhower and Winston Churchill on March 8, 1946; the king and queen of Greece on November 22, 1952; the Queen Mother on November 11, 1953; and Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip on October 16, 1957. In 1983, the Economic Summit occasioned many helicopter landings on Courthouse Green, affording the residents of the Tucker House much amusement.

Dr. Kimbrough and her family witnessed many changes in Williamsburg from their vantage point at the St. George Tucker House. The greens have provided a continuous link with the past but are also an important part of the living community that still remains here, who enjoy the verdant, open spaces much as St. George Tucker, the "hermit on the Green," did in the eighteenth century.

From A Brief & True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia by Rutherford Goodwin

(from Chapter 4)

The following excerpt about the early years of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation comes from Rutherford Goodwin's A Brief & True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia: Being an Account of the most important Occurrences in that Place from its Beginning to the present Time. Published sixty years ago (1941), it remained in print for more than forty years. The book tells the story of Williamsburg from the founding of Middle Plantation in 1633 through the early phases of the twentieth-century restoration of the town and is a handy place to find primary documents associated with early Williamsburg (acts directing the building of Williamsburg and the city charter, for example). The first part of Chapter 4 was reprinted in the Fall 2001 Interpreter. The following section continues the story.

The Problem of the Landscape Architect, while in many Ways less confined and technical than that of the structural Architects, was more obscure. As has been said, many of the Homes and Buildings of the colonial Period were preserved as a Matter of practical and physical Necessity throughout that increasing economic Depression which had pervaded *Williamsburg* since the Removal of the Seat of Government in-1780, and more especially since the *War Between the States*. On the other Hand, the Pleasure Gardens which had surrounded so many of

these Buildings fell Victims not only to the Curtailment and Neglect commonly accorded Luxuries in such Times, but also to their transitory Nature. Beyond this, and again by the very Nature of them, the physical Evidences for Landscape Restoration were neither so numerous nor so clearly defined as those existing as a Basis for structural Restoration and Reconstruction.

In some few Instances major Evidences and Indications of colonial Gardens had survived. More often, their Re-creation was of Necessity based upon documentary References or Descriptions, upon Precedents and Prints, and upon such Evidences as buried Brick Walks, long-used Paths, and the general Arrangement of the older Trees, surviving Shrubbery, and indicative Disturbances of the Terrain. And such Indications had, of course, to be inter-related with the Arrangement of surviving Buildings and ancient Foundations.

In View of this Situation, and in Order that a Wealth of Precedent and a thorough Understanding of the Feeling of the Period might be developed, an extensive Survey was made of the Design of the Gardens of the South and of Characteristics in the Design of *English Gardens* continuing from the eighteenth Century. A particularly intensive Study was made of contemporary Pictures, Plans, and Maps.



W.A.R. Goodwin,
Alec Pleasants, and
John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

In the Matter of Plantings, another careful Study was made of the History of native Trees, Shrubs, and Flowers, and of Records pertaining to the Importation of foreign Seeds, Plants, and Cuttings. Fortunately, the Writings and Records of both professional and occasional Botanists and Horticulturalists were voluminous, and the Exchange of Information between them habitual. So that it can be stated with Confidence that there are today no Plantings in the restored and re-created Gardens of *Williamsburg* which might not have existed in the colonial Gardens which they represent.

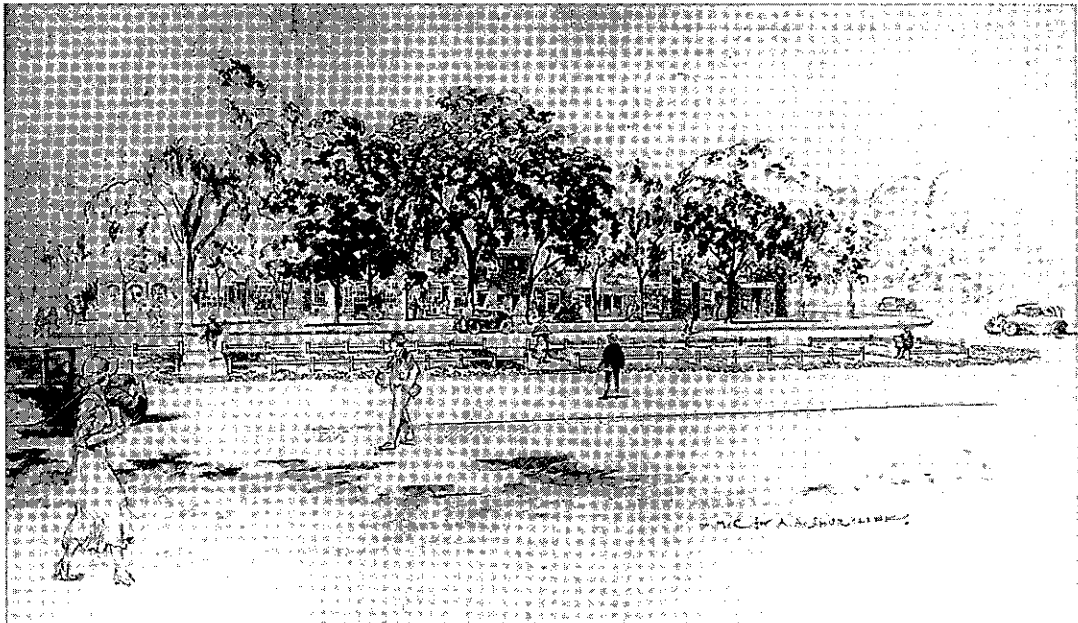
The Question of City Planning confronted the Landscape Architect with the Problem of preserving the early Plan of the City (which had survived with but few Alterations), while meeting the Requirements of present-day Traffic. With the Cooperation of the Federal, State, and City Governments, new Routes, Roads, and Streets have been provided outside and underneath the restored Area in a Profusion which, though it may perplex the Uninitiated, will serve the increased Demands and Purposes of the Publick.

The Landscape Architect and the structural Architects collaborated in the Removal of the outward or exterior Evidences of Modernity, and in the Replacing of them with the Appurtenances of colonial Times. Thus, again on the Basis of contemporary Records and Precedent, the Lampposts, Fences, Brick Walks, Street Surfaces, and other exterior Features of the colonial City have reappeared; though, in certain

Instances, these have been adapted to the Demands of the present Age and to the Convenience and Conveiances of its People.

And of the foregoing major Types and Divisions of the Work of Restoration, planned and supervised by Architects, Engineers, Landscape Architects, Decorators, and Experts in many Fields, working under the Direction of the administrative Corporations, it should be noted that the physical Execution of it has been and is being accomplished, in generous Part, by an Organization of skilled Mechanics and Artisans, trained to the Methods of colonial Builders and versed in the peculiar and exacting Demands of Restoration Work. And though the Labourer, as the Scripture holds, is worthy of his Hire; yet, they that work in Advance of the normal Skills and Demands of their Crafts are worthy also of Admiration and Esteem.

At the Close of the Year 1934, after eight Years of intensive Work and the Expenditure of many Millions of Dollars, the *Williamsburg Restoration* was considered and announced to be formally complete. Over four Hundred modern Buildings had been demolished and one Hundred and fifty early Buildings had been restored or reconstructed. A new Business District, designed to be in Keeping with the restored Areas, had been provided. Wires had been placed Underground and Streets resurfaced. Four Exhibition Buildings, the Capitol, the Governor's Palace, the *Raleigh Tavern*, and the Court House of 1770 (containing the *Williamsburg Restoration Archaeological Exhibit*), had been



Merchants Square by Walter M. Campbell for Arthur Shurcliff. 1930s.

opened to the Public; and the Opening of the *Ludwell-Paradise House* (containing Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Junior's, Collection of *American Folk Art*) was pending. In *October* of that Year the President of the United States, in Company with the Governor of *Virginia*, officiated at the formal Opening of the *Duke of Gloucester Street* and the Areas adjoining it.

Yet, in the Passage of Time, it has turned out that such Announcements and Ceremonies marked not the Completion of the Restoration, but marked, rather, the Beginning of a new Conception of it and of new Advances toward the Fulfillment of that broadened Conception.

As first projected, the Intention of the Restoration had been to restore certain of the ancient and historic Buildings surviving in Williamsburg (thus saving them from impending Destruction or Decay), to reconstruct certain other Buildings of especial historical Interest, to landscape the Grounds and Areas thus involved, and, with the more modern and anachronistic Buildings removed, to preserve and present a Memorial indicative (or, at least, reminiscent) of the English-American colonial Period. Thus, in the Minds of Most, the ultimate Result was at first visualized as an historical Center in which a generous Scattering of restored and reconstructed Buildings, interspersed with Gardens and landscaped Areas, would exemplify the various architectural and structural Types which had existed in Williamsburg, and which would be generally remindful (though not fully representative) of the local colonial Scene.

As to this, and of these Years, the Following has been written of the Architects of the Restoration:

"Approaching the Work in a Belief that perhaps it might require Buildings and Gardens freely designed in the old Manner, the Architects, as the Soil and the old Records commenced to give up their Secrets, became passionate historical Students, happy to subordinate their creative Abilities to a loyal Interpretation of the ample Evidence discovered."

Similarly, on the Part of Mr. Rockefeller and the administrative Corporations, it can be said that, as the Work advanced, countless new Actualities, Potentialities, and Possibilities for the Project as a whole became increasingly apparent; and that only out of the Experience and Knowledge gained from these opening Years could a broader Conception of the Restoration have developed.

It is often difficult to date Processes of Thought and Decisions developing out of Expe-



Kenneth Chorley.

rience. Let it suffice, then, to say that after a Period of Contemplation, in which the Revelments of its opening Years were weighed, the Restoration moved forward toward a Fulfillment more complete than could have been envisioned at the first.

In 1935, Mr. Kenneth Chorley became the President of Williamsburg Restoration, Incorporated, and Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. Long the Vice-President of both Corporations, and for some Time their acting President, he succeeded Colonel Woods, who became Chairman of the Boards and who subsequently retired because of ill Health. Colonel Woods was succeeded as Chairman of the Boards by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, III.

With an enlarged and extended Program decided upon, the various Divisions of the Work were at the Time integrated to center in a single Organization, operating under the immediate Direction of the administrative Corporations. The Architects and certain other Experts were retained in an advisory Capacity. But now the several Departments which had been continued, taken over, or formed for the Maintenance and Interpretation of the Project, became also the active Agencies for the Development and Supervision of its added Endeavors.

Subsequent to these Alterations of Plan and Organization, a Number of the wide Spaces which existed between the restored or recon-

structed Buildings of the first Period of Restoration have gradually filled with yet other Buildings, thus offering a more complete Representation of a colonial Metropolis. Also new Areas have been added to those originally chosen for Restoration, and additional Properties have been purchased or have become available within them all.

Since 1934, seven major Exhibition Buildings, all Survivors of colonial Times, have joined those already open to the Public: in the Year 1936, the Publick Gaol, in 1940, the George Wythe House, in 1952, the Brush-Everard House, and in 1968, the James Geddy House, the Peyton Randolph House, as well as several refurnished Rooms in the Sir Christopher Wren Building of the College of William and Mary. Through the Years, also, a Number of Shops of Artificers and Tradesmen have been added, viz., Apothecary, Baker, Barber & Peruke-maker, Basketmaker, Blacksmith, Boot & Shoemaker, Cabinetmaker, Cooper, Jeweler & Clockmaker, Engraver, Gunsmith, Harness-maker, Metal Founder, Miller, Milliner, Printer & Bookbinder, Silversmith, Spinner & Weaver, and Music Teacher.

And, though they are not owned by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, it should also be noted that the complete Restorations of Bruton Parish Church and of the Powder Magazine (owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities) were accomplished in this Period; the Work for the most Part being contributed by Mr. Rockefeller, even as the Wren Building, the President's House, and Brafferton Hall were restored for the College in the opening

Years of the Restoration.

Moreover, new Buildings have been added in the Business Area of the City; and great Advances have been made in the Provision of Accommodations for the Visitors from every Section of the Country and from all Parts of the World who are attracted to Williamsburg in ever-increasing Numbers. Two large Hotels and a 314-unit Motor Hotel have been erected on the Border of the Restoration Area, and a Number of restored or reconstructed Taverns, Ordinaries, and Dwelling Houses have been associated with these in the Reception and Entertainment of Guests. These lesser Buildings, for the most Part, are thus returned to the Purposes which they served originally when, during colonial Publick Times, the City was no less crowded than at the Present.

Also, in this Period, the Restoration has entered upon a Programme for the Promotion of Crafts, through which it hopes to extend the Influences of its Buildings and their Furnishings, as well as those of the Period and Civilization represented. In this Endeavor carefully selected and accredited Manufactories, working under the Supervision of Restoration Experts, are reproducing countless Materials of the Restoration, and are making these available for Publick Purchase both in Williamsburg and throughout the Country.

To promote the Study of early American History through Research, Publication, and Teaching, Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary founded in 1943 the Institute of Early American History and Culture, establishing a cooperative Program on be-

Capitol Area by Arthur A. Shurcliff. 1930s.



half of historical Scholarship which reaches beyond the Locality in its Contribution to Learning and attracts Scholars to Williamsburg. Seeking to create Conditions favourable to Understanding through Exhibits and a new motion Picture—"Williamsburg: The Story of a Patriot"—Colonial Williamsburg opened in 1957 a new, \$12,000,000 Information Center featuring twin 250-Seat Theatres utilizing the latest and most advanced audio-visual Techniques. Earlier the same year, the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection was removed from the Ludwell-Paradise House to a specially constructed two-story brick Building containing nine Galleries suggesting interiors of the nineteenth Century when most American folk Art was produced. The new Building, made possible by a Gift from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., permits the exhibition of the Collection in its entirety for the first Time.

More recently, as the Restoration has begun to approach its enlarged and final Form, new and added Emphasis has been placed upon the Means and Methods of its Interpretation. Endeavors in historical Research, at first directed principally to the Provision of Information requisite for physical Restoration, have been broadened to permit extensive Studies in the general Field of English-American colonial History and its social, political, economic, and religious Pertinences—with particular Emphasis laid upon the History of Virginia and of Williamsburg. Nor are such Endeavors confined wholly to Restoration Agencies, for in late Months a limited Number of Fellowships have been granted to certain well-qualified Scholars desiring to pursue and publish Studies concerning Williamsburg in the eighteenth Century, and the Origin, Development, and Expansion of the Civilization of which the City was the Center. It is intended that the published Results of such Studies will supplement the more extensive Endeavors of the several Departments of the Restoration and the Publications issued by them. And the Information thus attained will in Time become diffused in the common Knowledge, to the End that Williamsburg (which has been advanced herein as a City which, through a strange Coincidence of History, was all but forgotten) will resume its rightful Place in the History of the Country at large.

So it is, then, that the Restoration faces the Future at the Time of this Writing. And, though the Future is not the proper Province of an historical Report, it may be said with considerable Assurance that so, with slowly changing Emphasis, it will continue. A further Number of

Buildings of the eighteenth Century will likely be restored or reconstructed, Plans having been completed for several such Additions, and Plans for yet Others being in Preparation. As the structural Part of the Restoration has approached its attainable Limits, Activities of an educational and interpretive Nature have increased and multiplied. Undoubtedly they will continue to do so. It is the Purpose and Desire of Colonial Williamsburg that a fair Representation of the early domestic, institutional, commercial, and industrial Life of the Community be rendered against its authentic and enhancing Background, so that the Importance of Williamsburg's Heritage for twentieth-Century America can be clearly and widely understood.

In carrying out the current Duties as well as the future Planning of the Restoration, some three thousand Persons are now employed. In Place of the two Corporations earlier charged with the Work, a single Organization, chartered on July 1, 1971, and called The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, holds Title to all Properties of the Restoration, and is responsible for all of its Activities.

This Account would be sorely lacking, both in Completeness and in Propriety, did it not record in Sorrow that on the 7th Day of September in the Year of our Lord 1939, the Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin departed this Life, as did Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Junior, on the 11th Day of May, in the Year of our Lord 1960. To Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Rockefeller, the true Founder and principal Benefactor of the Restoration of colonial Williamsburg, those who follow, be they Residents of the City, Members of the Foundation Staff, or Visitors from a Distance, owe a Debt of Gratitude none can repay.

Colonial Williamsburg is fortunate to have grown from the Vision, Dedication, and Support of Men like Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Rockefeller. Up to the time of his Death in 1960, Mr. Rockefeller and his Family provided financial Support for the purchase and restoration of historic Properties, the construction of support Facilities, and the presentation of the museum and educational Programs. Complementing Mr. Rockefeller's interest was that of his son, Mr. John D. Rockefeller 3rd, who served as Chairman of the Colonial Williamsburg Board of Trustees from 1939 to 1953. Following his Retirement, Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller served as Chairman of the Board from 1953 until his Death in 1973.

Subsequently, it became clear that Colonial Williamsburg could no longer be underwritten by any one Person or Family. The Officers and

Trustees of the Restoration determined that if colonial Williamsburg was to be preserved for future Generations, the Foundation would have to broaden its base of philanthropic Support and appeal to all Americans who cherish their History and Heritage, and it accordingly initiated its first Financial Development Program in 1976. An immediate Priority was to build a broad base of Donors making unrestricted Gifts to support the museum and educational Programs of the Foundation, for Admissions provide only about fifty percent of the Funds needed to meet the operating Costs of the Historic Area. Another important Goal has been to secure major Gifts for specific museum and educational Capital Projects.

Colonial Williamsburg is proud of the private gift Support it receives from its many Friends

who believe in this educational Institution. The philanthropic Support begun in Williamsburg more than a half-century ago is carried on today by more than 7,000 Individuals, Corporations, and Foundations. From 1976 through 1979, more than \$22 Million has been received or pledged to the Foundation in the form of Cash, Tangible Objects, Securities, and Real Property.

The Lessons of Williamsburg's eighteenth-century History which moved Mr. Rockefeller are still important. As one Contributor wrote, "No thinking American can deny that Colonial Williamsburg is a stirring Inspiration for all Americans. It is only fair that all Institutions across our Country be asked to assume a share of the Cost. Truly the future of Colonial Williamsburg rests with the American People."



COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

Laura is a member of the Interpreter Planning Board.

Anyone who receives catalogs advertising housewares and kitchen equipment knows it is possible to purchase tableware designed for every season, holiday or special occasion. This could be an indication of the affluence of the past twenty years, the power of advertising, or the influence of Martha Stewart. However, consumers are actually following a trend that began in the eighteenth century, even though choices in product design, form, and function have changed.

When eating evolved from an act of necessity into a social occasion, concerns about the presentation of food led to the manufacture of all kinds of specialized tableware. The wives of wealthy Virginians filled their homes with ceramic, glass, and silver tableware that reflected what was fashionable in Great Britain at the time. *The Revolution in Taste* exhibit at the DeWitt-Wallace Decorative Arts Museum is a three-dimensional catalog of the variety of products available to consumers. Exquisite Chelsea and Worcester porcelains stand out in this exhibit, but few families in Virginia owned examples of these finest of porcelains.

Blue and white "china" and red, blue, and gold Imari wares from the Orient were popular in the colonies, surpassed only by cream-colored queensware. When Josiah Wedgwood presented Queen Charlotte with a breakfast set of "refined creamware," she showed her pleasure by asking him to create a dinner service in the same pattern. *Queensware* and *creamware* became synonyms for the press-molded tableware that could be painted or transfer-printed with botanical or bird motifs or pierced with decorative designs. Colonial Williamsburg's curators describe queensware as the "tableware of choice" in America by the 1770s.

Much has been written about the inventories of the possessions of the royal governors and gentry families like the Randolphs. Elizabeth Harrison Randolph could well afford the "8 dozen red and white China plates, the

Queens China Ware 'Sent to Wilton' and 48 Table Cloths" listed in her husband's inventory. Slave cooks working in the large kitchen behind her house had the best quality and the latest cooking equipment (excepting the governor) to use in preparing elaborate dinners for the Randolph's guests including copper kettles, stewpans, covered fish kettles, a bell metal skillet, marble mortars, and cake molds. But the inventory of someone lower on the social scale, such as that of Anthony Hay, cabinetmaker turned tavern keeper, is fascinating for its glimpse of how important the presentation of food and drink was to the owner of the Raleigh Tavern.

Anthony Hay, because of his disparate careers, had been able to observe the buying habits of gentry families, knowledge he put to good use at the Raleigh. During Hay's ownership (1767-70), the Raleigh Tavern, conveniently located near the Capitol, was a popular lodging and meeting place for burgesses when the assembly was in session. Years earlier, Henry Wetherburn had operated his own upscale tavern near the Capitol until his death in 1760. Except for the large number of silver items owned by Mr. Wetherburn, there are many similarities in the quality of the furnishings listed in the inventories of both men. However, a subtle difference emerges from a study of some of the items owned by Anthony Hay—"16 China Bowls, 6 Silver punch ladles, 2 Silver punch strainers, 44 China Saucers and 17 Cups 11 [ditto] Coffee Cups, 9 Queens China Coffee Cups and 10 [ditto] Saucers, 122 China Plates, 139 Queens China Plates, 2 Queens China Fruit Baskets 5 [ditto] Fruit Dishes, 2 Queens China Fish strainers 5 [ditto] sauce Boats & Dishes, and 412 Pieces of Glass ware for Pyramids &c. &c."

Consider the implications of owning "412 Pieces of Glass ware for Pyramids," a surprising possession for a tavern keeper. Anthony Hay knew that epergnes and pyramids were used as centerpieces on the dining tables of his wealthy customers, and the food displayed on them became the dessert course of a formal dinner. Hay was trying to attract business by providing his pa-



trons with the same up-to-date accoutrements they were accustomed to enjoying in their own homes. Glass pyramids possibly decorated the tables at special dinners held at the Raleigh. Unfortunately, we do not know which of the slaves listed in Hay's inventory had the skills and the time to prepare syllabubs, jellies, sugared nuts and small fruits, candied citrus, and even delicately formed and colored marzipan fruits held in elaborate centerpieces. Although these speculations cannot be confirmed, they allow us to conclude that Anthony Hay, on the eve of the political revolution, was one of many men of the "middling sort" who participated in and contributed to the momentum of the consumer revolution.

Cooks today can use the following recipes to replicate centerpieces seen on eighteenth-century dining tables. Preparing these foods gives a new appreciation for those talented cooks who worked without the conveniences and gadgets of a modern kitchen.

To make very fine Syllabubs

Take a quart and a half a pint of cream, a pint of rhenish, half a pint of sack, three lemons, and near a pound of double refined sugar; beat and sift the sugar, and put it to your cream; grate off the yellow rind of your three lemons, and put that in; squeeze the juice of the three lemons into your wine, and put that to your cream, then beat all together with a whisk just half an hour;

then take it up all together with a spoon, and fill your glasses; it will keep good nine or ten days, and is best three or four days old; these are call'd the everlasting Syllabubs. (Note: "rhenish" refers to Rhine wine, "sack" to sherry.)

To candy Orange Chips

Pare your oranges, and soak the peelings in water two days, shifting the water twice; but if you love them bitter, soak them not; tie your peels up in a cloth, when your water boils put them in, let them boil till they are tender; then take what double refined sugar will do, break it small, wet it with a little water, and let it boil till it is near candy high; then cut your peels of what lengths you please, and put them into the syrup; set them on the fire, and let them heat well through; then let them stand a while; heat them twice a day, but not boil; let them be so done till they begin to candy, then take them out and put them on plates to dry, and when dry keep them near the fire. (Note: "candy high" refers to the point of candying and crystalizing.)

To make Pastils

Take double refined sugar beaten and sifted as fine as flour; perfume it with musk and amber-grease; then have ready steeped some gum arabick in orange-flower water, and with that make the sugar into a stiff paste; drop into some of it three or four drops of oil of mint, oil of cloves, oil of cinnamon, or what oil you like, and let some only have the perfume; then roll them up in your hand like little pellets, and squeeze them flat with a seal. Dry them in the sun.

To make March-pane (Marzipan)

Take a pound of Jordan almonds, blanch and beat them in a marble mortar very fine; then put to them three quarters of a pound of double refined sugar, and beat them with a few drops of orange-flower water; beat all together till 'tis a very good paste, then roll it into what shape you please; dust a little fine sugar under it as you roll it, to keep it from sticking. To ice it, searce double refined sugar as fine as flour, wet it with rose-water, and mix it well together, and with a brush or bunch of feathers spread it over your march-pane: bake them in an oven that is not too hot; put wafer paper at the bottom, and white paper under that, to keep them for use. (Note: "searce" refers to sifting the ingredient; wafer paper is a preparation of paste in very thin sheets.)

The recipes cited are from *The Compleat Housewife: or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* by E. Smith, facsimile of fifteenth edition published in London in 1753.

Q & A

Question: *On the eve of the Revolution, where did Williamsburg rank in population compared to other colonial towns and cities?*

Answer: Williamsburg, with its resident population of about 1,800 in 1775, barely fell in the top ten of British American towns. Philadelphia ranked first at 40,000, followed by New York with 25,000 inhabitants. Best estimates place Boston in third place, with about 16,000, and Charleston, South Carolina, with 12,000. The largest city in Virginia was Norfolk, with about 6,000 people. Baltimore, Maryland, New Haven, Connecticut, and Newport, Rhode Island, all had populations over 5,000. Considerably smaller, Williamsburg was in ninth place. (Population figures from Marshal Davidson's *The World in 1775*)

Question: *What's hot off the Williamsburg press in 1774?*

Answer: Williamsburg had two competing printing establishments in 1774. Both published newspapers called *Virginia Gazette*, and both were in transition at the end of the year. The older of the two was established in 1736 by the city's first printer, William Parks, and operated in 1774 by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon. Purdie left this partnership in December of 1774, as William Hunter, Jr., reached the age of majority and took over the management of the business he inherited from his father. (In 1775, Purdie started yet a third *Virginia Gazette*!) The town's second *Gazette*, started in 1766 by William Rind, continued after his death in 1773 under his widow, Clementina, until her death on September 25, 1774. John Pinkney first assumed management of this press at the end of 1774, and a succession of other owners kept this newspaper going until 1777.

Both Williamsburg presses of 1774 produced a variety of printed items besides their subscription newspapers, including a number of pamphlets and books. Some of these became documentary landmarks of the pre-Revolutionary era. The following partial annotated bibliography of 1774 titles gives insight into the Williamsburg community's mindset at the time. [Source: Susan Berg, *Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg Imprints*, Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1986.]

1. *A Confession of Faith Held by a Society of Friends Called Separates, Containing their Fundamental Principles . . .* by . . . Christopher Clark. Williamsburg: Printed by C. Rind, 1774.

Titles from existing Williamsburg imprints such as this one testify that political and re-

ligious viewpoints expressing opposition to established thought were consistently represented by various Williamsburg printers.

2. *A Candid Refutation of The Heresy imputed by R. C. Nicholas Esquire to the Reverend S. Henley. . . .* Williamsburg: Printed for B. White in London, D. Prince in Oxford, and J. Woodyer in Cambridge, 1774.

Henley's *Candid Refutation* was printed in response to a two-page letter to him from Robert Carter Nicholas, which appeared on the front page of the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon, February 24, 1774) and publicly questioned Henley on several articles of faith.

3. *A Pretty Story written in the Year of our Lord 1774.* By Peter Grievous, Esquire, A.B.C.D.E. . . . Williamsburg: Printed by John Pinkney, for the benefit of Clementina Rind's children, 1774.

A political satire in allegorical form, *A Pretty Story* traced the history of the quarrel of the American colonies with Great Britain. John Pinkney printed *A Pretty Story* in its entirety in the *Virginia Gazette* of October 6, 1774. He subsequently reprinted it in pamphlet form at the request of his readers.

4. *A Summary View of the Rights of British America. Set forth in some Resolutions intended for the Inspection of the Present Delegates of the People of Virginia. Now in Convention.* By a Native, and Member of the House of Burgesses. Williamsburg: Printed by Clementina Rind.

Thomas Jefferson did not intend to publish these resolutions, which he originally wrote as a petition to the king to be presented for consideration at the First Continental Congress. The speaker and members decided instead to have the resolutions printed by subscription. *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* was the first printed statement of the colonies' position toward Great Britain, a position to which they adhered throughout the conflict.

5. *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia Examined.* Printed in the Year 1774.

Thomas Jefferson attributed authorship of this pamphlet to Robert Carter Nicholas. Nicholas was responding to an attack upon his resolution to offer a day of fasting and prayer over the closing of the port in Boston. He spoke out in defense of his own actions and the American cause.

6. *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia.* 1774.

Contemporary evidence attributed this loy-

alist pamphlet to John Randolph. In the work the author acknowledged mistakes committed by Great Britain in governing the colony, but he argued that patience, restraint, and further overtures to both Parliament and the king would produce a change for the better.

7. *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace Explained and Digested, Under Proper Titles, to which are added, full and correct Precedents of all Kinds of Process necessary to be used by Magistrates, in which also the Duty of Sheriffs and other public Officers is properly discussed.* Williamsburg: Printed by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, 1774.

"Mr. Richard Starke . . . began this work and had gone through a great part of it when death put an end to his labours. His friends prevailed on some benevolent gentlemen of the law to continue the work."—from the Preface.

8. *The Bermudian: A Poem.* Williamsburg: Printed by Alexander Purdie & John Dixon, 1774.

In a review printed in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon, November 3, 1774), the reviewer speaks of Nathaniel Tucker's evidence of "political powers" and "promising genius." This youngest brother of St. George Tucker, however, failed to make his fame as a poet and later followed a career in medicine in England.

9. *Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress; held at Philadelphia on the 5th of September 1774.* Williamsburg: Printed by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, 1774.

One of several editions of this work published in Great Britain and North America in 1774.

10. *At a very full Meeting of Delegates from the different Counties in the Clony [sic] and Dominion of Virginia, Begun in Williamsburg the first Day of August, in the Year of our Lord 1774, and continued by several Adjournments to Saturday the 6th of the same Month, the following Association was unanimously resolved upon and agreed to.* [Clementina Rind, 1774].

Following Lord Dunmore's dissolution of the last session of the House of Burgesses on May 26 in Williamsburg, the delegates lost little time in reassembling and meeting in Richmond. This convention selected the delegates sent from Virginia to the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

11. *Instructions for the Deputies appointed to meet*

in General Congress on the Part of this Colony. [Clementina Rind, 1774].

The first instruction that the Virginia delegates sent to the First Continental Congress was to express allegiance to King George III. However, the closing passage of this document indicated the Convention's censure of General Gage's actions within the Massachusetts Bay Colony (i.e., the closing of the port of Boston) and states that his attempt to enforce such restrictions will meet with "resistance and reprisal."

12. *The Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1775: Being the Third after Leap Year . . .* By the much admired Mr. David Rittenhouse, of Philadelphia. Williamsburg: Printed and Sold by John Pinkney, for the benefit of Clementina Rind's children.

For the enlightenment of his Virginia readers, John Pinkney decided to include a tribute to English engraver William Hogarth in his 1774 almanac. Pinkney had only recently assumed management of the printing office upon the death of Clementina Rind at the end of September 1774.

Question: *How literate were colonial Virginians?*

Answer: The issue of literacy in the colonial era must be approached indirectly. No one at the time seemed concerned about it, and no contemporary studies of the spread of reading and writing were done. The only surviving evidence of writing comprehensive enough to provide a reasonable measure of a society's literacy is found in signatures on documents.

When colonial historians speak of a literacy rate, they are actually reporting a signature rate—how many individuals signed their names as opposed to how many made only a mark. However, a person's ability to sign his or her name does not necessarily indicate literacy. It is a mistake to assume that writing is a higher skill than reading and that if one can sign one's name, she or he should be able to read and write a little. Undoubtedly, some people could read who never learned to sign their names, while some who signed could do little else.

The historian has no choice but to allow a signature rate to stand in for a literacy rate, if the question is to be answered at all. Nevertheless, a conclusion that all those people who signed their names were members of a literary or even literate culture is too great a leap.

For colonial Virginia the issue of literacy must be closely qualified for factors of race and

gender, as well. For example, a statement that "X percent of colonial Virginians were literate" usually really means that "X percent of WHITE, ADULT, MALE colonial Virginians were literate." A very small portion of African Virginians could read and write, and a few black children were schooled in reading and writing. Given the fact that African Americans made up the majority of the population of Williamsburg and the counties of James City and York at the end of the colonial period, we would have to conclude that most people living in and around Williamsburg were illiterate. (Kevin Kelly, Department of Historical Research)

What can be said about literacy among colonial Virginia's white population?

Philip Alexander Bruce's study of literacy for seventeenth-century Virginia is one of the first efforts to answer this question. By examining deeds and depositions between 1641 and 1700, he found that approximately 60 percent of men signed them while only 25 percent of women did. The male signature rate ranged from about 48 percent in Henrico County to nearly 75 percent in Elizabeth City County. In 1974, Kenneth Lockridge compared literacy in colonial New England and Virginia. From a sample of signatures on last wills and testaments he reported that about 68 percent of Virginia's male decedents signed their wills between 1762 and 1797. A study of 1,000 marriage bonds between 1750 and 1779 revealed that 95 percent of the grooms signed their names. In Surry County in 1793, 72 percent of the male taxpayers signed in the sheriff's voucher book.

Also in 1974, historian Harold Gill advanced some literacy numbers. In York County between 1740 and 1759, he found that of the 387 men who witnessed either wills or deeds, 94 percent signed their names. Of the 52 female witnesses, 56 percent could sign their names.

In their study of Middlesex County, historians Darrett and Anita Rutman discovered that in the early eighteenth century approximately 29 percent of white men and 73 percent of white women made a mark instead of a signature. Combining the signature rates in a number of document types from 1750 to 1850, David Rawson, in a 1993 report, found that in Orange County in 1770 more than 38 percent of white women could sign, while almost 78 percent of men could. The figures for 1770 York County were that about 61 percent of women and 87 percent of men could sign their names.

Can this complicated answer be simplified?

Perhaps it is best to speak only in general terms and in ranges of experiences:

- In late eighteenth-century Virginia approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of adult white men could sign, while between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of adult white women could.
- Few African Virginians shared in the literate world of colonial Virginia, but neither did all white Virginians.
- While it is probably safe to say that a majority of all white male Virginians could sign their names and were presumably literate, those who were wealthy were almost always literate.
- On average, women were less literate than men, but well-to-do white wives were probably more literate as a group than poor male planters.
- Wealth, status, sex, occupation, and residence all affected the likelihood of literacy.

The evidence strongly suggests that nearly all property owners and white heads of household in late colonial Williamsburg were literate. But Williamsburg was not all of Virginia, and what was true for the town was probably not typical for the rest of the colony.

What is really important to convey to our visitors about literacy in eighteenth-century Virginia is that the concept of universal literacy as a positive social good was not yet fully recognized. Large numbers of Virginians, white and black, lived fully realized lives without being literate. Although, literacy was an aspect of eighteenth-century life that helped set people apart and reinforced social hierarchy, illiteracy was still very much part of the natural order of things.

Yet change was under way. The new society engendered by an increasingly capitalistic economy began to see literacy as a necessary tool for making one's way in this new social order. Literacy would still set people apart, but in a different way. In the new order of things, illiteracy marginalized a person and made it difficult for that person to be a fully functional member of society. Literacy became the entree to this "better" and capitalistic world. (Kevin Kelly, Department of Historical Research)

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

Brave and Gallant Soldiers: African Americans and the Continental Army

by Noel B. Poirier

Noel, a military historian, is a journeyman carpenter in the Department of Historic Trades and a member of the Interpreter planning board. He presented the following article as a paper at the Military and Naval History Forum at Virginia Military Institute in April 2001. It will also appear in an upcoming edition of *Army History: The Professional Bulletin of Army History* published by the United States Army Center for Military History.

no regiment is to be seen in which there are not negroes in abundance: and among them are able-bodied, strong, and brave fellows.

Hessian Officer's Testimony,
October 23, 1777

The casual student of the American War for Independence, when considering the role of African Americans in the Continental Army, might assume that they played no significant part. Usually the layperson will take for granted that African-American patriots must have fought in segregated, "all-black" units, served simply as laborers in the construction of fortifications and camps, or as servants to wealthy army officers. Oftentimes, it is also presupposed that

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the attitudes of all Euro-American officers and enlisted men toward African-American soldiers were categorically negative. However, upon reading contemporary accounts and strength reports, one will discover the legacy of the Continental Army regarding race: the Continental Army was the first integrated army in American history.¹ Unsuccessful attempts were made during the war to segregate the Continental Army, but due to manpower needs these attempts failed to diminish racial integration in the ranks.

Unfortunately for history, it was the philosophy of racial segregation in the American military that survived the Revolution to be implemented in future American conflicts. Even so, during the American Revolution, Euro-American Continental Army officers and enlisted men recognized the necessity of tapping into the manpower available in the colonial African-American population and embraced (although at times hesitantly) the inclusion of the African-American citizen-soldier² in the contest for American independence. American citizen-soldiers of European and African descent in George Washington's Continental Army during the Revolution served in the first integrated army in America's history.

African Americans and the Colonial Militia

Prior to the Revolutionary War, the American colonies relied heavily on the militia system for their defense. This British tradition, based on the idea of a citizen's obligation to defend his homeland, dated back to the founding of the English monarchy. King Alfred the Great (A.D. 871-99), in his effort to reform the Anglo-Saxon system of defense, divided the various counties within his realm into military districts called "fylds." Within these fylds, each landholder who owned more than six hundred acres of land was required to provide an armed man for the king. Occasionally, if he held sufficiently large amounts of land, the landholder himself was required to provide service to the monarch. King Alfred's reforms became the foundation upon which later English militia systems were built. Parliamentary and royal decrees, like the Assize of Arms (1181), the Statute of Westminster (1285), and the Instructions for General Musters (1572), later codified this obligation for the male citizens of England and Wales.

In spite of this common foundation, there existed no pan-colonial militia system; rather, individual colonies formulated their own militia statutes based on the individual needs and concerns of their own colony. One would imagine

that, with the diversity of the individual colonies, there would be a corresponding diversity in their militia laws regarding the use of enslaved and free African-descended colonists. This was not the case. If there was one point on which all the American colonial militia laws agreed, it was on the exclusion of the majority of those of African descent from service in the colonial militias.

The reasons given for this exclusion varied from colony to colony, but there were essentially two principal motivations cited for not permitting Africans to join the ranks of colonial militias.³ First, since the majority of the Africans in America were enslaved (and therefore property), many believed that the slave's service to his master took precedence over any service that slave could provide to the colony as a militiaman. In the unlikely event that a colony decided to enlist slaves or servants into the militia, this view of a slave's duty to his master required the colony to first obtain the master's permission. Second, there was the obvious fear of arming a portion of the population many of whom were enslaved and the rest treated as second-class citizens. Many colonial leaders were wary that, upon the onset of hostilities, armed slaves and discontented free African Americans might flock to the enemy's standard or rise up against their Euro-American masters.

Euro-Americans were not the only colonists with a military tradition to bring to the New World: African Americans also hailed from long traditions of military service in their homelands. For centuries, Africans had been used as soldiers to supplement the armies of their Mediterranean neighbors, and the tradition of performing as a warrior for one's own tribe was familiar to virtually every male African. The earliest Europeans to visit the continent of Africa recorded their views on the military ability of the populations there. One traveler wrote that West African soldiers were "bold and fierce" and would rather die than surrender in battle. As the numbers of Europeans trading with Africans along the west coast increased, so did the

ability of African tribal soldiers to become familiar with the weapons of their European counterparts. By the eighteenth century this trade brought with it the latest military weaponry, and firearms became increasingly evident on tribal battlefields in West Africa. Despite this military tradition equal to that of Euro-Americans, colonial leaders preferred to view the African-American warrior as unsoldierly and arming him as a danger to the status quo. This racial attitude was firmly in place in the period immediately preceding the American Revolution and affected the debate within the Continental Congress over the use of African Americans in the Continental Army.

The American Revolution Begins

In spite of colonial militia policies prior to the formal creation of the Continental Army, African Americans had already begun to take part in the hostilities in and around the city of Boston. The most famous African American to appear during this period was Crispus Attucks, martyred in 1770 during the riot that came to be known as the Boston Massacre. However, Attucks was not alone in his active participation in the years before the creation of the Continental Army. When the British marched a detachment from Boston to Lexington and Concord in an effort to capture rebel munitions and leaders, they found Prince Estabrook, an African American, in the ranks of the company that greeted them. In June 1775 at the Battle of Bunker Hill, a number of African Americans were in the ranks of the militia who fortified



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Breed's Hill outside Boston. Among them were a recently freed slave named Peter Salem, who, as legend has it, fired the round that fatally wounded British Major John Pitcairn, and Salem Poore, who was honored by the officers of his regiment for his bravery during the battle. His officers wrote that Poore "behaved like an experienced officer, as well as an excellent soldier . . . in the person of this said negro centres a brave and gallant soldier." Cuff Whitmore, another African-American veteran of Bunker Hill, managed to acquire a British officer's sword that he kept as a souvenir. The African-American men who served at Lexington, Concord, and Bunkers Hill did so in integrated militia units, not as part of a segregated force.

As hostilities continued in the late summer of 1775, the Continental Congress determined that the time had come to create an American army to challenge the British force in Boston. In determining how to fund the coming conflict, the Congress chose to bill each state in proportion to its inhabitants. In doing so, they resolved that the amount be "determined according to the number of inhabitants . . . including negroes and mulattoes." However, in counting African Americans as part of the population and allowing them to officially bear arms in the new army were two entirely different matters.

In 1775, a rag-tag army made up of militia from the New England region held the British in Boston in check. It was this force that Congress used to create the nucleus of what was to become the American Continental Army. Among the many New England militiamen in service around Boston were found men of African descent. Speaking of the men in his Massachusetts brigade, General John Thomas stated that "we have some Negroes but I look upon them as equally serviceable with other men, for fatigue and in action" and that "many of them have proved themselves brave." While General Thomas may have been singing the praises of his integrated brigade, others were not so supportive. One soldier from Philadelphia, Alexander Graydon, wrote that the presence of African-American soldiers had a "disagreeable, degrading effect [on] . . . persons unaccustomed to such association."

Even with the commendable service already rendered by men like Salem, Poore, and Whitmore, the leadership of Congress and the colonies was still resistant to the idea of enlisting African Americans into the newly created army. Massachusetts determined that it would not allow the enlistment of slaves into its ranks,

but it would allow the continued enlistment of free men, European or African. The Continental Army's recently appointed Adjutant-General Horatio Gates prohibited the recruitment of any "stroller negro." The inclusion of any African American in the American army infuriated many of the southern delegates to the Continental Congress. In September 1775, in an attempt to purge the Continental Army of African-American soldiers, Edward Rutledge of South Carolina proposed a motion on behalf of those delegates to discharge all African Americans, free or enslaved, from service. Congress was unwilling to dismiss from service African Americans currently serving, but did agree to limit the enlistment of them in the future.

This limitation of the enlistment of African Americans into the Continental Army was in practical effect as early as November 1775. The Continental Army's commander, Virginian George Washington, included in his Orderly Book for November 12, 1775, the mandate that African Americans, free or otherwise, no longer be enlisted in the army. Shortly after issuing the order, however, it became clear to him that to turn away African Americans might be to send those prospective recruits into the service of his enemy. Significantly, at about the same time, the Royal Governor of Virginia had issued a proclamation freeing all male slaves of rebel masters who were able and willing to join him

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, sitting 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 treasenable 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 return to his Majesty's S T A N D A R D, 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 speedy 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 .

and bear arms for King George III. Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, as it came to be known, may have been a factor in Washington's concern about African-American defections to the British. Washington's anxiety was substantial enough to warrant him drafting a letter to the President of Congress. In it, Washington stated that "the free negroes who have served in this army are very much dissatisfied at being discarded . . . it is to be apprehended that they may seek employ in the Ministerial [British] Army." Congress's response to Washington's fear was to allow the reenlistment of free African Americans, but to continue their moratorium on the enlistment of enslaved individuals.

As the war entered the year 1776, patriot leadership came to the conclusion that the army would need to keep men for more than the one-year enlistment then in effect. Congress eventually decided to enlist new army recruits for three years or for the duration of the war. It was in this long-term enlistment that African-American men, like Salem Poore, often found themselves. Following the decision to increase the term of enlistment for recruits in the Continental Army, Congress paid very little attention to further legislation regarding the enlistment of African Americans. Many of the individual colonies continued to address the issue, following in Congress's footsteps, by effectively banning the recruitment of African Americans into their state units.

In 1776, when the city of New York was under threat of British attack, American Brigadier-General William Alexander (also known as Lord Stirling) ordered all able-bodied African Americans to work alongside Continental Army troops who were preparing the city's defenses. Congress continued to set recruiting quotas for the individual states, quotas that were becoming increasingly difficult for the states to meet with Euro-American recruits alone. Certain states, particularly in New England, simply disregarded the mandates of Congress or their state legislatures and allowed anyone who volunteered for service to enlist. In order to meet the Continental quotas, a few states, like Connecticut, allowed masters to free their slaves so that they might enlist in the Continental Army. Massachusetts announced that all African Americans, whether free or enslaved, were eligible to be drafted into the Continental Army. This demand for enlistees induced many states to begin offering outright freedom as a reward to any slave who would enlist. John Adams wrote that America should "set Liberty before their eyes as the Reward of

their Valour and . . . we should find them sufficiently brave." It was becoming clear that, at least in northern states, the need to fill troop quotas led to the promotion of African-American enlistment, regardless of their status.

The enlistment of African Americans was not, however, limited solely to the northern states. The colony of Virginia in 1775, while still unwilling to allow enlistment of the enslaved, allowed for the enlistment of all freemen between the ages of sixteen and sixty. This open enlistment policy encouraged a number of enslaved African Americans to illegally profess to be freemen in order to enlist. The problem became severe enough to warrant an amendment two years later that required all African Americans who wished to enlist to provide proof of their freedom. Maryland, under continuing pressure to meet its state's quota for troops, did nothing to prevent slaves from enlisting for either state or Continental Army service. Other southern states were not as willing to forgo their cultural traditions; the governments of South Carolina and Georgia continued their resistance to arming African Americans throughout the war.

As the number of African Americans in the Continental Army began to increase, due to more open enlistment policies, so too did the commentary on their presence. In July of 1776, Captain Persifer Frazer, a Pennsylvania officer stationed at Fort Ticonderoga, New York, observed that the men constituting the army there were composed of "the strangest mixture of Negroes, Indians, and whites." General Phillip Schuyler, stationed at Saratoga, New York, complained in July 1777 that one-third of his force were men who were either too young or too old to serve or African Americans. When asked to describe the Massachusetts men serving with the Northern Army in 1777, General William Heath reported that there were "a number of negroes." Heath also provided insight into the manner in which these men were being employed in the army. Heath complained that, while the African-American soldiers were capable, he did not relish seeing them serve alongside his Euro-American soldiers. In 1778, Thomas Kench, also from Massachusetts, felt that the policy of having "negroes in our service, intermixed with white men" was successful and in no need of alteration. It was about this American army operating in the northern theater that one Hessian soldier observed, "no regiment is to be seen in which there are not negroes in abundance." There is little doubt that the Continental Army, while perhaps politically discouraging the enlistment of African

Americans, had become by 1778, the first racially integrated army in American history.

Alexander Scammell's Report

In January 1778, Alexander Scammell replaced Timothy Pickering as the Continental Army's Adjutant General. One of his many tasks was to compile a reckoning of the total number of African Americans then serving with the Continental Army at White Plains, New York. The product of this count was a document, dated August 24, 1778, that recorded the number serving in each individual brigade. Virtually every brigade had at least one African American and most had considerably more than that.

An examination of the numbers of men recorded as being "fit for duty" provides insight into the apportionment of African Americans then bearing arms in the Continental Army. The North Carolina Brigade, composed of the First and Second North Carolina Regiments, contained a total of 42 African-American soldiers out of a total of 574 (7.3 percent). Brigadier-General William Woodford's Brigade, composed of Virginia regiments, included 36 African-American soldiers out of 673 fit for duty (5.3 percent). Another Virginia Brigade, under Brigadier-General Peter Muhlenberg, had 677 men in ranks, of which 64 were African American (9.5 percent). Brigadier General Charles Scott's Brigade, composed of regiments from Virginia and Delaware, included 30 African-American soldiers out of 764 men (3.9 percent). Brigadier-General William Smallwood's Maryland Brigade of 701 men, claimed 43 African-American privates (6.1 percent). The Second Maryland Brigade, which contained a regiment made up of German-speaking soldiers, amounted to 1,211 men. Among this rather large brigade there were only 33 African Americans (2.7 percent). The brigades with the smallest number of African-American troops were those from Pennsylvania. Out of the 540 enlisted men in Anthony Wayne's Pennsylvania Brigade, only 2 were African American. There was no accounting of any African-American members of the fourth regiment, the Second Pennsylvania Brigade.

As Scammell recorded the brigades from the more northern states, the proportion of African Americans in ranks increased, although not considerably. The brigade of New Yorker James Clinton, composed of four New York regiments, totaled 815 men with 33 of them being African American (4 percent). The Connecticut Brigade commanded by Samuel Parsons boasted

117 out of a total of 1,059 rank and file (11 percent). Another Connecticut brigade, commanded by Jedediah Huntington, numbered 744 men including 56 African Americans (7.5 percent). John Nixon's large Massachusetts Brigade, comprising 1,287 men, contained only 26 African-American soldiers (2 percent). Another big Massachusetts brigade, commanded by John Paterson, encompassing 1,065 men included 64 African Americans (6 percent). Ebenezer Learned's smaller, 819-man Massachusetts brigade included 34 African-American troops (4.2 percent). The last brigade mentioned in Scammell's report was Enoch Poor's Brigade of Canadians and New Hampshire men. Poor commanded 884 men, of which only 16 were African Americans (1.8 percent).

According to monthly strength reports for the month of August 1778, the brigades listed by Scammell contained a total of 12,355 men fit for duty. Of that total, 586 were African-American soldiers, or a little over 4.5 percent. If one includes the First Rhode Island Regiment (not listed in Scammell's report), which in the summer of 1778 consisted of 125 additional African-American soldiers, the proportion rises an additional percentage point. The majority of African-American soldiers were not consolidated into one brigade, which could conceivably have been done; rather, they were scattered throughout the army in an integrated fashion.

Scammell's report, taken with the monthly strength reports, also shows that African-American soldiers were less likely to be absent from camp than their Euro-American comrades. Of the brigades mentioned in Scammell's report, just over 20 percent (20.4) of the Euro-American troops were listed as "sick absent" while just under 13 percent (12.9) of African-American soldiers were so listed. The African-American soldier, in general, had little to return home to. Therefore, they were less likely to find excuses for leaving the army in its time of need and willing to accept longer terms of service.

Scammell's report confirms what observers of the Continental Army had affirmed about its integration of African Americans into the ranks. They were a noticeable presence in practically every Continental Army unit. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Scammell's report was that, of the two brigades with the highest proportion of African Americans, one was a southern brigade.

One regiment, which is integrally connected to the story of African-American service in the Continental Army, although absent from Scammell's report, deserves closer inspection. Desper-

ate for recruits, the state of Rhode Island determined to create units composed primarily of enslaved and free African Americans. The product of this determination was the First Rhode Island Regiment, in which freedom was offered to all slaves who enlisted. This was the second regiment from Rhode Island to bear the designation First Rhode Island Regiment. The original First Rhode Island Regiment was eliminated in December 1775, with many of its soldiers constituting the newly created Ninth and Eleventh Continental Regiments. Enlistment in the new First Rhode Island Regiment went so well that the state was required to halt any further active enlistment only four months after creating the regiment. The regimental recruiters managed to enroll some 250 privates in the short time in which they were actively recruiting.

While the regiment began as a strictly segregated unit, it appears that the ranks became increasingly integrated as the war progressed. At the beginning of 1781, the then-existing Rhode Island regiments were combined into one. After the fusion of the Rhode Island regiments, the Chevalier de Chastellux encountered them and observed that "the greatest part of them are negroes or mulattoes." The Baron Von Closen, also upon sighting the regiment, recalled that "three-quarters of the Rhode Island regiment consists of negroes." Chastellux's use of the qualifying statement "greatest part," taken with the observations of his French comrade, indicates that by 1781 a degree of integration had occurred within the ranks of even this "all-black" regiment. A Light Infantry company of this regiment, presumably also with a number of African Americans, traveled as part of Lafayette's Light Infantry Corp in the Virginia Campaign of 1781. Months later, it was the more integrated Rhode Island regiment, not the segregated one of 1777, that witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October 1781.

The War Turns South

As the war dragged on, the need for manpower to fill the ranks of the Continental Army never diminished. In response, Congress and the individual states continued to turn to the African-American soldier to alleviate some of that need. While the state of Virginia continued its policy of forbidding the open enlistment of slaves, recruiters allowed slaveholders to send one of their bondsmen as substitutes for themselves. In some cases an enslaved soldier, having been sent to fight in his master's stead, did so unaware that he might be returned to slavery when his enlistment expired. The state of Mary-

land, in 1780, continued to accept the enlistment of African Americans and floated the idea of raising a regiment of 750 slaves, similar to Rhode Island's earlier endeavor. In spite of the support of officers like Major-General Marquis de Lafayette, the regiment never materialized. As the focus of the conflict transferred to the southern states, those states that had avoided the necessity of using African-American troops were moved to reassess their positions.

In the South, the British had been attempting to lure slaves away from their masters since the beginning of the war. As noted, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia when hostilities began, issued a proclamation that offered freedom to any slave of a rebel master who was willing and able to bear arms against the American insurgents. The response was so considerable that Dunmore created a segregated unit that he named the Royal Ethiopian Regiment, and they battled alongside the governor during his attempts to reassert control of Virginia in 1775 and 1776.

In June 1779, Henry Clinton, the commander of British forces in America, issued his own proclamation stating that any enslaved person who deserted his rebel master would find protection with the British. He also warned that any African-American soldier fighting for the rebels who was captured would be purchased for the public service, with the proceeds going to the men who seized him. Lord Cornwallis, on his march from the Carolinas to Virginia in 1780 and 1781, attracted many slaves who believed that his army offered them freedom from servitude. Cornwallis refused to allow them to bear arms and put them to work as laborers. Many of them died from various camp diseases. While the British commanders searched for ways to disrupt the slaveholding South's rhythm, American leaders were considering the enlistment of thousands of southern enslaved African Americans as well.

While the Continental Army was substantially integrated, as more African Americans enlisted, it became more likely that they would be formed into segregated units officered by Euro-Americans. This segregated approach to the use of African-American manpower was not limited to the southern states. Massachusetts, Maryland, New York, and Connecticut all considered the creation of segregated African-American units.

Meanwhile, the governor of South Carolina, claiming that he could not enlist enough white men to challenge the British invasion of his colony, considered the possibility of raising a regiment of reliable slaves to assist in the state's de-

fense. Going yet one step further, Congress recommended that the state raise as many as three thousand African-American troops with the promise of freedom as payment for their service. In March 1779, South Carolinian Henry Laurens, president of the Continental Congress, wrote General Washington that "had we arms for three thousand such black men . . . I should have no doubt of success in driving the British out." Washington however was not nearly as enthusiastic, believing that the arming and freeing of some slaves would further irritate those remaining in servitude.

Among the most unequivocal champions of the plan was one of Washington's aides-de-camp, Colonel John Laurens, Henry Laurens's son, who labored diligently in an attempt to see the idea realized. Selected by Congress to travel to South Carolina to encourage the project, he faced a daunting task. While regular officers like Alexander Hamilton expressed the belief that the South Carolina "negroes will make very excellent soldiers," the South Carolinians were less convinced. Members of South Carolina's elected government reacted with expected horror at the prospect of arming so many of their enslaved population and raised the specter of slave insurrection to buttress their opposition. In spite of the staunch resistance, Laurens continued his attempts to see the plan through. The Marquis de Lafayette wrote an acquaintance that Laurens was "sacrificing his own fortune" in the effort. In late 1780, Colonel Laurens was ordered to travel to France on a diplomatic mission, and the task of attempting to raise the African-American troops in the south fell to Generals Benjamin Lincoln and Nathanael Greene.

In April 1780, a month before the British Army began its siege of Charleston, General Benjamin Lincoln wrote the Governor of South Carolina that "I think the measure of raising a black corps a necessary one . . . because my own mind suggests the utility and importance of the measure." Laurens and Lincoln were not alone in the call for the increased involvement of the African-American population in the cause. James Madison of Virginia, whose ideas would have mortified many of his southern brethren, called for the emancipation of slaves and their enlistment in the Continental Army. Madison argued that it would be "more consonant with the principles of liberty" to liberate slaves and employ them in the fight against Great Britain.

In spite of the support of Congress, Colonel Laurens, Generals Lincoln and Greene, and intellectuals like James Madison, the Deep South remained unwilling to initiate any large-scale use

of African-American soldiers. Even the success of these soldiers in the Continental Army failed to convince the southern leadership. John Laurens attributed the failure to raise an African-American force in the South to the "triple headed monster, in which prejudice, avarice and pusillanimity were united." General Washington, who had never expressed a great deal of support for the plan, blamed "selfish passion" and "private interest" for the disappointment.

Following the surrender of Cornwallis's army at Yorktown, Virginia, in October 1781, there was considerably less military conflict in the North American theater of war. However, the Continental Army continued to be concerned with maintaining a force large enough to counter any possible British offensives. General Nathanael Greene, still operating in the southern theater, continued to press for the greater enlistment of African Americans. Greene had witnessed the use of African Americans in the northern theater and encouraged Governor Rutledge to have them "incorporated, and employed" for the defense of South Carolina. Greene informed the Governor that they "make good soldiers" and that, with the lack of Euro-American enlistees, they were essential. Shortly after General Greene's letter to the Governor of South Carolina, the British ministry began to make peace overtures to the Americans. It appeared as if the need for further enlistment of African Americans was coming to an end.

The Postwar Years

As the war drew to a close and Continental Army veterans returned to their homes, African-American veterans faced many of the same challenges as other veterans. One Euro-American veteran, desperate for any sort of income, sold his war stories in the city of New York after the war. However, for the African-American soldier, the war had held out the hope that the revolutionary ideals espoused in the Declaration of Independence, and for which he fought, would alter the manner in which African Americans were treated in the new American republic. Petitions from enslaved African Americans to newly formed state governments provide evidence of this hope. Eight Connecticut slaves, former property of a local loyalist, petitioned for their freedom under the argument that the state "engaged in a war with tyranny" could not sell them back into slavery. In January 1777, a number of slaves from Massachusetts petitioned that they be released from a life "far worse than nonexistence." These are only a sampling of the reactions many enslaved

African Americans had to the Revolutionary ideals espoused by their masters. Unfortunately the freedom that those principles seemed to offer continued to be limited to Euro-Americans alone. Within a short time of the war's end, the African-American soldier, regardless of the bravery and fidelity he displayed during the war, was returned to his status of second- or third-class citizen.

Given the numbers of slaves who enlisted in the army to achieve their personal freedom, it is not surprising that, upon their return from war, some masters attempted to restore them to a state of servitude. The situation in postwar Virginia demonstrated one of the most conspicuous attempts to do so. Many masters who had illegally enlisted slaves as substitutes for their own service with a private promise of freedom attempted to reassert their ownership over their old property. The governor of Virginia at the time, Benjamin Harrison, was outraged and successfully lobbied the General Assembly to provide protection for the returning African-American veterans. The Assembly determined that slaves who had enlisted had played a part in the liberation of America, and that any slave who had served as a substitute was honorably released from any further involuntary servitude. Legislatures and courts in North Carolina and Connecticut also had to step in to protect African-American veterans from their former masters.

The American Revolution and the liberal ideals it embraced did have an effect on many of the states' attitudes toward the institution of slavery. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts did not wait until the end of the war to eliminate slavery, but did so during the heat of conflict. In 1784, Connecticut and Rhode Island passed acts that began the gradual emancipation of their slave populations. Four years later, the state of New York allowed slave owners to free their bondspersons. The North was not alone in taking a more liberal view of the institution of slavery. John Dickinson attempted to pass a gradual emancipation bill for the state of Delaware, but even his support was not enough to see it become a reality. Virginia passed an act in 1782 that allowed for private manumission of slaves (since 1723 possible only by petition to the governor and Council) and secured the rights and standing of free African Americans in the state.⁴ The legislature even went so far as to declare that any person who knowingly sold a free man as a slave would receive a punishment of "death without clergy." The state of Maryland's legislature, in a vote on the emancipation of slaves there, was able to acquire

twenty-two out of fifty-four votes in favor of the measure. Needless to say, the states that had resisted the use of African Americans as soldiers continued to resist changes in the status of African Americans within their states.

Such was the climate to which the African American of the Continental Army returned. While there was halting progress toward freeing slaves at state levels in the 1780s, there is little doubt that these veterans were disappointed in the nation they had helped fight to create. A nation that had been founded with the words "all men are created equal" had no mandate to free slaves under the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution side-stepped the issue. Still, African-American veterans, who may have been property prior to their service in the Continental Army, were now freer than they ever had been. The African-American soldier may not have been a "citizen" prior to his service, but he was a citizen-soldier.

Conclusion

If one merely examines the number of African Americans who served in the Continental Army during the War of American Independence, it would appear as if their contribution was minimal. Some 5,000 African-American soldiers, out of about 200,000 total, served in the Continental Army during the Revolution. While this figure seems a small one, it is not the number of African Americans who served that matters, but how they served.

The African-American citizen-soldier who served the American cause during the Revolution did so for many of the same reasons as his Euro-American counterparts. There was the draw of enlistment bounties, adventure, and the escape from the day-to-day existence of being an outsider in colonial American society. In spite of their enslavement and imposed status, African Americans also enlisted out of a sense of attachment to what they now viewed as their new homeland. They, like many other members of the lower strata of colonial society, followed the leadership of their colony into revolution.

It is reasonable to believe that African Americans desired the same opportunities their Euro-American neighbors had to acquire personal property, raise their families, and travel freely. Conceivably then, for reasons of personal freedom and the future freedom of their progeny, many African Americans willingly enlisted in the Continental and British Armies. These personal reasons certainly made it possible for them to justify their active defense of a new nation that demonstrated no signs of eliminating

the institution that continued to enslave their fellow African Americans. Even after the winning of American independence, however, the carrot of personal freedom for military service was only guaranteed in those states that abolished slavery during the Revolutionary period and shortly after.

The primarily integrated part played by the African-American citizen soldier in the Continental Army was one that would not be repeated until the second half of the twentieth century. That is not to say that the War of American Independence did not set precedents for the use of African Americans in the United States military. The American Revolution began a pattern for the approach to be taken toward African-American citizen soldiers for the succeeding 175 years. That pattern consisted of discouraging the involvement of these citizen soldiers until the necessity for manpower dictated that they must be used. The United States, for political and cultural reasons, preferred to leave the African-American citizen soldier out of the fight. Often the military, even when allowing the use of African-American citizen soldiers, preferred to use them in laboring and service-oriented roles. The inhibiting of the African American as a combat soldier perpetuated a mythology of their inability as a soldier, a mythology that many Revolutionary War veterans could have debunked. The African-American citizen soldier who, whatever his motivations, served in the Continental Army did so as part of America's first integrated army, an integration that would not occur again until the Cold War battles of the twentieth century.

¹Slaves fought side by side with white servants in Nathaniel Bacon's rebel army in Virginia (1676-77).

²A citizen-soldier is best defined as a "person who is primarily a civilian, acting in war or peace, as a soldier . . . via volunteering or conscriptions." John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and National Guard* (New York: Macmillan, 1983), 4.

³In colonial Virginia, where adult free black males were allowed in the militia, they were required to appear without arms and served as drummers, trumpeters, or pioneers.

⁴An 1806 act continued to allow private manumissions in Virginia but required newly freed blacks to leave the state.

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The Highland Pipe and Scottish Society 1750–1950

by William Donaldson (East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

A book review by John Turner

John, manager of religious studies in the Department of Program Development, is an accomplished musician on several instruments including the bagpipe. This review appeared in Eighteenth-Century Scotland, The Newsletter of The Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society 14 (Spring 2000).

This well-written, carefully researched volume makes a significant contribution to modern understanding of the culture surrounding the Highland bagpipe. It is aimed primarily at aficionados of that instrument and, indeed, would probably be perplexing at times to readers who are not pipers themselves, or musicians at least. To a piper, it is fascinating stuff, replete with pithy stories fleshing out the sometimes-elusive personalities of famous past pipers and their families. For the social historian, there is a wealth of material relative to the formation of social organizations, such as The Piobaireachd Society and The Highland Societies of London and Scotland. Information on how these societies arose, functioned, and contributed to (and/or detracted from) Scottish culture is presented. Donaldson feels that these societies often stifled rather than preserved tradition. There are also numerous examples of how any group can become embroiled in controversies tantamount to the proverbial question of how many angels can fit on the head of a pin.

Only chapters one through four and the first ten pages of chapter nine deal directly with eighteenth-century material. Donaldson sets his premise concerning the piper's role in the larger culture by linking James Macpherson's *Ossian* and Joseph MacDonald's *Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe*. The Macpherson paradigm is, in the author's judgment, crucial to understanding how bagpipes were viewed in Scottish society for the next two centuries. Tradition was presented as something that had happened in antiquity rather than as a fluid form. This approach spawned the aforementioned societies, which saw themselves as preservers and protectors of a lost or dying art. Donaldson makes a strong case for his assertion that the classical music of the highland bagpipe (piobaireachd) was neither lost nor dying but was still a living tradition being carried on by numerous performers in a great variety of circumstances (as should be expected over the passage of a quar-

ter of a millennium).

Of interest to even the most casual student of eighteenth-century Scottish history is the strong claim that "there is no mention of bagpipes in the Disarming Acts, or contemporary evidence that they were forbidden or discouraged" (p. 8). Donaldson cites John Gibson's *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 1745–1945* (1998) for support. Chapter sixteen of Donaldson's work is titled "Pipers' Challenge: The 'redundant' low A Controversy." The title alone makes it clear that this is not reading for the uninitiated! However, the chapter muddies the claim that the art of piping was unaffected by the Disarming Act by including a discussion that proffers an opinion (not the author's) that "proscription of the pipes after the '45" (p. 349) had a negative influence on the transmission of the ancient art of piping. ('45 refers to the final defeat in 1745 of the Scottish Highland followers of Bonnie Prince Charlie—grandson of James II and so-called "pretender" to the throne of England—at the Battle of Culloden by England's Duke of Cumberland and his regiments.) The Disarming Act, which received royal assent on August 12, 1746, is not exciting reading but, having perused it once again for this review, I noticed specific mention of arms, warlike weapons, and every conceivable article of tartan clothing, but no direct mention of bagpipes. Still, the statement that there is no contemporary evidence that the pipes were discouraged is somewhat misleading. James Reid, on trial at York on October 20, 1746, along with other prisoners captured by the Hanoverian army, pleaded innocent on the grounds that he was a piper and did not bear arms. The court disagreed, saying that "his bagpipe, in the eye of the law was an instrument of war," and he was executed on November 30, 1746.¹ If the courts, as in this case, saw the pipes as instruments of war, then they are included in the Disarming Act under the phrase "or other warlike weapon." This, however, is an aside, and the more important point in the author's view is that, whether stated or implied, the proscription of things Scottish did not kill the piping tradition.

Overall, this is an excellent book with very helpful footnotes, a user-friendly index, and helpful guides for non-piping readers. It will appeal primarily, as I am sure the author knew, to the ever-growing worldwide piping community. Nevertheless, it is a significant addition to the on-going discussion of the way in which predominantly print cultures deal with traditions that were originally oral.

¹ See Francis Collinson, *The Bagpipe: The History of a Musical Instrument* (Rutledge and Keegan Paul: London, 1975), p. 170ff.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *New at the Rock*



Becoming Americans Story Lines

New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Enslaving Virginia

Bush, M. L. *Servitude in Modern Times*. Cambridge, Eng.: Polity Press, 2000. [HT657.B87 2000]

A general treatise on slavery, this book focuses on modern slavery, serfdom, indentured servants, debt bondage, and penal servitude. The author examines New World slavery, European serfdom, and Islamic slavery in depth. The final two chapters are devoted to abolition in Europe and America and the survival of servitude.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery*. Completed and edited by Ward M. McAfee. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. [E446.F45 2001]

While the authors of the Constitution viewed it as a neutral document in relation to the slavery issue, the federal government developed a proslavery stance. Fehrenbacher explores the developments that ended this anomaly, including the election of Abraham Lincoln.

Lockley, Timothy James. *Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia, 1750–1860*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2001. [F290.L63 2001]

Exploring the relationships between slaves and non-slave-holding whites, Lockley focuses on the myriad bonds that developed in spite of the disapproving authority of the planter elite. Using travel accounts, slave narratives, newspapers, and court documents, he shows the interactions that developed out of mutual affection or mutual advantage.

Svalesen, Leif. *The Slave Ship Fredensborg*. Translated by Pat Shaw and Selena Winsnes. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2000. [HT1322.S8532000]

Located in 1971, the *Fredensborg*, a slave

ship, was subjected to extensive research. Using eighteenth-century documents, the author reconstructs the voyage of this ship in 1767–68 from the Denmark/Norway coast to the African Gold Coast to the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix and back to the coast of Denmark/Norway, where the ship wrecked. Part one describes the ship and crew in detail as well as the slave trade and life on a slave ship. Part two provides details of the recovery of the ship and the artifacts found.

Schwarz, Philip J. *Migrants Against Slavery: Virginians and the Nation*. Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 2001. [E445.V8S38 2001]

This book treats the movement of Virginians out of a slave state to the north and west. The author examines the flight of fugitive slaves and whites to non-slave states and territories. He describes the effect of this migration on those left in Virginia and the contribution that it made toward developing an American identity.

Choosing Revolution

The American Revolution: Writings from the War of Independence. New York, Library of America, 2001. [E203.A579 2001]

This anthology includes excerpts from letters, diaries, newspaper articles, public documents, contemporary narratives, and private memoranda by seventy participants in the American Revolution. It begins with Paul Revere's ride in April 1775 and ends with George Washington's return to private life in December 1783. Included are a chronology of events—1774 to 1783—and biographical notes on the authors.

Raphael, Ray. *A People's History of the American Revolution: How Common People Shaped the Fight for Independence*. New York: The New Press, 2001. [E275.A2R37 2001]

The author describes the American Revolution as seen through the eyes of its participants. Using diaries, letters, memoirs, and other original resources, he provides a glimpse of what was happening in the lives of ordinary folk. Women, loyalists, Native Americans, and African Amer-

icans are some of the people whose descriptions of and the events around them are included.

Buying Respectability

Davis, R. I. *Men's 17th- and 18th-Century Costume, Cut, and Fashion: Patterns for Men's Costumes*. Studio City, Calif.: Players Press, 2000. [TT590.D3797 2000]

Using drawings and contemporary illustrations, the author provides a history of men's fashions including patterns for making the clothes. The emphasis is on eighteenth-century costume and covers everyday clothes and military uniforms as well as the very fashionable.

Grassby, Richard. *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580–1740*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001. [HQ615.G73 2001]

This study reconstructs the public and private lives of urban business families during England's emergence as a world economic power. Using archival records and a database of 28,000

families, the author has examined such topics as courtship and relations among spouses, parents, and children. The development of the business family and the family business emerges as a strong influence that spurred economic growth during this period.

Pleasures of the Table: Ritual and Display in the European Dining Room, 1699–1900. An Exhibition at Fairfax House. Exhibit Curator Peter B. Brown. York, Eng.: York Civic Trust, 1998. [TX871.P58 1998]

While a broad history of the table from a European viewpoint, this lavishly illustrated exhibit catalog shows some of the influences that affected the colonial table. Chapters are devoted to domestic dining, table centerpieces, and the art of the confectioner. The emphasis is on the role of sweets at the table and the importance of luxury foods.

Submitted by Mary Haskell, acting director, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library.

Special Collections

The John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library has recently acquired the following materials in its Special Collections section:

Loriot, Antoine-Joseph. *A Practical Essay on a Cement, and Artificial Stone* (London: T. Cadell, 1774) [TA 681.L67 1774]

Loriot rediscovered the ancient Roman secret for making cement or mortar that was waterproof and set quickly. It was immediately popular and widely used throughout Europe and America. A copy of the work was in the library of Landon Carter at Sabine Hall in Virginia.

Gardiner, John, and David Hepburn. *The American Gardener* (Georgetown, D. C.: Joseph Milligan, 1818) [SB 93.G22 1818]

This work contains directions for working a kitchen garden, as well as cultivation of flowers, vineyards, and hop yards. Information concerning greenhouses is also included and, uniquely, a treatise on gardening by Virginian John Randolph is appended.

Hoagland Mathematical Manuscripts, 1787–1827. [MS 2001.19]

These three bound booklets were written by

Harmanus and Lucas Hoagland. They include 300 pages of arithmetic, surveying, and commercial accounting methods and calculation. Harmanus wrote the earliest two books, and Lucas was responsible for the third. It is believed that the Hoagland family lived in either New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

Letter: John Paradise, London, to Dr. Richard Warren, London, n.d. [ca. 1780]. [MS 00/c. 1780]

Paradise, a friend of James Boswell—the famed biographer of lexicographer Samuel Johnson—commiserates over their shared sufferings from hypochondria. The letter, written half in Greek and half in English, implores the fashionable doctor and royal physician for his continued friendship and support. The prescribed cure included abundant consumption of wine to keep the spirits elevated. Mention is also made of the “affair concerning the trust.” This refers to John's wife, Lucy Ludwell Paradise, and her efforts to regain her property in Virginia after the Revolution. The letter appears in Archibald Shepperson's *John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1942).

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

Reference Books for Children

Janice McCoy Memorial Collection Rockefeller Library

Cooke, Jacob E., and Milton M. Klein, eds. *North America in Colonial Times: an Encyclopedia for Students*. 4 volumes.

An encyclopedia of the history of the American colonies and Canada, including Native Americans, Spanish missions, English and Dutch exploration, the slave trade, and the French and Indian War.

Grolier Educational *Colonial America*. 10 volumes.

An encyclopedia of colonial history from 1600 to 1783.

Newman, Roger K., ed. *The Constitution and Its Amendments*. 4 volumes.

Sarri, Peggy. *Colonial America: Primary Sources*. Volume I.

Presents the historical events and social issues of Colonial America through twenty-four

primary documents, including diary entries, poems, and personal narratives.

Colonial America: Almanac. Volume II.

Examines the colonial period in America, discussing both the Native American culture before the arrival of Europeans and the exploration and settlement of different parts of the New World.

Time-Life Books. *The American Indians: The European Challenge*.

Includes *The First Encounters*, *Conflict in the North Woods*, *The Plight of the Pueblos*, and *Intruders on Pacific Shores*.

The American Indians: The Mighty Chieftains.

Includes *Guardians of the People's Trust*, *Defenders of the Homelands*, *Champions of the Apache Cause*, and *Patriots in the Western Wars*.

An End . . . and a Beginning

by Mark Howell

Mark, acting director of the Department of Program Development,
is chair of the Buying Respectability Story Line team.

Six years ago, Colonial Williamsburg embarked on an unprecedented program designed to introduce staff (and visitors) to a totally new way of organizing how history is presented in the Historic Area. Titled "Becoming Americans: Our Struggle to be Free and Equal," the premise of the educational plan was completely unoriginal: that three predominant cultures—African, European, and native—interacted in such a way as to create a new, distinctly American society. The novelty lay in the recognition that such an ambitious plan could not be unfurled in the course of a single year. Such an effort would require that information and programming be dispensed over a series of years.

Story lines were born.

Six separate, yet interrelated, topics/social institutions were chosen to add layer upon layer of the larger story. The result was a program that has generated new, thematic approaches to in-

terpretation, compelling new programs: and six impressive resource manuals that have brought together a rich array of primary and secondary sources that will support our training for years to come. In an interview with the periodical *The Public Historian*, Bill White, one of the authors of *Becoming Americans* and currently executive director of Educational Program Development in the Division of Educational Outreach, reflected back on the genesis of the story lines:

I think what came first really was the notion that it was a story about community, and that you could look at the community in a variety of different ways. Each story was only one way of looking at the community, but all the other stories were linked together. So, for example, you couldn't tell about the Revolution without telling the religion story. You couldn't explain religion without saying something about African Americans. I think that it was the notion of this complexity that came first. Then we sat down and said, "Okay, given that, what are the stories that we ought to tell?" We came up with a

list of thirty and worked to get it down to six. . . . You have to narrow it down, you have to focus it. If you don't focus, it becomes so diffused that we're not moving visitors, we're not having an impact on them.¹

The last story line to be wheeled out was the story of consumerism, Buying Respectability. In several ways, it is fitting that this story was the last to be unveiled. For better or worse, materialism and acquisition of goods is a defining feature of American society. The impetus began in colonial America. Not all at once; not everyone was involved. But the trend began as leisure time and discretionary income slowly began to

edge downward into all ranks of society. Though many persons were still concerned about maintaining a minimum standard of living, others were able to dedicate some effort to defining a certain style of living. There were

choices that could be made in things to be bought that went beyond the necessities of life; things that took on increasingly specialized roles. There were choices to be made in how objects were displayed and used that defined self-expression and refinement. There were choices to be made as to how one displayed oneself—fashion, dancing skills, literacy, attendance at the theater—these were all choices that more and more persons were able to make. All in all, Martha Stewart would have been pleased.

Not everyone, of course, shared in the opportunity. Half of Virginia's population, though able to indulge in some simple amenities, remained property that defined respectability for others. Many free persons were still without the wherewithal to make these choices. Many could not have cared less, either for personal reasons or because of an adherence to traditional life choices, be they social or religious.

Programming this past year was developed to illustrate the complexities of the emergence of consumerism as a defining feature of how we have circumscribed ourselves as Americans. Much of the decision to present the community in the year 1774 was predicated on the role of



Becoming Americans
Our Struggle to Be Both Free and Equal

consumerism in the emerging Revolution. 1774 presented the opportunity to show both the social aspects of conspicuous consumption during the early months of the year and, as the year progressed, the political ramifications of the nonimportation association as the shift was made from consumption to austerity.

Toward that end, Mr. and Mrs. Wythe regularly received a crate of goods from their factor Mr. Norton of England during the course of the year. John Prentis and John Hatley Norton were obliged to justify the tea that was discovered on Norton's ship (and was subsequently to be found at the bottom of York River). And delegates returned from the Continental Congress regularly received signed copies of the Association from visitors (posing as colonial Virginia's merchants), showing their allegiance to a unified front against Parliament.

Of course, all is not just about politics. The Buying Respectability story line provided many interpreters with the opportunity to reassert the importance of using objects to inform the public about the past. Tours of the Peyton Randolph House focused on the gentility of its occupants. The Benjamin Powell House showed the material success of that family. Tailor Thomas Hansford moved into the Tenant site. The new tour "Necessities, Niceties and Luxuries" introduced visitors not only to the material world of the eighteenth century but to the primary documentation that has informed us about the past as well. Theatrical scenes lampooning the foibles of fashion and gentility were performed on the Play Booth stage.

So, where do we go from here? Do we start making up new story lines to present? Do we cull from that list of thirty topics Bill alluded to earlier? No, quite the opposite. Now is the time to blend the various topics into one cohesive story. These story lines do not exist in a vacuum. Each had an impact on all the others. The community of Williamsburg will be used to serve as a model of how the inhabitants and visitors to this colonial town wrestled with the various social upheavals and revolutions that were occurring all around them. On the one hand, citizens sought to maintain traditional ways of living their lives while trying to determine how the various transformations in the world were going to alter their lives. Some change was inevitable. Some the individual could dictate: stay with the established church that had provided comfort to generations of Englishmen or establish a new relationship with God with one of the dissenting faiths? Reside in the relative security of tidewater Virginia or migrate west to the Shenandoah Valley or

Ohio country? Accept a life of servitude or run to the King's Standard in Norfolk and potential freedom? Tea or coffee? These and countless other decisions—some of equal import and many others that were simply day-to-day decisions—made up the world of persons who had already begun to think of themselves as a new breed of people, as Americans.

Our job is to breathe new life into their existence. As the eminent historian G. M. Trevelyan once wrote:

The poetry of history lies in the quasi-miraculous fact that once on this earth, on this familiar spot of ground walked other men and women as actual as we are today, thinking their own thoughts, swayed by their own passions, but now all gone, vanishing after another, gone as utterly as we ourselves shall be gone like ghosts at cockcrow.²

To capture this poetry in a conversation, tour, trade work, or character presentation is to give new purpose to the dead once again, if but for a moment.


Our job as educators is to search out those stories that define the world of late colonial Virginia and use them to help our visitors understand how we got to where we are. If we do our job right, they will take it from there. Their experience at Colonial Williamsburg will, in ways large and small, inspire them to think of what has come before and to consider their role in what is yet to come. In this day and age, I can think of no better example of job satisfaction.

Reflections on the Six Story Lines



Now that all the story lines have been rolled out, it is time to blend them into one story. Following are the reflections of the six past story line leaders as to their respective topic's importance and contributions to the overall Becoming Americans effort:



Choosing Revolution focused on the individual decisions that Virginians reached in the years between 1765 and the end of the Revolutionary War. Those decisions brought Virginians into conflict with the mother country and with each other, but from that confrontation Virginians shaped a new social order and helped to create a new idea called America.

That clash of interests touched every aspect of colonial Virginia. It was manifest in the landscape and the colony's westward expansion, in the economy (the consumption of goods as well as the non-importation agreements of the 1760s and 1770s) and in the changing nature of Vir-


Becoming Americans
Our Struggle to Be Both Free and Equal

Choosing Revolution

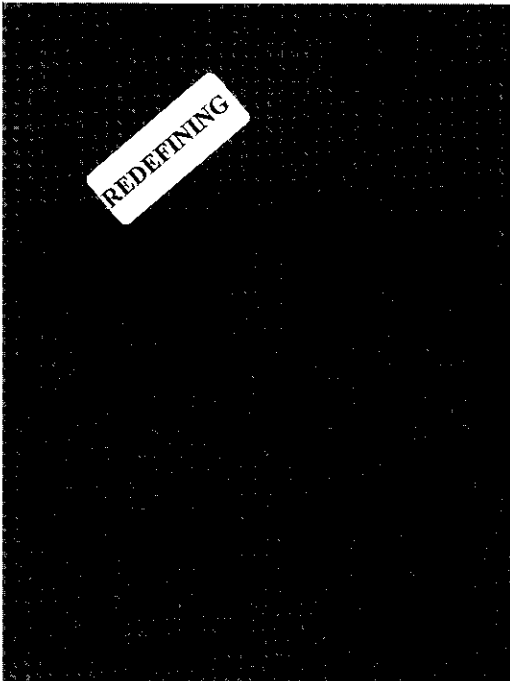



Resource Book

ginia families. The social and political changes brought on by new light religions encouraged the clash of interest. While the Revolution carried forward with an evangelical fervor akin to new light religion, it was tarnished by the chattel slavery that withheld the promise of liberty to an entire race of men and women.

Bill White



Redefining Family: Life experience for colonial Virginia families varied according to gender, status, and race. Family expectation, law, childrearing practice, and religious custom supported the supremacy of the white male head of household. However, changes, first in affluent white families and later throughout a broader society, illustrated by openly affectionate family relationships, new roles for women, changing attitudes toward children, more education, and the acquisition of more family objects moved the colonial family closer to our understanding of the family of today.

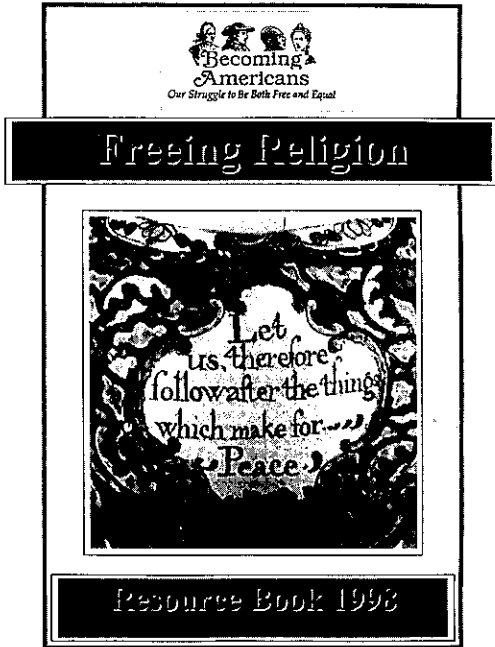
The courts and the church supported family law and custom. The work both within the family and in the larger community reflected the presence of or lack of black slaves. Education, whether found at the Bray School, the College of William and Mary, apprenticeships in the trades, the black and white homes, the dancing schools, or the church, reflected the values of the community. The community in Williamsburg looked for the promise of a better life for their children and their children's children, and the possibility of that better life through the opportunities afforded by the American Revolution and the opening of the West appealed to many in Williamsburg.

Some families retained the authoritarian model; some didn't. Black families were often unable even to hold on to their families much less to define their relationships within that family. However, the larger enslaved community often supported family life. Women sometimes gave up their family position as they had opportunities for education and work. Poor families had few opportunities, and that didn't improve with time.

Anne Schone

Freeing Religion: Religion permeated everyday life and learning in eighteenth-century Virginia. The Great Awakening and ideals of the Enlightenment both helped create an atmosphere in which democratic ideas could develop. The transition from an established church to separation of church and state was one of the most important developments in eighteenth-century society.

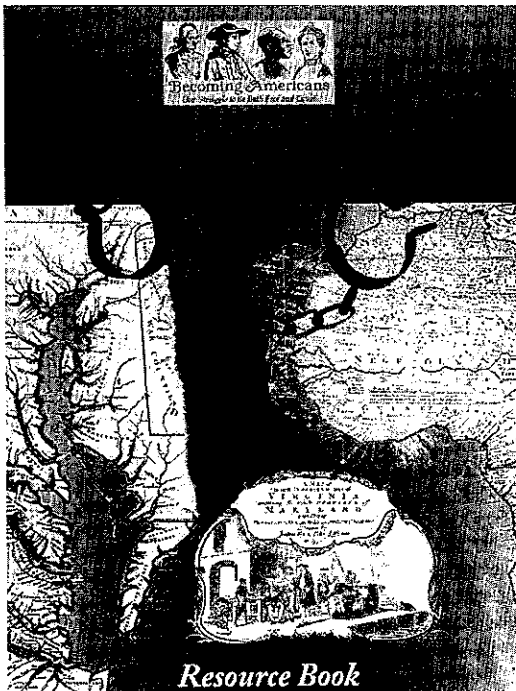
Williamsburg in 1774 showed the effects of the Great Awakening with a Presbyterian meetinghouse in place and increasing activity around the colony from other dissenting groups. There were visible developments going on in the area of change regarding the established church. The standing Committee on Religion established by the House of Burgesses in 1769



dealt with the many petitions from around the colony from Baptists, Presbyterians, and other dissenting groups regarding their relationship to the colonial government.

John Turner

Enslaving Virginia: Enslaving Virginia examined the institution of racial slavery in the colonial Chesapeake and explored its pervasive influence on the lives, fortunes, and values of

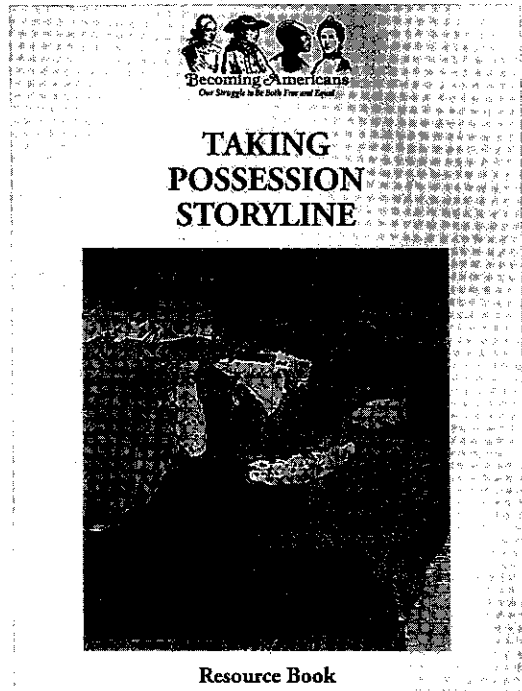


all Virginians and its impact on the development of the new nation.

The reality of colonial life in Virginia forced relations between free and enslaved peoples and cultures in spite of the laws of slavery, and these interactions had a profound impact on American society. The paradox of freedom and slavery was everywhere evident in Virginia as the enlightened ideas of freedom and equality co-existed with the historical practice of slavery and racism. These ideas shaped the thoughts and lives of all Virginians as they moved toward revolution and republican government.

Anne Willis

Taking Possession: One of the central stories of colonial Virginia is the expansion westward to take possession of a new land. This expansion was fueled by the desire for new agricultural land to grow tobacco and the ever-increasing immigration into Virginia. This push westward brought Virginians into contact with the native groups that had been living in the area for generations. The interactions among these various cultural groups ranged from negotiations, accommodations, and border skirmishes to full-scale armed conflict. Williamsburg as the capital of this vast area sought to manage this empire by balancing the needs of Great Britain, Virginians, and the Native Americans living on this contested land. Williamsburg, as a commercial, administrative, governmental, and communication hub, was home to many institutions

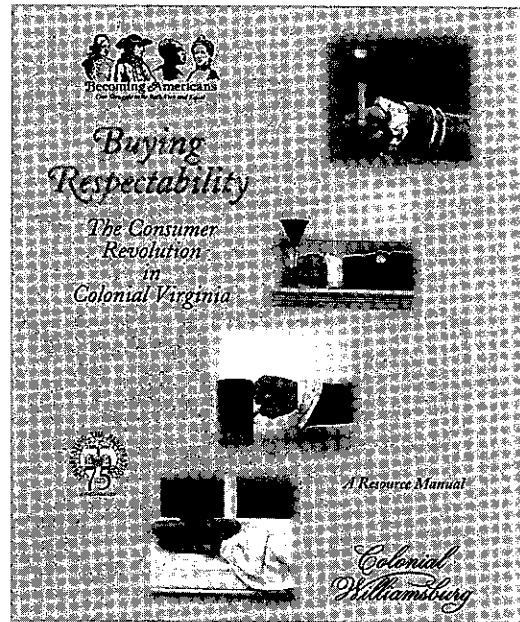


and activities that shaped Virginians' relationships to the land and other peoples. As a result of permanent settlement Virginians altered the natural landscape and created a new cultural landscape. From this emerged a large free-holding population that fostered Americans' belief in freedom, egalitarianism, autonomy, and the ideal of individual ownership of land.

John Caramia

Buying Respectability: A consumer revolution occurred in the eighteenth century that not only transformed people's standards of living but offered them some latitude in determining their style of living. Caught up in this revolution were significant developments in trades, commerce, technology, and, ultimately, the way people lived at every level of society. Though not everyone's life improved, the opportunity for improvement was available to more persons than ever before.

Williamsburg was Virginia's social and fashion center. His Excellency the governor set the pace. The gentry, calling on their representatives in London, sought out the latest fashions, paid for them with advances on their tobacco crop, and had them shipped to their doorstep. Everyone visited the myriad of stores that were selling everything from English buttons, Spanish sherry, and Caribbean sugar to Indian chintz cotton, Madagascar vanilla beans, and Chinese porcelain. Dance and music masters provided instruction in the latest minuets and tunes. Cabinet and coach makers, silversmiths, milliners, tailors and wigmakers kept their clients in fashionable products and attire that mirrored



London fashion with virtually no time lag. Only economic embargoes employed by Virginia and the Continental Congress in 1774 as a last-ditch attempt to coerce Britain to address America's grievances limited Virginians' ability to acquire fashionable goods.

Mark Howell

¹ Marie Tyler-McGraw, "Becoming Americans Again: Re-envisioning and Revising Thematic Interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg," *The Public Historian* 20 (Summer 1998): 70.

² Quoted in Simon Schama, "Clio Has a Problem," *The New York Times Magazine* (September 8, 1991), 32.

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