Using Primary Sources

Colonial Williamsburg

Department of Education Outreach
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I. Introduction

The story of the past is told through information gathered from secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources are accounts of events recorded by individuals who were not eyewitnesses to or participants in an event. Examples of secondary sources include history textbooks or books, articles, biographies, and reference books such as encyclopedias. Primary sources are original documents, artifacts, records, papers, or other resources created by individuals who participated in or witnessed past events, or who were at least contemporaries of those who did. Using primary sources, students can view history through the eyes and experiences of the people who actually lived it. From the analysis of primary sources, historians and social scientists are able to place people and individual events into a broader context, developing generalizations and providing meaning and significance to basic facts.

Each primary source is a piece of evidence about the past and is subject to interpretation. The challenge is to determine the authenticity of such evidence, since any interpretation of an event is, by its very nature, subjective. The item or document reflects the personal, social, political, or economic perspective of the participant. At the same time, the interpreter brings his or her own bias to the process. Different interpretations and emphasis on a variety of primary sources result in different meanings. The use and interpretation of primary sources should illustrate to the student that history is not static, but a constantly changing phenomenon.

Teachers can use primary resources to encourage the students to think like historians. They can evaluate primary sources, seek evidence that will enable them to challenge data, develop generalizations, and confirm conclusions. Students can also debate with teachers and classmates the interpretation of the sources, challenge each other’s conclusions, and seek out evidence to support their own. Using primary sources not only requires students to examine the material, but also opens a dialogue by posing questions about the source. Students using primary sources will learn new research and analysis skills, and have “close encounters” with the past.

This publication is designed to assist teachers in making effective use of primary source materials, and to help explain the links between specific individual actions and the larger generalizations of history. The goals are to provide students with examples of various types of primary sources, and to offer suggestions for their use, strategies for evaluation, and ideas for further study. It should be noted that although the documents and other materials included are primarily from the eighteenth century, similar items may be found from other historic time periods.
PRIMARY SOURCES . . .

• Enable students to view history as something other than a series of dates, facts, and generalizations

• Allow historians to place people and individual events in a broader context, to develop generalizations, and to attach meaning and significance to basic facts

• Are subject to interpretation. The process of analysis is, by its nature, a subjective one.

• Involve students in historical research by allowing them to evaluate materials, and to seek evidence that enables them to challenge data, develop generalizations, and confirm or refute conclusions.

• Through their analysis and interpretation, illustrate that history is not static, but a constantly changing phenomenon.

• Encourage reading by presenting information in a different and immediate format.

• Primary Sources provide twenty-first-century researchers insights into the time period of the resource.

However, modern historians bring modern perspectives, viewpoints, and experiences to the interpretation of these materials. Our modern viewpoints influence our interpretation of any primary source.

• Remember: Nothing is “always,” everything is “sometimes,” and... it always depends!
## Examples of Primary Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architectural plans</th>
<th>Recipes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td>Obituaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diaries</td>
<td>School books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td>Etiquette guides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>Wills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisements</td>
<td>Inventories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlets</td>
<td>Account books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartoons</td>
<td>Oral histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paintings</td>
<td>Court proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artwork</td>
<td>Speeches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Treaties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Games</td>
<td>Bills of sale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currency/money</td>
<td>Clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadsides</td>
<td>Signs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax records</td>
<td>Tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church records</td>
<td>Everyday objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census records</td>
<td>Tombstones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indenture records</td>
<td>Flags, emblems, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muster/Militia rolls</td>
<td>Buildings/architecture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Considerations for Using Primary Source Materials

1. Copies need to be clear, legible, and easy to handle. Photos, photocopies, computer enhancements, audio sources, etc. must be cleanly reproduced. Typed transcripts of text documents should be available for students with special needs.

2. Preview primary sources, and work through student activities, prior to classroom use.

3. Consider the content and skills desired when selecting primary source materials.

4. A desirable length of text documents is 100 words or less. For long documents, structure information into small units without destroying the integrity of the original. Edit judiciously; be careful not to change the meaning or spirit of the original.

5. Material should be age and grade appropriate; materials need to be user friendly.

6. Identify the source of each material.

7. Whenever possible, use facsimiles of the originals.

8. Define difficult or outdated terms.

9. Allow sufficient time for all students to use the materials; providing copies for each student is advisable.

10. Use primary source materials to open inquiry and enhance further research.

NOTE: Primary resource materials have inherent curricular value and reinforce curriculum goals; they are not simply “extras.”
II. ANALYSIS WORKSHEETS

This section provides worksheets that can be used in the classroom or at off-campus sites to analyze a wide variety of primary sources. The worksheets are designed for use in analyzing any documents, artifacts, buildings, cartoons, maps, oral histories, photographs, artwork, posters, songs and poems, and sound recordings. These worksheets help students use scholarly techniques to examine primary source materials, to organize their notes, and to form accurate conclusions based on evidence.
ARTIFACT ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Description of Artifact
   a. What is the item made of? ________________________________
   c. Does it have any moving parts? ________________________________
   d. How was it constructed? ________________________________
   e. Does it have any identifying marks or symbols? Describe. ________________________________
   f. Where was it made? ________________________________

2. Age
   a. Is there a date on it? ________________________________
   b. Can you determine its age? ________________________________

3. Use/construction
   a. How was it made? ________________________________
   b. What was its function? ________________________________
   c. Does it have any aesthetic value? ________________________________
   d. Would special skills have been required to make it? ________________________________
   e. Where would you use this item? ________________________________
   f. Who would use it? ________________________________

4. Conclusions
   a. What is the value of this artifact, monetary or otherwise? ________________________________
      ________________________________
   b. What can be determined about the people who used this item? ________________________________
      ________________________________

5. Do we have comparable objects in use today? Give examples. ________________________________
   ________________________________
BUILDING ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Identification
   a. Type of building? ____________________________________________
   b. When was it built? __________________________________________
   c. Who built it? ______________________________________________
   d. What did it cost? ____________________________________________

2. Why was this building constructed? ____________________________________________

3. Is there a particular architectural style associated with the building? If yes, what is it?
   ________________________________________________

4. Do you think the form enhances or detracts from the building purpose? Why or why not?
   ________________________________________________

5. What was the original use of the building? _________________________________

6. Have the functions of the building changed? In what way? _____________________________
   Have the physical characteristics of the building been altered to meet these changes?
   Explain. _________________________________________________

7. What was the impact of this building on the surrounding area? ________________________

8. Did this building influence later architectural designs or construction methods?
   ________________________________________________

9. What is the historical significance of this building? _________________________________
CARTOON ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Who drew the cartoon? ____________________________________________

2. Where was it published? Give the title and date of the source. ________________

3. List the key objects in the cartoon and describe what each represents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Symbolizes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. What techniques or devices does the cartoonist use? (Ridicule, caricature, satire, puns, etc.)

____________________________________________________________________

5. What issue or event does the cartoon deal with?

____________________________________________________________________

6. Describe the action taking place. ______________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

7. What is the cartoon’s message? ______________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

8. Who is the intended audience? ______________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

9. What is the cartoonist’s point-of-view? ______________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

10. Does the cartoon clearly convey the desired message? Why or why not?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

11. What groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon’s message? Why?

____________________________________________________________________
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Type of Document (check one):
   
   [ ] Journal/diary entry
   [ ] Census information
   [ ] Letter
   [ ] Trade card
   [ ] Newspaper article or advertisement
   [ ] Drawing/painting
   [ ] Poster/broadside
   [ ] Legal document
   [ ] Print
   [ ] Contract
   [ ] Bill/declaration
   [ ] Other

2. Name or Title of Document: ____________________________________________

3. Who wrote/created it? _______________________________________________

4. When was it created? ________________________________________________

5. Where was it created? ______________________________________________

6. Write a summary of the document. ____________________________________

   ________________________________________________________________

   ________________________________________________________________

7. What was its purpose? Why do you think the document was written?

   ________________________________________________________________

   ________________________________________________________________

8. What evidence in the document helps you know why it was written? Quote from the document.

   ________________________________________________________________

   ________________________________________________________________

9. List two things the author(s) stated that you think are important, and why.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Why</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. __________________________</td>
<td>__________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. __________________________</td>
<td>__________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. List two things the document tells you about life at the time it was written.

   a. ________________________________________________________________
   b. ________________________________________________________________
MAP ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Identify the following information.
   a. Title: ____________________________  b. Creator/source: ____________________________
   c. Date or time period: ________________  d. Where produced: ____________________________

2. Type of map
   ___ physical  ___ product map  ___ weather map
   ___ road map  ___ historical map  ___ political map
   ___ satellite map  ___ topographical map  other: ____________________________

3. Physical qualities of the map
   a. Identify the key symbols used: ______________________________________________________
   b. Identify key physical features: ______________________________________________________
   c. Identify key cultural features: ______________________________________________________
   d. Does this map use:
      ___ shading  ___ contour lines  ___ a graphic scale
      ___ descriptive information  ___ compass rose

4. What regions are shown on this map, and how might this place have changed over time?
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________

5. Why do you think this map was drawn? What evidence in the map suggests this?
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________

6. How does the map support or contradict other information you have about this event, area, or region? Explain your answer.
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________

7. Explain how this map helps you understand more about the topic, area, or region.
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
ORAL HISTORY ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Basic information:

   Interviewer: ____________________________________________________________
   Subject(s) of the interview: _____________________________________________
   Date of the interview: _________________________________________________
   Where was the interview conducted? ___________________________________

2. Provide a brief biographical description of the person being interviewed.

   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________

3. Note any possible bias of the interviewer. _______________________________

   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________

4. Summarize the main points of the interview. ____________________________

   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________

5. What can be learned from this interview about the period of history this person is discussing? ________________________________

   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________

6. Are the major ideas from this interview still significant today? Explain your answer.

   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________

7. Whom might you interview to obtain additional information or opposing viewpoints on this subject? ______________________________

   _________________________________________________________________
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PHOTOGRAPH/ARTWORK ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. **Description:**
   a. What is the source of this photograph/picture?  
   b. Who is the photographer or artist?  
   c. List physical characteristics (such as type, size, etc).  
   d. What is the date? If there is no date, can you guess the period?  

2. **Photo/Artwork Analysis**
   a. Write a brief description of the work:  
   b. Use the chart below to list people, objects, and activities found in the work: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Activities</th>
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</thead>
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   c. What was the purpose of the work? (for example, was it created as advertising, for visual pleasure, as propaganda, etc.)  
   d. How would you describe the mood of the picture?  
   e. What makes this an effective or ineffective piece?  

3. **What questions does the photograph or artwork brings to mind?**  

4. **Is this piece meant to convey a message? If so, what is it?**  

5. **Is this work an effective piece, one that is attractive and appealing to the viewer? Why or why not?**
POSTER ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Name or title of the poster: ________________________________

2. Author, artist, or developer: ________________________________

3. When was it produced? ________________________________

4. Who was the intended audience? ________________________________

5. What is the purpose of the poster? ________________________________

6. What symbols are used? Are their meanings clear? ________________________________

7. Are the messages in the poster more visual or verbal? ________________________________

8. What action does the author hope that the audience will take after viewing the poster? ________________________________

9. What purpose(s) of the author does the poster serve? ________________________________

10. Is this an effective poster? Why or why not? ________________________________
SONG/POEM ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Title of the song or poem: ________________________________________________________

2. Type of document:
   ___ sheet music   ___ recording   ___ printed lyrics
   ___ Other ____________________________

3. Date or time period of the song or poem: __________________________________________
   ___ no date (estimate time period on line above)    ___ copyright date


5. Where was it written? ____________________________________________________________

6. For what audience was the piece written? __________________________________________

7. What message or mood is the poem or song trying to convey?
   ____________________________________________________________________________

8. Choose a quotation from the piece that helped you understand why it was written.
   ____________________________________________________________________________

9. What is the mood of the music or poetry? _________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________

10. Do you think the song/poem was used for propaganda (to further one cause or to
    Damage another)? If so, give evidence from the work for your answer. ________________
    ____________________________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________________________

11. Does the wording contain any “secret message” or symbolic meaning?
   ____________________________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________________________

12. Is the song or poem still being sung or read frequently today?
    ____________________________________________________________________________

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SOUND RECORDING ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

I. Pre-listening Questions

1. Who made the recording? ______________________________________________________
2. What is the date of the recording? ____________________________________________
3. Where was this recording made? _____________________________________________
4. What was the purpose of the recording? _______________________________________

II. Listening Questions

1. Type of sound recording (check one):
   - _____ Policy speech
   - _____ News report
   - _____ Congressional testimony
   - _____ Entertainment broadcast
   - _____ Panel discussion
   - _____ Convention proceedings
   - _____ Interview
   - _____ Arguments before a court
   - _____ Press conference
   - _____ Campaign speech
   - _____ Other: ____________________________

2. Summarize the recording’s content: ____________________________________________

3. Does the recording have any unique physical qualities?
   - _____ Music
   - _____ Live broadcast
   - _____ Narration
   - _____ Special sound effects
   - _____ Background noise

4. What is the tone or mood of this recording? ___________________________________

III. Follow-up Questions

1. List three things in this sound recording that you think are important.
   1. _____________________________________________________________
   2. _____________________________________________________________
   3. _____________________________________________________________

2. Why do you think the original broadcast or recording was made? For what audience?
   ___________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________

3. What evidence in the recording helps you know why it was made?
   ___________________________________________________________________
III. Document Based Questions

The use of Document Based Questions (DBQ) is an increasingly popular form of performance assessment. Students are asked to use the “stuff” of social studies as a vehicle for demonstrating their comprehension of the subject manner. In this instance, the student is provided with a variety of primary source materials that deal with a specific event, time period or individual(s). They analyze these resources and respond to a question in essay form.

Document Based Questions help students compare and contrast particular issues from multiple perspectives, and provide opportunities to develop higher level thinking skills. The following suggested guidelines are designed to help you use this type of assessment with your students.
CONSTRUCTING A DBQ

1. For best results, decide what you want to ask your students before you select any primary documents. Trying to shape a question around a really intriguing document usually fails. The question is typically forced and often implies a correct interpretation dictated to the students, rather than allowing for their own interpretation.

2. Use a variety of primary sources. Most good DBQs use some text documents, some charts or maps, and some pictures or cartoons. If you are unable to find visual primary sources, you can still vary the type of text source—for example, by using journal entries along with census figures or inventories. Plan to use between four and seven documents for each single question.

3. Consider the reading level of the selected resources and ensure it is appropriate for students. Most documents were not produced with students in mind. Archaic language, advanced vocabulary, or complex constructions need clarification. Still, even students at the early elementary level can benefit from studying primary sources.

4. Choose the length of the text and the number of documents according to the task expectation and time available. Students must be allowed some time, usually 10 to 15 minutes, to examine the documents before they can begin writing. One solution is to use fewer documents for the question. Another solution is to have the students preview the resources as homework.

5. Provide differing perspectives on the issue being examined. DBQs lend themselves very well to compare/contrast questions and questions where an analysis of a speaker’s position is desirable. Statistics also work well in DBQs.

6. Make the question direct. Most DBQ questions are one or two sentences in length. If the question requires extensive explanation, it probably should be changed to include a better question.

7. Avoid asking a question that requires a simple recounting of the document; that misses the point of DBQs. Use the documents not as an end in themselves, but as support material for students to construct their thoughts about an issue or time period.

8. Answer the question yourself before you give it to the students. (Give yourself less time since you have the advantage of knowing the documents and the question.) This “trial run” will help to place potential answers in some perspective and is a good reality check for the feasibility of what is being asked of students. Many questions initially thought to be sound will be rejected once it’s known that even teacher answers cannot meet the learning objective within the time allowed.
PREPARING STUDENTS FOR A DBQ

No student is too young to work with primary sources. A wide variety of age-appropriate materials is available. The key to student success is preparation. If students are familiar with primary sources and have handled them before, a DBQ will not be a mystery or source of fear. Here are some other points to consider.

1. Early in the school year, plan a lesson based upon a single primary document or resource. This could be, for example, a 1540 map of the world, a diary entry from eighteenth-century Williamsburg, sixteenth- or seventeenth-century drawings of Native Americans, or some other item suitable to the subject and topic. Allow for some observation time. Then ask students direct questions about what they’ve seen, why they think it is that way, whom the resource was intended for, whether that made a difference in the way it was presented, etc. This may be done in small groups or as a class. This exercise may be repeated several times.

2. Infuse your regular teaching with primary sources. Read selections from documents to the class, have students memorize portions of important documents. Remember that maps and illustrations are also documents. This will help students become comfortable working with primary resources.

3. Early in the school year, do a directed essay on a single document or a comparison of two documents. Have students determine the author’s point of view and why he or she might hold that position. Have them place the document in a timeframe and relate it to modern events and issues. If using two documents, compare the authors’ differing viewpoints.

4. Try a group exercise or two using multiple documents. Each group receives a packet of documents and uses them as a historian would, drawing both obvious and implied conclusions. With certain students, it prepares them to work with several resources simultaneously.

5. Once students are comfortable with primary documents, introduce the DBQ. Discuss expectations, the difference between good and poor answers, and how the answers will be graded. Do one DBQ as practice, and then use the others as part of your evaluative process.

6. Do not assign DBQs all the time. Using a DBQ every other test cycle or for a particular homework assignment that lends itself to this format is enough.
GRADING DBQS

1. Develop a scoring scale specific to the question. General scoring scales are useful as starters—for example, use a 0–10 scale with two numbers in each of five categories ranging from excellent to failing. Look for an understanding of issues and events, logical and intelligent arguments, sufficient support and detail for the points made, full use of primary documents, good organization, and writing skills. Decide what you want to emphasize, and devise a grading scale accordingly. This is where having answered the question yourself is helpful as well. Your own answer should rate a ten. When you grade you may be surprised to see some answers that are as good as or better than yours. These should also rate as tens. Consistency is a must in DBQ grading. We all like to pull for a nice student who works hard. In this system, if we bump a real 6 to an 8 for effort, the grading mechanism is meaningless for everyone else. Reward effort elsewhere. Set a standard and keep it, regardless of the data. Generally, the first grades are low, but most students improve with further exposure to DBQs.

2. There is one definite wrong approach to answering a DBQ. An answer is never to be a list of the documents. An essay that runs along the lines of “Document A says this . . . Document B says this . . . Document C says this . . .” is a failed essay. It gets no credit, ever. The documents are to be used in support of an answer to the question. They are not an answer themselves.
### SCORING SCALE FOR DOCUMENT BASED QUESTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5     | A full and balanced response to the question. | • Includes much accurate and relevant supplementary information  
• Contains no significant factual errors or misinterpretation of documents  
• Presents analysis which reflects understanding of complex issues  
• Recognizes patterns and distinctions, draws conclusions, and evaluates relative importance  
• Applies rules of English usage accurately |
| 4     | A good response but may be unevenly developed. | • Responds to questions with supporting details and examples  
• Uses most of the documents, recognizing the author’s viewpoint  
• Includes accurate and relevant supplementary information  
• Shows some understanding of complex issues  
• Evaluates evidence and formulates generally accurate conclusions  
• Follows rules of English usage accurately with no serious errors that distort meaning |
| 3     | Competent response to the question. | • Responds to question with some supporting details and examples  
• Uses some of the documents correctly  
• Contains some accurate and relevant supplementary information  
• Attempts to formulate some conclusions  
• Shows some knowledge of rules of English usage, may have some serious errors |
| 2     | An incomplete response. | • Understands the question, but provides insufficient evidence to respond to it  
• Contains little accurate relevant supplementary information  
• Uses little information from documents  
• Draws vague conclusions  
• Has serious errors in English usage |
| 1     | Confused response. | • Misunderstands the question and/or responds in a confused manner with little or no information |
| 0     | | • Uses no accurate or relevant data  
• Is totally unrelated to the topic  
• Is illegible (i.e. includes so many indecipherable words that no sense can be made of the response) |
IV. Examples of Primary Sources

The following sections illustrate the wide range of primary resources available for classroom use. Enough information is provided about each type of primary source to serve as the basis for organizing lessons. Each example consists of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HISTORICAL CONTEXT</td>
<td>Provides background information about the primary source, placing it in historical context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOCABULARY</td>
<td>Defines difficult, unusual, or archaic words and phrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISCUSSION STARTERS</td>
<td>Suggestions that are intended to investigate the content and context of the resource.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOCUMENT ANALYSIS</td>
<td>Suggestions to develop higher level thinking skills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTENDING CONTENT</td>
<td>Possibilities for further discussion, research, and study, considering past, present, and future implications.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELATED RESOURCES</td>
<td>A list of primary and secondary sources to promote further inquiry into the particular topic.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Account Books
   i. James Anderson Ledgers B (1778–1785) & C (1789–1799)

Historical Context

Bookkeeping was as important in the eighteenth century as it is today. Businesses used established accounting procedures. Extending credit was a normal business practice. Should a customer desire to make a payment, the merchant or tradesman would need to have records at his fingertips to quickly determine the amount of debt. These valuable records essential to running a business were called ledgers. The ledger provided such information as the customer’s name, purchase dates, items or services purchased, and amounts owed or paid.

Besides helping the eighteenth-century businessman run his business, ledgers and other accounting records have provided a wealth of information for historians. Much can be learned from these records about a wide variety of subjects. Two of James Anderson’s ledgers provide detailed information about the blacksmithing business and Anderson’s customers.

Vocabulary

axletree—a bar on which the opposite wheels of a carriage turn.

barer (bar)—part of the andiron that extends into the fire and on which the wood rests.

broad ax—a special-purpose ax used to square large timbers.

chair—a light vehicle drawn by one horse.

cleavey (clevis)—a piece of U-shaped iron bolted to the end of a beam to provide a point of attachment for other implements.

coffee mill—a small hand powered machine used for grinding coffee beans.

ditto—the same. (Used to avoid repetition.)

dog nail—a nail with a large head used to attach door hinges.

dung fork—a three-pronged tool similar to a pitch fork.

eye—a hole made in a metal tool or device for the placement of a handle or other object.

fluke hoe—a light plowshare (plow blade).

hames—a pair of curved pieces of wood or metal that fit on the horse’s collar. Chains or ropes go from the hames to the singletree to connect the horse to the vehicle.

hand cuffs—an iron device consisting of a chain with divided rings on each end that are fastened around a prisoner’s wrists.
harrow hoe—a hoe-shaped metal implement fastened to a harrow in place of spikes.

hast—a metal fastener.

hoops and plates—component parts of the springs (shock absorbers) on a vehicle.

lamps (lampas)—a disease affecting horses that causes swelling in the roof the mouth.

leg irons—a device consisting of an iron chain with rings on each end that can be fastened around the ankles of a prisoner.

lupe (loop)—a curved piece of metal used in various ways, such as a handle for lifting.

ox ring and staple—the iron parts of an ox yoke.

oyster clamps—a tool used to gather oysters from the bottom of a bay or river.

pin—a cylindrical piece of metal used to fasten or support.

plating—applying additional metal to a metal tool to strengthen it.

pointing—to work or shape a metal object to a point.

rake—an iron toothed tool used for leveling ground or covering seed.

remove—taking off a horse’s shoe, treating its hoof and then replacing the shoe.

rivet—a small bolt used for fastening two pieces of metal together.

spindle—an iron rod that serves as an axis about which something revolves.

spreading—altering the shape of an iron metal tool so that it will better serve its purposes.

staple—a U-shaped piece of iron driven partially into a wooden surface, serving as a point of attachment.

swingletree (singletree)—a wooden or metal bar that serves as a point of connection between a vehicle or implement and a horse or horses.

trowel hoe—a light trowel-shaped plowshare (plow blade).

tug—a short pair of chains attached to the hames.

tumbrel—a cart that can have its contents dumped by tilting its body backwards.

wing—part of a plowshare (plow blade) that extends sideways.
**Discussion Starters**

- Why is the keeping of records an important part of running a business?
- What type of information can be obtained from a ledger such as this one?
- Why was it important for a blacksmith in the eighteenth century to be able to read, write, and do math?

**Document Analysis**

- What were some of the jobs that Benjamin Powell contracted to do?
- Besides cash, what other means of exchange did Benjamin Powell use to pay James Anderson?
- From this ledger, how do we know that farming was an important occupation at this time?
- What can we tell about the role of slaves in this society, at this time, using these documents?
- How were prisoners dealt with in eighteenth-century Virginia?
- What can we deduce about the life Benjamin Powell from these readings?

**Related Resources**

- Account books of merchants and tradesman
- Inventories
- *Virginia Gazette* advertisements
### James Anderson Ledger C 1789–1799

#### The Jail

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>D'</th>
<th>C'</th>
<th>41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1790</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Brought from Leager A. folio 306 £</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>To Repairing a lock</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To putting on a pair of legg Irons &amp; five feet of large Chain</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To putting on a pair of legg Irons 1/3 two Revets 6d</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To altering a lock 1/3 Repairing one D° 2/6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Mending a key 1/3</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>To a bar for a Door 9 ¾ w@ 10d</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a large Round Staple 1/3 harsp &amp; two Staples 2/6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To taken of two pair of legg Irons &amp; putting on d°</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>To taken of &amp; putting on two pair leg Irons</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a pair of hand Cuffs 6/3 Ironing two Men 2/6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Ironing two Men</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>To Repairing a Door &amp;</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>To taken of a pair of leg Irons</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>To taken of a pair of leg Irons</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>To a harsp and two Staples &amp;</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To taken of two pair of Irons 2/6 putting on D° 2/6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>To mending a Chain for a leg Iron</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10 ½</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To lengthing D° 1/6 taken of &amp; putting two p' leg Irons 5/</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Repairing a large Iron door lock 10/ D° two D° 15/</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Six pins @ 9d - 4/6 two Irons p' D° 8½ w@ 10d - 7/1</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>To four large Spikes @ 3d 1/ two pair of large hand Cuffs 12/</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>To taken off and putting on two pair of leg Irons</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>To taken of a pair of leg Irons 1/3 Mending a p' d° 1/3</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
<td>To putting on a pair of leg D° 1/3 hand Cuffing one d° 1/3</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>To taken of a pair of leg Irons</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>To a pair of large hand Cuffs</td>
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### James Anderson Ledger B 1778—1785
#### Benjamin Powell

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<td>Janr² 24th</td>
<td>To shoeing a Horse 15/ Febr² 7th point² a sett Harrowhoes 45/.</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Febr² 13th</td>
<td>a spindle for a Wheel 7/6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>March 5th</td>
<td>To spreading 4 Hoes @ 8/. 17th prong for a Dungfork 15/.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>22nd</td>
<td>laying 2 large Chissels 18/. April 11th spreading a Hoe 8/ .</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 24th</td>
<td>2 teeth for a Rake 12/. May 10th point² a Harrowhoe 30/.</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 1st</td>
<td>laying 2 large Harrowhoes 14 ½ wt @ 18/.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>laying large Fluckhoe 10 wt @ 18/. 13th laying broad Ax 60/</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>15th</td>
<td>a spindle for Wheel 15/. 24th point² Harrowhoe 36/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>July 3rd</td>
<td>point² Harrowhoe 36/. 15th point² Harrowhoe 36/</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15th</td>
<td>new handle for a Skillet 60/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Octo² 10th</td>
<td>handle &amp; bolt for Mill 7 ½ &quot; @ 20/. 13th screw &amp; nob for Mill 42/.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>13th</td>
<td>length² barer for 4 Andirons 20 ½ &quot; @ 20/.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>put² hoop on a Barrel 12/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Novem 1st</td>
<td>mend² Coffee Mill 50/</td>
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<td>1780</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>Feb. 3</td>
<td>6 dog nails [specia]—1/ March 11. cutting 3 horses lampers 7/6</td>
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<td>April 27</td>
<td>2 staples for tumbler Irons 4/ a staple &amp; cart 9º</td>
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<td>May 3</td>
<td>laying an ax 5/</td>
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C' by Cash in full -
### James Anderson Ledger C 1789–1799

**Benjamin Powell**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
<th>D'</th>
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<td>1789</td>
<td>Brought from Ledger A. page 283 £</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C' Brought forward for Iron and Coals</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>September</td>
<td>To lengthening an Axletree for a Chair &amp;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Altering two hoops &amp; plates for springs D&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>To Shoeing a horse before</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>To Mending an Ox Chain 1/3 A hook for D&lt;sup&gt;0 1/3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>To laying an Ax 5/                                           Rendered £ 38 18 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>To laing an Axe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Shoeing a horse</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>To mending an Ox Ring and Staple</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To mending a tugg for a hame</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To laing a large trowell hoe 7/6 D&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt; a Colter 8&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>To Repairing a trunk lock</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a Staple for a hame</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a Swingletree Iron 1/3 A large hook 1/3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a hook for D&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To two Removes for a horse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>C' by Cash from M'. Robert Nicolson</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Shoeing a horse 3/</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To plateing a Scythe—1/6 Ring for D&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>To pointing 2 large trowell hoes @ 2/6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To laing a Colter 1/3 Repairing one D&lt;sup&gt;0&lt;/sup&gt; 7 1/2&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>To laing a large trowell hoe 7/6 putting an eye to one 1/3</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To putting a lupe &amp; hinge to a Sugar Canister</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To plating a Scythe 2/6 25&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Shoeing a horse 3/</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£ 40 3 7 1/2</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1791</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>To laing a plough 6/3 D&lt;sup&gt;0&lt;/sup&gt; a Colter 1/3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a heel for a Colter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>To a New bar for a plough 5/ pointing a plough &amp; laing wing 3/9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a bolt and nut 1/3 heel to a Colter 1/3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C' by 9 1/2&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; of old Iron @ 1&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To mending a key for a pad lock</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To mending a plough</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a large hook for ox Chain &amp;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To an Axe, 5 3/4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; @ 1/6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>To laing a large trowell hoe</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To pointing a plough and laing the wing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To laing two Colters @ 1/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Laing a large trowell hoe 7/6 D&lt;sup&gt;0&lt;/sup&gt; a Colter 1/3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a fluke hoe and Colter 13 3/4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; @ 10&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0 1/2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To a key for Colter 4&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt; A Cleavey &amp; pin 2/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By your account rendered to dec&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt; 31 1787</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43 12 4 1/2 24 17 11 1/2</td>
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</table>

This account I find has been settled in the year 1791 and the settlement filed among the papers.

---

B. Books  
i. *Rational Spelling-Book*

**Historical Context**

Joseph Prentis, Sr., believed it was important for both his sons and his daughters to be well educated. In 1798 he gave John Clarke’s *The Rational Spelling–Book* to his daughter Eliza. The book included the following hand-written inscription: “This Book was presented to Eliza Prentis by her Papa because she is a Good Little Girl, and is fond of Reading”. Eliza was nearly seven years old at the time she received the book.

The Rules of Behaviour were printed as a separate section at the back of *The Rational Spelling–Book*.

**Vocabulary**

*attention*—observant or watchful consideration.

*desist*—stop.

*governess*—a woman entrusted with the care and supervision of a child, especially in a private household.

*humility*—humble respect and courtesy.

*idleness*—laziness or shiftlessness; of no real worth; doing nothing.

*master*—a male teacher.

*shews*—shows.

*usher*—an assistant teacher.

*usher’s eye*—under the watch of an assistant teacher

**Discussion Starters**

- Why would a father want his daughter to have a book that includes such rules of behavior?
- Eliza was only seven years old. Do you think she could read and understand the rules?
- Do you think a modern seven-year-old could read and understand these rules?
- What do you think of the rules?
- What attitude is expressed toward teachers? Toward fellow students? Strangers?
- What are students being taught to do?
• How would you describe the amount of physical movement students were expected to make?
• What characteristics would be displayed by a student who followed all of these rules?
• What is the role of the master? The usher? Governess? Teacher?

**Document Analysis**

• What do these rules suggest about the educational process in the eighteenth century?
• Compare attitudes toward teachers, fellow students, and strangers in 1798, with attitudes today.
• Is there an implied hierarchy based on age, status, or occupation? Describe it, based on the information in the text.
• Act out a scene or design a series of pictures depicting an eighteenth-century classroom.

**Extending Content**

• Written rules of behavior, past and present
• Interviews with parents and grandparents about behavioral rules
• Compare with modern school rules

**Related Resources**

• hornbooks
• battledores
• diaries
• school records
• rules of modern schools
• rules of future schools

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LESSON VI: OF BEHAVIOUR AT SCHOOL

1. Behave to your Teachers with Humility, and to your School-Fellows with Respect.

2. Do not run into the School, but advance decently to the door.

3. When you enter, (take your Hat off) make your Bow or Courtesy, and walk straight to your Seat.

4. Never talk in the School, for it interrupts yourself and others.

5. If a Stranger comes in; rise and bow, or curtsey, as he passes by you; then sit down and keep your Eyes upon your Book, not regarding that any are present.

6. If you have any thing to say to the Master, wait till he is at Leisure, and then speak with Modesty and Plainness.

7. Observe nothing at School but your Book, and never neglect that.

8. Never quarrel in School, for it shews Idleness and a bad Temper.

9. When the Master speaks to you, rise up to hear him, and look him in the Face as he speaks, with Modesty and Attention.

10. Begin not to answer before he has done speaking, then bow to him respectfully, and answer him with Humility.

11. If you have Occasion to complain of a School-Fellow, first speak to him softly, and desire him to desist:

12. If he will not, then rise up and wait an Opportunity, and when the Master or Usher’s Eye is upon you, bow and say softly what your Complaint is.

13. Never speak loud in School; and answer a Question moderately; Repeat your lesson distinctly.

14. When a Stranger is in the School, do not stare at him.

15. If he speaks to the Master, or Usher, Governess, or Teacher, do not listen to it, for it shews ill Manners, and shews you neglect your own Business to mind others.

16. If he speaks to you, rise and attend to him.

17. When he has done speaking, bow and make a short and modest answer, and let your Looks and Gesture shew Respect.
18. When the School-Hours are over, go out as you came in, quietly, softly, and decently.

19. Never run or crowd to get at the door, for it will be free for you in a few minutes waiting.

20. When you are out of the School, go Home without Hurry, and without delay: do not run nor loiter; but do this, as all things else, with Discretion.

21. Do not speak at Home, or elsewhere, of what has been done in School; for nothing passes therein should be told out of it: But make yourself perfect in the Talk that is set You.

Historical Context

This book features an alphabetical listing of trades, and is intended as a guide for parents and guardians of young people (mostly young men) to assist them in determining a proper trade for their offspring or charges. This lesson features only the portion of the book dealing with the trade of printing.

Printing using a press was invented in ancient China, but was “reinvented” in the 1450s by Johannes Gutenberg, who developed a device allowing for interchangeable type as well. Printing as a trade made its first appearance in British North America when a press was set up at Harvard College in Massachusetts. William Parks opened the first printing office in Williamsburg, Virginia.

Printers, like other tradesmen, hired and trained apprentices. The apprenticeship system provided tradesmen with cheap labor in return for training and the necessities of life. The age to begin an apprenticeship varied; generally an apprentice started his training at age 14 and completed it by age 21. Nearly all apprentices were young men, and few trades accepted women. The quality of a young person’s apprenticeship depended heavily upon the master, and there are many accounts of abuse. Runaways were frequent, as attested by William Parks himself, who placed an ad in the Virginia Gazette in 1745, seeking the return of a “smooth-tongued” apprentice “who makes locks, and is dexterous at picking them.”

When reading and analyzing this (and any) historical document, remember to consider the bias of the author and the extent of general knowledge at the time the document was produced.

Printers of Williamsburg:  
Parks  1736–1750  
Hunter  1751–1761  
Royle  1761–1765  
Purdie & Dixon  1766–1775  
Dixon and Hunter, Jr.  1775–1778  
Dixon & Nicholson  1780  
Rind  1766–1773  
Mrs. Rind, et al.  1773–1774  
Purdie  1775–1779

Vocabulary

callicoe and linen printers—hand printers not using a press, usually on cloth or paper

whitstering—a bleacher

compositor—a person who sets type

press work—running paper through a press
pencilers—in calico printing an artist who painted in part of the design before the introduction of the blocks

stuff-printing—printing on cloth (usually on wool)

field printer—a person who prints the background usually on cloth or paper

Discussion Starters

- Read the author’s introduction. Explain what the purpose was for publishing this book. Is the book unique to the eighteenth century, or are similar publications produced today?
- Explain how a book like this one is useful to historians.

Document Analysis

- When was the document published?
- What does the author use as the basis for his categorization of that printing business?
- What are the categories identified? Determine the task performed by each.
- What skills are necessary in order to work successfully in the printing business?
- With the help of your teacher define some of the terms used in the document.
- Briefly describe what the printing trade was like in the eighteenth century.

Extending Content

- Visit local tradesmen in your community.
- Use the Internet to explore the printing and other eighteenth-century trades. You could start at the Colonial Williamsburg website: [http://www.history.org](http://www.history.org).
- Investigate the difference between printing today and the way it was done in the eighteenth century.

Related Resources

- Bridenbaugh, Carl, *The Colonial Craftsman*
- Klapper, August, *The Printer in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*
- Montgomery, Florence, *Printed Textiles*
- Samford, C. Clement, *The Bookbinder of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*
- Tunis, Edwin, *Colonial Craftsmen: And the Beginnings of American Industry*
- Wroth, Lawrence C. *The Colonial Printer*

*Available in the Colonial Williamsburg Visitor Center Bookstore*
I. PREFACE

The Pains and Time spent in compiling this little Book were greater than at first can be conceived, but which will more fully appear on the Perusal, by the great Variety of Matters occurring, which were to be obtained by Personal Enquiries only: How well executed, and of what Advantage they may be, the Public will know by Time and Experience. It may be truly said, that the greatest Part of this Work is entirely new.

The Use of it pretty well appear by the Title, which, I doubt not in the least, will answer the chief End proposed, that of giving Parents, Guardians, and Trustees, as well as the Youths themselves, intended for Trades and Business, not only a general Description of almost all Handicrafts, Trades, and Employes in Vogue, but also such Particulars of them, as will enable both the one and the other to form a tolerable Judgment which of them all may be most agreeable, and best answer their Purpose.

And, pray now, what Step in Life is of greater Consequence, than the well placing-out your Offspring in Business? Does not their future Well-doing very much depend upon this? How many hopeful Youths have been ruined, by being put to Trades, or Callings, either improper for them, or they unfit for? But now, ‘tis presumed, the splitting on that rock may, in a great Measure, be presented: Therefore, ‘tis hoped, our Endeavors will meet with Approbation.

The Matters relating to the several City Companies, we apprehend, will be found not only useful, but entertaining, they being no where digested in so full, yet concise and methodical a Manner: Nay, indeed, the Whole, being reduced into Order of Alphabet, must render the Inspection of any Particular, at all times, as ready as possible: And to be able to compare one Trade or Business with another, and instantly to see the vast Differences between such Variety of them, must be no less amusing and instructive: In short, jointly or separately, it may be taken as an historical Abridgement of Mechanic and Mercantile Affairs.

Now there remains only for me to request the candid Rader, that, upon his meeting with here and there some little things, that may not exactly tally with his Knowledge or Judgment, he will not immediately condemn the Whole, or major Part, which he knows nothing of: But consider how many different Persons must have been consulted, to gain so much Intelligence as is herein communicated; and add to this the Oddness and Variety of Men’s Tempers, on being asked three of four civil Questions, the answering which was no Trouble, nor could be any Detriment; yet some were shy, others jealous; some testy, others four; nay, some quite angry, thinking one was come as a Spy to steal the Secrets of their Trade: And, besides all this, several of the same Trade or Business were met with, who gave very different Accounts.

Therefore, if any intelligent Persons will, on finding any thing material amiss, or omitted, be so good as to minute it down, and send it to the Bookseller, it shall be carefully corrected or inserted, and the Favour gratefully acknowledged, in the next Edition.

The Author.
PRINTERS.

THESE are very different in the nature of their Business, and therefore I shall speak of them separately.

1. *Callicoe* and *Linen* Printers are much alike, though the first are all printed out of Town, they requiring a good deal of Whitstering Work as well as Printing; (for which Reason they are sometimes called *Field-Printers*) and a great many of the latter printed in Town, especially the Blue and Whites. In both these there are several Kinds of Work; some laborious, wet and dirty; others easy, clean, and ingenious: Women are employed, called *Pencilers*, to fill in the Colours according to the Patterns given them, at which some will earn 8, 10, or 12s. a Week; and many Girls who get from 2s. 6d. to 5s. a Week.

To qualify a Lad to obtain the better Part of this Art more easily, he ought to have some general Instructions in *Drawing* in the Way the *Pattern-drawers* practice. They take with an Apprentice 5l. who must work from six to eight; a common Man, at the lower Employs, will get 10s. a Week; but at the other Parts they earn from 20 to 40 s. The Materials only to set up one a Master will take 300l. after which they had need to have 1000l. more to pay Work-Folks, and give Credit to the Merchants, Linen-drapers, &c. many of whom do not make up Accounts with them above once a Year.


The *Compositors* set the Letters, or compose, according to the Copy, in such a sized Letter and Page (which are very different) as directed, and go through all the other curious Work (and tiresome it is, though not laborious;) preparative to the *Press*. The better to learn which, a Lad ought not only to read and spell *English* well, but to be familiar with various written Hands; to know somewhat of Grammar, Pointing, and the Characters of the *Greek, Hebrew*, &c. And besides all this he must have good Eyes: The Hands at which Part can earn from 10s. to upwards of 30s. a Week, according to their Capacity, Swiftness, and the Nature of the Work.

The *Press-men*, who, after the Compositor has quite finished his Part, take and make ready the Frames (or *Forms*, as they term them) at Press, and, having before-hand prepared their Paper, &c. print off the Number ordered, which requires a good deal of Nicety, as well as Strength; for it is hard Work well-followed, (though some have a much easier, cleaner Train of Working than others) therefore a Lad for this Part should be both stout and nimble, and if he can read only it is sufficient. These for the most part can earn as much a Week as the others; and from 16s. to a Guinea are Mediums common to both. They take with an Apprentice from 10l. to 30l. whose working Hours are from six to nine.

To set up a Master and enable him to carry on Business any thing cleverly, will at least require 500l. (for they give Credit for most of their Work) though divers make a Shift to get a Living with much less. These and the next are mostly joined in *Company* with the *Stationers*.
3. Copper-plate, or Rolling-press Printing, which properly is only a Branch of the last mentioned, several of them keeping a Rolling Press also; but as a separate Trade, it is inferior, being full as hard Work and much dirtier; though it is not without its Dexterity and nice Workmanship neither, of which there are many Degrees; and they likewise take Apprentices, (with whom they sometimes get 5 or 10l.) who work much the same Hours with the last mentioned; a Journeyman can earn at it 15 or 18s. a Week; and 50l. will set him up a Master, scarce any of whom give much Credit.

There is likewise Stuff-printing, but this is chiefly done by a Company, and one or two more who do not take any Apprentices, but employ grown Men, to whom they give about 12 or 15s. a Week; and it is hard and hot Work, being performed by Brass Rolls heated with large red-hot Irons.

B. Books

iii. Denis Diderot’s *Encyclopedie: Millinery*

Diderot’s *Encyclopedie*,
the Margaret Hunter Shop,
and *Virginia Gazette* Advertisements

**Historical Context**

Diderot’s *Encyclopedie* is a famed, 28-volume work published between the years of 1745–1772. It contained within its many pages Enlightenment ideas, and its mere existence attests to one of them: that education and knowledge should be for all. The editor of the *Encyclopedia*—Denis Diderot—aimed to summarize all the achievements and theoretical knowledge of mankind. The resulting volumes are especially valued today for the information they provide on eighteenth-century life, particularly the sections detailing historic trades, and the radical ideas that would lead France to Revolution.

One of the historic trades that Diderot provides illustrations of is that of the milliner. Milliners made some clothing accessory items and imported others from London; they also operated shops to sell their wares. Milliners, nearly always women, were therefore skilled in both business and craft. One such woman was Margaret Hunter, who owned and operated Williamsburg’s Millinery in the eighteenth-century. She sold a wide variety of fabrics and fashionable items, and traveled to London to purchase goods for sale. Though Hunter operated a business for a time with her sister Jane Hunter Charlton, the two eventually ran their own shops.

Note to teacher: Complementary images may be found in “Additional Resources,” at the end of this document. See the lesson entitled, *Virginia Gazette Advertisements*, for the competing Hunter/Charlton *Virginia Gazette* advertisements.

**Vocabulary**

**bobbin**—a tool used for weaving lace.

**calimanco** (variable spelling)—calamanco. A type of fabric imported from Flanders that was glossy on one side and checkered on the other.

**cambric** (variable spelling)—cambric. A fine white linen, originally made at Cambray in Flanders.

**dimity**—a stout cotton fabric with raised designs on it, usually used for bed hangings.

**long lawns**—an article of clothing made from a fine linen resembling cambric.

**lustrings**—a glossy silk fabric.
mode—a light, glossy, black silk, or a garment made of this fabric.

Persian—a thin, soft silk used for linings.

tapes—short for tapestry.

worsted—a woolen fabric made of well-twisted yarn.

Discussion Starters

• How was buying clothing different in the eighteenth century than it is today? How was it the same?
• When and how do you think the making and sale of clothing changed between the system used in the eighteenth century and that used today?

Document Analysis

• What can the illustrations from Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* tell about customers who frequented millineries? Do you think other types of people shopped there too, or did they have another way of getting their clothing?

Extending Content

• women
• international trade
• fashion
• production methods
• economic class
• Enlightenment
• similarities between the French and American Revolutions

Related Resources

• newspapers
• receipts
• ledgers
• blueprints
• letters
• journals
Click on the image to view or download a larger version.
B. Books
   iv. Denis Diderot’s *Encyclopédie*: Printing and Blacksmithing

**Historical Context**

Diderot’s Encyclopedia is a famed 28-volume work (17 volumes of text, and 11 volumes of illustrative plates) published from 1751 to 1772. Its origin started with Ephraim Chambers’ English encyclopedia, which was published in 1728. When a French printer sought to publish a translation of Chambers’s encyclopedia, the attempt ended with a dispute with the British publishers in 1745. By 1747, Denis Diderot was leading the effort in France to produce a new encyclopedia, and included the assistance of Jean le Rond d’Alembert, who was in charge of the mathematical aspects of the work.

The text of the encyclopedia contains 72,000 articles written by more than 140 contributors. Within its pages are contained many of the fundamental ideals of the intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment. Indeed, its mere existence attests to one of the most powerful of these ideals: that education and knowledge should be for all. Diderot, being the editor of the *Encyclopédie*, as well a main contributor, aimed to summarize all the achievements and theoretical knowledge of mankind, including a history of human thought and art, as well as contemporary knowledge of such subjects as anatomy, mathematics, agricultural techniques, and factory diagrams. The resulting volumes are an extremely valuable historical resource for the study of eighteenth-century life. Of particular interest are the sections detailing trades and the radical, philosophical ideas that would lead France to Revolution.

In the early years of the project, Diderot often reflected on its development process. He wrote a dissertation in 1750, entitled *Prospectus*, which articulated the conceptual framework of the encyclopedia. Both he and d’Alembert wrote a “Preliminary Discourse” to the *Encyclopédie*. Diderot viewed a science as “a system of rules or facts relative to a certain object.” With that in mind, he drew up a framework, in *Prospectus*, outlining how he approached the mechanical arts.

*Here is the method we have followed for each art and craft. We treated the following questions:*

1. The materials and the places where they are found, the manner in which they are prepared, their good and bad qualities, the different kinds available, the required processing before and during their utilization.

2. The main products that are made with them and how this is done.

3. We have supplied the names, descriptions, and diagrams of tools and machines, with their parts when taken apart and assembled; the section of certain molds and other instruments if it is appropriate to know about the interior design, their contours, etc.

4. We have explained and represented the workmanship and the principal operations in one or several plates where sometimes only the hands of the craftsman can be seen and sometimes the entire craftsman in action, working at the most important task in his art or trade.
5. We have collected and defined in the most accurate way possible the terms that are peculiar to a given art or trade.

The first plate for each trade usually depicted an overview of a shop or a portion of one. Subsequent plates presented greater detail. Diderot emphasized the representation of machines, moving from the simple to the complex, sometimes going from knowledge of the workmanship to that of the machine, and at other times from knowledge of the machine to that of the work itself.

**Vocabulary**

- Note the difference in lettering on the second plate: the addition of é, Ç, etc. symbols not used in the English language.
- See the accompanying translations for plate descriptions, below.

**Discussion Starters**

- Why might an apprentice obtain a position in a given trade? Would different trades require different entry requirements?
- How did technology affect the eighteenth-century workplace? How does it affect today’s workplaces?
- How might specific trades differ from region to region? Do you think there would be more practicers of a certain trade in one region than in another? Would the same type of trade shop in two different regions produce the same products?

**Document Analysis**

- Why would a blacksmith have needed to create so many different types of nails? What do you think was the difference between each type? What would each type be used for?
- What might some of the tools on the sixth and eighth plates be used for?

**Extending Content**

- education
- trades
- literature/literacy
- international relations
- apprenticeships

**Related Resources**

- Other encyclopedias
  - Ephraim Chambers’s English encyclopedia
  - Vincenzo Coronelli’s *Biblioteca Universale Sacro-Profana*
- Pertaining documents

© 2006 The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
- Diderot’s and d’Alembert’s “Preliminary Discourse”
- Diderot’s *Prospectus*

- Account Books
  - John Partridge Bull’s Blacksmith Account Book
A collection of boards (plates), on sciences, liberal arts, and arts mechanic, with their explanation.

Sixth Edition, or the Seventh Volume, 259 Plates

Published in Paris by BRIASSON, Saint Jacques Street, with science LE BRETON, first ordinary printer of the King, Harpe Street

M. DCC. LXIX.
With the approval and privilege of the King.

Printing works in letters, the operation of breakage

Printing, break

Printing works, the Operation to print and plan of the Press

Coarse Nailsmith

Coarse marshal, forging mill and tools
Click on the image to view or download a larger version.
B. Books
v. St. George Tucker: A Dissertation on Slavery

Historical Context

St. George Tucker was born near Port Royal, Bermuda, in 1752, the son of Colonel Henry Tucker, a trader and owner of a plantation named Grove. The name St. George had been a Christian family name since about 1600, when Frances St. George married George Tucker of Kent, England. Raised in Bermuda, nineteen-year-old Tucker sailed for Virginia to pursue an education in the law. He enrolled at the College of William and Mary in 1772, and read under George Wythe, who had instructed Thomas Jefferson. Wythe examined and approved Tucker for the bar on April 4, 1774.

Tucker was unable to pursue his practice when Virginia’s courts closed as a result of the coming Revolution. He returned to Bermuda in June 1775, returning to Virginia on January 3, 1777, when he landed at Yorktown aboard the Dispatch with a cargo of smuggled salt. Tucker became his father’s Williamsburg agent. He made himself financially comfortable in a deal that traded indigo valued at £10,000, shipped in four ships from Charleston, South Carolina to the West Indies, for arms to fight the Revolutionary War.

In 1796, Tucker wrote and published the lengthy pamphlet, A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It in the State of Virginia. Tucker was writing in light of very recent events—the horrendous uprising and massacre of whites in Santo Domingo—of which Americans were very aware. He was writing before the appearance of an aggressive, evangelistic Northern abolition movement, so that the question was still open to discussion by Virginia gentlemen.

Tucker’s dissertation was one of the earliest attempts by a Virginian to eradicate slavery. His dissertation was a plan calling for uncompensated, gradual emancipation. It was not based on the idea that the “United States would buy and free all the slaves,” but rather that slaves should be freed at given ages and supplied this one time by their masters. After that, they were to be treated the same as white servants. Thomas Jefferson, in agreeing with some of Tucker’s ideas, had noted that retaining slavery was like grasping a “wolf by the ear,” not by the “ears,” a small point until one realizes what a tenuous grasp one has in holding a snarling animal by a single ear. Tucker’s pamphlet, although tabled at a meeting of Virginia’s General Assembly, represents a spirit of abolitionism in the Commonwealth even before Nat Turner’s rebellion. Cogently argued, it nevertheless had little effect.

At the same time, Tucker also edited Blackstone’s Commentaries on the Laws of England to put them in an American context and make them more useful to students. It was published in Philadelphia in 1803 and earned Tucker the title the “American Blackstone.”

Vocabulary

gondolier—a Venetian boatman who propels a gondola

maxim—a succinct formulation of a fundamental principle, general truth, or rule of conduct
muster-field—the location where troops are called together in order to be inspected

scion—a descendant or heir

superadd—to supplement or the enhance

Discussion Starters

• How do you assume St. George Tucker’s peers felt about his dissertation?
• Why do you suppose slaves that were working as housekeepers were exempted from the ban on carrying firearms?
• Why do you think blacks were prohibited from acting as witnesses in cases where a white person was a party?

Document Analysis

• Why do you think Tucker excludes those in public office from having to respect the same rights as the rest of the citizens?
• Why do you think Tucker references civil slavery in Europe and colonial America before launching into why he feels the slavery of African Americans is wrong?
• Tucker says that each slave who served in the military during the Revolutionary War was emancipated at its conclusion, is he correct?

Extending Content

• slavery
• economy
• laws
• the Constitution
• individual rights

Related Resources

• manumission documents
• Tucker’s other publications, especially Blackstone’s Commentaries on the Laws of England
A Dissertation on Slavery with a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it, in the State of Virginia

By St. George Tucker
Professor of Law in the University of William and Mary; and One of the Judges of the General Court, in Virginia.

Slavery not only violates the Laws of nature, and of civil Society, is also wounds the best Forms of Government: in a Democracy, where all Men are equal, Slavery is contrary to the Spirit of Constitution. MONTESQUIEU.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed for Mathew Carey, No. 118 Market-Street 1796.

II. Civil liberty being no other than natural liberty so far restrained by human laws, and not father, as it necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public, * whenever that liberty is, by the laws of the state, further restrained than is necessary and expedient for the general advantage, a states of civil slavery commences immediately: this may affect the whole society, and every description of the persons in it, and yet the constitution of the state be perfectly free. And this happened whenever the laws of a state respect the form, or energy of the government, more than the happiness of the citizen; as in Venice, where the most oppressive species of civil slavery exists, extending to every individual in the states, from the poorest gondolier to the members of the senate, and the doge himself.

This species of slavery also exists whenever there is an inequality of rights, or privileges, between the subjects of citizens of the same state, except such as necessarily result from the exercise of a public office; for the pre-eminence of one class of men must be founded and erected upon the depression of another; and the measure of exaltation in the former, is that of the slavery of the latter. In all governments, however constituted, or by what description soever denominated, wherever the distinction of rank prevails, or is admitted by the constitution, this species of slavery exists. It existed in every nation, and in every government in Europe before the French revolutions. It existed in the American colonies before they became independent states; and notwithstanding the maxims of equality which have been adopted in their several constitutions, it exists in most, if not all, of them, at this day, in the persons, of our free Negroes and mulattoes; whose civil incapacities are almost as numerous as the civil rights of our free citizens. A brief enumeration of them, may not be improper before we proceed to the third head.

Free Negroes and mulattoes are by our constitution excluded from the right of suffrage, \(^{(1)}\) and by consequence, I apprehend, from office too; they were formerly incapable of serving in the militia except as drummers or pioneers, but now I presume they are enrolled in the lists of those that bear arms, though formerly punishable for presuming to appear at a muster-field. * During the revolution war many of them were enlisted as soldiers in the regular army. Even slave

\(^{(1)}\) The Constitution of Virginia, art. 7. declares, that the right of suffrage shall remain as then exercised: the at of 1723, c. 4 (edit 1733.), sect. 23, declared, that no Negroe, mulattoe, or Indian, shall have any vote at the election of burgesses, or any other election whatsoever. --- This act, it is presumed, was in force at the adoption of the constitution. --- The act of 1785, c. 55 (edit. of 1794, c. 17), also expressly excludes them from the right of suffrage.
were not rejected from the military service at that period, and such as served faithfully during the period of the enlistment, ere emancipated by an act passed after the conclusion of the war. An act of justice to which they were entitled upon every principle. All but the housekeepers, and persons residing upon the frontiers are prohibited from keeping, or carrying any gun, powder, shot, club or other weapon offensive or defensive: resistance to a white person, in any case, was, formerly, and now, in any case, except a wanton assault on the Negroe or Mullatoe, is punishable by whipping. No negroe or mulattoe can be a witness in any prosecution, or civil suit in which a white person is a party. * Free Negroes together with slaves were formerly denied the benefit of clergy in cases where it was allowed to white person; but they are now upon an equal footing as to the allowance, inasmuch as the court may superadd other corporal punishments to the burning in the hand usually inflicted upon white persons, in the like cases. Emancipated negroes may be fold to pay the debts of their former master contracted before their emancipation; and they may be hired out to satisfy their taxes where no sufficient distress can be had. Their children are to be bound out apprentice by the overseers of the poor. Free Negroes have all the advantages in capital cafes, which white men are entitled to, except a trail by a jury of their own complexion: and a slave suing for his freedom shall have the same privilege. Free negroes residing, or employed to labour in any town must be registered; the same thing is required of such as go at large in any county. The penalty in both cases in a fine upon the person employing, or harbouring them, and the imprisonment of the Negroe. * The migration of free Negroes or mulattoes to this state is also prohibited; and those who do migrate hither may be sent back to the place from which they came. Any person, not being a Negroe, having one-fourth or more Negroe blood in him is deemed a mulattoe. The law makes no other distinction between Negroes and mulattoes, whether slaves of freemen. These incapacities and disabilities are evidently the fruit of third species of slavery, of which it remains to speak; or, rather, they are scions from the same common flock: which is,

III. That condition in which one man is subject to be directed by another in all his actions; and this constitutes a state of domestic slavery: to which state all the incapacities and disabilities of civil slavery are incident, with the weight of other numerous calamities superadded thereto. And here it may be proper to make a short enquiry into the origin and foundation of domestic slavery in other countries, perversus to its fatal introduction into this.

Slaves, says Justinian, are either born such or become so. They are born slaves when they are children of bound women; and they become slave, either...
C. Grave Stones

**Historical Context**

The gravestone inscriptions in this lesson are taken from the gravestones on the grounds of Bruton Parish Church in Colonial Williamsburg. The cemetery contains gravestones of diverse styles, shapes, and sizes. The Bruton Parish Parish Register records 260 burials in the churchyard prior to 1700. The oldest dated gravestone is that of Thomas Ludwell, who died in 1678, although there is evidence the marker was placed in the churchyard at a later date.

The cemetery is located within a walled churchyard surrounding Bruton Parish Church. The church was constructed in 1715 and has been in continuous use as an Anglican and Episcopal Church since its completion. The gravestone inscriptions selected for this lesson were recorded in 1929. The blank spaces within the brackets indicate text that was not legible at the time the stones were transcribed. The numbering system used to identify the stones is taken from the book *Bruton Parish Churchyard and Church: A Guide to the Tombstones, Monuments, and Mural Tablets*.

Studying gravestones provides an excellent opportunity to discuss the social, political, religious, and genealogical history of a community.

**Vocabulary**

- **emigrant**—a person who leaves one country or region to settle in another.
- **hammer man**—a blacksmith.
- **interred**—buried.
- **malo mori quam foedari**—a Latin phrase meaning “I prefer to die rather than be dishonored.”
- **suavity**—graceful politeness.
- **vestryman**—one of a group of church members who manage the day-to-day affairs of the Anglican (Episcopal) church.

**Discussion Starters**

- List the types of information found on a gravestone (ie. cause of death, family relationships).
- Using the inscriptions on stones #86, #111, and #118, make a list of the characteristics for what was viewed as a good woman. Next to each characteristic, list a modern day synonym. Rewrite #86 using modern terminology.
- What indications of religious beliefs are found on these stones?
- Why are ancestry, place of birth, and achievements listed on stone #12.
• Stones #111 and #117 indicate successive marriages. Why would these occur frequently during this time period?

**Document Analysis**

• What conclusions can be drawn about the social and economic status of the people buried under stones #86 and #104?
• Based on the information found on these stones, what conclusions can be drawn about life expectancy in the eighteenth century?
• What religious beliefs are expressed on the stones?
• Describe the status of women based on the information found on the stones.
• Who do you think wrote the inscription on stone #12? Support your conclusion.
• What might be the source of the last two lines on stone #138? Why would they appear on this stone?
• What does the blank space within the brackets on stone #86 suggest about the condition of the stone when the inscription was recorded? What might have caused this condition?

**Extending Content**

• gender issues
• mortality rates
• disease, epidemics
• religious beliefs
• trappings of status

**Related Resources**

• cemetery records
• church records
• obituaries
• present-day engraving technology
• a funeral director
• a gravestone salesperson
GRAVESTONE INSCRIPTIONS

12.
MALO MORI QUAM FOEDARI
Truxtun Beale
Born March 6, 1856
Died June 2, 1936
Direct descendant of Lt. Col.
The Honorable Thomas Beale
Emigrant from England 1640.
Member of the Council of
Virginia 1662. Vestryman
of Bruton Parish 1684
NE CEDE MALIS
Marie Beale
Wife of Truxtun Beale
Born December 2, 1880
Died June 11, 1956.

86.
Here Lyes Interred the
Remains of Mary Purdie Wife of
Alexr Purdie Printer who departed
This Life on Saturday ye 28, of March
1772 in the 27th year of her age. She left
Behind her four sons Jas Hugh Alexr
and William, and by her side lie Jane
a dear little Daughter who did not
quite attain her second year. She
was a virtuous loving, frugal and
discreet wife, and affectionate, though
discerning Mother, one of the best
of Mistresses. As friend and Ac
quaintance, she possessed the Qua
lifications which render that Con
nection valuable for she was Sen
sible Prudent Generous and
honest hearted no deceit lay un
der her Tongue. Her husband
in gratitude for the ardent affection
she bore him the genuine esteem he
had for her and in Justice to her
Virtues caused this stone to be
placed over her It will on[ ]
day serve to con[ ]
104.
Here lyes the corps
of Hugh Orr hammer
man in Williams,burg
who died Janry 6th 1764
aged 54 years.

111.
Here lies,
in hopes of a joyful
Resurrection, all that was
mortal of JOHN GREENHOW,
late of this City, Merchant.
He was born in STAUNTON
near KENDAL in Westmoreland,
Great Britain, November the 12th
1724, & died the 29th August 1787,
after a very short Illness.
On his left side, lies ELIZABETH,
the Daughter of JOHN TYLER
his second Wife,
who was born in JAMES CITY
the 30th. Jany. 1744, and died
of the Small Pox on July the 23rd, 1781,
which she endured with the greatest
Christian Fortitude & Resignation.

117.
SACRED
to the memory of
ELIZABETH the affectionate wife
of James Henderson
She was widow of Alex. Horsburgh and
daughter of Walter Peter.
She died in child bed the 6th Octr 1813
in the 38th year of her age;
to the unspeakable grief of
her afflicted husband and four children.

– 3 – 8 –
Near this spot lies the body of
Rev JAMES HENDERSON,
Born 1764.
Died 1818.
118.
SACRED to the memory of
JANE, the youngest daughter of
the Honble John Blair
and beloved wife of James Henderson.
Mournful and with tears he hath erected
this last gift of love and conjugal affection.
She died 19th Decr 1800.
Aged 40 years.

Having been distinguished for her piety,
affection, prudence and suavity of manners
At her feet are deposited the bodies
of her three infant children.
James Blair born 19th Octr 1795,
and lived only 21 days.
John Blair, born 25th Feby 1797,
and died 17th April following and
Blair Munro, born 30th July 1800
and died 4th May 1801.

138.
Here sleeps in Jesus united to Him
by Faith and the Graces of a christian
life, all that was Mortal of Mrs Ann Burges
once the tender and affectionate Wife
of the Revd. Henry John Burges,
of the Isle of Wight. She died 25th
December 1771 in giving Birth to an
Infant Daughter who rests in her Arms
She here waits the transporting Moment
when the Trump of God shall call her
Forth to Glory, Honour & Immortality.
Oh DEATH where is thy Sting?
Oh GRAVE where is thy Victory?

D. Journals
   i. The Journal of John Harrower

Historical Context

The Journal of John Harrower is unique in many respects, though the story it tells is similar to that of many new colonists arriving from the British Isles in the late eighteenth century. Harrower was among thousands of indentured servants to arrive during this period, searching for freedom and economic opportunities which could not be found in the Old World. The forty-year-old Scottish merchant was forced by poor economic conditions to seek employment, first in the cities of Britain, and failing that, in the American colonies. Once in Virginia, he was indentured to Colonel William Dangerfield at his plantation along the Rappahannock River.

It is after his indenture to Dangerfield that Harrower’s story becomes unique. Due to the various skills he had developed as a merchant, particularly his literacy, he was not employed as a manual laborer. Instead he took up the relatively privileged position of tutor to Colonel Dangerfield’s children, teaching them basic skills such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. Because most indentured servants—like the slaves at whose sides they often labored—did not leave written records of their daily lives, John Harrower’s journal serves as a rich resource for learning about the livelihood of “ordinary” people in the years before the American Revolution.

Vocabulary

board—daily meals provided at table, often in conjunction with lodging.
dresser—one who attires another.
figure—to use numbers in arithmetical operations.
jaculate—chocolate.
livery men—servants or slaves who were employed to tend to their master’s stables and horses. The term “livery” also refers to the distinctive suit of clothing that many wore when accompanying their master’s carriage.
pages—servants, usually youths, employed as personal attendants and messengers.
quarter—three months, or a quarter of a year.
sewster—a seamstress; a woman who sews but who does not engage in decorative needlework.
sparrow grass—asparagus
syllab—syllabub, or sillabub. A type of drink or dish made of milk or cream, curdled by the admixture of wine, cider, or other acid, and often sweetened and flavoured.
witualls (variable spelling)—victuals. Items that may be used as food.
Discussion Starters

- What can we assume about the importance of education in the colonies based on the level of respect that John Harrower receives from his employers, particularly the fact that he takes his meals with them?
- Why would John Harrower have recorded in his journal a letter he had previously sent to his wife?
- What are some reasons that Harrower might have left his family behind when he set out from Scotland?
- What do you think that plantation life was like for the children of Colonel William Dangerfield?
- How might have John Harrower’s life as an indentured servant been different if he had not been selected to tutor the children of a wealthy planter?

Document Analysis

- List some foods that were commonly eaten on an eighteenth-century plantation. Which of these seem to be luxuries, and which appear to be familiar to John Harrower from his life in Scotland?
- According to the letter, what are some important skills for an eighteenth-century schoolchild to learn?
- List some of the possible jobs a slave might have had on a southern plantation. Which of these jobs does John Harrower mention? What are some jobs he may have left out?
- What are some of the reasons for the rising tensions between the Colonies and Great Britain that Harrower lists for his wife?

Extending Content

- education
- indentured servitude
- plantation life
- children
- the Stamp Act
- the slave trade
- employment

Related Resources

- newspapers
- journals
- ledgers
- school books
- ship’s logs
[Addressed to Mrs. John Harrower in Lewick, Zetland]
Belvidera 14th June 1774
My Dearest Life

…I shall now acquaint you with my situation in this Country. I am now settled with on[e] Colonel Wm. Daingerfield Esqr. of Belvidera, on the Banks of the River Rappahannock about 160 Miles from the Capes…and seven Miles below the Town of Fredericksburgh. My business is to teach his Children to read write and figure. Edwin his oldest son about 8 years of [age] Bathurest his second 6 years of age & William his youngest son 4 years of age. He has also a Daughter whose name is Hanna Basset. I came to this place on Thursday 26th. May and next morning I received his three sons into my charge to teach, the two youngest boys I got in A:B:C, and the oldest just begun to syllab and I have now the two youngest spelling and the oldest reading. I am obliged to teach in the English method which was a little aquared to me at first but now quite easy….I am obliged to continue with Coll. Daingerfield for four years if he insists on it, and for teaching his own Children I have Bed, Board, washing and all kind of Cloaths during the above time, and for what schoolars I can get more than his Children I have five shillings currency per Quarter…and I expect ten or twelve to school next week, for after I had been here eight days and my abilities and my behavior sufficiently tried, the Colonel rode through the neighbouring Gentlemen & Planters in order to procure scollars for me…. And as I have no occasion to spend a farthing on myself every Shillg. I make shall be carefully remitted you.…

As to my living I eat at their own table, & our witualls are all Dressed in the english taste. We have for breackfast either Coffie or Jaculate [chocolate], and warm loaf bread of the best floor [flour], we have also at Table warm loaf bread of Indian corn…. For Dinner smoack’d bacon or what we cal pork ham is a standing dish either warm or cold. When warm we have greens with it, and when cold we have sparrow grass. We have also either warm roast pigg, Lamb, Ducks, or chickens, green pease or any thing else they fancy. As for Tea there is none drunk by any in this Government since 1st june last, nor will they buy a 2d. worth of any kind of east India goods, which is owing to the difference at present betwixt the Parliament of great Brittan and the North Americans about laying a tax on the tea; and I’m afraid if the Parliament do not give it over it will cause a total revolt as all the North Americans are determined to stand by one another, and resolute on it that they will not submit…. – Our Family consists of the Coll. his Lady & four Children a housekeeper an overseer and myself all white. But how many blacks young and old the Lord only knows for I belive there is about thirty that works every day in the field besides the servants about the house; such as Gardner, livery men and pages, Cooks, washer & dresser, sewster and waiting girle. They wash here the whitest that ever I seed for they first Boyle all the Cloaths with soap, and then wash them, and I may put on clean linen every day if I please. My school is a neate little House 20 foot Long and 12 foot wide & it stands by itself at the end of an Avenue of planting.…

…As for myself I thank God I want for nothing that is necessarry, But it bring tears from my eyes to think of you and my Infants when at same time it is not in my power at present to help you…. 


E. Letters
   i. The Siege of York and Gloucester, Virginia

Historical Context

The siege of Yorktown began in late September 1781, as the combined American and French forces, under General George Washington as commander-in-chief, confronted the 7,000 British troops of General Lord Cornwallis.

With his back to the York River, any chance of reinforcements arriving by sea was lost due to the presence of 26 French men-of-war, commanded by Admiral Comte de Grasse, barricading the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. Thus, unable to be reached by help from his superior General Sir Henry Clinton at New York, Cornwallis was faced with the impossible task of trying to survive.

On the afternoon of October 9, the French and American artillery began an almost incessant bombardment of British lines. The barrage would not let up until October 17, when Cornwallis decided to end the loss of any more English soldiers by asking for terms of surrender.

On October 19, British troops marched between columns of French and American soldiers to lay down their arms at a nearby field. The allied victory over Cornwallis’s army was the final major battle of the Revolutionary War. The war continued, however, until September 1783, when the Treaty of Paris was signed.

This manuscript, written by an unknown American soldier, was composed at an unspecified time after the French-American victory. It offers a day by day accounting of the siege’s progress, from the arrival of General Washington on September 14, 1781 to a summary of American losses after the surrender on October 19.

Vocabulary

abatis—a defensive obstruction created by placing fallen trees and other brush before a defensive work, to slow the approach of the enemy.

allies—a group of people, or several groups, who work together to achieve the same goal.

artillery—heavy guns, such as cannons.

artilleryman—soldier who works with heavy guns.

battery—a specified number of cannon and their crews, forming a single military unit.

capitulate—to surrender or give up.

commissary general—the officer in charge of the army unit responsible for feeding soldiers.

embrasure—an opening in a wall or defensive fortification, through which one can aim and use weapons.
**flintlock**—a type of gun using a piece of flint to strike steel and create a spark that ignites gunpowder. The gunpowder explodes, forcing a ball or bullet from the gun’s barrel.

**fraise**—pointed stakes of wood lashed together; placed to block an approaching enemy.

**fusilier**—soldier armed with a flintlock musket. In the late eighteenth century, the term is honorary, dating from earlier times when most soldiers carried matchlocks (these were fired by means of a slow-burning fuse carried by the operator of the weapon, rather than by a flint).

**grape rifles**—guns firing grapeshot (small shot about the size of eggs, fired in a single large canister).

**headquarters**—a place from which a leader issues commands.

**howitzer**—a type of cannon with a longer barrel than a mortar.

**infantry**—soldiers who travel and fight on foot, rather than horseback; usually, the bulk of an army is infantry.

**“lay on our arms”**—we kept our weapons close at hand as we rested.

**L.I.**—Light infantry; the elite of the soldiers trained to fight on foot. During the Revolutionary War, light infantrymen were usually chosen from the largest men in a unit, and were relied on for advanced combat skills.

**mortar**—a cannon that fires projectiles by arc, rather than by aiming directly at the target. Mortars are aimed by triangulating where a given projectile, fired upward, will fall.

**musket**—a long gun resembling a rifle, but without grooves (or “rifling”) inside the barrel.

**parallel**—offensive or defensive earthworks designed in rows, usually parallel to the object of a siege (for example a fort or castle).

**piquette** (picket)—one of an advance line of troops that guarded the main body.

**redoubt**—a small fort within offensive or defensive trenches, built from earth.

**siege**—a military attack on a defensive fortification or town, usually lasting for several days, weeks or months. The object is usually to starve out the besieged, or force them to surrender.

**truck**—topmost support for the rigging of a ship’s sails.

**wall pieces**—heavy siege cannon (larger than “field” cannon, which were moved around with an army), mounted upon walls (such as redoubts or forts).
Discussion Starters

- Who might have been the letter’s author?
  - Answer: Perhaps an American officer because of detailed knowledge of events and excellent penmanship?

- The first entry notes: “General arrived at Williamsburgh.” Which general: American, British or French?
  - Answer: For an American soldier, only George Washington was known simply as General. Also G.W. noted his arrival this date in his own journal.

- What were French and American soldiers doing during the battle, those not manning the artillery guns?
  - Answer: Digging trenches, building redoubts and bridges, bringing up ammunition for siege guns.

Document Analysis

- Describe how the various French and American forces drew together to form the siege.
  - Answer: French Count St. Simon’s troops arrived with Admiral de Grasse on August 30, and landed at Jamestown on September 3.
  - The Marquis de Lafayette met with Washington and Rochambeau in Williamsburg.
  - The entire army camped three to four miles east of Williamsburg, on the road towards Yorktown, which was eleven miles away.

- Which side of the battlefield was occupied by the French and the American forces?
  - Answer: French—left, Americans—right (the side of honor).

- What purpose did redoubts serve?
  - Answer: Small outposts/forts in advance of the main army.

- What advantage was to be gained in constructing the second parallel?
  - Answer: Get allies’ guns close enough to fire at point blank range.

- How did capturing the two British redoubts to the left of their lines (No. 9 and No. 10) help the French and Americans?
  - Answer: Allowed the allies to move within 250 yards of British lines to tighten the siege.

- What moved British General Cornwallis to ask for terms of surrender?
  - Answer: Nine days of continuous bombardment and the physical and psychological toll on the English forces.
**Extending Content**

- Compare twenty-first-century and eighteenth-century warfare: sieges, trenches, bombing, etc.
- Is surrendering ever an honorable or right thing to do?

**Related Resources**


SIEGE OF YORK & GLOUCESTER, VIRGINIA

Sept 14th General Arrived at Williamsburgh

1781

15 Recd the Marquis Command & Count St. Simmons Troops who Arrived on the 30th August with Count Degrasse and Landed at James Town the 3rd Instant.

21 First Division of the Northern Army Arrived in James River

23 and 24 Almost the whole Got on and Landed

27 Whole Army Moved & Encamped in a Line 3/4 miles advanced of Williamsburg’s distant from York Town 11 Miles.

28 The whole moved at day Light after two Halts Arrived within one & half Mile of the Enemies work Displayed and Lay on our Arms all Night Beaver Pond Creek and Morass in our Front over which Bridges were built that Night & Genl Mulenburgs Brigade of L.I. formed a piquette in Advance.

29 About Sunrise moved to within ¾ of a mile of the enemies out works and Displayed in two Lines a Ravine in Front to View our Ground Advanced small parties in Front to Cover our Reconitring parties at 4 P.M. moved to our ground on the Right & Encamped within Range of the Enemies Artillery in two Lines Advanced a Line of piquetts in Front & Increased our Camp Guards.

30 The Enemy fearing we should turn their Left & Get Between there out works & the Town. Abandoned the whole of them & Retired to Town a Little before day Light Leaving a few Light Horse to protect there Rear Coll. Teammel being Offer. of the day Advanced to Reconitre & Report Accordingly when he was Intercepted wounded and taken Prisoner (Died in 6 Days of his Wounds) by a few Light Horse who lay concealed. Both Lines were put in motion and Advanced with Caution to ther works suspecting (illegible) int of the Enemy lay on our Arms all Day that night the L.I. Remained on the Ground as a Covering party to the Fatigued Men-Bruised in Erecting a Chain of Redoubts to Guard our camps & Cover our working parties Occupied in procuring Materials for the Siege.

31 L. I. Relieved by Waynes Division this evening and the Redoubts Compleated this Night & filled with a proper No. of Men from 1st to 6th Employed in preparing Materials Getting up our Artillery & at 6 O Clock moved on the Ground & Oppened our first Parralell about 600 Yards from the Enemies works under Cover by day Light no Accident, Continued working till Morning when the Light Troops

7 Entered In Line Reversed with Drums Beating & Colours Flying planted our Standards on the top of the Line of the Paralell continued working on the Batterys which were Compleated About 5 O Clock

9 P.M. when the Enemy Rec’d the first shot from us which was Continued with Spirit from Cannon & Mortars the Enemies fire slackened Several of their Guns were Dismounted and they were obliged to fill up their Embrasures

10 L. I. Mounted & the Charon of 44 & two smaller Vessels were Burnt by some Hot Shot from the Left of the Line Commanded by St. Simon this Happened About (illegible) ocock in the Evening the Weather being Serene & Calm and offered a Grand pleasing Melancholly Sight the Charron was on fire from the Waters Edge to her Truck at the Same time I never saw anything so Magnificent
In the Morning the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Parallell opened by B. Stubend’s Division the MenCOVERERD before Day Light this Paralel was Carried on with Amazing rapidity at360 yards distance from the Enemies Batterys under a very heavy fire the Enemies Shot & Shells Directed at the work Men our Shot and Shells going over our heads in a Continual Blaze the whole Night the Light was Beautifully tremendous weLost but one man Shot by our own men the Gun not being Sufficiently Elevated orbeing fired with a bad Cartridge

Continued compleating the Batteries of the Second Parallell and wounding their abaties & Frize works with our Shot and Shells when About 2 O Clock P.M. the out Defences of two Redoubts that were Advanced on their Left 250 yards in there Front were thought Sufficiently weakened to attempt them that evening by Storm the L.I. were Relieved and directed to Refresh themselves with dinner & a nap and about dusk moved on under the Marquis and were in Possession of one in 9 minutes the other by the French Granadeers L. I. under the Barron Viominic was Carried near About the Same time when the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Paralel was Continued on & Enveloped these two Redoubts & finished a Line of Communication Between the Rights of the first and Second Paralel before day light the next Morning a Line of upwards of a Mile; the whole of this was performed under a very Incessant and heavy fire from the Enemy with Amazing Steadiness and Expedition.

Employed in Repairing the Redoubts & Erecting Batties now within reach of the Enemies Grape Riffles and wall Pieces

This Night a Timid ill Conducted sortie was attempted under Lieut Coll. Abercrombie with about 600 men they Entered the Paralel about the Centre nearly Between the French & American Troops at a Battery Erecting by the Americans not compleated they killed a Serjt.and 2 Privates of Captn Savages Compy of Artillery spikd 6 guns with the Ends of there Bayonets which they Broke of in the Vent Holes turned about & went of with the Utmost Precipitation in there Retreat they were pursued Lost 12 Men 6 killed & 6 wounded & taken prisoners the L. I. in the Trenches—Lord Cornwallis in his Acct. of this Matter says our Loss was upwards of 100~

L. I. still in the Trenches Between 10 & 11 A.M. Chamade Beat & Propositions for Surrender sent out by his Lordship and Recd by the Marquis forwarded to his Head Quart [paper torn]

A cessation of firing about 20 minutes till flag was Safely Returned within their works on our Beginning the fire a Second Chamade Beat & the Officer Returning was told the Answer as soon as Recd from head Quarters would be forwarded the firing on Both Sides Returned & went on as Usual only Small Intermission during the passing of two or three Letters from Each Side L.I. Relieved by the Barron Stubend’s Division and the Business being Concluded that Evening the firing Ceased about 5 o Clock P.M. the 18\textsuperscript{th} and part of the 19\textsuperscript{th} taken up in Adjusting Matters (Viz.) Articles of Capitulation publick Letters (illegible) 19th P.M. they Marched out & Laid down their arms the whole of the Kings Troops Including Sailors & Marines Consisting of (illegible)054 officers Included this Ended this Business in 9 Days Compleat from our Breaking Ground the whole of our Strength Including every Person that drew provisions by the Comissary Generals Return Amounting to 12.200 our Loss was 324 Killed Wounded and died in Hospital. Sick
& in Hospitals about 600 unfit for Duty about 850 so that when the necessary detail of the whole Army was compleated his Lordship was never opposed by more than an equal (illegible) & very Frequently from our strong Fatigue parties at a great Distance from Camp & Trenches two Miles often if he had to Come out to us we could not have opposed him with but very Little more than two thirds his (illegible) this I Believe will be allowed by any Officer of Decernment who was Aquainted with the Details of the Victorious Combined Army.

E. Letters
   ii. Thomas Jefferson on Moving the Colonial Capital

Historical Context

As early as 1747, a movement among Williamsburg citizens to re-locate the colonial capital westward was gaining momentum. The Capitol building had suffered a disastrous fire and the General Assembly was debating whether to rebuild it in Williamsburg. But even before that terrible event, people were talking about the fact that the colony was growing to the west of the Tidewater as planters and farmers sought new land for tobacco, corn and wheat cultivation. As the center of Virginia’s population was shifting westward, should the capital not also follow in order to more conveniently serve the people?

Yet many of Williamsburg’s businessmen, in calculating not only the cost of moving the capital but also the costs they would face in moving their businesses to the new capital city, spoke in opposition to such a plan. In the end, the decision was made to remain in Williamsburg. That decision gave new life to the city in the form of a building boom. Within 2-3 years, along with the new capital building, a new wing was added to the Governor’s Palace and shops, taverns and homes were expanded. The question of moving the capital would not be raised again for thirty years.

Early spring of 1780 found Thomas Jefferson occupying the former Royal Governor’s Palace as the second governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, following Patrick Henry’s three years in office. The War for Independence, now in its fifth year, was heading for Virginia. With major victories by the British army at Charlestown and Camden, South Carolina, it was feared they would be unstoppable in their march north to Virginia, in spite of two important battles at Cowpens and Guilford County Courthouse won by the Continentals.

Governor Jefferson and his Council decided it was time to move the seat of the Commonwealth’s government to Richmond, thus ending old Williamsburg’s 81 year reign as the colony’s capital.

Vocabulary

- **Council of State**: the governing council of eight members under the new Commonwealth of Virginia Constitution. They served as an advice and counsel body to the governor, whose power was greatly dependent on them.
- **Board of War**: one of two temporary governmental boards. Board of War was responsible for fulfilling Virginia’s quotas of men and material to support the Continental Army’s conduct of the War for Independence.
- **Board of Trade**: the other temporary board, responsible for developing trade agreements and arrangements with foreign nations for the economic benefit of the Commonwealth of Virginia.
- **Auditor and Register**: two sub-level departments of government with fiscal accounting and record keeping duties.
- **Capitol**: building housing General Court, House of Delegates, Senate and Council members, standing committees and staff offices.
• **Palace**: the once headquarters and home of Virginia’s Royal Governors from 1712–1775, now residence of the Commonwealth’s governors from 1776–1780.

**Discussion Starters**

• State and national capitals have often been moved throughout history. What reasons could there be for taking such action?

**Document Analysis**

• **What dangers to the operation of the commonwealth’s government could be presented by the government remaining in Williamsburg?**
  o Answer: Disruption of judicial and legislative functions if not enough members present to be a quorum necessary to conduct business. Possible capture by enemy forces.

• **What preparations is Jefferson making for moving the capital?**

• **When is the move from Williamsburg to Richmond to take place?**

• **What effect on the economy of Williamsburg could be brought on by the removal of the seat of government to Richmond?**
  o Answer: Businesses dependent upon serving needs of the government, as well as the members of the Assembly and other citizens coming to town during “public times” could suffer greatly.

• **If you were a small business owner at this time, would you stay in Williamsburg or move your business to Richmond?**
  o Answer: If dependent on government work (the official government printer, e.g.), you may move. If not, you may want to take a wait and see position before deciding to leave.

**Extending Content**

• **Research topic: How many times and why did the seat of the United States capital, after adoption of the new federal Constitution, change locations?**
  o Answer: The U.S. capital changed location three times between 1789 and 1800.
    1. When George Washington took the oath of office as President, he and the Congress were in New York City (1789).
    2. The capital re-located to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1790)
    3. In November 1800, the government moved to “Washington City” (DC).

• **Research topic: Has the U.S. capital in Washington, DC ever come under attack or been occupied by enemy forces before September 11, 2001?**
  o Answer: Yes. During the occupation by British forces during the War of 1812 much of the city was burned, including the White House.
THOMAS JEFFERSON
ON MOVING THE COLONIAL CAPITAL TO RICHMOND, 1780

Williamsburg, Mar. 23rd, 1780

Gentlemen,

It having been concluded that the Council shall discontinue business at this place from the 7th of the ensuing month, & commence at Richmond on the 24th, I am desired to mention it to you as our desire that your board should make a correspondent adjournment.

I must ask the favor of you to order a vessel or vessels to be in readiness on the evening of the 7th & at the landing most convenient to this place to receive & convey to Richmond the presses, books, papers, & implements of the offices of council, War, Trade, Auditor & Register and furniture of the Capitol & Palace. An armed vessel will be furnished by the board of War to receive the treasury with its implements, & to convey those which will contain the articles of the other offices.

I have the honor to be with great respect
Gentlemen

Your most obedient servant

THJefferson


Click on the image to view or download a larger version.
E. Letters

iii. Edmund Dickinson Letters from Valley Forge

Historical Context

Edmund Dickinson was a cabinetmaker in Williamsburg. By 1771, he was plying his trade in the shop on Nicholson Street that had belonged to Anthony Hay. He advertised in the Virginia Gazette and sold furniture to well known Virginians like Patrick Henry. Some of the furniture he made was owned by Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor and can still be seen at the Governor’s Palace.

During the Revolutionary War, Dickinson was a Captain of the First VA Regiment. He camped at Valley Forge in May 1778. He wrote his sister, Lucy to tell her the good news that he had heard of France and Spain’s offer to join the colonists. He believed that by fall there would be peace. He also thanked her for sending clothing, (much needed at Valley Forge). He told her Billy Nicolson would provide her and her sister, Agnes, with cash, when needed. He died one month after writing the letter at the Battle of Monmouth in 1778.

Vocabulary and Terms

embrace—to welcome.

sentiments—thoughts or ideas.

alliance—partnership.

desired—asked.

correspondent—one with whom one exchanges letters.

sprigs—twigs; branches.

subscribe—sign; sign off (as in a letter).

Discussion Starters

• What do we know about Valley Forge? Why would a letter from a soldier stationed there in 1778 be significant? How would a family member react to such a correspondent?

Document Analysis

• Who wrote this document?
  o Answer: Edmund Dickinson was a soldier in the Revolution.

• Why did he write it?
  o Answer: To thank his sister, Lucy, for sending him some clothes. To tell her the war will be over soon, and that he is sending some cash to her and Agnes.
• **What attitude is being expressed toward his sisters?**
  o Answer: His affection and concern.

• **Why do you think the author is so happy?**
  o Answer: Because he thinks the war is going to end soon.

• **What is significant about France and Spain forming an alliance with the colonies?**
  o Answer: They will supply money, arms, and men that the colonists need to win the war.

• **Why does he need shirts to be sent to him from home?**
  o Answer: Because there was a shortage of shoes, clothes, food, and medicine at Valley Forge.

• **Suggest why is it necessary for him to be sending his sisters money.**
  o Answer: His sisters depended on him for an income because most women did not have jobs.

• **What phrases does he use to describe the spring and fall, and why?**
  o Answer: Spring is “when the leaves are just budding out.” Fall is “when leaves fall from their tender sprigs.”

• **Compare attitudes toward family responsibilities as indicated in this letter with today.**

**Extending Content**

• Write phrases describing the four seasons using contemporary language.
• Compare this letter with those written by soldiers in modern wars.
• Interview a veteran and ask about living conditions during wartime.
• Draw a picture of the author in camp at Valley Forge.

**Related Resources**

• *Virginia Gazette*
• wills and inventories
• Washington’s accounts of Valley Forge
• documentary films of modern soldiers
• Colonial Williamsburg Teacher Institute Biographies lesson
EDMUND DICKINSON LETTER FROM VALLEY FORGE

Dear Girl

I embrace this opportunity to communicate a few sentiments to you as well as inform of the Joy circulating through our Camp at the Glorious news from France which I make no doubt has reached your City by this time ’tis no less than an offer of Alliance from France & Spain on the most Honourable terms possible. I make not the least doubt but it will cause a Peace before the leaves (which now are just buding out here) falls from their tinder Sprigs.

Understand by Billy Nicolson my shirts are comeing on which I thank you most kindly for have desired him to supply you with cash when you may want it as well as your Sister Agnes your provider will direct the proper use of it give my compliments to Mrs. Craig & Husband &c &c &c

When you write to your York correspondent you will present my compliments to her & Family while I subscribe myself

Your [lov]ing Brother
Edmund B. Dickinson
Camp Valley Forge
May 9\textsuperscript{th} 1778


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E. Letters

iv. Sarah Trebell to John Galt

Historical Context

This is the letter of Mrs. Sarah Trebell to her husband, John Galt. The letter discusses family matters and local news about Williamsburg. Mrs. Trebell relates to her brother the sale and purchase of properties (including assessments of monetary figures in some instances), the news of certain marriages and births, and the wishes and greetings of his family and friends. John Galt was a London trained doctor, and along with a colleague, Dr. William Pasteur (also London trained) they ran the Pasteur-Galt Apothecary of Williamsburg. Galt was in the process of receiving his training in London at the time that this letter was written.

Mrs. Trebell’s letter is an indication of the colonies’ willingness to extend education to its citizens. While women of the nobility in the colonies were usually educated, Mrs. Trebell shows that a middling woman could be included as well. A prominent member of Williamsburg’s society, Thomas Jefferson, proposed that in the state of Virginia, all “free white boys and girls” should have three years of schooling paid for from public tax coffers. But Virginia’s dedication to education went even beyond this and included a permanent American Indian school that was established in 1720 at Williamsburg. An all girls’ school was also opened in Pennsylvania in 1742. The colonies were coming a long way from when King James I of England had said to a question regarding his daughter’s lack of education, “To make women learned and foxes tame has the same effect—to make them more cunning.” [DATE]

Vocabulary

afft.—abbreviation for affectionate

inoculation—variant spelling of “inoculation.” Trebell uses the term in the context “under inoculation” regarding smallpox, leading us to believe her brother had been inoculated for that disease.

abbreviations—Note abbreviations such as \textit{Jn} symbolizing John, or \textit{Nov} symbolizing November, that are no longer modernly used.

Discussion Starters

• What can we assume about women’s education in the eighteenth century (regarding both literacy and math skills) from this document?
• What can we infer about knowledge of family finances between husband and wife from this letter?
• How did education affect a woman’s status in the eighteenth century?

Document Analysis

• How did eighteenth-century spelling differ from today’s spelling? Can you find in this document a single word spelled differently each time it is used?
- How was the communication of information different in the eighteenth century? How long did it take for Mrs. Trebell’s letter to reach her brother?
- Mrs. Trebell often mentions the status of a certain individual’s health: how did eighteenth-century medicine and mortality rates differ from those of the modern era?

**Extending Content**

- education
- economics
- family relations
- women’s rights (or lack thereof)
- communication technologies
- medicine

**Related Resources**

- additional letters—e.g. Thomas Jefferson’s letters to his daughter, Patsy.
- school books—e.g. the Clifton Johnson Collection
- journals—e.g. *A Midwife’s Tale: the Life of Martha Ballard*
- secondary sources:
  - *Founding Mothers* by Cokie Roberts
  - *Revolutionary Mothers* by Carol Berkin
My Dear Brother

Last night we had the infinite satisfaction of receiving your Letters by Cap. Easton, we had also Letters from J. Miller dated 3rd of Nov in which he acquaints us that he had not then seen you as you were at that time under Inoculation he says, he that day call’d on M. Welling’s & heard that the small Pox had come to a head & had been very favourable, God be praised for it, the first part of his intelligence alarm’d our tender Mother very much but the latter gave her great comfort,

Doct. Pasteur writes to you by this opportunity. he says he shall tell you all the news, but I suppose he will not be so minute in our little concerns as [...] write you all I can remember; There has been many changes [...] the [...] time since you left it, I dare say none will surprize you more then our [...] Mr Trebell has sold the Raleigh to A. Hay who now lives there & all his little family. he has made a nursery of Jamies Shop I sincerely wish them success, he gives Mr Trebell £[.]00 for it. & Wall-Hill he takes the stock of Liquor & all the furniture [...] which I imagine will amount near to £1000 more, Austin continues there, they have Lydie till after the April court, I cant judge of their management yet as they have been there but a week, we are living at the place M. Trebell purchased of M. Lester. our dear good Mother lives with us she (who is ever mindful of the happiness of me & those most dear to me) hopes to make her future days easy She is at present in good health thank God & seems very happy. your letters has added much to her being so, Patrick I believe will shortly be bound to Doct. Pasteur, Lucy M. Kay lives with her sister Sally, she went up before the Raleigh was sold, Liddy is at M. Martins, he poor Man is just at the point of Death, is so low that he lives on breast Milk only, it is said that he has settled his affairs, & that after all his debts are paid his Widow will have 3 or £400 I heartily wish it may be so; J. Pullet is dead he was taken sick in the October Court. he was in such haste to get well the he imploy’d every Doct. in Town one after the other but wou’d not follow the directionn of one of them, his wife Lay in with another Girl in the court, it was too much for his impatient Temper he cou’d not bear up against so many troubles, poor fellow he said a little time before he die’d that it was as a shame & a pity he shou’d die while he was so young he has scarce left sufficient to pay his debts, Simon Whitaker, Doct. Hay & M. McKinzie are all dead, M. Royl is married to J. Dixon H. Dixon to Miss Garland, M. Tazwell to Miss Sally Bolling, sister to Col: R. Bolling junr, Miss Patsey Waller is to be Married in March to W. Taylor that us’d to write in the (?) office

In September M. Trebell carried me to Richmond. we had the satisfaction to find our Brother better setled then we cou’d possibly expect for the time he had been there, he has Silver & Gold work sufficient to imploy two hands & as much watch as he can do himself. Im in great hopes he will make a hansom living. his wife keeps him dull she is always sick. she has still the swelling in her Legs & Feet, [...] smart Lad & minds his business.—Sally [...] well married as to worldly matters, Mr. Yo[...] has a vast deal of custom is very careful & industrious, always runing about but will stop sometimes to talk about Morals &[?] I hear he makes Lucy rise early & use exercise for her health’s sake.—[...] Harlton has got the finest sweetest child I ever saw it is call’d Janny
[...] [nursing] dont agree with Sally she’s a mere skeleton, both the Mr. Charltons are very well, the old gentleman visits Miss Hunter as usual but no appearance of a marriage he has offer’d his House for sale. I suppose you grow impatient to see the word Craig & wonder I have not yet mentioned that good family. they are all in perfect health, Mr. Charlton’s name Sally. Miss Judy grows very fat rather too much so, but looks extremely well, I told her I was going to write to you by Capt Lilly she desired to be remembered to you, I assure you Molly grows hansom as well as taller, all your other acquaintance are well, I shall make your excuses to your Brother Pipes when I see them they will be glad hear from you by any means Mr. Miller receiv’d a Letter from his mother in which you are kindly mention’d I hope you visit that worthy family when you have time, every good natured young person will profit by keeping the company of such sensible people, when you see them pray present Mr. Miller & the young Ladies my most respectful compliments, I shall not write to Jamie by this ship as I imagine he will be gone to the Indies before this gets to London, it gives me great pleasure that you were so kindly receiv’d by Mr Greenall indeed I did not doubt but you wou’d meet with such a reception. for setting aside your ingageing appearance I believe there’s few who have been intamate with Mr Trebell & thoroughly know him but wou’d do the like, some wou’d say (if they saw this) that I was vain. I own I’m proud of such a Husband & such a Brother, May the God of infinite goodness grant that I may never lose such blessings, I beg you to make my best compliments to Mr Greenall as the Friend of My dear Mr Trebell & also to Mrs Greenall, we are greatly indebted to Doctor Pasteur for recomending you to that worthy gentleman Mr Wellings I pray God to bless them both for their kindness to you, I dont know whether Mr Trebel will write to you by this opportunity, if he do’s not he will by the next Ship be assurd if he dont write so often as I do it is not owing to want of the highest regard, but really he is not fond of writing & thinks it is just equal if he or I writes, Mamy sends a Thousand loves & blessings to her dear John, Mr Trebell joins in love & best wishes for your health & Safety. I am My Dear Johnie your Most truly Afft Sister Sarah Trebell

Jan 18 Since I wrote the above we had the pleasure of seeing Mr Craig & Miss Judie at Martins Hundred the both express’d great Satisfaction on hearing that you had the small Pox so favourable & desir’d I wou’d remember them in a very particular manner to you, poor Eady has been here also she cry’d on hearing how kindly you rememberd her, she prays God to bless you. our leaving the […] has almost broke her heart, Says she cant live a week without seeing us she’s a most greatful creature.—I had forgot to tell you there’s a report that R. Charlton is going to keep Southalls House & Mr Southall is going to live in the cuntry, Mr Charlton was here today I ask’d him about it he told me he believed it it might be so, from which I judg it to be true, Patrick has not seen your Letters yet as he is at Norfolk, Aron Jeffrey has been one voyage to the west Indies but dont seem to like the Sea, however is going to be bound to Cap Cock who will Shortly Sail for London so you will chance to see the little Sailor in England.
yours aff' S Trebell
PS when you see Mr Ferlom
present him our kindest respects,
I have wrote to that sweet little
fellow Master Lowe

Received May 12th
1767


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E. Letters

v. General Sir Henry Clinton and General Lord Cornwallis: “An Answer to that Part of the Narrative . . .”

Historical Context

These letters were exchanged between Lord Cornwallis (commander of the British troops at Yorktown) and Sir Henry Clinton (commander of British troops in North America) in October of 1781. At that time, the British garrison at Yorktown, which consisted of about 8,000 men, was besieged by about 18,000 American and French troops commanded by Washington and Rochambeau. Aware of his strategic disadvantage, Cornwallis decided to abandon his outer defenses on September 29th and wait for reinforcements from Clinton who was in New York. Cornwallis’ letter written on October 3rd contains his request for aid. Meanwhile, in a letter written on September 30th, Clinton assured Cornwallis that he would attempt a rescue and arrive around October 12th. This rescue, however, would never occur, because the entire French West Indian Fleet, under the command of Admiral DeGrasse, was blocking the Chesapeake Bay. In a series of letters on the 11th and 15th, Cornwallis discussed the steadily deteriorating conditions within the town as American and French troops tightened their siege lines and continued the bombardment. Finally, in a letter dated October 20th, Cornwallis sent Clinton a detailed description of his actions and those of his opponents which led to his surrender. Within this letter, he highlighted the hopelessness of the British cause, insisting that only the prospect of assistance from Clinton made him fortify and occupy Yorktown instead of fighting or retreating.

In a series of letters between Cornwallis and General Washington, terms for a cease fire and a rough outline of terms of capitulation were agreed upon. Because Clinton had refused to grant honorable terms of surrender to the American army at Charlestown the year before, the British were treated similarly by Washington at Yorktown.

These letters were published as a collection in a book in 1783, two years after the British surrender.

Vocabulary

abbatis—(abatis) a defensive obstacle made by laying felled trees on top of each other with branches, sometimes sharpened, facing the enemy.

capitulate—to surrender.

cohorn—a small bronze mortar mounted on a wooden block with handles, and light enough to be carried short distances by two men.

cypher—code.

effusion—liquid or other matter poured forth.

embrazures—a flared opening for a gun in a wall or parapet with sides angled so that the opening is larger on the inside of the wall than on the outside.
ensilade—a heavy artillery bombardment.

fraizing—a wooden defense consisting of sharpened logs which are imbedded in a redoubt or other fortification, facing outwards, to inhibit enemy assaults.

Hampton Roads—a channel in southeastern Virginia through which the Elizabeth River and the James River flow into Chesapeake Bay. In nautical terminology, channels are often referred to as “sea roads” or simply “roads” for short.

mortar—a portable, muzzle-loading cannon used to fire shells at low velocities, short ranges, and high trajectories.

parallel—in siege warfare, a trench dug outside the walls of the site under attack, equidistant at all points to that site, intended to provide shelter and encircle the enemy. At Yorktown the attackers dug two parallels, first 600 yards from the town, then 300 yards.

redoubts—small, often temporary defensive fortifications. The 10 redoubts around Yorktown were made of hilled soil with abatis and served as outposts 300-400 yards from the main fortifications, intended to slow the progress of the American army.

shew—show.

spike the guns—eighteenth-century cannons were fired by inserting a slow burning match into the touch hole, a hole near the breach (back) of the cannon, where it ignites the gunpowder. If a spike is hammered into that hole with enough force, it will render the cannon useless.

sorties—An armed attack, especially one made from a place surrounded by enemy forces

succour—Assistance in time of distress; relief.

Tail of the Horse shoe—a geographical term, referring to the Delmarva Peninsula. In this case it is used for nautical navigation.

York Spit—The Virginia Peninsula, which is surrounded by the James River, York River, and Chesapeake Bay, upon which Williamsburg, Jamestown, and Yorktown are located, as well as Newport News and Hampton.

Discussion Starters

• What do you think was Cornwallis’ motive for publishing these letters?
• The American and French siege progressed in a very methodical, systematic manner. Nothing about it was surprising to Cornwallis. Why was he unable to do anything to escape or avoid defeat?
• Why are Cornwallis’ letters during the siege (XII-XV) so much shorter and less descriptive than letter XVI?
• From the tone of these letters, is it possible infer anything about the nature of the relationship between Cornwallis and Clinton? Between Cornwallis and Washington?
• Why do so many terms pertaining to eighteenth-century warfare have French names?
• Cornwallis’ prose gets more flowery when he is writing either a: to Clinton after the battle, or b: to Washington. Why do you think that is?

Document Analysis

• What does this document tell you about the nature of communication in the eighteenth century?
• Geography and terrain were incredibly important to military strategists. What steps did Cornwallis take to make the terrain suit his purposes? How did the Americans counter them?
• How was successful use of the geography of Yorktown, the Chesapeake Bay, and North America as a whole critical to an American victory?

Extending Content

• military strategy
• geography
• transportation
• communication
• diplomacy

Related Resources

• maps of Yorktown battlefield and Chesapeake Bay
• other observers’ accounts of the siege (such as Lafayette, Washington, J. P. Martin, Conrad Döhle, etc.)
• blueprints/models of earthworks
• musical instruments (for example, fife and drum)
An Answer to that part of the Narrative of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton, K.B. Which relates to the Conduct of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, During the Campaign in North-America, In the year 1781. By Earl Cornwallis.

Number XII.

Earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, dated Yorktown, Virginia, October 3, 1781.

[In Cypher.]

Sir,

I RECEIVED your letter of the 25th of September last night. The enemy are encamped about two miles from us. On the night of the 30th of September they broke ground, and made two redoubts about eleven hundred yards from our works, which, with some works that had been constructed to secure our exterior portion occupy a gorge between two creeks which nearly embrace this post. They have finished these redoubts, and I expect they will go on with their works this night. From the time that the enemy have given us, and the uncommon exertions of the troops, our works are in a better state of defense than we had reason to hope.

I can see no means of forming a junction with me but by York river, and I do not think that any diversion would be of use to us. Our accounts of the strength of the French fleet have in general been, that they were thirty-five or thirty-six sail of the line; they have frequently changed their position; two ships of the line and one frigate lie at the mouth of this river; and our last accounts were, that the body of the fleet lay between the tail of the Horse shoe and the York Spit. And it is likewise said, that four line of battle ships lay a few days ago in Hampton road. I see little chance of my being able to send persons to wait for you at the capes, but I will if possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS

* * *

Number XIII

Sir Henry Clinton to Earl Cornwallis, dated New-York, September 30, 1781.

[Duplicate,—in Cypher.]

[Received October 10, from Major Cockran.]

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship may be assured that I am doing everything in my power to relieve you by a direct move, and I have reason to hope, from the assurances given me this day by Admiral Graves, that we may pass the bar by the 12th of October, if the winds permit, and no unforseen accident happens: this, however, is subject to disappointment, wherefore, if I hear from you, your wishes will of course direct me, and I shall persist in my idea of a direct move, even to the middle of November, should it be your Lordship’s opinion that you can hold out so long; but if, when I hear from you, you tell me that you cannot, and I am without hopes of arriving in time to succour
you by a direct move, I will immediately make an attempt upon Philadelphia by land, giving you notice, if possible, of my intention. If this should draw any part of Washington’s force from you, it may possible give you an opportunity of doing something to save your army; of which, however, you can best judge from being upon the spot.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. CLINTON

* * *

Number XIV.

Earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, K.B. dated York-Town, Virginia, October 11, 1781.—12 M.

[In Cypher]

SIR,

COCHRAN arrived yesterday. I have only to repeat what I said in my letter of the 3d, that nothing but a direct move to York river, which includes a successful naval action, can save me. The enemy made their first parallel on the night of the 6th, at the distance of six hundred yards, and have since continued firing without intermission, with about forty pieces of cannon, mostly heavy, and sixteen mortars, from eight to sixteen inches. We have lost about seventy men, and many of our works are considerably damaged; with such works on disadvantageous ground, against so powerful an attack we cannot hope to make a very long resistance.

I have the hounor to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS

P.S. —Oct. 11, 5 P.M. — Since my letter was written, we have lost thirty men.
Oct. 12,— 7 P.M. Last night the enemy made their second parallel at the distance of three hundred yards.
We continue to lose men very fast.

* * *

Number XV.

Earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, K.B. dated York-Town, October 15, 1781

[In Cypher.]

SIR,

LAST evening the enemy carried my two advanced redoubts on the left by storm, and during the night have included them in their second parallel, which they are at present busy in perfecting. My situation now becomes very critical; we dare not shew a gun to their old batteries, and I expect that their new ones will open to-morrow morning; experience has shewn
that our fresh earthen works do not resist their powerful artillery, so that we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers. The safety of the place is, therefore, so precarious, that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risque in endeavouring to save us.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

* * *

Number XVI.

Earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, K.B. dated York-town, Virginia, October 20, 1781.

SIR

I have the mortification to inform your Excellency that I have been forced to give up the posts of York and Gloucester, and to surrender the troops under my command, by capitulation on the [sic] 19th inst. As prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France.

I never saw this post in a very favourable light, but when I found I was to be attacked in it in so unprepared a state, by so powerful an army and artillery, nothing but the hopes of relief would have induced me to attempt its defence; for I would either have endeavoured to escape to New-York, by rapid marches from the Gloucester side, immediately on the arrival of General Washington’s troops as Williamsburgh, or I would notwithstanding the disparity of numbers have attacked them in the open field, where it might have been just possible that fortune would have favoured the gallantry of the handful of troops under my command: but being assured by your Excellency’s letters, that every possible means would be tried by the navy and army to relieve us, I could not think myself at liberty to venture upon either of those desperate attempts; therefore, after remaining for two days in a strong position in front of this place, in hopes of being attacked, upon observing that the enemy were taking measures, which could not fail of turning my left flank in a short time, and receiving on the second evening your letter of the 24th of September, informing that the relief would sail about 5h of October, I withdrew within the works on the night of the 28th of September, hoping by the labour and firmness of the soldiers, to protract the defence until you could arrive. Every thing was to be expected from the spirit of the troops, but every disadvantage attended their labour, as the works were to be continued under the enemy’s fire, and our stock of intrenching tools, which did not much exceed four hundred, when we began to work in the latter end of August, was now much diminished.

The enemy broke ground on the night of the 30th, and constructed on that night, and the two following days and nights, two redoubts, which, with some works that had belonged to our outward position, occupied a gorge between two creeks or ravines, which come from the river on each side of the town. On the night of the 6th of October they made their first parallel, extending from its right on the river to a deep ravine on the left, nearly opposite to the center of this place, and embracing our whole left at the distance of six hundred yards. Having perfected this parallel, their batteries opened on the evening of the 9th, against our left, and other batteries fired at the same time against a redoubt, advanced over the Creek upon our right, and defended by about one hundred and twenty men of the 23d regiment and marines, who maintained that post
with uncommon gallantry. The fire continued incessant from heavy cannon and from mortars and howitzers, throwing shells from eight to sixteen inches, until all our guns on the left were silenced, our work much damaged, and our loss of men considerable. On the night of the 11\textsuperscript{th} they began their second parallel, about three hundred yards nearer to us; the troops being much weakened by sickness as well as by the fire of the besiegers, and observing that the enemy had not only secured their flanks, but proceeded in every respect with the utmost regularity and caution, I could not venture so large sorties, as to hope from them any considerable effect; but otherwise, I did every thing in my power to interrupt this work, by opening new embrasures for guns, and keeping up a constant fire with all the howitzers and small mortars that we could man. On the evening of the 14\textsuperscript{th}, they assaulted and carried two redoubts that had been advanced about three hundred yards for the purpose of delaying their approaches, and covering our left flank, and during the night included them in their second parallel, on which they continued to work with the utmost exertion. Being perfectly sensible that our works could not stand many hours after the opening of the batteries of that parallel, we not only continued a constant fire with all our mortars, and every gun that could be brought to bear upon it, but a little before day break on the morning of the 16\textsuperscript{th}, I ordered a sortie of about three hundred and fifty men under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie to attack two batteries, which appeared to e in the greatest forwardness, and to spike the guns. A detachment of guards with the eightieth company of Grenadiers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Lake attacked the one, and one of Light Infantry under the command of Major Armstrong attacked the other, and both succeeded by forcing the redoubts that covered them, spiking eleven guns, and killing or wounding about one hundred of the French troops, who had the guard of that part of the trenches, and with little loss on our side. This action, though extremely honourable to the officers and soldiers who executed it, proved of little public advantage, for the common having been spiked in a hurry, were soon rendered fit for service again, and before dark the whole parallel and batteries appeared to be nearly complete. At his time we knew that there was no part of the whole front attacked, on which we could show a single gun, and our shells were nearly expended; I therefore had only to choose between preparing for surrender next day, or endeavouring to get off with the greatest part of the troops, and I determined to attempt the latter, reflecting that though it should prove unsuccessful in its immediate object, it might at least delay the enemy in the prosecution of further enterprizes: sixteen large boats were prepared, and upon other pretexts were ordered to be in readiness to receive troops precisely at ten o’clock. With these I hoped to pass the infantry during the night, abandoning our baggage, and leaving a detachment to capitulate for the town’s people, and the sick and wounded; on which subject a letter was ready to be delivered to General Washington. After making my arrangements with the utmost secrecy, the Light Infantry, greatest part of the Guards, and part of the twenty-third regiment landed at Gloucester; but at this critical moment, the weather from being moderate and calm, changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain, and drove all the boats, some of which had troops on board, down the river. It was soon evident that the intended passage was impracticable, and the absence of the boats rendered it equally impossible to bring back the troops that had passed; which I had ordered about two in the morning. In this situation, with my little force divided, the enemy’s batteries opened at day break; the passage between this place and Gloucester was much exposed, but the boats having now returned, they were ordered to bring back the troops that had passed during the night, and they joined us in the forenoon without much loss. Our works in the mean time were going to ruin, and not having been able to strengthen them by abbatis, nor in any other manner but by a slight fraizing which the enemy’s artillery were demolishing wherever they fired, my
opinion entirely coincided with that of the engineer and principal officers of the army, that they were in many places assailable in the forenoon, and that by the continuance of the same fire for a few hours longer, they would be in such a state as to render it desperate with our numbers to attempt to maintain them. We at that time could not fire a single gun, only one eight-inch and little more than an hundred cohorn shells remained; a diversion by the French ships of war that lay at the mouth of York-river, was to be expected. Our numbers had been diminished by the enemy’s fire, but particularly by sickness, and the strength and spirits of those in the works were much exhausted by the fatigue of constant watching and unremitting duty. Under all these circumstances, I thought it would have been wanton and inhuman to the last degree to sacrifice the lives of this small body of gallant soldiers, who had ever behaved with so much fidelity and courage, by exposing them to an assault, which from the numbers and precautions of the enemy could not fail to succeed. I therefore proposed to capitulate, and I have the honour to inclose to your Excellency the copy of the correspondence between General Washington and me on the subject, and the terms of capitulation agreed upon. I sincerely lament that better could not be obtained, but I have neglected nothing in my power to alleviate the misfortune and distress of both officers and soldiers. The men are well clothed and provided with necessaries, and I trust will be regularly supplied by the means of the officers that are permitted to remain with them. The treatment, in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender, has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that has been shewn to us by the French officers in particular, their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money both public and private, to an amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power.

Although the event has been so unfortunate, the patience of the soldiers in bearing the greatest fatigues, and their firmness and intrepidity under a persevering fire of shot and shells, that I believe has not often been exceeded, and deserved the highest admiration and praise. A successful defence, however, in our situation was perhaps impossible, for the place could only be reckoned an intrenched camp, subject in most places to ensilade, and the ground in general so disadvantageous, that nothing but the necessity of fortifying it as a post to protect the navy, could have induced any person to erect works upon it. Our force diminished daily by sickness and other losses, and was reduced when we offered to capitulate on this side to little more than three thousand two hundred rank and file fit for duty, including officers, servants, and artificers; and at Gloucester about six hundred, including cavalry. The enemy’s army consisted of upwards of eight thousand French, nearly as many as ants, and five thousand militia. They brought an immense train of heavy artillery, most amply furnished with ammunition, and perfectly well manned.

The constant and universal cheerfulness and spirit of the officers in all hardships and danger, deserve my warmest acknowledgments; and I have been particularly indebted to Brigadier-general O’Hara, and to Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, the former commanding on the right and the latter on the left, for their attention and exertion on every occasion. The detachment of the twenty-third regiment of the Marines in he redoubt on the right, commanded by Captain Apthorpe, and the subsequent detachments commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Johnson, deserve particularly commendation. Captain Rochfort who commanded the artillery, and indeed every officer and soldier of that distinguished corps; and Lieutenant Sutherland the commanding Engineer have merited in every respect my highest approbation; and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge my obligations to Captain Symonds, who commanded his Majesty’s
ships, and to the other officers and seamen of the navy for their active and zealous co-operation. I transmit returns of our killed and wounded, the loss of seamen and towns people was likewise considerable.

I trust that your Excellency will please to hasten the return of the Bonetta, after landing her passengers, in compliance with the article of capitulation.

Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and is well qualified to explain to your Excellency every particular relating to our past and present situation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

Inclosed in No. XVI

Copy of Earl Cornwallis’s Letter to General Washington, dated York, in Virginia, October 17th, 1781.

SIR,

I PROPOSE a cessation of hostilities for twenty four hours, and that two officers may be appointed by each side, to meet at Mr. Moore’s house, to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

Inclosed in No. XVI

Copy of General Washington’s Letter to, Earl Cornwallis dated Camp before York, in Virginia, October 17th, 1781.

MY LORD,

I have HAD THE HONOUR OF RECEIVING YOUR Lordship’s letter of this date. An ardent desire to spare the further effusion of blood, will readily incline me to listen to such terms, for the surrender of your posts and garrisons at York and Gloucester as are admissible.

I wish, previous to the meeting of Commissioners, that your Lordship’s proposals, in writing, may be sent to the American lines; for which purpose, a suspension of hostilities, during two hours from the delivery of this letter, will be granted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.
Inclosed in No. XVI


SIR,

I HAVE this moment been honoured with your Excellency’s letter, dated this day.

The time limited for sending my answer will not admit of entering into the detail of articles; but the basis of my proposals will be, that the garrisons of York and Gloucester shall be prisoners of war, with the customary honours. And, for the conveniency of the individuals which I have the honour to command, that the British shall be sent to Britain, and the Germans to Germany, under engagement not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until released or regularly exchanged. That all arms and public stores shall be delivered up to you; but that the usual indulgence of side-arms to officers, and of retaining private property, shall be granted to officers and soldiers, and that the interest of several individuals, in civil capacities and connected with us, shall be attended to.

If your Excellency thinks that a continuance of the suspension of hostilities will be necessary, to transmit your answer, I shall have no objection to the hour that you may propose.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C ORNWALLIS.

Inclosed in No. XVI.

Copy of General Washington’s Letter to Earl Cornwallis, dated, Camp before York, 18th October, 1781.

MY LORD,

TO avoid unnecessary discussions and delays, I shall at once, in answer to your Lordship’s letter of yesterday, declare the general basis upon which a definitive treaty of capitulation may take place.

The garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the seamen, as you propose, shall be received prisoners of war. The condition annexed of sending the British and German troops to the parts of Europe to which they respectively belong, is inadmissible. Instead of this, they will be marched to such parts of the country as can most conveniently provide for their subsistence, and the benevolent treatment of the prisoners, which is invariable observed by the Americans, will be extended to them. The same honours will be granted to the surrendering army as were granted to the garrison of Charles-town.

The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their guns, stores, tackling, furniture, and apparel, shall b delivered, in their present state, to an officer of the navy, appointed to take possession of them.

The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, shall be delivered unimpaired to the heads of the departments to which they respectively belong. The officers shall be indulged in retaining their side-arms, and the officers
and soldiers may preserve their baggage and effects, with this reserve, that property taken in the

country will be reclaimed.

With regard to the individuals in civil capacities, whose interest your Lordship wishes

may be attended to, until they are more particularly described, nothing definitive can be settled.

I have to add, that I expect the sick and wounded will be supplied with their own hospital

stores, and be attended by British surgeons, particularly charged with the care of them.

Your Lordship will be pleased to signify your determination, either to accept or reject the

proposals now offered, in the course of two hours from the delivery of this letter, that

Commissioners may be appointed to digest the articles of capitulation, or a renewal of hostilities

may take place.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

Inclosed in No. XVI

Copy of Early Cornwallis’s Letter to General Washington, dated York in Virginia, 18th October,

1781.

SIR

I AGREE to open a treaty of capitulation upon the basis of the garrisons o York and

Gloucester, including seamen, being prisoners of war, without annexing the condition of their

being sent to Europe; but I expect to receive a compensation in the articles of capitulation for the

surrender of Gloucester in its present state of defence.

I shall, in particular, desire, that the Bonetta sloop of war may be left entirely at my

disposal, from the hour that the capitulation is signed, to receive an Aide-de-camp to carry my

dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton. Such soldiers as I may think proper to send as passengers in

her, to be manned with fifty men of her own crew, and to be permitted to sail without

examination, when my dispatches are ready: engaging, on my part, that the ship shall be brought

back and delivered to you, if she escapes the dangers of the sea, that the crew and soldiers shall

be accounted for in future exchanges, that she shall carry off no officer without your consent, nor

public property of any kind; and I shall likewise desire, that the traders and inhabitants may

preserve their property, and that no person may be punished or molested for having joined the

British troops.

If you choose to proceed to negotiation on these grounds, I shall appoint two field

officers of my army to meet two officers from you, at any time and place that you think proper,
to digest the articles of capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.
F. Magazines
   i. The Lady’s Magazine

Historical Context

The Lady’s Magazine provides an interesting glimpse into the culture of the 18th century. This publication, which sought to both educate and entertain, contained many of the same elements of modern day magazines. Within its pages, one would find short stories, serials, poems, fashion, music, home remedies, recipes, biographies and news. At six pence a copy, the magazine sold about 15,000 copies per month and was in publication from about 1770 to 1832. This was hardly the first magazine published for women, however. As early as 1693, ladies magazines were available. The magazine proved extremely important to women in the colonies, who were very much interested in the latest news from London. Despite being an ocean away, ladies very much wanted to “keep up with the times,” and this magazine provided them with a way to do that. Unlike magazines today, which are largely disposable, The Lady’s Magazine was often saved and reread many times. Some women would take past issues to the bookbinder and have them bound to better preserve and display them.

Vocabulary

admonitious—an eighteenth-century adjective formed from the verb admonish (to counsel against wrong practices). (Found in “On Education”)

caprice—sudden change of mind with no apparent reason. (“On Education”)

currants—raisins made from dwarf, seedless grapes (“Confectionary Receipts”).

encroachment, incroachment—advancement beyond the usual or proper limits; entering gradually or by stealth into the rights or property of another.

palais—eighteenth-century spelling of “palace” (“Confectionary Receipts”).

ratafia—fruit-flavored liqueur (“Confectionary Receipts”).

receipts—recipes (“Confectionary Receipts”).

savoy—sponge biscuit covered with sifted sugar (“Confectionary Receipts”).

syllabub—eighteenth-century dessert made of milk or cream, curdled by the addition of wine or another type of acid, sweetened and flavored (“Confectionary Receipts”).

Discussion Starters

- Examine the full title of the magazine considering any possible implications about content, author, purpose, etc.
• Who do you think this magazine was marketed to? What type of lady might be reading it?
• Why does the fact that this magazine was printed in London make it so valuable to the ladies of the colonies?
• What gender do you think the author of “On Education” was, and what makes you think this?
• What educational background might the author have had? Upper, middling or lower class?
• Are his/her concerns still issues today?
• Compare and contrast the ingredients and instructions from “Confectionary Receipts” with a modern magazine or cookbook. How big of a difference is there?
• Do you think the ladies reading this magazine would be preparing these dishes?

Document Analysis

• List some of the elements of a sound education as expressed by the author of “On Education.”
• What kind of teacher does the author call for?
• Explain some of the reasons the author thinks grammar is so important.
• How does the author think incorrect grammar is perceived?
• Can you spot any mistakes in this letter? (In the eighteenth century some rules concerning spelling, punctuation, etc. were a bit different)
• Would these recipes from “Confectionary Receipts” be commonly prepared in normal households?
• Would the colonists have access to all of the ingredients each recipe called for? Where would they get these ingredients?
• Some of the recipes seem to be designed for larger groups of people. Why might it be necessary to prepare so much food?

Extending Content

• publications in the eighteenth century (maps, newspapers etc.)
• printing
• education
• gender
• children
• cooking
• hospitality
• eating habits

Related Resources

• ladies’ journals
• newspapers

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• modern magazines
• school records
• cookbooks
ON EDUCATION.

To the EDITOR of the LADY’S MAGAZINE.

SIR,

As the education of youth is undoubtedly of the utmost consequence, the following observations are submitted to the consideration of those to whose superintending care that important trust may be committed.

To adopt, and strictly adhere to certain invariable rules, as the criterion of every language, is as necessary, as that a person should speak and write in such a manner as to be universally understood, for otherwise perpetual incroachments, and needless innovations would be introduced, and the language, instead of being comprehensible, for want of a proper standard, would be so perverted and mangled, to satisfy the whim or caprice of every fantastical inventor, as to dwindle into unintelligible jargon.

Grammar being the foundation on which all literature, properly so called, should be raised, it behoves parents to be particularly careful to place their children under the management and tuition of those persons, who are capable of instructing them in the fundamental principles of learning, those of writing grammatically. The mistaken notion which prevails in this part of the country, led me to those reflections. Regardless of the interior abilities of the man, under whose immediate tuition the child is to be placed, it has been the constant practice to prefer that superficial master who could write a fine hand, or strike a well-proportioned letter, although unable to write a single line with propriety in his own mother tongue, to those of known and tried abilities. –Nothing is more common (nor can any thing be more absurd) than to dignify the writer of a fine hand, without any other recommendation, with the flattering appellation of a good scholar.

To a mind endowed with just and useful ideas, and a genius thirsting for fame in the literary path, how disparaging must it be, and what a loss to the public, that such an one should be intimidated from a pursuit which might accomplish his own fame, be beneficial to himself, and entertaining to society, for want of grammatical knowledge? without which it would be needless to enter the lists of fame as a candidate for literature, however qualified in every other respect. To attempt to write in the English language, without having a perfect knowledge of the rudiments of that tongue, would be an attempt to build castles in the air, which must fall, and the builder could not avoid being crushed in its ruins. –So it is with the man who attempts to deliver his sentiments on any public occasion, for altho’ the speech might be eloquent, and the words well adapted to the purpose, were not the composition strictly grammatical, instead of gaining upon the audience, it would not only deservedly lose its effect, be looked upon as beauty without virtue, as the shadow, not the substance of learning, but would assuredly draw down, at least from the sensible part of his auditors, the utmost disgust and contempt, and afford a grammarian, disposed to take the other side of the question, an opportunity to take every advantage, by distorting his whole speech, and signalizing himself at his expence. What a fine pigeon for a severe critic is an ungrammatical writer or orator! The plucking, whilst it gratifies the spleen of the critic, never fails also to afford a delicious repast to the readers or auditors. In what a contemptible light was that popular man held, and how much the subject of ridicule in the public prints, who, in an oration at Guildhall, instead of speaking in the superlative, degree, (which he wished to have done) thro’ ignorance made the use of the double comparative more better.
And yet, notwithstanding this degradation in the eyes of the public, we still see many men, some in elevated stations too, who may boast of long and expensive education, and yet withall can scarcely write a grammatical sentence. Even the very prints teem with incongruous expressions.

Is not this evidently owing to the neglect of an early tuition in the rudiments, elements, and leading principles of grammar? --The English language is allowed, of all others, to be the most simple in its form and construction, the words being subject to fewer variations, and when reduced to a system of regular rules, comes within the comprehension of the meanest capacity.

To encourage what of late years has been so much neglected, an early application to the study of the English grammar under proper teachers, is my only aim in this address to the public: but whilst I am declaiming against ungrammatical productions, tho’ aware that these hasty observations may merit the like censure, yet I shall kiss the rod of the severest critic, invite, rather than shrink under the poignancy of his censure, from a conviction that it will operate with me as admonititious lessons, and that whilst it stings, I shall suck the honey.

I remain, Sir,

Your’s, &c.

Warminster.


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CONFECTIONARY RECEIPTS.

(Continued from Page 479.)

A Method for making all Sorts of Biscuits.

PALAIS ROYAL BISCUITS.

Take eight eggs, break them and put the yolks in one pan, and the whites in another; then weigh half a pound of sugar, which you are to put in the pan where the yolks are, beat well your yolks and the sugar together with a spoon, till it makes a white paste; weigh six ounces of flour which you put on a white sheet of paper; when your yolks of eggs are well beaten with the sugar, and your flour weighed, and put on a sheet of paper, take a small whisk, beat well your whites of eggs, till they come up like a syllabub, and are so hard that your whisk can stand upright in them; then take your yolks which are like a paste, and put them with the whites, and mix them in turning them gently with your whisk. When both the yolks and whites are well mixed, take a sieve, put your flour in it, and sift it gently over your mixture, and continue sifting till you see all is well mixed, and there is no lump of flour in your paste; when your composition is finished, have little paper moulds made long and square, fill them with that paste, and sift on the top of each of them a little of fine pounded loaf sugar, which is called the icing of them, then put them in the oven.

SAVOY BISCUITS.

Take fifteen eggs, break them and separate the yolks from the whites, which you put in two different pans; weigh one pound and a quarter of fine sifted loaf sugar, which you put among your yolks, and work well till it comes of a fine white. After which, you weigh three quarters of a pound of flour, which you put on a sheet of paper, and then take your whites of eggs and whip them as we said before. When they are whipped very hard, you will prepare your paste just the same as we said in the preceding article for palais royal biscuits; for all the difference lies only in the weight of the eggs and that of the flour, which you are carefully to observe; otherwise the way of paste is all the same. When your paste is quite ready, you take half a sheet of paper, which you place near to your pan, then with a spoon or a tunnel, which you fill with paste, you dress your biscuits of what length you please on your paper; and proceed for the rest as before.
QUEEN BISCUITS.

Take half a pound of butter, half a pound of sugar, half a pound of flour, quarter of a pound of currants, a glass of French brandy, eight eggs, and a little cinnamon in powder. When all is properly prepared, take your butter, put it in a pan, and work it with a spoon till it is quite white; then add half a pound of sugar to it, and continue working it the same; when you have worked them both well, add your eight yolks of eggs and the cinnamon, continue still the working of the whole as before, then whip your eight whites of eggs as before directed, and put them in your paste, continuing working the whole together but gently; when your paste is thus well diluted with the whites of eggs in froth, you take a sieve with half a pound of flour, and sift in softly over your composition, mixing it well by stirring it gently with the whisk; when this is done, take your currants, which you should have washed and dried by the fire, you will put them in your paste together with a glass of brandy, and mix the whole the same, by stirring it gently; then take your tin moulds of whatever form you please to have them, rub them well on the inside with butter, set them upon a double sheet of paper, which will be laid upon a sheet of copper or tin, fill your moulds with your paste, and proceed as usual.

RATAFIA CAKES.

Take a pound of bitter almonds, pour boiling water over them to rub their skin off, then set them to dry in the stove, when they are dry pound them in a mortar, take ten eggs, and ten pounds of powdered loaf sugar. When you begin to pound your almonds, you must put two whites of eggs in the mortar along with them and continue pounding; in proportion as your paste will dry you will add from time to time a white of an egg; for should you not put whites of eggs to your almonds when you pound them they would oil, which would spoil your paste; when you have done employing ten whites of eggs, and your paste will be very fine, you add to it your two pounds of sugar by little; when your sugar and almonds are well mixed together, take them out from the mortar, and set that paste in a plate, and with two knives you will take that paste and dress it in little flat rounds upon a sheet of paper, and put them in the oven.

THE
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for the
USE and AMUSEMENT
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G. Miscellaneous Records
  i. Slave Permit

Historical Context

As of 1705, Virginia law did not allow slaves to travel from their master’s property without a permit. This handwritten document stated: to whom they belonged, who they were, and their destination. Without this permit, slaves might be taken for runaways and be subject to punishment. The permit was meant to provide protection for the slaves on their journey, but did not always guarantee safe passage.

Depending on the errand, sometimes the permit would give instructions to Inn Keepers, shop keepers, tradesman. For example, give lodging, and record the amount owed on the back of the permit.

This particular pass was to allow two slaves, Bobb and George, to travel from Fredericksburg to Williamsburg. Bobb was the coachmen. George helped to guide the horses by riding on the left front horse (called riding “posstillion”). They had a six-horse team to feed and stable on the journey. The Inn Keeper was instructed to feed and shelter the slaves and the horses. The bill for the food and lodging was to be written on the back of the pass to be paid by the master on his return.

Vocabulary

- Bate: a meal, (i.e. to have a bate of fish means to have a meal of fish)
- Coachmen: one who drives the coach and takes care of the horses
- NB: “Nota Bene”-Note well; pay attention to this; similar to P.S. or Post Script
- Negro Bobb: a term of address for an enslaved person, like Mr. or Mrs.
- Passport: a document giving safe passage from one place to another
- Postillion: an assistant to the coachman, who rides on the left front horse to help guide the horses
- To Pafs: to pass, to be allowed to go to their destination
- Stewart: an overseer or assistant to the master
- Victualling: feeding

Without Molestation: means because the slaves have their master’s permission, they are not to be bothered, questioned, or detained while on his errand.

Discussion Starters

- What was the purpose of the slave pass?
  o Answer: The pass gave slaves safe passage to their destination, and provided for food and shelter.
- Why was such a pass necessary?
Document Analysis

- Where did they start and what was their destination?
  - Answer: They started at Fredericksburg and ended at Williamsburg
- How was billing done?
  - Answer: The Innkeepers bill was written on the back of the permit and carried by the slaves for the master to pay.
- Who would have written the slave pass?
  - Answer: Thomas Oliver, the master’s steward.
- What would happen to slaves if they didn’t have a pass?
  - Answer: They could be picked up as runaways, taken to the local gaol (the old spelling for “jail”) where they were held until he claimed them. If the master didn’t claim them they could be sold to another master.
- Why didn’t the master give cash to the slaves?
  - Answer: Because they might use it to run away.
- What do you see on the permit that might indicate that slaves and the horses have been traveling for up to three days?
  - Answer: There are two bills for food, etc., and three different dates, left home on 29th, and food bills are for 30th and 31st.
- Is it always possible to decipher everything written on old documents? Why or why not?
  - Answer: No, because you can’t always read it or may not know what the abbreviation means.
- List 3 ways that unknown letters or words might be puzzled out.
  - Answer: Read the entire sentence and try to decipher the word by its position in the sentence. Compare the unknown letter with other letters in the same document. Cover all the letters of the word with your fingers except the unknown one. Then study 1 or 2 letters at a time.

Extending Content

- How many miles was it from Fredericksburg to Williamsburg? How long would it take you to make the journey today? How does this compare with the trip made by the slave? What does this tell you about travel today and in the 18th century?
- Compare the credit and monetary systems of the 18th century with those of today.

Related Resources

- account books of taverns, or masters
- diaries
- runaway slave advertisements
- hotel bills or restaurant checks
SLAVE PERMIT

[Obverse]

Negro Bobb, Coachman & Negro George, Postillion.
Without molestation, _____ _____ _____ _____
TO PASS from Fredericksburg in Spotsylvania, to James Mercer Esq’. At Williamsburg, with a Coach and Six horses.
Committ’d to there care, _____ _____ _____
The severel inn Keepers where they may have occasion to Bate, are requested to furnish them with what may be needfull, for the Horses & them selves, agreeable to the Usual Custom of vitualling of Negros on such like Emergencies
Taking care to sett down the Expence on the back of this Passport, with the Innkeepers Name, that Mr. Mercer may Discharge the same on his return.

Thos. Oliver
Stewart to Ja’. Mercer Esq’.

To
All Concerned ~ N. B. they begin there Jurney on the 29th Oct. 1771

[Reverse]

Oct. 30th, Bobbs Charge with Jn° Martin
To 6 gall of oats 3.9
18 Bundles Fod’.
To suppers 1.3
To Pastrig 3.0
To Cyd’re 1.0
31st to Fod’ & oats 2.10
13.4

James Mercer Esq’. Dr
2 Boys Dinner & gill Rum 1.7
6 horses oats & fodder 3.9
Duncastle 5.4

M’. Mercer Esq’. to Jn° Martin

Housed in Special Collections, the J.D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

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G. Miscellaneous Records
   ii. Josiah Cathon Manumission

Historical Context

“Manumission” was the legal act of freeing one’s enslaved servant or servants. In colonial Virginia, manumission was a difficult and expensive process. Because communities of free blacks in the colony were seen as a “great inconvenience”—free blacks were suspected of receiving stolen goods, encouraging slaves to run away, and fomenting rebellion—Virginia passed laws in order to limit the number of slaves that could be manumitted.

In 1691, the General Assembly passed a law aimed at reducing the number of cases of manumission. While manumission by deed or will remained legal, it required any newly freed person to leave the colony within six months, and required the former master to pay for the trip. This legislation likely dampened individuals’ willingness to manumit, but it is not clear how many freed people were forced to leave Virginia during the thirty-two years the law was in effect.

Manumission became more difficult in 1723. That year, the “Act Directing the Trial of Slaves, Committing Capital Crimes; and for the More Effectual Punishing Conspiracies and Insurrection of Them; and for the Better Government of Negroes, Mulattos, and Indians, Bond or Free” was passed. Paragraph 17 stated that “No negro, mullatto, or Indian slaves, shall be set free, upon any pretence whatsoever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council, for the time being.” The law was passed in response to rumors of slave insurrections, and permitted manumission only upon approval of the governor and council—and even then only as a reward for public service. Should a slave be set free in any other manner (e.g. by will or deed), the act required the churchwardens to return the freed person to slavery through a public sale.

In May 1782, thanks in part to the valuable service of blacks during the Revolutionary War, Virginia removed the requirement of governor and council approval for manumission. Act XXI read

“it shall hereafter be lawful for any person, by his or her last will and testament, or by any other instrument in writing, under his or her hand and seal, attested and proved in the county court by two witnesses, or acknowledged by the party in the court of the county where he or she resides, to emancipate and set free, his or her slaves, or any of them, who shall thereupon be entirely and fully discharged from the performance of any contract entered into during servitude, and enjoy as full freedom as if they had been particularly named and freed by this act.”

However, for those freed persons over age 45, the former master was required to support them. (For men under age 21 and women under age 18, former master supported the freed persons until they reached majority.) Should he fail to do so, the court could confiscate and sell as much of his property as was deemed necessary to provide for the freed persons. Masters who manumitted their enslaved servants also had to pay court fees. All of these requirements meant that it was easier for wealthy slaveowners to manumit their slaves—yet the process was still expensive enough that even wealthy masters considering manumission had second thoughts.
Vocabulary

S'ton—abbreviation for Southampton, used in this document to signify the county.

sundry—various; miscellaneous.

(viz)—such as, that is, etc.

Discussion Starters

• When Cathon does not immediately emancipate Phereby and Pat, what can we infer about the rights and responsibilities of adults toward minors in colonial society?
• What can we assume about the rights of a freed black woman? How would they compare to the rights of a freed black man?

Document Analysis

• Why was it necessary for Cathon to write that his heirs would make no claims on the persons he was manumitting?
• Why was it necessary for Cathon to obtain two witnesses to his deed of manumission?

Extending Content

• family relations
• master/slave relations
• women’s rights
• rights of minors (children under the age of 18)
• court procedures

Related Resources

• other manumission documents
  o Thomas Jefferson’s deed of manumission freeing Robert Hemings (December 24, 1794)
  o Lawrence Stevens’s deed of manumission, freeing Swan, Tom & Lewis (December 11, 1793).
• council journals
  o Elizabeth Young’s manumission of Abram Newton—December 11, 1745—contested trial & June 13, 1746—Newton granted freedom
  o Matthew Ashby permitted to manumit wife and children: Ann, John & Mary—November 27, 1769
• court records
Josiah Cathon Manumission

I Josiah West Cathon of the County of Southampton Virginia bring fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind; and that it is my duty to do unto other as I would desire to be done by, in the like situation, and having under my care three Negroes whome I have heretofore held as Slaves, of the following names and Ages (viz) Will about forty five years Lelah about twenty and Pleasant about eighteen years. Thereby Emancipate and set free all and every the above named Slaves; And do for my self and heirs Executor and Administrators relinquish all my right Title Interest and claim or pretensions of claim whatsoever either to their Persons or any estate the may here after acquire.

And having also two more in their minority (viz) Phereby fifteen Pat Eleven Years, each of which I also hereby Emancipate and set free; yet I believe it right for me to act as guardian over them until they arrive to the Age of Eighteen Years; And I do for my self my heirs Executors and Administrators relinquish all my right Title Interest and claim or pretensions of claim whatsoever over either to their persons or any estate they may acquire after they shall attain to the Ages aboves, which will be at the following times; Phereby 1st of 8th Month 1795 Pat 1st of 2nd Month 1799. All the above said Negroes and the Posterity to enjoy their full freed on without any intervention from me or any person claiming for by or and me. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this 2nd day of February 1793.

Signed sealed and delivered
in presence of
Jesse Vick
Samuel Eley
John Racots
Josiah Cathon (Seal)

[reverse side]

Josiah West Cathon’s emancipation of sundry slaves

Septbr 1793
Recorded
Page 13—

At a Court held for the County of S'ton the 12 day of Sept 1793. This deed for the emancipation of Sundry Slaves proved by the solemn affirmation of Samuel Eley & John Racots being people call’d Quakers & Ordered to be recorded.

Thello . A

[Note: “At a … recorded” in original document also had several bits of scratched out text interspersed with legible text.]
H. Newspapers
i. Advertisement for Lost Letters

Historical Context

Obtaining news in colonial times was every bit as important as it is today. A postal service to deliver letters and news, however, was limited to major towns along the Eastern seaboard. Travelers frequently carried mail, but they were not always a reliable method of getting mail to its intended destination. The newspaper, which was sold by subscription, was the best way to pass information to a large audience. Newspapers also had a large secondary audience, those to whom the newspaper was read or given to after the subscriber was done with it. This advertisement, which ran in the Virginia Gazette in late July of 1746, illustrates the importance of mail as the only form of personal, long distance communication, the serious problem of mail delivery, and the nature of newspaper advertisements.

Vocabulary

base—cruel.
come to hand—delivered.
contrive—find a way.
prejudicial—unfair.
shilling—a unit of British currency.

Discussion Starters

• What does the advertisement tell us about the delivery of letters?
• Why does Mr. Hollbrooke believe his letters are being detained by someone?
• What are the moral views expressed in the ad?
• The reward is generous. (In the same paper, the reward for a missing horse is 10 shillings) Why? What does this tell us of the value of news?
• Why has Mr. Hollbrooke chosen to advertise his problem?

Document Analysis

• How would Hollbrooke know that several letters arrived from England?
• What implications can be made about the Hollbrooke Family?
• Why does the author include his moral view of the issue?
• What is the relationship between geography, technology, and the delivery of mail?
**Extending Content**

- technology of mail and news delivery systems, past and present
- the importance of letters and news in society
- laws dealing with mail delivery, past and present
- linking technology to a practical use (mail)

**Related Resources**

- journals
- other advertisements
- modern communication methods
WHEREAS I have been informed that several Letters were lately brought into this Colony from England, by different Ships, for the Rev. John Hollbrooke, in Northampton County and myself; and as none of them are yet come to Hand, I therefore offer a Reward of Ten Shillings to any Person that will contrive any of the above Letters to me in Northampton: And as this detaining of Letters is very prejudicial, it often putting People to great Inconvenience and Trouble, I hereby offer a Reward of 20 Shillings to any one who shall discover any Person that shall hereafter detain any of my Letters, it being as base an Action as a Man can be guilty of, and not consistent with good Manners or Justice.

E. Hollbrooke

Virginia Gazette (Parks), July 24–31, 1746.
H. Newspapers
   ii. Advertisement for a Runaway Slave

Historical Context

This ad is from the *Virginia Gazette*, a newspaper printed in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, Virginia. The advertiser seeks the return of a slave who has left her owner’s property.

Runaway advertisements were common in eighteenth-century newspapers. They were used by masters who sought the return not only of their enslaved servants, but also of indentured servants and apprentices. Many of these advertisements provide details of clothing, behavior, even physical descriptions. This information is doubly valuable in source documents, because it describes classes of people who are frequently “invisible” in the historical record: the enslaved, indentured servants, and apprentices.

Vocabulary

*apprehend*—to capture

*conveying*—to make known

*dollars*—Spanish coins made of silver

*“in proportion to the distance”*—the amount of money paid as reward depends on the distance traveled

*instant* (as in “the twelfth instant”)—the current month

*“little girl at the breast”*—a child still being fed by her mother

*subscriber*—a person who buys a newspaper or places an ad in it

Discussion Starters

- What did it mean to be a “slave”?
- Why were slaves considered valuable?

Document Analysis

- Who put the ad in the paper? Why?
- How many masters has Judith had?
- Who was her first master?
- How much is the reward being offered for her?
- Why does the reward increase?
• Where did her first master live? Her new master? Why was the slave sale in Williamsburg?
• List three reasons why you think Judith might be sold.
• Why might she be running back to her first master or the neighbors?
• Why would a master buy a woman with a small baby?
• Is there a reason why Judith chose to runaway before she is moved to her new master’s property in Norfolk?
• Why do you think he sold her?

Extending Content

• What types of things do we advertise for today?
• What type of runaway ads are placed in modern newspapers?
• What other types of runaways might there be, besides enslaved people? Who else might run away?

Related Resources

• slave narratives
• comparisons with other runaway ads
• Landon Carter’s diary concerning slaves
R U N away from the Subscriber, on Saturday the Instant, a Negro Woman named JUDITH, who carries her Child with her, a little Girl at the Breast, about twelve Months Old. I bought her but the Day before, at the Sale of the Slaves of Mr. Austin Smith of Middleten, in this Town, and having her so short a Time In my Posession, I am not able to give a particular Description of her, but think she is middling tall and slender, not very black, appears to be between thirty and thirty five Years of Age, and I have been since told she is with Child. I expect, if she is not already gone back to Middlesex, she will soon endeavour to return to her former Master (Mr. Smith) or some of his Neighbours. Whoever secures her so that I may get her again shall have FOUR DOLLARS Reward if she is taken in Williamsburg, SIX DOLLARS if taken in Middlesex, and delivered to Mr. Hugh Walker There, and so in Proportion to the Distance of any Place she may be apprehended at. I shall take it as a Favour of Mr. Smith if she returns to him to give Directions for securing and conveying her to me in Norfolk, and any Expense attending the same shall be thankfully repaid by

JOHN MACLEAN.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), May 6, 1773.
H. Newspapers
   iii. Notice of a Lottery

**Historical Context**

When large landowners could not sell their property for the desired price, they sometimes held a lottery. In this case, Bernard Moore, who valued his holdings at £18,400, chose to sell 1,840 tickets for £10 each to gain his price. One hundred twenty-four tickets yielded prizes; 1,716 tickets were blanks. Moore’s holdings were extensive and included an iron forge, a gristmill, orchards, farmland, slaves, and livestock. Most of the male slaves are listed as having skills related to the forging operation. Notice the precise divisions of labor among the slaves. Also note that Moore apparently offered some slaves in family groups but separated others. Moore selected prominent men to serve as lottery managers. This lottery notice appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* on November 24, 1768.

**Vocabulary**

£—pound; a unit of British currency.

chaseryman—an engraver.

clapboard—long, narrow boards usually used for house siding.

collier—an individual who makes charcoal, mostly for fueling iron furnaces.

finer—an individual who works in a finery turning cast iron into wrought iron.

grist mill—a mill for grinding grain.

hammerman—a type of ironworker. In this case, one who operated a trip-hammer, generally a large, water-powered hammer.

N.B.—Latin abbreviation for “Nota Bene,” meaning “Note well.”

out-houses—sheds and other small buildings separate from the main building.

outlandish—not local; foreign. In this case, meaning “from Africa.”

putting up his fire—knows how to build a proper fire for a forging operation.

sawyer—an individual who saws lumber out of logs by hand with a pit saw.

subscriber—an individual who places an advertisement in the newspaper.

wench—a female servant.
**Discussion Starters**

- List the skills of the slaves being sold in the lottery.
- Group the slaves according to their cash value.
- List the livestock for sale and their prices.
- What features make some land more valuable than other land?
- Calculate the odds of winning a prize.
- List the sources of the slaves' names.

**Document Analysis**

- Why are some slaves more valuable than others?
- Compare the descriptions and values of the prizes.
- How do the values of slaves, livestock, and real estate reflect ideas of ownership and worth?
- What are the attractive features of this lottery?
- Why would the names of the “gentlemen” managers of the lottery be included in the advertisement? How might they benefit?
- Some slaves are being sold together as families, but some are not. In a few cases, a woman’s husband or another relative is listed, though they are not included in the sale. What would account for this?
- Judging from the skills of the slaves, what can be inferred about the operation of an eighteenth-century forge?
- What indications are there that slaves were prized for more than just their labor?

**Extending Content**

- comparisons with modern lotteries
- modern forging and steel mill operations
- value of labor, past and present
- value and type of men’s work and women’s work
- name origins

**Related Resources**

- interviews with a modern blacksmith or other craftsmen
- tax records
- assessment records
- lottery advertisements
- business and plantation inventories
- slave/master accounts
- slave codes
- servant contracts
A SCHEME of a LOTTERY

For disposing of certain LANDS, SLAVES, and STOCKS, belonging to the subscriber.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIZ.</th>
<th>VALUE.</th>
<th>CONTENTS of PRIZES.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>£. 5000</td>
<td>To consist of a forge and geared grist-mill, both well fixed, and situate on a plentiful and constant stream, with 1800 acres of good land, in King and Queen county, near Todd’s Bridge; which cost 6000l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>1375</td>
<td>To consist of 550 acres of very good land, lying in King William county, on Pamunkey river, call Gooch’s, part of 1686 acres, purchased of William Claiborne, deceased; the line to extend from said river to the back line across towards Mattapony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>To consist 550 acres of very good land, adjoining and below the said tract lying on Pamunkey river, whereon is a good dwelling-house, 70 feet long and 20 feet wide, with three rooms below and three above; also all other good and convenient out-houses; 1000 fine peach trees thereon, with many apple trees and other sorts of fruit, a fine high and pleasant situation, and the plantation in exceeding good order for cropping; the line to extend from said river to the back line towards Mattapony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>To consist of 586 acres, below the aforesaid two tracts; whereon is a fine peach orchard, and many fine apple trees; the plantation is in exceeding good order for cropping, and very fine for corn and tobacco, and abounds with a great quantity of white oak, which will afford, it’s thought, a thousand pounds worth of plank and staves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 of</td>
<td>£.50</td>
<td>3250 To consist of 6500 acres of good land, in Caroline county; to be laid off in lots of 100 acres each.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 of</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>300 To consist of 812 acres of good land, in Spotsylvania county, in the fork between Northanna and North Fork, with a large quantity of low grounds, and meadow land; to be laid off in lots of 203 acres each.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>A Negro man named Billy, about 22 years old, an exceeding trusty good forgeman, as well at the finery as under the hammer, and understands putting up his fire: Also his wife named Lucy, a young wench, who works exceeding well both in the house and field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>.....200</td>
<td>A Negro man named Joe, about 27 years old, a very trusty good forgeman, as well at the finery as under the hammer, and understands putting up his fire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>A Negro man named Mingo, about 24 years old, a very trusty good finer, and hammerman, and understands putting up his fire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>A Negro man named Ralph, about 22 years old, an exceeding good finer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Negro man named Issac, about 20 years old, an exceeding good hammerman and finer.

A Negro man named Sam, about 26 years old, a fine chaseryman; also his wife Daphne, a very good hand at the hoe, or in the house.

A Negro man named Abraham, about 26 years old, an exceeding good forge carpenter, cooper, and clapboard carpenter.

A Negro man named Bob, about 27 years old, a very fine master collier.

A Negro man named Dublin, about 30 years old, a very good collier.

A Negro man named London, about 25 years old, a very good collier.

A Negro man named Cambridge, about 24 years old, a good collier.

A Negro man named Harry, a very good collier.

A Negro man named Toby, a very fine master collier.

A Negro man named Peter, about 18 years old, an exceeding trusty good wagoner.

A Negro man named Dick, about 24 years old, a very fine blacksmith; also his Smith’s tools.

A Negro man named Sampson, about 32 years old, the Skipper of the flat.

A Negro man named Dundee, about 38 years old, a good planter.

A Negro man named Caroline Joe, about 35 years old, a very fine planter.

A Negro woman named Rachel, about 32 years old, and her children Daniel and Thompson, both very fine.

A Negro woman named Hannah, about 16 years old.

A Negro man named Jack, a good planter.

A Negro man named Ben, about 25 years old, a good house servant, and a good carter, &tc.

A Negro man, Robin, a good sawyer, and Bella, his wife.

A Negro girl named Sukey, about 12 years old, and another named Betty, about 7 years old; children of Robin and Bella.

A Negro man named York, a good sawyer.

A Negro woman named Kate, and a young child, Judy.

A Negro girl, Aggy, and boy, Nat, children of Kate.

A Negro Pompey, a young fellow.

A fine breeding woman named Pat, lame of one side, with child, and her three children, Loet, Milley, and Charlotte.

A fine boy, Phill, son of Patty, about 14 years old.

A Negro man named Tom, an outlandish fellow.

A Negro man named Caesar, about 30 years old, a very good blacksmith, and his wife named Nanny, with two children, Tab and Jane.

A Negro man named Edom, about 23 years old, a blacksmith who has served four years to the trade.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>A Negro man named <em>Moses</em>, about 23 years old, a good planter, and his wife <em>Phoebe</em>, a fine young wench, with her child <em>Nell</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>A Negro woman named <em>Dorah</em>, wife of carpenter <em>Femmy</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>A Negro named <em>Venus</em>, daughter of <em>Tab</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>A Negro named <em>Judy</em>, wife of <em>Sambo</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>A Negro named <em>Lucy</em>, outlandish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>A Negro named <em>Toby</em>, a good miller.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>A team of exceeding fine horses, consisting of four, and their gear; also a good waggon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>A team of four horses, and their gear, with two coal wagons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>To consist of 100 head of cattle, to be laid off in 10 lots.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

124 PRIZES £18,400

1716 BLANKS

1840 TICKETS at 10l. each, is £18,400.

Managers are JOHN RANDOLPH, JOHN BAYLOR, GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIELDING LEWIS, ARCHIBALD CARY, CARTER BRAXTON, BENJAMIN HARRISON, RALPH WORMLEY, RICHARD HENRY LEE, THOMAS WALKER, THOMAS TABB, EDMUND PENDLETON, PETER LYONS, PATRICK COUTTS, NEIL JAMIESON, ALEXANDER DONALD, DAVID JAMESON, AND JOHN MADISON, Gentlemen.

The above LOTTERY will be drawn on Thursday the 15th day of December next, WILLIAMSBURG.

N.B. Not any of the cattle mentioned in this lottery, are to be under the age of two years, nor none to exceed 4 or five years old.

BERNARD MOORE.

*Virginia Gazette* (Rind), November 24, 1768.
H. Newspapers
  iv. Virginia Gazette Advertisements

Historical Context

In 1736, William Parks founded Virginia’s first newspaper, the *Virginia Gazette* in Williamsburg. The *Virginia Gazette* was the first to publish, on July 12, 1776, a reference to the Declaration of Independence. Though its owners and locations have changed over its 270-year history, the *Virginia Gazette* is still published today. It is one of the oldest newspapers in the United States, and it is the oldest non-daily newspaper.

William Parks ran an advertisement in October of his first year of printing. His ad advertised, strangely enough, for more advertisements. His promotion stated:

> And as these Papers will circulate (as speedily as possible) not only all over This, but also the Neighboring Colonies, and will probably be read by some Thousands of People, it is very likely that may have the desir’d Effect; and it is certainly the cheapest and most effectual Method that can be taken for publishing any Thing of this Nature.

Parks’s ad worked well enough, not only during his editorship but for his successors. By the second half of the eighteenth century, several advertisements graced each edition of the paper.

* * *

Jane and Margaret Hunter of Williamsburg, Virginia, are thought to be the first women to become clothing store proprietors in America. Jane Hunter came to Virginia from London, England in the late 1760s having with experience in the clothing business. She rented a building from the son of one Dr. Gilmer, a physician and apothecary, a building originally built and occupied by the merchants Harmer & King, and turned it into a millinery. A year later her sister Margaret came to join her and work in the shop as well. When Jane married wigmaker Edward Charlton, the pair decided to open a separate millinery shop across the street, and Margaret acquired the original trade shop for her own use.

In the *Virginia Gazette* on 15 October 1772, the sisters ran advertisements for competing millinery shops. Both women advertised the sale of all sorts of clothing, toys, jewelry, and accoutrements, even some from exotic locales.

* * *

Samuel Howell was an enslaved mulatto, born in 1741. Howell, at many stages in his life, sought to be declared a free man. Howell’s grandmother was a white woman who gave birth to a girl whose father was a slave. Under Virginia law, which adopted in whole the laws of Great Britain, a mulatto could obtain his freedom only upon his 31st birthday. Moreover, the offspring of such a person, and that person’s offspring as well, were also subject to this law. As a result, Howell, who appeared white, would have had to remain a slave until his thirty-first birthday in 1782. In 1769, Howell was represented by Thomas Jefferson in the Albemarle County General Court as he attempted to sue for his freedom. Jefferson lost the case, and Howell was required to remain a slave until he turned 31.
Vocabulary

blond—light-colored through bleaching

bobbin—a tool used for weaving lace

brocade—a heavy fabric interwoven with a rich, raised design

calimanco (or calamanco)—a type of fabric imported from Flanders that was glossy on one side and checkered on the other

cambric (or cambrick)—a fine white linen, originally made at Cambray in Flanders

chip hats—hats made from home-grown coarse straw, wood or woody fibres split into thin strips

clouting—piece of cloth used for babies’ diapers

coque—a small loop or bow of ribbon used in making hats, boas

dimity—a stout cotton fabric with raised designs on it, usually used for bed hangings

long lawns—an article of clothing made from a fine linen resembling cambric

lustrings—a glossy silk fabric

marcasite—an ornament of pyrite, polished steel, or white metal

minionet lace (or minionette)—meaning small or tiny

mode—a light, glossy, black silk, or a garment made of this fabric

paste necklaces—hard, brilliant, lead-containing glasses made into artificial gems

persians—a thin, soft silk used for linings

riband—variation of the spelling ribbon

smelling bottles—early perfume containers

stomacher—a heavily embroidered or jeweled garment formerly worn over the chest and stomach

sprig—an ornament that resembles a spray of leaves or flowers

tapes—short for tapestry
wax necklaces—another term for pomander which were a mixture of aromatic substances enclosed in a perforated bag or box and used to scent clothes

worsted—a woolen fabric made of well-twisted yarn.

Discussion Starters

• How were clothing and its sale different in the eighteenth century as compared to today?
• What might be some of the reasons a slave would run away? Why might Samuel Howell make a second attempt at running when he was a mere three years from his freedom and had already been captured previously?

Document Analysis

• What can the Gazette advertisements, concerning the Hunter sisters, tell us about eighteenth-century trade?
• What can the Gazette ads, concerning Howell, tell us about the difference between law enforcement in the eighteenth century and today?

Extending Content

• women
• international trade
• fashion
• production methods
• law enforcement
• laws

Related Resources

• newspapers
• receipts
• ledgers
• letters
• inventories
Virginia Gazette Advertisements

*Just imported in the last Ships from London, and to be SOLD on reasonable Terms by the Subscriber in Williamsburg.*


❖ Cloaks, Bonnets, and all Sorts of Millinery, made in the newest Fashion.

Virginia Gazette

*Imported in the Planter, Captain Miller, and to be SOLD by the Subscriber in Williamsburg, on reasonable Terms,*

*Weston’s Scotch* Snuff, Suits of Childbed Linen, Satin and Dimity Baskets, Pincushions and Lines, striped, plain, flowered, Book, and Yard and a Half wide thick Muslins, Dimity, Lace, Fringe, and Muslin, for Childrens Robes, Diaper Clouting, long Lawn, a Variety of Ribands, Wax Top and Drop Earrings, black and coloured Velvet Collars, *Italian* Breast Flowers, white and coloured Satin, embroidered, Queen’s Silk, and Stuff Shoes for Ladies, Silk, Cotton, Thread, and Worsted Stockings, *Didsbury’s* Shoes, Buckskin Gloves for Gentlemen, a Variety of Toys, dressed and undressed Babies, green Silk Purses, &c.  

- Hats, Bonnets, and Cloaks, made in the neatest Manner and newest Fashion.

*Virginia Gazette*

RUN away from the subscriber, the 20th of October last, a likely young Mulatto man named SAM HOWEL, 23 years old, about 5 feet 9 inches high, well made for strength, has a remarkable good set of teeth, very black large eyebrows, and is a little bow legged-- as for his apparel it is so long since he went away that I suppose he has worn them out, and got others. He was bound for 31 years, according to the condition of his mother, who was to serve until that time; his pretence for going away was to apply to some lawyer at Williamsburg to try to get his freedom, though he had a trial in the county court, and was adjudged to serve his full time. I did hear that he applied to the King’s Attorney, and he told him he could not get free until his time was out; and I have never heard from him since. As he passes for a free man, I imagine he will endeavour to get on board some vessel, I therefore desire all masters of vessels not to entertain him, or carry him out of the country. Whoever apprehends the said slave, and brings him to me, in Cumberland county, on James river, shall receive 5 l. reward.

WADE NETHERLAND.

*Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), May 2, 1766.

RUN away from the subscriber, in Cumberland county, two mulatto servant men. SAMUEL HOWELL, about 28 years old, well set, about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high; he is a sensible fellow and a good sawer. SIMON HOWELL, brother to Samuel, about 25 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, has a thin visage, and sharp chin. They went off in their common labouring dress, and took no other clothes with them that I can discover. They are both bound to 31 years of age, and no doubt will endeavor to pass for free. Samuel lately brought suit for his freedom in the General Court, which was determined against him. Whoever delivers the said servants to me, about two miles from Michaux’s ferry, shall receive a reward of 6 l. if taken in Virginia, and if out of the colony 10 l.

WADE NETHERLAND.

*Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 16, 1770.
RUN away from the subscriber, in Cumberland county, two negroes named 

SAMUEL HOWELL, about 32 years old, well set, about 5 feet 4 inches high; he is a 
donable fellow and a good negro. SIMON HOLLIDAY, about 30 years of age, 

about 5 feet 6 inches high; has a short beard, and is very 

They were to be found at the sign of the 

Wade Sutherland.
I. Petitions
   i. Petition, Memorial, and Remonstrance

This political document was passed by the Virginia House of Burgesses on April 14, 1768, and was addressed to the three estates of the government of Great Britain.

   PART 1 – Petition to His Majesty, King George III.
   PART 2 – Memorial to the House of Lords.
   PART 3 – Remonstrance to the House of Commons.

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Part 1 – Petition to the King

The right to petition the monarch was a basic right of all Englishmen recognized by the British Constitution and rulers of the Empire alike. In this instance, the Virginia General Assembly was calling upon George III to recognize certain rights of his people residing in the colonies. Specifically, one of the most important rights was the right held by the people to be taxed only with their consent.

The Stamp Act of 1765, repealed in 1766, and now The Townshend Duties of 1767, were just two examples of Parliament’s ignoring of that basic right. Although not included, but integral to the situation, is the Declaratory Act of 1766, in which Parliament made the specific claim that it had the exclusive right to legislate for the entire Empire, “in all cases whatsoever.”

The Petition asks the king’s help in repealing the un-constitutional Townshend Duties.

Part 2 – Memorial to the House of Lords

The Memorial reminds the upper house of Parliament that, even though the colonists in British America may reside 3,000 miles away from the seat of government of the Empire, they are no less citizens, no less loyal to their King and no less entitled, as such, to bring their grievances before this body. This right, extended to all the people of the Empire everywhere, is the “chief pillar” of the British Constitution. By this Memorial, the colonists state that they have no intention of separating themselves from their “Parent Kingdom.” They also acknowledge the authority of Parliament to enact laws preserving this relationship between themselves and the “Mother Country.” However, that does not give Parliament the right to raise monies from the colonies without their consent.

The colonists are not opposed to taxation in principle; they have taxed themselves as needed for generations. They also do not oppose the taxing authority of Parliament, as long as that authority is used in its proper sphere, e.g., external taxation on trade for the benefit of the whole Empire.

However, for the colonies to recognize Parliament’s self-acclaimed right to interfere in taxing citizens internally, ( at the local level ), is “to bid adieu to their natural and civil liberties and prepare for a state of slavery.”

The document draws to a close by calling brief attention to another matter of concern: the Act (the Quartering Act) suspending the legislative power of the Province of New York. If Parliament can compel the colonies to house, clothe and even pay un-invited British troops, where will it end? And if their duly elected legislators are not allowed to legislate except under the “mandates of a British Parliament,” where will that lead?
Then, as if to say, “more on that score later,” it ends asking Parliament also to repeal the Townshend Duties, “securing to us, his Majesty’s most dutiful, though distant subjects the full enjoyment of all our natural and constitutional Rights and Privileges.”

**Part 3 – The Remonstrance to the House of Commons**

The Remonstrance is essentially a repetition of the Memorial, with one exception. Keeping in mind that trade, money matters and the general economic welfare of the Empire are under the purview of the House Commons, the House of Burgesses reminds Commons that they are fully aware of this, too.

They conclude their Remonstrance with a thinly-veiled economic threat that they feel reasonably sure will not go un-noticed. What Parliament does in the remote corners of the Empire will, in time, also be felt at home. For should “the remonstrants be…reduced to extreme poverty, (they) will be compelled to contract themselves within their little Spheres, and obliged to content themselves with their home-spun Manufactures.” In other words, when all else fails, the appeal to the pocketbook hopefully gets the desired attention.

**Summary**

Most of the grievances stipulated in these three documents will also be reiterated in the July 4, 1776 Declaration of Independence approved by the Continental Congress. Not co-incidentally, Thomas Jefferson and several other Virginia signers of the Declaration were also instrumental in the drawing up of the Petition, Memorial and Remonstrance of 1768.

An additional interesting note is that while the House of Burgesses had voted its approval of the 1768 document, it would be withheld from public release until early 1769 when William Rind was OK’d to publish it in the Virginia Gazette. Presumably, it was done in order to give these communications time to work their way through the proper governmental channels in the colonies and England.

**Vocabulary and Terms**

- “Approbation of their sovereign” – with the King’s approval
- Birthright – native right or privilege
- Charles II – first king after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 (start of Parliamentary increase in power.)
- “Cloathes” – clothing
- Council – group of 12 appointed gentlemen who represent the king’s interest in Virginia.
- Grievance – a request for a redress.
- Hogshead – a barrel made to a standard measure for shipping tobacco containing 1000 to 1100 pounds.
- “Home-spun manufactures” – all things made by individuals in the colonies either in the home or in trade shops.
- House of Burgesses – elected gentlemen to represent the people’s interest in Virginia.
- Lords Temporal – marquises, earls, viscounts and barons: the nobility.
Memorial – a summary of facts usually made on the grounds of a petition.
“Palladium of their liberties,” - to safeguard.
Petition – conventional format used to address the king.
Redress – to set right.
Remonstrance – protest or formal objection of great importance.
Shilling and pence – coins in circulation based on English pounds sterling.

20 shillings=1 pound    12 pence=1 shilling
Stamp Act of 1765 – act passed by Parliament to raise revenues in the colonies by requiring the buying of government stamps to be put on all legal documents and numerous other items, e.g. playing cards and newspapers.  Repealed 1766.
Townshend Duties of 1767 – taxes on American imports of glass, lead, paper, paint and tea. All repealed in 1770, except tax on tea.

Discussion Starters

Why were these documents written?
Why did the Virginia Assembly write three documents?
Why did the Burgesses delay the publication of these documents here in Virginia?

Document Analysis

What are the specific concerns in each document?
Why did the colonists object to being taxed by Parliament?
How did the people in America think of themselves compared to the people in England?
Describe the relationship between each pair of the following terms.

1. Parliament & External Taxes
2. External Taxes & Colonial Government
3. Colonial Government & Internal Taxes
4. Parliament & Trade within the Empire
5. Internal Taxes & Trade within the Empire
6. Colonial Government & Local Businesses
7. Parliament & Local Businesses

Extending the Context

Do United States citizens have the right to petition their government today?
If so, how? What process? What form?
How would you get in touch with your representative today? In your town?
In your county? In your state? In Washington, D.C.?
If citizens today cannot get any redress of their grievances from government officials what can they do about it?
Related Resources

- “Colonial reaction to Townshend Acts” lesson plan.  
  http://www.history.org/history/teaching/tcherone.cfm
- “Petition, Memorial and Remonstrance-April 14, 1768” Rare Documents Collection, J. D. Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- The Long Fuse: How England Lost the American Colonies 1760-1785.  
  By Don Cook  (ISBN 0871136619)
PETITION, MEMORIAL AND REMONSTRANCE – 1768

The following Petition, Memorial, and Remonstrance, were ordered by the House of Burgesses not to be published with the Journals until the 25th of December, before which Time it was supposed they would be laid before his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament.

G. Wythe, C.H.B.

The Petition to His Majesty.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Most gracious sovereign,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful Subjects the Council and the Burgesses of Virginia now met in General Assembly, not discouraged by a too well grounded apprehension that their conduct has been unfavorably represented to your Royal Ear, but relying with the most implicit Confidence on your majesty's known Justice and most gracious Disposition toward all your loving subjects, how far so ever removed, humbly beg Leave to approach your Royal Presence with the warmest assurances of their most cordial and inviolable Attachment to your sacred Person and Government.

They do, with the highest sense of Gratitude, acknowledge the many great and signal Benefits they have reaped from their Parent Kingdom, under the glorious and auspicious Reigns of your Majesty and your Royal Ancestors; and with all Humility, submit to your Princely Consideration the Tenor of their whole Conduct and that of their Forefathers, as the most lively Evidence of their Duty and Affection.

They humbly embrace this Occasion to reiterate their unfeigned Thanks to your Majesty for your gracious and ready Assent to the Repeal of the late oppressive Stamp-Act; but, at the same Time, they cannot sufficiently lament the shortness of that Interval of Happiness they have enjoyed between so agreeable and pleasing an Event, and the enacting several late acts of the British Parliament, equally burthensome to your Majesty's Colonies in general, and, as they most humbly conceive, equally derogatory to those constitutional Privileges and Immunities, which they, the Heirs and Descendants of free born Britons, have ever esteemed their unquestionable and invaluable Birthrights.

They, therefore, prostrating themselves at the Foot of your Throne, most humbly implore your Fatherly Goodness and Protection of this and all their sister Colonies in the Enjoyment of their antient and inestimable right of being governed by such Laws only, respecting their internal Polity and Taxation as are derived from their own Consent with the approbation of their Sovereign; a Right, which, as Freemen founding their Claim upon the vital Principles of the British Constitution, they have exercised without Interruption, and which, as they humbly conceive, has been frequently recognized and confirmed to them. And they do assure your Majesty with that Truth and Sincerity, which Duty, Gratitude and Affection to the best of Kings ought ever to inspire, that they will at all Times exert their best Endeavours, even at the Expence
of their Lives and Fortunes, to promote the Glory of your Majesty's Reign and the Prosperity of Great Britain upon which they are convinced that their own Security and Happiness does essentially depend.

That your Majesty may long and gloriously reign in the Hearts of a free and happy People is the most ardent Prayer of your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful Subjects,

The Council, and the Burgesses and Representatives of the People of Virginia.

Memorial to the House of Lords.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

That your Memorialists are so truly sensible of the Happiness and Security they derive from their Connexions with and Dependance upon Great-Britain, the Parent Kingdom of this and all his Majesty's other Colonies in America, that they cannot but be impressed with the deepest Concern that any unlucky Incidents should ever have interrupted that salutary and pleasing Harmony, which they wish ever to subsist. They acknowledge the Wisdom and Justice of the Parliament in repealing the late oppressive Stamp-Act through they must consider several recent Acts of the British Legislature as equally subversive of those constitutional Principles of Liberty and Freedom, which they and their Ancestors have ever esteemed their indisputable Birthrights, as the immediate Heirs and Descendants of free-born Britons.

Your Memorialists cannot sufficiently lament that the Remoteness of their Situation from the Seat of his Majesty's Empire too often exposes them to such Misrepresentations as are apt to involve them in Censures of Disloyalty to their Most Gracious Sovereign, and the Want of a proper Respect and Deference to the British Parliament; whereas they have ever indulged themselves in the agreeable Persuasion that they had entitled themselves to be considered as inferiour to none of their Fellow-Subjects, in any Parts of his Majesty's Dominions, for Duty or Affection. They therefore humbly hope, that an Application to your Lordships, the fixed and hereditary Guardians of British Liberty, upon so important an Occasion, will not be thought improper, but that the Grievances of the whole People will be regarded as Objects worthy your most serious Attention.

They presume not to claim any other than the natural Rights of British Subjects. The fundamental and vital Principles of their happy Government, so universally admitted, is known to consist in this, that no Power on Earth has a Right to impose Taxes upon the People or to take the smallest Portion of their Property, without their Consent, given by their Representatives in Parliament; this has ever been esteemed the chief Pillar of their Constitution, the very Palladium.
of their Liberties. If this Principle is suffered to decay, the Constitution must expire with it, as no Man can enjoy even the Shadow of Freedom, if his Property, acquired by his own Industry and the Sweat of his Brow, may be wrested from him, at the Will of another, without his own Consent.

This Truth is so well established that it is unnecessary to attempt a Demonstration of it to Englishmen, who feel the Principle firmly implanted in them, diffusing through their whole Frame Complacency and Cheerfulness.

In this happy Situation lived the Ancestors of your Memorialists, when they first undertook, with the Approbation of their Sovereigns, but at the Expence of their Blood and their own Treasure, to explore and settle these new Regions. The natural and constitutional Rights and Privileges which they had enjoyed in their native Country, your Memorialists humbly conceive, could not be lost or forfeited by their Migration to America, but were brought over by them intire and transmitted to their Descendants inviolate.

Let not your Memorialists, my Lords, me misunderstood; they affect not, they do not wish an Independency of their Parent Kingdom, but rejoice in their reciprocal Connexions, which they know are essential to the Happiness of both. They have been cherished, they have been protected by their mother Country, and acknowledge themselves bound by every Tie of Gratitude and Affection to embrace all Opportunities of promoting the Prosperity of Great-Britain to the utmost of their Abilities. They cheerfully acquiesce in the Authority of Parliament to make Laws for preserving this necessary Dependance, yet they cannot conceive, and humbly insist that it is not essential to this Purpose, or to support a proper Relation between a Mother Country and Colonies transplanted from her, that she should have a Right to raise money upon them without their consent.

The Trade of the Colonies almost as soon as it became an Object worthy the National Attention was laid under such Restrictions as were thought necessary to secure their Dependance and promote the Interest of the whole extended Empire. The natural Rights and first Principles of the English Constitution were very early ingrafted into the Constitutions of the Colonies; hence a Legislative Authority, ever essential in all free States, was derived and assimilated as nearly as might be to that in England; the Crown reserving to itself the executive Authority of Government, and the Power of assenting and dissenting to all Laws; but the Privilege of choosing their own Representatives was continued in the People, and confirmed to them by repeated and express Stipulations. The Constitution and Government of this Colony being thus fixed and established, your Memorialists and their Ancestors enjoyed the Fruits of their own Labour, with a Security, which Liberty only can impart. Upon pressing and emergent Occasions, not within their own Powers of Redress, they frequently applied to their King and common Father, and repeatedly, they own it with Gratitude, have received seasonable Reliefs from their Mother Country. On the other Hand when his Majesty has had Occasion for the Assistance of his dutiful Subjects in America, Requisitions have been constantly made from the Crown, by the King's Governors to the Representatives of the People, who have complied with them to the utmost extent of their Abilities. The ample and adequate Provision made by the Assemblies of this Colony in the Reign of King Charles the Second and upon his Requisition, for
the support of the civil Government, by an Impost of two Shillings Sterling per Hogshead upon all our Tobacco exported, one Shilling and three pence per Ton upon Ships and Vessels, and six Pence per Poll upon all Persons imported, except Mariners; the many and large Supplies voted during the Course of the last War, upon Requisitions from his Majesty and his Royal Grandfather, afford both early and recent Instances of the Disposition of the Assemblies of this colony to do every Thing that could reasonably be asked or expected from them; and are at the same Time incontestable Proofs that the Parliament of Great-Britain never, until very lately assumed a Power of imposing Taxes on the People of the Colonies, for the purposes of raising a Revenue or supporting the contingencies of Government.

To say that the Parliament of Great-Britain has a constitutional Authority and Right to impose internal Taxes on the Inhabitants of this continent, who are not, and, from the nature of their situation, cannot be represented in the House of Commons, is in a Word, as your Memorialists most humbly conceive, to command them to bid Adieu to their natural and civil Liberties and prepare for a State of Slavery. The Commons of Great-Britain can impose no Tax on the People there without burthening themselves in some Proportion; if their Taxes should be disagreeable and grievous to their constituents, the Constitution has not left the People without a Remedy. But what, my Lords, must be the Situation of the Colonists, if an Authority and Right to tax them should be established in the British Parliament? Unrepresented as they are, and for ever must be, their Grievances cannot be fairly and properly explained; they have it not in their Power, if they are to be taxed, to point out the Mode least burthensome to themselves; the Parliament bears no Share of the Taxes imposed on the Colonies, and their Doom will generally be determined before they receive the least Intelligence that a Subject, had been agitated in Parliament, whereby they or their Interests might be affected. The Notion of a virtual Representation has been so often and clearly refuted,

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that your Memorialists decline troubling your Lordships with any Observations on that Head.

The Stamp-Act, so often and justly complained of confessedly imposed internal Taxes on the Colonies and several late Acts of Parliament plainly, as your Memorialists conceive, tend to the same Point. That the Parliament may make Laws for regulating the Trade of the Colonies has been granted; sometimes Duties have been imposed to restrain the Commerce of one Part of the Empire, that was likely to prove injurious to another, and by this Means the general Welfare of the whole may have been promoted: But a Tax imposed upon such of the British Exports, as are necessaries of Life, to be paid by the Colonists upon Importation, and this not with the most distant View to the Interests of Commerce, but merely to raise a Revenue, or in plainer Words, to compel the Colonists to part with their Money against their Inclinations, your Memorialists conceive to be a Tax internal to all Intents and Purposes.

Of this Sort your Memorialists cannot but consider the late Acts of Parliament, granting certain Duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America; the Preamble of the Act plainly speaks the Design of it; and can it, my Lords, be thought just or reasonable that the Colonists, restricted as they are in their Trade of every Kind, should be compelled to pay Duties on the Articles enumerated in this Act? They have long been restrained from purchasing many of the Necessaries of Life at any other than the British Market; they are confined in their Exports also, and now are told that they shall not have such Necessaries without paying a Duty for them.
The Stamp Act imposed a Duty upon certain Instruments of Writing, and by the late Act the Colonies, are to be compelled to pay a Duty upon every Slip of Paper they use in the most ordinary Occurrences of Life.

The Purposes of Government, which are said to be the chief Objects of this Act, your Memorialists have shewn were long since Provided for in this Colony; this is again remarked, not that your Memorialists would claim any particular, exclusive Merit from it, but to shew how easily our internal Concerns may be mistaken at the distance of three thousand Miles; for had this been attended to, your Memorialists are unwilling to suppose, that the Parliament would have imposed Taxes on a Colony, for purposes amply provided for in that Colony. The manner also in which this Act is to be executed, your Memorialists are apprehensive may in Time prove destructive to the Liberties of the People.

The Act suspending the Legislative Power of the Province of New-York, your Memorialists cannot but consider as still more alarming to the Colonies in general, though it has that single Province in View as its immediate Object. If the Parliament has a Right to compel the Colonies to furnish a single Article for the Troops sent over to America by the same Rule they may oblige them to furnish Cloaths, Arms and every other Thing, even the pay of the Officers and Soldiers; a doctrine replete with every Kind of Mischief and utterly subversive of every Thing dear and valuable to us. For what Advantage could the People of the Colonies derive from their Right of choosing their own Representatives, if those Representatives when chosen, not permitted to Exercise their own Judgments, were under a Necessity, (on Pain of being deprived of their Legislative Authority) of enforcing the Mandates of a British Parliament, though ever so injurious to the Interests of the Colony they Represent? Your Memorialists could enlarge upon this disagreeable Subject, but fear they have already trespassed too far upon your Lordships Time and Patience. They have communicated to your Lordships, and it is hoped with the greatest Decency and Respect, the Sentiments of a free and loyal People. It only remains for them to beseech your Lordships with that Earnestness which the Importance of the Subject inspires, to use your Parliamentary Power and Influence in procuring a Repeal of the above recited Acts of Parliament, and in securing to us, his Majesty's most dutiful, though distant Subjects, the full Enjoyment of all our natural and constitutional Rights and Privileges.
The Remonstrance to the House of Commons.

To the Honorable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of Great Britain in Parliament assembled,

    The Council and the House of Burgesses, the sole constitutional Representatives of his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the People of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, having taken into their most serious Consideration the State of this Colony, with due Deference and Respect to the Wisdom of the Representatives of the Commons of Great-Britain, remonstrate as follows.

    It is with equal Grief and Amazement that the Remonstrants have learnt, that they have been represented in Great-Britain as disloyal to their Most Gracious Sovereign and disaffected to his Government, since, by their whole Conduct they have endeavoured to approve themselves second to none of their Fellow Subjects, in any part of his Majesty's Dominions, for Duty and Affection.

    They are truly sensible of the Happiness and Security they derive from their Connexions and dependance upon Great Britain their Parent Kingdom; and as they have at all Times exerted their best Endeavours to make such suitable Returns on their Parts, as might render the Continuance of those Connexions permanent, and equally Desirable to both, they cannot but feel the deepest Concern that any Incidents should have interrupted that pleasing Harmony, which they wish ever to Subsist.

    As Members of the British Empire, they presume not to claim any other than the common unquestionable Rights of British Subjects, who, by a fundamental and vital Principle of their Constitution, cannot be subjected to any Kind of Taxation, or have the smallest Portion of their Property taken from them by any Power on Earth, without their Consent given by their Representatives in Parliament; this Pillar of their Constitution the very Palladium of their Liberties, hath been so zealously preserved by the House of Commons of Great Britain, that they have never suffered any other branch of their Legislature to make the smallest Amendment or Alteration in any of their Supply Bills, left it should be drawn into Precedent and considered as a Cession of so dear and essential a Right and Privilege.

    If this Principle is ever suffered to decay, the Constitution must pine away and expire with it, as no Man can enjoy even the Shadow of Liberty or Freedom, if his Property, acquired by his own Labour and Industry, can be wrested from him at the Will of another. To attempt demonstrating this to an Englishman must surely be unnecessary: he feels the Principle within him, and it diffuses through his whole Frame that Complacency and Cheerfulness without which he could not live at Ease.

    Our Ancestors, who, at the Expence of their Blood and Treasure, first explored and settled these new Regions, being entitled to these natural and constitutional Rights, could not forfeit or lose them by their Migration to America, not as Vagabonds and Fugitives, but with the Licence and under the Encouragement of their Sovereigns, being animated with the laudable desire of enlarging the English Dominion and extending its Commerce; but on the contrary they
brought these their common Birthrights over with them entire and transmitted them inviolate to us their Posterity.

Let not the Remonstrants be misunderstood, as affecting or wishing an Independency of Great-Britain; they rather rejoice in that constitutional Connexion, which they know is essential to the Happiness of both; they have been cherished, they have been kindly protected by her, and cannot indulge themselves with the Persuasion that the Benefits which have redounded, and which daily accrue to their Mother Country from her Trade with the Colonies, have hitherto proved, and still continue, an adequate and ample Recompence for such Protection.

They have acquiesced in the Authority of Parliament to make Laws for preserving a necessary Dependence, yet they cannot think it essential to this Purpose, or to preserve a proper relation between a Parent Kingdom and Colonies transplanted from her, that she should raise Money upon them without their Consent. The Trade of the Colonies, almost as soon as it became an Object worthy the national Attention, was laid under such Restrictions, as were thought necessary to secure their Dependance and promote the Interest of the whole extended Empire. The natural Rights and first Principles of the English Constitution were very early ingrafted into the Constitutions of the Colonies: Hence a Legislative Authority, which has always been thought essential in every free State, was derived and assimilated, as nearly as might be, to that established in England; the Crown reserving to itself the executive Authority of Government and the Power of assenting and dissenting to all Laws; but the Privilege of choosing their own Representatives was continued in the People, and confirmed to them by repeated and express Stipulations. The Constitution and Government of this Colony being thus established and fixed, the Remonstrants and their Ancestors enjoyed the perfect Sweets of Liberty and Freedom. Upon pressing and emergent Occasions, not within their own Powers of Redress, they have frequently applied to their King and common Father, and often, they own it with Gratitude, have received seasonable Reliefs from their Mother Country. On the other Hand, when his Majesty has had Occasion for the Assistance of his dutiful Subjects in America, Requisitions have been constantly made from the Crown by the King's Governors to the Representatives of the People, who have complied with them to the utmost of their Abilities. The ample and adequate Provision made by the Assembly of the Colony, so long ago as the Reign of King Charles the Second, and upon his Requisition, for support of the civil Government, by an Impost of two Shillings Sterling per Hogshead on all Tobacco exported, one Shilling and three pence Tonnage upon all Ships and Vessels, and six Pence per Poll on all Persons imported, except Mariners, with the money and large Supplies, exceeding half a Million voted during the Course of the last War, upon Requisitions made to the Assembly of this Colony by his Majesty and his Royal Grandfather afford both early and recent Instances of the Disposition of the Assemblies of this Colony, to do every Thing that could reasonably be desired or expected of them; and at the same Time are incontestable Proofs that the Commons of Great Britain never, until very lately, assumed a Power of imposing Taxes on the People of the Colonies for the purposes of raising a Revenue or supporting the Contingencies of Government. To say that the Commons of Great Britain have a Constitutional Right and Authority to give, and grant at their Pleasure the Properties of the People in the Colonies or to impose an internal Tax of any kind upon them, who are not and cannot, from the nature of their Situation, be represented in their House of
Commons is in a Word, to command them to bid Adieu to their natural and civil Liberties, and to prepare for a State of the most abject Slavery.

The Commons of Great Britain can impose no Taxes on the People there, without burthening themselves in some Proportion; if the Taxes they impose should be thought grievous or unnecessary, the Constitution hath not left the People without a proper Remedy. But what must be the Situation of the Colonists, if the late and new broached Doctrine should prevail? Unrepresented as they are, and for ever must be, they can have no Opportunity of explaining their just Grievances; and, if they are to be taxed, of pointing out the least inconvenient and burthensome Mode of doing it; in short, their Doom will generally be pronounced, before they can receive the least Intelligence that a Subject, whereby they or their Interests might be affected, hath been agitated in Parliament.

The Notion of a virtual Representation hath been so often and fully refuted, that it surely is unnecessary to multiply Words on that Head; if the Property, the Liberties, the Lives of Millions of his Majesty's most dutiful Subjects are merely ideal, how deplorable must be their Condition!

The late oppressive Stamp-Act, so often and justly complained of, in repealing which, your Remonstrants have repeatedly acknowledged the Wisdom and Justice of Parliament, did confessedly impose a Tax on the Colonists merely internal; and the Remonstrants cannot but consider several late Acts of the British Parliament, as tending directly to the same Point. That the Parliament may make Laws for regulating the Trade of the colonies has been granted; sometimes Duties have been properly enough imposed to restrain the Commerce of one Part of the Empire, that might prove injurious to another, and by this Means, the general Welfare of the whole may have been promoted; but a Tax imposed upon the real Necessaries of Life for the sole Purpose of raising a Revenue, or, in other Words, to compel the Inhabitants of the Colonies to pay large Sums of Money, whether they will or not, and this, not with a view to the general Interests of Commerce, the Remonstrants must ever think mere internal Tax to all Intents and Purposes. Of this sort they cannot but consider a late Act of Parliament "giving and granting certain Duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America;" the Preamble plainly speaks the Design of the Act; and can it be thought just, or reasonable, that the Colonists, restricted as they are in every Branch of their Trade, should be obliged to pay Duties on the Articles enumerated in this Act? They are, in the first Place, by former Laws prohibited from purchasing these Necessaries of Life at any other that the British Market; they are confined in their Exports also; by this they are to be compelled to pay severe Duties on such Necessaries. By the Stamp-Act they were forbid, under grievous Penalties, transacting all Sorts of important Business except upon stampt Paper, by this Act they are inhibited the Use of Paper, in the most common and ordinary Occurrences, unless they will first submit to pay a Duty for it. The Purposes of Government, which are said to be the chief Objects of this Act, the Remonstrants have shewn, were long since provided for by an ample and perpetual Act of Assembly; this is again remarked, not because the Remonstrants would claim any particular exclusive Merit from it, but to shew how easily their internal concerns may be mistaken at the distance of Three Thousand Miles; they being unwilling to believe, that, had this Circumstance been attended to, the Parliament
would have imposed Taxes on this Colony for Purposes
already provided for. The Manner in which this Act is to be executed, the Remonstrants cannot but consider as extremely dangerous to the Liberties of the People.

The Act suspending the legislative Power of the Province of New-York, the Remonstrants consider as still more alarming to the Colonies in General, though it has that single Province in View as its immediate Object. If the Parliament has a Right to compel the Colonists to furnish a single Article for the Troops sent over to America, by the same Rule of Right they may compel them to furnish Cloaths, Arms and every other Necessary, even the Pay of the Officers and Soldiers; a Doctrine replete with every kind of Mischief, and utterly subversive of all that is dear and valuable to them. For what Advantage could the People of the Colonies derive from their Right of choosing their own Representatives, if those Representatives when chosen, not permitted to exercise their own judgments, were under a Necessity (on Pain of being deprived of their Legislative Authority) of enforcing the Mandates of a British Parliament?

Thus have the Remonstrants expressed, and, they trust with decent Firmness, the Sentiments of a free and loyal People; it is hoped that the Honorable House of Commons will no longer prosecute Measures, which they, who are designed to suffer under them must ever consider as much fitter for Exiles, driven from their native Country after having ignominiously forfeited her Favours and Protection than for the Posterity of Britons who have been at all Times anxious and solicitous to demonstrate their Respect and Affection for their Mother Kingdom by embracing every Occasion to promote her Prosperity and Glory; But that British Patriots will never consent to the Exercise of anti-constitutional Powers, which even in these remote Corners, May, in Time, prove dangerous in their Example to the interior parts of the British Empire. Should the Remonstrants be disappointed in these hopes the necessary Result will be that the Colonists, reduced to extreme Poverty, will be compelled to contract themselves within their little Spheres, and obliged to content themselves with their home-spun Manufactures.

Key Words: Stamp Act House of Burgesses General Assembly protest

Petition, Memorial and Remonstrance, April 14, 1768, Williamsburg: William Rind, 1769 in the collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
V. Additional Resources

A. Dragoon Watercolors

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B. Margaret Hunter Shop

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