

Intellectual Life
in the Colonial South
1585-1763

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

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in the
Colonial South
1585-1763

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CHAPTER EIGHT



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~~~ The Private Buildings are of late much improved; several Gentlemen there, having built themselves large Brick Houses of many Rooms on a Floor, and several Stories high, as also some Stone-Houses: but they don't covet to make them lofty, having extent enough of Ground to build upon; and now and then they are visited by high Winds, which wou'd incommode a towring Fabrick. They always contrive to have large Rooms, that they may be cool in Summer. Of late they have made their Stories much higher than formerly, and their Windows large, sasht with Cristal Glass; and within they adorn their Apartments with rich Furniture.

All their Drudgeries of Cooking, Washing, Daries, & c. are perform'd in Offices detach't from the Dwelling-Houses, which by this means are kept more cool and Sweet. . . . they have few tiled Houses; neither has any one yet thought it worth his while to dig up the Slate, which will hardly be made use of, till the Carriage there becomes cheaper, and more common.

—ROBERT BEVERLEY, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, [1705], ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 289.

~~~ Crow-field, Mr. Wm Middleton's seat. . . . The house stands a mile from, but in sight of the road, and makes a very hansoume appearance; as you draw nearer new beauties discover themselves, first the fruitful vine mantleing up the wall loaded with delicious Clusters; next a spacious bason in the midst of a large green presents itself as you enter the gate that leads to the house, which is neatly finished; the rooms well contrived and elegantly furnished. From the back door is a spacious walk a thousand foot long; each side of which nearest the house is a grass plat enamiled in a Sepertine manner with flowers[.] Next to that on the right hand is what immediately

struck my rural taste, a thicket of young tall live oaks where a variety of Airry Chorristers pour forth their melody; and my darling, the mocking bird joyned in the artless Concert and enchanted me with his harmony. Opposite on the left hand is a large square boleing green sunk a little below the level of the rest of the garden with a walk quite round composed of a double row of fine flowering Laurel and Catulpas which form both shade and beauty.

My letter will be of an unreasonable length if I don't pass over the mounts, Wilderness, etc., and come to the bottom of this charming spot where is a large fish pond with a mount rising out of the middle—the top of which is level with the dwelling house and upon it is a roman temple. On each side of this are other large fish ponds properly disposed which form a fine prospect of water from the house. Beyond this are the smiling fields dressed in Vivid green. Here Ceres and Pomona joyn hand in hand to crown the hospitable board. Thus I have given you a very languid discription of a delightful place.

—E[liza] Lucas [Pinckney] to Miss Bartlett [c. May 1743 in *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739–1762*, ed. Elise Pinckney (Chapel Hill, 1972), p. 61]

When first Columbus touch'd this distant Shore,
And vainly hop'd his Fears and Dangers o'er,
One boundless Wilderness in View appear'd!
No Champain Plains or rising Cities chear'd
His wearied Eye—
Monsters unknown travers'd the hideous Waste,
And Men more Savage than the Beasts they chac'd,
But mark how soon these gloomy Prospects clear,
And the new World's late horrors disappear.
The sod obedient to the industrious swains,
With happy Harvests crowns their honest Pains,
And Peace and Plenty triumph o'er the Plains.

.

Hence we presume to usher in those Arts
Which oft have warm'd the best and bravest Hearts.
Faint our endeavours, rude are our Essays,
We strive to please, but can't pretend to praise

—[1st prologue for *The Orphan* in Charles-Town, S.C., January 24, 1735, from *South-Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1735.]

EXTEMPORE:

On Seeing Mr. Wollaston's Pictures in Annapolis

By Dr. T. T.

Behold the won'drous Power of Art!
That makes devouring Time and Death,
Can Nature's ev'ry Charm impart;
And make the lifeless Canvas Breathe.
The Lilly blended with the Rose,
Blooms gaily on each fertile cheek,
Their Eyes the sparkling Gems disclose,
And balmy Lips, too, seem to speak.

Nature and We, must bless the Hand,
That can such heav'nly Charms por'tray,
And save the Beauties of this Land
From envious Obscurity.
Whilst on each Piece we gaze,
In various Wonder, we are lost;
And know not justly which to praise,
Or Nature, Or the Painter, most.

—*Maryland Gazette*, March 15, 1753

THE FINE ARTS, occasionally touched upon in the preceding sections of this study, were as definitely and frequently a part of southern provincial life as were science and education and religion. They were often at the same time functional, decorative, and actively entertaining. Their antecedents or models or roots were British traditional and contemporary, European past and present, and considerably less frequently American aboriginal. In the five major forms here to be considered—architecture, formal gardens, painting, music, and the theater—they show at times highly original features resulting from new climate, strange soil and terrain and vegetation, and the heterogeneity of ethnic and national stocks represented among the colonists.

In no phase of his intellectual life was the southern provincial more in the British-Continental tradition than in these fine arts. In form and quality they were basically what this transplanted European brought with him. English styles in architecture and gardens, paintings and prints produced in Europe, music by European teachers and performers and composers, and a theater with a repertory of British plays acted by British companies were familiar elements of colonial life. The colonist's tastes in them were largely those of his relatives back in the Old World, though perhaps more strongly

than in his books and religion he was displaying the preferences of an agrarian or provincial Briton rather than those of an urban Londoner. But rural or urban in origin, his æsthetic interests followed European patterns more than did many other aspects of his cerebrations.

And yet there were differences. From the beginning the theater, with English actors and English plays, adapted itself to strange and crude buildings, native prologues and epilogues, and somewhat strange audiences. All the southern provinces were drama-conscious and drama-stimulated as their New England contemporaries were not. Only New York and Pennsylvania actually rivaled them, and one gathers that in proportion to population the towns of the South possessed more avid and inveterate playgoers than did the cities of these middle colonies.

Gardens, from simple quadrangles of shrubs and herbs and flowers to elaborate and complex patterns of all these plants, with terraces and lakes and mounds and gazebos, were in most respects very English, but because of climate and terrain sometimes quite un-English, from species of trees and other flora to the hummingbirds that sipped from the myriad blossoms. Architecture, usually begun in the crude wattle-and-daub or mud-turf-twig huts similar to the humblest shelters in Britain, soon adapted the English medieval style to urban and rural building and continued to show its influence to the earliest period of Thomas Jefferson as architect. But the Palladian-Vitruvian classical or neoclassical influence introduced into Britain in the middle or early seventeenth century was occasionally evident in the American provinces before the end of that century. Its modified Queen Anne form survives in dozens of houses and churches and secular public edifices in the Chesapeake colonies and in South Carolina, as does a purer Palladianism in the mid-eighteenth-century mansions of the South's golden age. Its final colonial manifestation suffered something of a sea change into the Jeffersonian style, which in turn has become in its Greek Revival variant our national architecture. Yet no one would say a Palladian house or church by Buckland or Ariss or Jefferson represented precisely the English form of that architecture. Red-clay brick, oystershell lime mortar, abundant and splendid American woods, and a modicum of native and imported stone have made Gunston Hall, Christ Church of Lancaster County, Monticello, St. Philip's and St. Michael's, and the Charleston "Single House" distinctive and distinguished contributions to art. The foundations or ruins of Mansfield, Marlborough, and Rosewell in Virginia and of the Middleton and other country mansions of South Carolina indicate that many more than now survive were as imposing and as individual architecturally.

Secular music was good, but it is difficult to see how it may be distinguished from European, even if a particular sonata or minuet is known to

have been written by a colonial composer. But hymnody, thanks to the first Great Awakening, a paucity of accompanying instruments, the natural talent of the black slave, and some able singing teachers, developed along its own lines and eventually in the national period led to such genuinely American forms as the Negro spiritual. Though the graphic arts seem least original and most crudely derivative, native portrait painting, landscapes and chimney and wall pieces of local subjects, the few religious pieces, even the very mode of adapting wood-marbleizing to American interiors, had a certain individuality.

But distinctive contributions to the fine arts were relatively rare in a society of small villages and farms and one medium-sized town. What did develop increasingly, among at least the middle and upper classes, was good taste. One has only to look at the photographs of surviving tiny houses and larger mansions of Maryland, of Virginia rural churches and the most modest Williamsburg or Fredericksburg domiciles, of Charleston dwellings great and small, or of courthouses and customs houses almost anywhere in the southern colonial region, to see that there was architectural taste, good in the later seventeenth century but increasingly better in the eighteenth. And, as will be pointed out, good music, albeit much of it popular for its time, was enjoyed by yeoman farmer or town apprentice or city merchant or planter's family, as well as by any or all these who might attend a public concert or a musical play. Gardens, perhaps the most easily perishable of these major art forms, have left reminders that they existed—brick walls and boxwood and trees and now-wild flowers—all near the simplest of dwellings and the greatest. Though much of the painting and decoration has vanished, there remain numerous evidences in buildings of all sizes, sacred and secular, that the southern colonial enjoyed form and color and image. Most of the plays he saw are in some measure classics, from Shakespeare and Farquhar and Otway and Cibber to the farces. Those performed most must have reflected the colonist's preference as much as the company's repertory.

ARCHITECTURE

Southern colonial architecture in the beginning seems to have been purely functional in intent, with whatever artistic features it possessed coming accidentally or incidentally to the patterns it followed. In the beginning, though quite primitive, it gave evidence that its creators were consciously following Old World models when they could but at the same time modifying them by the use of new materials in a markedly un-British terrain and climate. Star-shaped forts might appear in the military plan-

ning books, but that they might be built of sandy earth and pine palisades Old World strategists had not reckoned with. Timbered storehouses and magazines and living quarters within these protected areas, with brick footings, may roughly have followed European building procedures, but again they had to be altered by the strange materials of which they were composed. Even roofs might be marsh reeds or bark instead of straw, or tiles baked from curious southern coastal clay and sand rather than from familiar European soils. Dwellings, the simplest of cottages to begin with, seem to have been usually of British-type timber construction or timber frame with a filling of wattle and daub and when possible with brick footings for the walls and chimneys, but the bricks, like the tiles, had to be made of local materials under the crudest conditions, and the first timber used was frequently more porous and less durable than that of Britain.

From 1585 on, some sort of designers, the first of them probably military engineers or carpenters of considerable experience, planned towns, forts, and buildings. The log cabin did not exist in the South for generations and came only with Swedish and other Nordic influences late in the seventeenth century. Except as a crude storage outbuilding, it was rarely seen in the Tidewater or Piedmont areas of the Chesapeake even in the eighteenth century, though along the Appalachian frontiers and perhaps in tidewater North Carolina it was the most frequent form of construction. For the colonial period in the provinces south of the Susquehannah the timbered or brick or occasionally stone dwelling or public building modified from European architectural pattern books was the rule.

As several architectural historians have pointed out, the potential influence of Indian architecture on the simpler dwellings and on plans for fortifications cannot be ignored. By 1607 the red man had developed, presumably on his own, the palisadoed fortification in round or varied designs, he had some houses of puncheons (timber driven into the ground) with a central opening to let out the smoke of his fire, and the within-the-fortification food-producing garden. These types were already familiar to the European, who had built similar structures and enclosures for centuries. But the red man demonstrated how such construction could be best adapted to this western land. And there is some evidence that the Indian oven- or loaf-shaped house or temple of bark or woven-reed mats was imitated in certain of the settlers' simpler houses along the earliest seventeenth-century frontiers. Unfortunately for our sense of heritage, all these aboriginal structures were of such perishable stuff that no single recognizable fragment of them survives along the eastern seaboard.¹

In the sixteenth century, in his *Discourse of Western Planting* mentioned in Chapter I above, Richard Hakluyt makes clear that framed houses, of hewn and sawed timber, were contemplated for the American settlements.

For Hakluyt states that house builders, sawyers and carpenters, lath makers, thatchers, and even brick, tile, and lime makers were to be among the first settlers. Though hardly all these artisans were present in the little groups on Roanoke Island in 1585 and 1587, archaeological evidence recently discovered points out that certainly some builders were in this sixteenth-century colony. In *A brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London, 1588), Thomas Hariot devotes a whole section to "Of commodities for building and other necessary uses," including a discussion or description of oak, walnut, pine, cypress, cedar, and other suitable woods, and of materials for brick and lime. The recent evidence consists of one fragment of perhaps Elizabethan brick and a contemporary flat clay roofing tile. Earlier reports show stone found on the site.

John White's 1587 narrative of his return voyage tells something of the structure of the cottages in which the colonists lived. Located about halfway between the fort and the Indian village, they were apparently of timber construction, of two stories, perhaps with brick footings and chimneys, and thatched with reeds. In 1600 David or Darby Glavin, an Irish soldier, deposed that brick and tile were made at Roanoke for the fort and houses. Quite recently the star-shaped outlines and bulwarks of the fort have been uncovered and restored, but all evidence indicates that the enclosure was protected by earth embankments. Brick and tile were probably made, but so far the kiln has not been located. What evidence does exist, therefore, suggests that in this predawn British settlement the architecture was already set in what would become the characteristic southern colonial pattern of English forms and local materials.²

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Even more than at Roanoke, the settlements at Jamestown and St. Mary's or later at Charles Town and Port Royal, the rural churches and manor houses, the forts and towns, attempted to be quite English. Few of the large houses, fewer of the smaller, and even fewer of the churches and public buildings have survived from the seventeenth century. But enough of them are standing above ground and there is a growing wealth of recent archaeological evidence about others to suggest several things. First, there was an evolution of forms as the century progressed from the crudest imitations of the simplest British architecture to sophisticated designs from contemporary Old World buildings. Second, there is persistent and abundant evidence that throughout this period and on into the next century, most colonial building followed a British traditional pattern labeled by American architectural historians, with some justification, the medieval style. Examples vary from the extremely primitive to the relatively sophisticated

of Bacon's Castle and Green Spring in Virginia and the vanished Governor's Palace at St. Mary's in Maryland, or among the churches and secular public buildings. These examples indicate why through some of its features the style may be called Gothic or Jacobean, but those buildings of the later part of the century show that the neoclassicism of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren also was being felt, and that the southern clime itself was modifying in practice every European quality.

Jamestown and St. Mary's

The early triangular palisadoed Jamestown fort with gun emplacements, in ruins by 1623, enclosed primitive framed houses probably much like those in the restored village today. The external form and internal structure were of English origin, crude in the same manner as many English rural buildings of the time. Captain Smith mentions the homely church of 1607 built like a barn, set upon "crutchets" (crotchets) or forked sticks, "covered with raftes, sedge and earth." He also notes that the walls were made of the same material, and that the best of the houses followed the same method and employed the same materials. Actually Smith meant crucks, a late development in the fourteenth century of one of the earliest forms of British architecture, which survives in rural England to this day. As used at Jamestown the cruck building was supported by a pair of curved tree trunks joined at the top, spread apart at the bottom, and connected in the middle by a tie beam. Despite its prevalence and persistence in England, it did not endure for long in Virginia as a prevalent type of architecture. Along with it there appeared other traditional European forms of building. The Jamestown palisadoed house or fort went back to at least Anglo-Saxon times. A third contemporary British building type was the puncheoned cottage of vertical timbers set well apart, the space between filled with wattle-and-daub, or interwoven laths and twigs and branches filled with a mud cement. Thus crude as it was, the Jamestown of the first settlers was constructed from British patterns which were both contemporary and traditional.³

From William Strachey's famous "A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight," one receives a glimpse of this first capital as Lord de la Warr and his secretary saw it in 1609. Besides Strachey's picturesque and detailed description of the cruck church and the pageantry of the Sunday service, the historian gives useful details of the fort's form, including the palisades sunk four feet into the ground, the several gates and the demiculverins at each, the marketplace, and the houses as they were rebuilt in 1608/9. He stresses the use of beautifully woven Indian mats to decorate the walls, the bark roofs, and above all the "wide and large country chimneys" for the fireplaces. By country chimneys

he meant wooden chimneys, another form brought from Britain and unfortunately persisting, especially in rural areas of the colony, for well over a century.⁴

Soon after Strachey, in both Jamestown and the new town of Henrico and perhaps on individual plantations, came the period of the timbered house and of bricks and brickmaking. Of southern colonial brick a great deal of nonsense has been written. Well into this century the local historian commenting on early brick of certain sizes and colors was likely to claim that it was brought as ballast from England. On the contrary, after considerable investigation two writers of the 1950s on seventeenth-century Virginia brick have found no single instance of this building material which was not made in the region in which it was used. A more recent investigator has pointed out, however, that English bricks were imported fairly frequently, though perhaps not in sufficient quantity at any one time to complete a fair-sized dwelling and certainly not a public building.⁵ A size of brick set by English statute was standard in the southern colonies as well as at home, but there are innumerable instances of variation, even in the same building or the same wall.

Since brick remained throughout the colonial period the most frequently used durable building material, a little more should be said about its use in and around Jamestown, where its manufacture first became a permanent factor in construction. There were brick kilns and bricklayers at Jamestown and Henrico. By 1662, following the King's instructions to rebuild Jamestown in brick, an act of the General Assembly specified that thirty-two houses of English statute brick with fairly thick walls and slate or tile roofs be erected, seventeen of them to be erected by the "severall seventeen counties." Each county was to impress bricklayers and other skilled builders, with their laborer assistants, at stipulated wages.⁶

In the row houses of Jamestown, of which more in a moment, and in detached dwellings and other buildings, thicknesses of exterior and party or interior walls were frequently greater than of the partition or dividing or connecting walls. Brickwork varied in color and texture. Most earlier seventeenth-century walls, of oyster-shell lime mortar, were laid in English bond—alternate rows of header and stretcher bricks. Later in the century and throughout the eighteenth in both England and the colonies, the Flemish bond became more frequent—a checkerboard pattern consisting of alternate headers and stretchers in each course arranged so that the header in one course lies above a stretcher in the next. Specially glazed brick, left to fire longer in the kiln, assumed a dark color which was used in Flemish bond headers with interesting results in geometrical patterns. Rubbed or gauged brick, used especially in later decoration of window and door frames in more elaborate secular and ecclesiastical edifices, was light

in color and produced some pleasing contrasts. Though the early work in both of the first Virginia and Maryland capitals is in English bond (in St. Mary's sometimes a mixture), the later work in both colonies and in the rest of the South was predominantly Flemish bond, which was wedded to the neoclassical or Palladian style.

But back to the Jamestown buildings themselves. Those built by 1610 were representative largely of the cruder manifestations of what is called variously the Gothic, the medieval, and the Tudor or Jacobean styles, most commonly referred to, as already mentioned, as the medieval. They represented the *product* of the earlier tradition and also embodied the tradition itself. And so did the substantial and handsomer framed houses which followed them. Ralph Hamor, writing of Virginia as it was in 1611 while he was on a visit to England in 1615, describes this second form of Jamestown. He characterizes it as a handsome town of "two faire rows of houses, all of framed timber, two stories, and an upper Garrett, or Corn loft," besides numerous storehouses, blockhouses, and palisades, with several "beautiful houses" just outside the fortifications or paling enclosing the extended village.⁷ The two rows of houses probably represented one or more of several types of framed structures modern archaeology shows us were built in this first capital throughout the century. H.C. Forman illustrates and describes five varieties of this Tudor-Jacobean timber-framed dwelling, each with steep gables facing toward the street, lead casements and diamond-paned windows, and tall chimneys, all the parallel walls joined physically. One house wall has brick filling, or noggings, between the timbers, a method used well into the nineteenth century in the Chesapeake region; another, plaster over the whole face of the wall; a third, weather boarding; a fourth, plaster filling between timbers; and a fifth, shingle tiles hung over the face of the walls.⁸ The full brick-and-timber, the first floor brick with timber above, or even the full-brick building may have been built this early or very soon thereafter. Excavations have proved these city dwellings were usually row houses. At least five groups of them are known at Jamestown, and the stock size for most units of these townhouses was twenty by forty feet measured on the inside. The governor's house of 1624, and the new house of Captain William Peirce which George Sandys described in 1623 as "the fairest in Virginia" were almost surely detached. The Peirce house and the governor's had adjacent multiacre garden plots.⁹

The best-known of the earlier row buildings are the three which became known as the "First State House." Two units were erected by Governor Harvey in 1635 and the third by Sir William Berkeley in 1655. By 1670 the whole group had burned. Their steep gables facing the street, a wealth of Tudor ironware, hall-and-parlor plan with back-to-back fire-

places, were also characteristic of London city houses of the period, as were the leaded lattice casements and pantile roofing. Later came a row of houses with the gables joined end to end, first a block of four known as the Country-Ludwell-State House and then an added fifth known as the "Third State House." The interior plans of these latter, and the size (they were erected under the provisions of the Act of 1662) was much that of the gable-front dwellings. This third statehouse, burned in 1676, was a medieval cross house resembling the contemporary Bacon's Castle and was two full stories and a garret high. Four great rooms, two upstairs and two down, with smaller chambers, made this an impressive building. A fourth statehouse was built on the same spot about 1685 apparently with little change from earlier plan though altered in some details. It burned in 1698.

Between the third and fourth statehouses the General Court and Assembly met in leased private houses. In 1682 a Colonel William Browne supplied the housing, and in 1684 the members were convening in the residence of a Mrs. Macon. But more interesting in the history of architecture is the fact that the Council and General Court met in the great hall of Mr. William Sherwood's house for some years before the capital was moved to Williamsburg.¹⁰ The use of Sherwood's house is especially fascinating because archaeologists have learned in this century a great deal about its architectural character, including some significant details of decoration.

The Sherwood house had been constructed about 1680 atop the ruins of a governor's brick mansion erected between Yeardley's time, in 1619, and 1660. This governor's house, burned in 1677 probably during Bacon's Rebellion, was a large three-chimney building with a frame wing on the north. Sherwood acquired the property in 1677 and constructed thereon one of the handsomest residences old Jamestown ever saw. By 1685 the Virginia government rented the major part of it, including the "great Hall, small back room on the same floor, and cellar," and the surviving records show payment of rent for "the Council Chamber." One of the two chambers of the cellar contained a large fireplace. This was a story-and-garret brick house with a great hall about seventeen feet by sixteen in floor dimensions.

It is the ceiling of this hall which is of greatest interest, for it had the richest decorative detail of any known seventeenth-century Virginia building. Excavations in 1935 revealed some fifty thousand fragments of plaster in the basement or surrounding it, some of them colored, and certain pieces fitted together indicated that they represented Tudor pargetry, a favorite English design in decorating a room. The related pieces showed that they belonged to the royal arms of England, with the HONI SOIT

QUI MAL Y PENSE motto, which formed the ceiling design of the room used by His Majesty's Governor and Council. In view of the arms and portraits decorating the later Williamsburg Capitol rooms, it is tempting to surmise that the plaster work was done by official order or request. But then one should recall that copies of the royal arms painted or printed appear in the inventories of many private men among the southern colonials, and that Sherwood himself had served as attorney-general of the colony. The discovery of this decorated plaster, one of the great archaeological finds within British America, indicates that before the first century was out the southern colonist was indulging in sophisticated interior decoration. One other feature of the Sherwood place deserves particular notice. Within seventeen years of their first popular use in England, here were used rubbed or gauged bricks to dress up the exterior trim.¹¹

The architectural history of Jamestown cannot be even reasonably complete until more excavation and analysis have been done. As already mentioned, there are remains of the foundations of several other rows of houses, and conjectures have been made as to which buildings were taverns (undoubtedly many) and which was the guesthouse. Churches form a special problem, for at Jamestown from the 1607 sailcloth awning to the edifice now represented by the ruined tower there were several, at least five besides the canvas tent. The cruck church of 1607—according to Smith covered with rushes, boards, and earth—was the first. Then in 1610 the timber-framed, sixty by twenty-four foot building with hinge casements and two bells was the scene in 1614 of the Pocahontas-Rolfe wedding. Third was Argall's 1617 edifice, fifty feet by twenty, perhaps in need of repairs in 1624 but lasting some time thereafter. A new wooden church of about 1636 with brick and cobblestone footings may well be outlined in the footings left inside the 1647 brick church. And finally there is the brick church itself, with bell tower and foundations still extant.

The famous brick church's tower is laid in English bond, with a belt course of Flemish bond, and was built detached from the main body of the sanctuary but joined to it at the interconnecting doorways. The main entrance doorway to the tower, with its rounded brick arch, Forman believes is older than the tower of St. Luke's near Smithfield, of which more later. The walls are three feet thick, the bricks handmade stretchers and headers with occasional glazed headers. There are several detailed descriptions of the building constructed over the original footings. And the evidences of at least one wooden church which stood earlier on the same spot mark the old tower as the surviving relic of the birthplace of the nation. Solid, simple in line, slightly ornamented in design, it is what the world knows of seventeenth-century Jamestown.¹²

St. Mary's, the first capital and first settlement of Maryland, was indeed the younger sister of Jamestown, as Maryland was of Virginia. But there were interesting differences, including architectural. Built in southern Maryland on a small estuary opening into the Potomac, St. Mary's was surrounded by water on all but one side. There was no beginning from scratch in building, for the first settlers of March 1634 moved into the freely given houses and cornfields of friendly Indians and had time to proceed with permanent construction at a more leisurely pace than had the Virginians.

While many continued to live aboard ship, these colonists built their fort with earthen embankments and palisades, in much the manner of the previous enclosures at Roanoke and Jamestown. Instead of the triangular shape compelled by the Virginia terrain, this Maryland fort was 120 yards square. Within the fort were erected first a court of guard and a storehouse similar to the structures in Virginia, both probably from the beginning of framed timber construction. Cruck or crotch construction is not mentioned. Yet according to Thomas Cornwaleys (Cornwallis), one of the earliest officials, the first houses were mere cottages, probably meaning that they were simple one- or two-room, single-story structures. These, and the first chapel and later more pretentious buildings, lay outside the walls of the fort. Within the palisades were barracks and magazines and the Court of Guard in which the first three sessions of the Maryland Assembly were held.¹³

Despite Lord Baltimore's instruction that as soon as the town was laid out a plat or plan of its form should be sent to him, no vestige of such a drawing is known to exist. Since the evidence suggests that most of the houses lay outside the palisades, the town would seem to have resembled such settlements as Bermuda Hundred (see below) in Virginia more than Jamestown or Henrico (also see below). Though Forman has given an interesting conjectural plan of St. Mary's in the 1630s, it is of necessity vague. Streets probably followed the old paths of the Indian village. Charles Calvert, the only Lord Baltimore to live at St. Mary's, in 1678 described it as hardly a town at all but a one-by-four-mile stretch of land along the waterfront containing only about thirty "very little and mean houses."¹⁴ Recent excavations seem to indicate that for some reason Calvert was deliberately belittling.

According to Father White, Maryland's first church services, Roman Catholic, were held in one of the Indian houses. But following Lord Baltimore's instructions, within the first four years of settlement a brick Roman Catholic chapel was built. It lay just outside the fort, and quite recent investigations reveal that its shape was cruciform and its walls three feet

thick. Its area was greater than that of the slightly later brick church at Jamestown, and among other known features were mullioned brick and metal casements. Parts of its carved altar still exist, though the building was torn down in 1704 or 1705, and its bricks were used in construction of the St. Inigoe Manor House.

Homes varied in size and mode of construction as at Jamestown. Probably the first residence erected outside the fort was "a large framd house" called in 1646 the Governor's House, or East St. Mary's. It was in Calvert hands until about 1649, when Protestant Governor William Stone took possession of it. Other residences were of brick, of frame, and of brick and frame, presumably all of the Tudor-Jacobean or medieval style late in the century.¹⁵

Representing what may have been the largest and most imposing brick residence in seventeenth-century British America are the foundations uncovered by Forman in 1940. This "Governor's Castle," long known to tradition and in document, the house of the Lord Proprietor and a succession of the early royal governors, has the largest known floor space built in its time with the possible exception of the wooden contemporary structure known as Harvard College completed some five years later. Its floor plan is unique for the period, anticipating that of the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg completed almost three quarters of a century later. The Proprietary governors lived in it from about 1664 to 1684 and their royalist successors from 1691 until it was blown up during Francis Nicholson's tenure in 1694. Drawing on document, tradition, and even historical fiction, the archaeologist-architect-discoverer of this mansion's remains has in words and drawing reconstructed the great pile, the only contemporary residential rival of which was Virginia Governor Berkeley's Green Spring, a very different sort of building.

The uncovered Castle foundations reveal it to have been a square, fifty-four feet on a side, with a room of the same size at each of the four corners. Back-to-back fireplaces, full basement, two full stories, lofty attic with probably a cupola and railing atop the center of the hipped roof, and two great central chimneys, along with narrow and casement windows, indicate that it was "a Jacobean graft on a medieval tree." That is, here in earliest frontier British America was a substantial Tudor-Jacobean manor house. A front walled courtyard with a wide carriage gate supported by square stuccoed pillars surmounted by stone couchant lions, a set of traditional details passed down by the novelist John P. Kennedy, have all been verified save the lions, which have not yet come to light. Forman, the discoverer and reconstructor, sees Francis Nicholson, governor in both colonies, as the link between this great building and the Williamsburg Palace, though the latter was not begun until 1705

as Nicholson was being recalled to England and, as will be seen, was surely influenced in form by other men. Both buildings are striking illustrations of the imagination and the architectural aesthetic of the Chesapeake Bay colonists.¹⁸

There were other residences in the St. Mary's area, but since what is known of them shows they were much like the scattered dozens of surviving seventeenth-century houses in more distant parts of Maryland to be noted below, perhaps the architecture of Maryland's earliest seats of government at the first capital town should be considered in the remainder of the space which can be devoted to the character of the city. Though the records of the first Assembly of 1635 are lost, there is documentary evidence of a meeting in the Assembly Room (the Court of Guard) inside the fortification. The Assembly met at various places until 1662, when the province acquired Smith's Town House, originally a tavern, also called the State or Stadt House, not far outside the palisade. Its foundations as excavated in 1937 show it to have been a large double house with a hallway between, one half probably being a later addition to the original. Inference may be drawn that it had a double-gable end, and there is plenty of evidence of back-to-back fireplaces with yellow sandstone hearths, and footings a brick-and-a-half wide. The first fragments of leaded glass found in Maryland came from a corner of its foundation and indicate latticed casements. The ground outline measures sixty-seven and a half feet long by forty feet wide. It was built between 1639 and 1647 and was in the latter year the property of Leonard Calvert.

This statehouse, purchased in 1662, was to remain a tavern under the charge of James Jolly, who agreed to keep the building in repair in return for a twenty-one-year lease. He had to be replaced by William Smith in 1664, who was to find a temporary location for the provincial records. In the succeeding years Smith was authorized to build a new house for the government's use at St. Mary's, a castle which was never realized. The proposed building's specifications, however, are indicative of the aspirations and taste of the members of the Assembly. It was to be forty feet square, two and a half stories high, with a hipped roof and a cupola in the middle of the roof. It was to have a large brick cellar, a two-story "addition" to the main part, in every room a brick chimney, and all together four hundred feet of glass windows.

The house "to keep the records in" authorized by the same act as the statehouse was actually constructed. This first Maryland Hall of Records was also known as the Secretary's Office, the Council Chamber, or the Old Court House. When the 1664 statehouse proved not to be feasible, the Assembly decreed that the old "Country's house" be kept in repair for

seven more years. Under new ownership or managership it burned to the ground in 1677 or 1678. Both documents and archaeological investigation indicate that another building or an enlargement was added to the Secretary's Office in 1666, and that it was actually a new statehouse, or courthouse.

Then in 1676 was constructed a new statehouse and prison, a building called by at least one historian the architectural glory of Maryland, a building in this century reconstructed near the old site. The act for the new structure had been passed in 1674. The Secretary's Office was to be incorporated in this capitol. The house was to be two stories high, forty-five feet long, with a porch on the front facing St. Mary's River, and a staircase wing, or stair tower, at the rear. Recent excavation shows it to have been eight inches longer than specified. With the wings it was wider than it was long. This cruciform structure was to be well lighted with clear glass in wrought-iron casements, with stout roofing of heart-of-white-oak laths under the tiles. Pyramid or hipped roofs were specified for the gables. The building process was full of vicissitudes, and even after the builder had been compelled to repair many times, in 1688 the Assembly had to pass a new act for replacing decayed or faulty materials. In 1694 inspectors found it to be in dangerous condition, and in that year it ceased to be used as the seat of government, though the allegedly shaky old building survived until 1829 as the church of William and Mary Parish. Its more substantial reincarnation in our time suggests the eye for pleasing line and color which the seventeenth-century colonist had done his legislative best to turn into permanent architecture.

One other public building of old St. Mary's should be mentioned. This was the sturdy and not unpleasing little log jail, perhaps influenced in its material and form by the example of the nearby Delaware Swedes. It was built in 1676, with typical English pillory, stocks, and ducking stool.¹⁷

The Rural Chesapeake Area, 1630-1695

But the Chesapeake country outside its two early capital villages contains the vestiges of a number of other attempts at creating towns and the remains of dozens of significant buildings. A really surprising number of Maryland small houses survive from the seventeenth century, and in both colonies a few fascinating churches and larger residences stand much as they did two or more centuries ago.

Almost as early as Jamestown were Virginia communities such as those at Henrico and Bermuda Hundred and Kecoughtan and West and Shirley Hundred. Sir Thomas Dale in 1611 envisaged new towns at the falls of the James, on the north bank of the York near Powhatan, and at Point Comfort (connected to an existing fort). He never received either the

men or the supplies necessary to carry out his plans. Point Comfort became and remained a tiny village close to the larger Kecoughtan, now Hampton, the latter built over so many times it is impossible to see its original plan. But the town at the falls did come into existence and there remains a contemporary description of it.

Ralph Hamor in 1615 depicted the new city of Henrico at the falls as containing in 1611 three streets of framed houses and a handsome church as well as the brick foundations of a more stately one, storehouses and watchhouses, five blockhouses along the bank of the river wherein resided the unattached "honestest sort of people," and the paling stockade stretching across the peninsula. He noted that the first story of each of the framed houses was of brick, perhaps the first in the English colonies. On the other side of the river was Alexander Whitaker's "faire framed parsonage" called Rock Hall, and Mount Malado with its "high seat and wholesome aire," a guest house for sick people, the first hospital of English America. Bermuda Hundred was on a somewhat different plan, protected by a palisade about two miles long cutting off a fertile peninsula within which were numerous houses about half a mile apart as well as independent dwellings placed somewhat at random. Between this time and the massacre in 1622 numerous other houses and fortified clusters of buildings were erected on both sides of the river from Henrico to Point Comfort, near its mouth.

That these structures also represented all the varieties of the medieval style, from cruck and timber wattle-and-daub to half-brick and brick dwellings, is borne out by many references in documents of the period. Henrico, never having had sufficient financial support from the Company, appears to have been in partial decay before it was almost totally destroyed during the massacre, and Bermuda Hundred, a relatively populous community, suffered severely but survived the same attack. Little archaeological investigation has been done at Henrico because of physical difficulties and little at Bermuda Hundred because of lack of sufficient interest and money, though the principal authority on colonial Virginia archaeology considers it a most promising spot for investigation.¹⁸

In 1623 George Sandys, the treasurer in Virginia, writing to his brother Sir Miles, suggested that too few of the settlers lived in any towns at all but were scattered along the banks of several rivers. This complaint was made by various persons sporadically throughout this century and into the next. Sandys and others of the local administration urged that all the isolated planters be gathered into a series of fortified towns. Incidentally he reveals that most of them must have lived in the simplest of dwellings, for he recommends that *framed* houses be built for them when they removed into the concentrated areas. What Sandys and like-minded officials appar-

ently had in mind was something of the New England, and in turn Old England and European Continental villages, as the hub of a wheel of farms, a system never really implemented in the colonial South save in certain settlements of eighteenth-century Georgia.¹⁹ After the Restoration of 1660, towns were ordered to be created along each of the rivers and in each county as market and shipping centers, but until the eighteenth century little was done to implement the commands or legislative enactments. And even then only a few ever really materialized.

The seventeenth-century Virginia country house was usually of wood, with or without brick footings or chimneys. Few of these wooden structures in this colony survive, though more do in neighboring Maryland. Only occasionally are there brick foundations to indicate form and size. But quite clearly the country house evolved from a one-bay, single great-room-and-loft affair, to the multichambered dwelling with several detached outbuildings and perhaps attached wings. In Princess Anne County, Virginia, which Waterman declares contains the oldest erect buildings in the South, there are one- and two-room (hall-and-parlor) dwellings. The one-room, story-and-a-half Brinson house is of wood, with a great fireplace and a stair to the sleeping garret. More characteristic of the prosperous yeoman's or small planter's house for the whole of the century and colony is the same county's Adam Thoroughgood house, built about 1640 entirely of brick, with a hall and parlor, a flush chimney at one end and a pyramidal one at the other, and originally casement windows. The brickwork is primarily English bond, with glazed header bricks high up on the gables parallel to the rakes (or slopes of the roof), though the detached chimney has three courses in Flemish bond and the front wall, apparently of the same date as the rest, is also in Flemish bond.²⁰

There were two other types of medieval domestic architecture in Virginia, the central-passage (called by some historians the most typical), and the cruciform or cross house. Individual houses were variations of these four. The central-passage form especially was used throughout the South. The medieval style as it developed in Virginia and Maryland continued to have steeply pointed gables, curvilinear or stepped with lie-on-your-stomach gable and loft windows, freestanding or flush pyramidal T-shaped chimneys, chimney pents, or closet with sloping walls (developed especially in Maryland), segmental arched windows and door frames, battened or nail-studded outer doors, brickwork of English or Flemish bond, sometimes triple chimney stacks set diagonally, curtains or passageways, enclosed porches or vestibules with porch chambers above, stair towers, and small gabled windows.²¹

Of the larger houses of this century now standing in America, certainly the Allen House, or Bacon's Castle, is among the most distinguished and

perhaps typical of others of its size. Built between 1650 and 1676, probably about 1655, it has been called a castle because it is believed to have been a fortified house during the Rebellion, though it seems very likely that Bacon never saw it. Despite a late neoclassical addition and eighteenth-century windows, this brick house in Surry County appears today much as it did when built by the immigrant Arthur Allen. It seems to be the sole surviving colonial example of full Jacobean design, with curvilinear gables, triple-stack diamond chimneys, and entrance and stair towers which make it a cross house, or cruciform. The entire building is laid in English bond, no glazed or rubbed brick being employed. The south front retains signs of once-elaborate decoration of molded and cut brickwork, but its whole face is now plastered. The house is two full stories high above a full basement and has a large attic story.²²

More nearly baronial was the now-vanished Green Spring (c. 1646), Sir William Berkeley's seat near Jamestown. Though the great building, second only in size in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake country to the Governor's Castle at St. Mary's, no longer stands above ground, we know more about it than we do of later eighteenth-century mansions, such as Mercer's Marlborough or the Randolphs' Turkey Island or the original Rosegill or the several demolished Carter family houses, for recent excavations and archaeological study have revealed a great deal, and there exists among other documents a late eighteenth-century watercolor sketch of the old pile drawn by the practiced hand of the architect Latrobe. Berkeley built his manor house near an ever-flowing spring and on the site of a village of the Paspahegh Indians. The excavations of 1954-1955 revealed foundations which may have been added to or altered somewhat for over a century. Latrobe's sketch certainly does not fully represent the house as it looked in the old governor's time, but it affords a fair approximation of most of its features. In his notebook Latrobe observes that it was a brick building with no attempt at grandeur, that the lower story was covered by an arcade now pulled down, and that the porch had some clumsy ornamental brickwork of the style of James I. He recalls how often Virginia assemblies met there and that it was the oldest inhabited house in North America (in the latter recollection, at least, he was mistaken). Although the architect tried to represent the actual building in his painting, there are features recent investigators question as to accuracy. But Latrobe did distinguish between diamond-shaped and rectangular panes of glass in the west side of the building and he did depict in some detail the line of dependencies and the formal garden and terraces enclosed by curved garden walls.

There is also a recently discovered land survey of 1683 giving a rough sketch of Green Spring. Its attempt to be accurate makes it of extreme im-

portance. The long mansion house without the ell was apparently there in Berkeley's time, and in 1683 the roof appears to have been covered by pantile. The narrow building also had a gabled and not as later hipped roof-end. During the Revolutionary War in 1781, for military purposes, a map of the area was drawn which is still extant. As far as the excavations had gone in 1957, this 1781 document also corroborated most of Latrobe's detail.

The excavations have uncovered the foundations of Berkeley's original manor house and the additions which form with the original what the archaeologists designate as the mansion house. Varied and sophisticated building forms and materials were discovered, among them Dutch bricks, square paving tiles, brown sandstone foundations, and stone paving blocks. Systems of drains, brick-paved cellars, and thick brick walls suggest the Jacobean and massive features of the earliest manor house. Outside structures include a pottery kiln, perhaps a glass furnace, and a greenhouse with three-foot-thick walls. All this suggests that Sir William built for himself something closely resembling the country manor houses of sixteenth-century Elizabethan England. The slave economy had not affected its construction any more than it had that of Bacon's Castle, for in the 1640s and 1650s that economy was not a major factor or element of colonial life. Walled gardens, terraces, and geometric contours suggest also that a more recent eye than Latrobe's may have seen real beauty in both building and grounds. Its potential influence on later houses of the century and on the even later Williamsburg is considerable, for one should remember that the old cavalier-playwright's mansion stood nearby all through the second capital's golden age.²³

Several smaller brick buildings of the first century still stand in Virginia, all of them predominantly medieval in general character but in detail frequently showing classical or neoclassical features. Tiny Winona (c. 1645-1700), Northampton County, a story-and-loft dwelling, has three diamond stacks on one chimney rising from a solid square base. In New Kent County two cruciform houses of modest size are Christ's Cross, or Criss Cross (c. 1690), and Foster's Castle (1685-1690), the former with a remarkable paneled Tudor doorway and the latter with curious gables and windows and parapet design above the porch doorway. In nearby Henrico County are the ruins of Malvern Hill, another cruciform structure (after 1662), overlooking the James River. It burned in 1905, but its structural details, including brickwork, may still be discerned. Intact is Sweet Hall in King William County (c. 1695), home of Claibornes and Ruffners, moderate in size (of the hall-and-parlor classification except for the rear wing), a story-and-a-half house with tall T-shaped chimneys and arched lie-on-your-stomach windows in the gable wall.

Two other early Virginia houses should be noticed, though neither now stands. One burned as recently as 1897, and several photographs of it exist. This was Fairfield or Carter's Creek in Gloucester County, the earliest unit of which was built about 1692. It was one of the great houses in size and detail. Its evolution has been traced by Forman and Waterman and Barrows in detail. The existing foundations show an ell-shaped structure. The photographs of the actual building indicate unusual dormers along one side and a curious squat medieval dormer on another expanse of the two hipped roofs. The mansion's most distinctive feature is the magnificent row of triple diamond-stacked chimneys mounted on a low brick base, the whole arrangement common in England but almost unique in America. Narrow windows and great areas of solid brick masonry increase the medieval effect. Yet Fairfield in certain respects anticipated the southern provincial architecture of the eighteenth century, for while it displayed the last use of group chimney stacks, it used perhaps for the first time the hipped roof, modillioned cornice, and even possibly Flemish bond in an entire building. One of its fascinating features was a large ballroom with carved paneling, marble fireplace, and carved figures on the reredos above the fireplace and at the intersection of wooden curtains.²⁴

Though other Virginia houses of possible seventeenth-century origin may be commented on in discussion of eighteenth-century dwellings, one other great house, or group of houses, should be noted. It was the home place of the immigrant progenitor of a prolific and eminent Virginia family, William Randolph I of Turkey Island, always distinguished from other Randolphs by the adding of the name of his estate to his own. The plantation was about twelve miles southeast of Richmond and thirty miles northwest of Williamsburg, in Henrico County. When William Byrd II visited it in 1709, there were two houses and numerous out-buildings on the estate, the two brick dwellings being the residences of Colonel William Randolph and his son Will. In 1864 every standing portion of the buildings was destroyed, apparently by Federal gunfire. But descriptions of the main house or houses in 1853 and in 1806 exist (this latter a plan or plat on an insurance policy) as well as at least two quite different paintings which have been described as representing the buildings and the estate as they were in the eighteenth century. About 1680 the first William Randolph married and built on the estate what was probably the residence described in 1853 as a story-and-a-half, gable-roofed building with enormous outside chimneys. Between then and 1709, when Byrd visited, the second house was erected, originally a two-story center block with a domed or cupola crown but burned down to one story before 1809. An old workman who had spent his entire apprenticeship on one room of this second house and a nineteenth-century writer both describe

the mansion as "one of the most beautiful buildings of the lower country." It had taken seven years to construct.

The 1806 insurance drawing shows a two-story central block of brick with porches in front and rear, two-story wings on either side, and beyond them one-story wings—in all a five-unit brick mansion of imposing proportions. One of the paintings said to represent the property shows a large house at the top of a hill or at one end of an island or isolated peninsula (this is a primitive landscape which may be much distorted in perspective) with a large house at the bottom of the "hill" and at least ten smaller buildings flanking the great house. A perhaps better-known painting is the mansion depicted in much detail in the Morattico chimney-panel, from the Richmond County estate of the Grymeses, which is now in the Winterthur Museum. The elaborate and huge house shown here has a cupola and railing atop the central block of three-and-a-half stories with two-story wings. If either picture represents Turkey Island, it is certainly in exaggerated proportions and grandeur, but the two paintings as well as the more reliable information on Turkey Island seem to indicate that by the close of the seventeenth century manor houses of impressive proportions, transitional in style between the medieval and the Inigo Jones—Christopher Wren Palladianism, were being built in the oldest colony, anticipating in both general outline and detail some of the more distinguished architecture of the next century.²⁵

In Maryland in the vicinity of St. Mary's City several seventeenth-century manor houses still stand, in whole or in part. Forman indicates the location of a number of these in his map in *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (p. 177). Among them are Cornwaleys' Crosse, or the "Crosse House" (c. 1642), and for once there is the name of a carpenter, Francis Askew, who worked on the dwelling in 1641. Whether this is the brick gambrel-roofed residence now on the property or an earlier timber house is not known, but certainly the brick structure was there by the later 1640s. Notable because it appears so frequently in later Maryland houses is the brick chimney pent, or closet, which forms a solid wall with the twin chimneys. Nearby is the wooden story-and-a-half Fenwick's Freehold and farther down St. George's Creek the more elaborate St. Inigoe's Manor House. Calvert's Rest is another brick structure erected soon after 1661 with some interesting structural details.

Forman demonstrates how the Maryland country house, like that in Virginia, really evolved from a one-room-and-loft dwelling. He cites as an example of this evolution the charming Holly Hill, in Anne Arundel County. Its earliest part, built about 1667, was a single-room-and-attic

structure with walnut sills, oak studs, oak rafters, oak clapboards, a large pyramid chimney, and diamond-paned casement windows. As the owner became wealthier between 1667 and 1700 he added another room and thus had a hall-and-parlor house, a classification to which Clocker's Fancy (in St. Mary's City) and almost a dozen other residences of the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland belong. Later, about 1730, an ell addition with a connecting hall turned Holly Hill into the central-passage type represented in Worcester, Baltimore, and other counties. Distinctive medieval features of Holly Hill are its paneled chimneys, the central chimney T-shaped, as well as some diamond-paned casement dormers. The splendid interior paneling and decoration are of the eighteenth century and will be considered later in this chapter.

Forman, who has carried his architect-archaeologist's skill to every part of old colonial Maryland, has photographed standing dwellings brick and frame, and excavated potentially interesting foundations, as has no one else in the long history of his beloved Chesapeake province. The result is a priceless visual record of seventeenth-century residences varying in stages of repair and the discovery of patterns in style and construction.

Bond Castle, erected in the later seventeenth century on the Chesapeake shore of Calvert County, was a cross house that Forman considers the most significant rural edifice of the colony. It was pulled down recently to make room for a farm structure. Among its features were steep roofs and peaked gables, timber frame, free-standing tall chimneys, medieval front porch with turned spindles set in the wall of the vestibule, overhang of the front porch chamber (the only known overhang of the colonial South), and a curvilinear head of the doorway in the entrance porch. The main house was story-and-a-half, the porch two stories. There were even mural paintings over the dining room fireplace, the central panel presumably depicting the English home of the Bond family.²⁶

Few seventeenth-century churches exist in the Chesapeake colonies. In both provinces, even in a capital village such as St. Mary's, the colonial houses of worship were crossroads churches, erected where highways met, for the convenience of parishioners. St. Mary's Roman chapel was an early crossroads church, and its sort of location was so frequent in the neighboring colony that the crossroads church has been referred to as a peculiarly Virginia institution. The first Bruton Gothic church on the same site as the present Georgian or classical edifice was set where two paths crossed on Middle Plantation. Though such a location should remain easily recognizable, the sites of many early churches have been entirely lost to view as the roads leading to them have been obliterated. A

few brick foundations or ruined brick walls, and one wooden Friends meetinghouse in Maryland survive, along with a few standing brick or masonry churches in both colonies.

Up until quite recent years many local historians thought that the Newport Parish Church in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, later named St. Luke's, was even older than the remains of the brick church at Jamestown. Today it is usually designated third in chronological priority among standing churches. The venerable Merchants Hope Church near Hopewell in Prince George County is now considered second only to the Jamestown tower in age. The traditional date of erection, 1657, is cut into one of the beams of the roof trusses. The building, sixty feet by twenty-five on the inside, is of brick laid in Flemish bond with glazed headers above the beveled water table and in English bond below the water table, a familiar construction pattern in later eighteenth-century Virginia churches. The thick walls are well preserved. Semicircular arches mark the ten windows, and rubbed brick ornaments the arches of the windows, the two principal doorways, and the four corners of the building. The original eighteen-inch-square tiles of Portland stone remain in the aisles. And a chief evidence of the church's seventeenth-century origin is the utter simplicity of its west doorway.

Far handsomer is St. Luke's, built between 1632 and 1682. For many years the earlier date was believed to be that of its erection, but study of the fabric by expert archaeologists and architects, and some diligent searching of the records, seem to indicate the latter date as the correct one. A church was probably erected in Newport Parish in 1632. The existing brick church with its engaged brick tower (contrast the detached tower at Jamestown) is laid in rough Flemish bond both above and below the water table. The building measures sixty and one-half feet by twenty-four feet three inches inside the upper walls and the tower eighteen by twenty. It is essentially a medieval-style building, with crow-stepped gables above the large Gothic east window of mixed arches, a tower which probably once had a battlemented top, Jacobean brick quoins on the tower imitating corner stones, a Jacobean triangular pediment over the circular-headed doorway, and buttresses supporting the walls. Thus the main body of the church is English Jacobean-Gothic in form, though alterations through the years have given it some classical characteristics.

What may be the third church building for York-Hampton Parish in historic Yorktown is believed to have been built in 1697. Governor Francis Nicholson pledged £20 toward a brick edifice, but the church which was constructed is of marl slabs cut from the cliffs of the York River. This marl, derived from deposits of shells mixed with muck and clay on the onetime ocean floor, is a dense rocky substance soft when



North Carolina State Archives

The Cupola House, Edenton, North Carolina



Courtesy of The Virginia Historical Society

Gunston Hall, home of George Mason in Virginia

cut but hardened by exposure to the air almost to stone. The church, originally a rectangle, had a north wing added later. The building burned in 1814, and the wing was never restored. A recast 1725 bell is still in use, and the communion silver dates back to 1649-1650 and is inscribed to Hampton Parish in York County. All together, in its unique marl walls and small, irregular structure it offers a significant example of English traditional forms adapted to local materials.

Within Virginia's first century were built St. Peter's Parish Church in New Kent in 1701 and the fascinating and rather strange Yeocomico Church in Westmoreland in 1706. About a dozen other standing edifices of both the eastern and western shores, including churches in Gloucester, have been assigned in earlier years to the seventeenth century, but recent expert appraisal places them rather with the eighteenth-century churches to be noted later.²⁷

The indefatigable Forman has found only two seventeenth-century Maryland churches standing above ground. Old Trinity in Dorchester County, possibly built as early as 1680, probably was originally cruciform with an apse. Now it is T-shaped, with buttresses on one side of the nave and pointed-arch windows. The 1656 Friends Meetinghouse, at Easton in Talbot County, is the other surviving house of worship. It was originally sixty and a half feet by twenty-two and a half and has an exposed beam ceiling and posts in the medieval manner.²⁸

In the Chesapeake area the counties, governed by a commission of the peace, were in the seventeenth century already beginning to build courthouses, though more frequently the justices met at the home of the senior member of the commission. Forman believes the Maryland Talbot County courthouse of 1680 had the first American hipped roof, preceding that of the Fairfield house in Virginia. This wooden Talbot building had case-ment windows, stacks of brick chimneys, an open-well stair, and hipped dormers. The 1675 order for repairs of the clapboard ceiling and stairs of the Calvert courthouse indicate that thus early was a building so designated in that county. Charles County's 1675 courthouse was repaired in 1697. Kent County's building of 1698 at Chestertown was to have a wooden chimney, as was the courthouse of the same year built on the Gunpowder River. The Charles County building has been declared reminiscent of Bacon's Castle, though without the diamond chimney stacks. And there are records of court buildings for Dorchester and Prince Georges counties before 1700. All these suggest the degree of emphasis Maryland counties were placing on their local government thus early.²⁹

Seventeenth-century Maryland courthouses are known primarily through the records of acts for their erection and repair, and the same fact holds

for those of Virginia. In neither colony do these buildings appear to have had English models, at least for their external features. English provincial courts probably offered suggestions for the interiors, which usually included a large courtroom occupying most or all the first floor, with a platform for the justices, seating for these men and their clerks behind a balustrade, and a large fireplace. On this floor or on that above was a room for jurors and usually for county records. This interior pattern held through most of the colonial period, though later separate halls for records were occasionally erected.

More than anyone else, Philip A. Bruce has studied county records for the story of Virginia courts and courthouses in this first century. Forman and W.H. Gaines, Jr., have added to his account, though Gaines has been more interested in later buildings. No one of these scholars has found a surviving building surely for court purposes or even the picture of one. The records show, as in Maryland, that in the county the commissioners of the peace met to begin with at the plantation houses of various members, perhaps most frequently at that of the senior justice. Such was William Fitzhugh in Stafford County in the 1680s and early 1690s, when as senior justice or lieutenant-colonel of the county's militia he was flying the county's standard before his house near the Potomac.

Bruce gives numerous instances of the evolution of the location or site for the county court. Lower Norfolk, one of the oldest shires, had a commission which began by meeting in some sort of rotation at the homes of its members. By 1663 a presumably wooden forty-five foot long courthouse, with brick chimneys and foundations, had been constructed. In 1687, as this building was in disrepair, the commission decided to build two in different sections of the large county. One of brick, thirty-five feet by twenty, with two large fireplaces in the lower room and a stair leading to the second floor, was erected on the land laid off for a town on the Elizabeth River. A second less substantial timber courthouse was built at Lynnhaven, forty feet by twenty, with one gable of brick in which a fireplace was located. Princess Anne in 1696 and Henrico in 1688 had standing courthouses. York County, which had a building set aside for trials by 1658, had a new "permanent" courthouse in 1676/1677. Like Norfolk, other large counties such as Charles City and Old Rappahannock had for a time two courthouses—until they were divided or realigned.

In many of the Tidewater counties the records and in a few cases the early court buildings were destroyed as recently as the Civil War. Certainly many seventeenth-century courthouses survived well into the eighteenth century. Bruce, on the basis of extant records, surmises that by 1700 every Virginia county had a permanent building as the seat of

justice. That none has survived is certainly not due primarily to the devastations of 1861-1865, but that they were too often built of inflammable materials or were outgrown and allowed to decay or were torn down.³⁰ These vanished centers of local government indicate by having existed that quite early the relation of the colonial in Maryland and Virginia to his society was of vital concern.

In both colonies the early external architecture of the courthouses, judging by surviving specifications as to size and materials, was much like that of the moderately large dwelling houses of the period. The great room plus loft, or the hall-parlor plus loft with or without dormers, of frame or brick, was probably the basic pattern, with perhaps an unusually wide door, sometimes a cupola, and often a flagpole from which flew the county standard. Simple dignity characterized them.³¹

There were other architectural designs in early Virginia and Maryland. Outbuildings, or dependencies, varied in materials and size and fashion as they did in the next century. Early warehouses and barns were probably always of wood. There are indications that one of the latter was still standing in Maryland until the last decade. The most important of these miscellaneous buildings was apparently the customhouse. In Virginia the first was recommended by Governor Harvey in 1633, though it is likely that the first was constructed for tobacco inspection and tax levy by Secretary Kemp about 1636. Then there was to be one for the whole colony, but as time went on there was to be one for each of the royal ports of entry on the major rivers. The first and perhaps many of the later customhouses were actually warehouse inspection houses, perhaps modeled on the medieval tithe barns of old England, but in the eighteenth century they had sometimes become merely inspectors' offices.³²

The First Building in the Carolinas, 1670-1700

In 1680 a church was built for the Spanish mission near Oconee, a few miles from Milledgeville in Georgia, but for the farthest south of our colonies there is no record of other European architecture until well into the eighteenth century. For the two Carolinas there is written evidence of a considerable amount of building but very few walls standing to indicate its appearance. Certainly the mid-seventeenth-century Virginia settlers in today's North Carolina and the French and Spanish adventurers in South Carolina erected stockades and dwelling houses of some kind, but one can only guess as to their appearance.

Johnston and Waterman make a good case for log construction in seventeenth-century North Carolina, though it may have been used nowhere else south of Delaware. William Byrd describes log houses covered

with pine or cypress shingles along the Carolina boundary as early as 1728. Records indicate a log prison ten or eleven feet square in North Carolina as early as 1680. Forman as well as Johnston and Waterman points out some existing small houses of the same one-room, or hall-and-parlor pattern with or without attic and stair, and other types noted in seventeenth-century Virginia and Maryland, but they are perhaps necessarily vague about their dates of erection or they date them after 1700. The most striking Jacobean house, one of the best examples of the Jacobean style surviving in colonial America, is the wooden Cupola House of Edenton, which is definitely dated between 1712 and 1758. Brick smaller houses, if they can be dated, are all of the early eighteenth century.

The beginnings of South Carolina and Charleston, the capital city, remain in architectural obscurity for a number of reasons, among them the devastations of Indian wars and the Revolution, the series of great fires suffered by the city from 1700 to 1861, and ten or more destructive hurricanes. From the very form and plan of government set up by the Proprietors, there must have been from 1670 on large country houses and city dwellings and government buildings far more pretentious than those of the first years of Jamestown or St. Mary's. The traveler-surveyor John Lawson, who himself drew the plans for the early cities of North Carolina, in 1700 saw Charleston, a city of "very regular and fair streets" and good buildings of brick and wood with rapidly increasing or large numbers of brick structures. There was a strong fort, and fortifications surrounded the whole town. Here was an English church with a fair parsonage, a fine French Huguenot house of worship, and several meetinghouses of dissenters. These all were naturally at least partially Jacobean in structural detail or general plan. Earlier, in 1682, Thomas Newe had seen a town of a hundred houses all of wood, though he mentions that brick was easily available.³³

Stoney avers that the form of South Carolina Low Country rural houses and plantations sprang from the minds of the Barbadian planters who were among the first settlers. The earliest country houses have vanished, but beginning in 1686 there is the Dutchman Jan Van Arrens' Medway, which despite alterations remains a seventeenth-century English or Dutch Jacobean house of crow-stepped gables, numerous heavy chimneys, and large hall. The walls of poor quality homemade brick with oyster-shell lime mortar, the spreading low wings, later airy windows, and double front remain fairly characteristic of the Low Country mansion to this day. Another, perhaps *the* other, seventeenth-century country dwelling is Middleburg, perhaps the oldest wooden house in the colony. It was by 1699 being lived in by Benjamin Simons, a Huguenot. It is an ancestor of the Low Country "Single House" made famous in Charleston and is in general plan

and details a mixture of European heavy beam-and-post structure and West Indian porch and beaded vertical boarding, and in some aspects of the use of brick and plaster it shows its owners' adaptations to the country.

The two mansions—and in size they are indeed larger houses than those of the period yet remaining in the Chesapeake Bay country—are still standing. John Lawson writes of another seventeenth-century dwelling, long vanished, the country place of Joachim Gaillard, who lived on the French Santee in a "curious contriv'd House, built of Brick and Stone, which is gotten near that Place." The stone was marl, perhaps stiffer than that along the York in Virginia, for it formed a substance so hard that many mistook walls and mantels made of it for Portland stone.³⁴ But these are all about which anything definite is known. The beginnings of this earliest Low Country architecture are best represented in the features they seem to have suggested for incorporation into later buildings of new materials and new designs and designers.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Southern architecture of the new century was still basically functional, but the increased prosperity of the colonies and the appearance of master builders and architects, or of planters who had and knew how to use pattern books, along with some factors to be mentioned later, produced decidedly more graceful and consciously ornamental detail in the buildings. As noted early in the chapter, medieval forms or motifs continued in diminishing proportion into the first period of Jefferson's designs. But the neoclassicism of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren, developed and popularized through translations and adaptations of Palladio and Vitruvius in the later seventeenth and especially the earlier eighteenth century, influenced profoundly southern colonial as well as British architecture. The colonial American found that neoclassical or academic forms could be adapted readily to the needs of his hot summers and cold winters and that with his abundance of wood and clay suitable for good brick he had the raw materials for making what he would. The result had been especially from the Susquehannah to the Savannah an American Palladian, or Georgian, which remains one of the permanent physical materializations emanating from the colonial mind.

The evolution in town plans and planning going along with the building produced some designs strongly suggestive of the L'Enfant-Thornton drawings for our later first national capital. In their origins these plans also are partially neoclassical. The private house, rural or urban, ranged from the roughest of timber dwellings without recognizable traditional design through dignified and clean-lined moderate-sized dwellings of di-

rect Palladian or more remote medieval ancestry to impressive mansions, modest enough by English country-house standards. In the two new Chesapeake capitals with their fascinating ground plans or patterns more impressive public buildings were erected than the preceding century had known—capitols, governors' residences, courthouses, even an imposing college quadrangle *in posse*—and new forms of powder magazines, detached private houses, market buildings, and theaters. There were geometrical patterns for other towns, some of them quite complex, as those for the proposed Azilia (see chapters above) and the realized Savannah in Georgia, two or three potential capital villages in North Carolina, and the necessarily somewhat unusual form for Charleston. Built in all the colonies were city or village or rural churches, from the elaborate Palladian St. Michael's in Charleston and the slightly less impressive Bruton Church in Williamsburg to a multitude of brick and wood and tabby country parish churches.

In most counties court towns sprang up, sometimes consisting of only a courthouse and tavern, but often containing churches, jails, record offices, customhouses (if on the rivers), warehouses, and some dwellings. A few of these also included roughly constructed theaters, as at Oxford and Chestertown and Upper Marlborough in Maryland, Fredericksburg and Norfolk and Tappahannock and Petersburg in Virginia, and perhaps certain accessible tidewater villages of the Carolinas.

Though old field, private estate, and village or community school buildings existed in the seventeenth century, not one of them or the specifications for it is now known. But for the eighteenth century we know at least something about the collegiate free Maryland school in Annapolis and the charity school in Talbot County, something of several sorts of Virginia schools from Fithian's plantation structure to the elaborate buildings of the College of William and Mary, certain details on Charleston scholastic buildings, and a good deal on George Whitefield's Orphan House in Georgia.

The designers of most of these buildings are not known by name, but even before the end of the preceding century certain master builders can be identified and in the eighteenth century a considerable number. On the basis of form and detail recent archaeological investigators have assigned groups of buildings to one master builder or architect, and toward the end of the colonial period builder-architects such as William Buckland can be identified. That certain well-educated governors of colonies, as Nicholson and Spotswood, had something to do with the planning of capitols and gubernatorial residences can be surmised from letters and records. But for the same buildings the talents of a contractor and master builder such as Henry Cary must also be taken into account.

No emanation of the southern colonial mind, save perhaps its writing, is

more characteristic or impressive than the architecture built during its golden age. The completely restored or reconstructed capital village in Virginia is the most obvious example. But in the towns or cities of Baltimore and Fredericksburg and Annapolis, of Edenton and New Bern, of Charleston and Savannah, there are standing—now usually in a reasonably authentic state of renovation or restoration—many buildings, and urban plans equally as impressive exist for many realized and imagined communities. Rural buildings, though only a small percentage survive, have been rediscovered and often refurbished, though many are most charming and instructive in their original state. Some rural churches from Maryland to Georgia have escaped the devastation of time and war and fire and neglect. Most of them indicate simple good taste with a touch of elegance on the part of their builders.

The Domestic Chesapeake Manner

As their population increased and their economy seems to have improved, the people of the two oldest southern colonies built new dwellings. From the Atlantic or Chesapeake shore to the Blue Ridge and the Great Valley, their domestic buildings continued as in the preceding century to indicate some adherence to traditional British forms but to reflect, as has been noted, the newer academic European styles. The sand and oyster-shell lime of Tidewater, red clay of the same region and of the Piedmont, and stone of the mountains and the valley beyond were distinctive native materials which were to produce minor regional differences in the character of the moderate and larger houses. The simplest dwellings, especially in the western sections of these colonies, were more and more frequently composed of logs, as direct German influence from the Valley settlers and less direct Swedish influence from Delaware manifested themselves in the whole inland area.

The Country House or Mansion. Today one of the major tourist attractions of the Chesapeake is its eighteenth-century dwelling. Large or small, this house has attracted purchasers from all other parts of America who have refurbished and renovated and adjusted it, with relative ease, for modern living. The attraction has been the beauty of contour of the dwelling and its obvious adaptability for what has been called gracious living. The very wealthy have bought many of the great houses, but more modest homes are enjoyed by persons of lesser means. And in a number of instances direct descendants of the builders live in the ancestral halls.

The great houses of eighteenth-century Virginia and Maryland which are still standing are naturally those we know most about, but ruins and foundations of others indicate that by no means all of the more impressive

structures have survived, and only documentary evidences remain of yet others. One should always remember that the term *manor*, or *great house*, is a relative one, for perhaps no dwelling ever built in the Bay country approached in scale and magnificence the great houses of England and Scotland. The largest of the Virginia-Maryland houses, even the governors' mansions, really compare in dimensions and detail to the more modest country houses of the English squirearchy.

The English antecedents of eighteenth-century architecture are as obvious as those of the seventeenth century. Again and again architects such as Waterman and Forman show by photographs and parallel floor plans remarkable likenesses between Chesapeake and English house design, in almost every instance the Old World house being the larger and more elaborate. The first and greatest of Old Dominion eighteenth-century houses, for example, the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, resembles in general design and detail Ashburnham House, possibly designed by Wren in his first period under strong traditional Italian Renaissance influence. But it is also a double-pile house suggestive of designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, one of the two most popular pattern books of the era, and of such country manor houses as Edial Hall, Staffordshire, or Nether Lypiatt, Gloucestershire.³⁵ In either case, it is in slightly smaller form the sort of house found in England in city or in country. If its design influenced those of other Virginia mansions, as Whiffen and others suggest it may have done, those others were primarily country houses.

Forman, as already noted, sees in the Williamsburg vice-regal dwelling a building owing a great deal to the much earlier St. Mary's official governor's house. As far as the records show, Governor Nicholson, who had known the Maryland building, did insure the Williamsburg building's being erected but left no identifiable evidence that he contributed to its design. The House of Burgesses passed an act in 1706 specifying that the house to be erected be of brick, fifty-four feet by forty-eight inside, two stories, with cellars, vault, sash windows, slate roof, and outbuildings such as stable and kitchen. The overseer-contractor Henry Cary, who had been most successful in building the Capitol, was engaged to erect the mansion. It was still unfinished when the new governor, Alexander Spotswood, arrived in 1710.

Spotswood proved to be even more interested in architectural design than Nicholson had been, and there is contemporary British evidence that he was a good mathematician. His designs for jail and church and powder magazine will be noted elsewhere. On the Palace Henry Cary continued as contractor, but under the direction of the governor. More money was voted in 1710 and again in 1712, neither amount sufficient, and it was not finished until 1720. Hugh Jones, in his description of the building, noted the fact that it received its beauty and conveniency from the many altera-

tions and decorations of Governor Spotswood. Among these changes there were probable alterations in the internal plan of the main building, the addition of the forecourt and parterre enclosed by six-foot brick walls, a bathhouse, and the elaborate baroque garden with vistas. The handsome gates and pillars surmounted by heraldic sculpture were also probably Spotswood's. The additions and repairs were directed by architect Richard Taliaferro in 1748. The building was destroyed in 1781.

The rebuilt palace (1931) follows the Bodleian Plate of sketches, which shows something of the exterior trim, the two-story cupola, and steep hipped roof. Excavations revealed the original foundations on which the reconstructed walls were placed, and for interior plan there was a drawing by Thomas Jefferson himself about 1773-1776. The dependencies and the high battlemented walls connecting them to the palace are among other details also shown on the Bodleian Plate.³⁶

This first great double-pile house in Virginia may have affected the form of such great plantation houses as Nomini Hall and Westover, though closer to it in ground plan was the Burwells' Kingsmill, a plantation mansion not far from Williamsburg (destroyed as recently as 1900). Except for its materials and detail, this first major Virginia eighteenth-century mansion was not in the main academic or neoclassical or Georgian tradition as this tradition was later followed in Virginia.

Nearly all the later great houses of the Chesapeake colonies were designed by master carpenters or master builders or highly educated owners who used the architectural pattern books mentioned in Chapter IV above. Where in the later years there was a professional or semiprofessional architect, he too modeled or adapted his buildings and their external and internal features from the drawings in such books as William Adam's *Vitruvius Scoticus* (1750), Colin Campbell's earlier and enormously popular *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., 1715-1725), James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1728), James Leoni's *The Architecture of Palladio; in Four Books* (2 vols., 3d ed., 1742), William Salmon's popular *Palladio Londoniensis* (1734), Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756), or some of the others mentioned in Chapter IV or below. The early Lees and Carters and Randolphs down to Thomas Jefferson followed these books rarely; if ever, slavishly in designing not only the Virginia but other southern buildings. Though doorframes and chimney pieces and other decorations appear to have been lifted—as in England—straight from the printed page, the Chesapeake houses of 1727-1760 are not genuinely Palladian in the sense that the later Thomas Jefferson houses were.

After or about the time of Kingsmill and after the Governor's Palace, several large houses adapting Palladian designs were built in Tidewater Virginia. About 1717 Charles Grymes erected in Richmond County what

was in outline a rather simple story-and-a-half dwelling destroyed in 1927 by the erosion of the Rappahannock River. The great drawing room, the features of which will be discussed below under Painting, was the finest of its type in the colony if not in English America. Fortunately the room survives intact in the Winterthur Museum.

Unusual and imposing is the brick mansion of the Lees, Stratford in Westmoreland, built between 1725 and 1730 basically in the style of Sir John Vanbrugh. With its subsidiary buildings, all now in excellent repair, it forms a plantation group without rival in Virginia. It is an H-shaped building of massive squares, elaborate brickwork differing in size and design above and below the watertable, rubbed-brick cornices and window jambs, and doorframes of gauged or molded brick. The great group of non-Palladian Vanbrugh chimney stacks, with four flues in each of the two wings, are the most distinctive feature of the building. Despite and because of Vanbrugh the Palladian influence is evident in certain places, including the unusual elevation of the main floor. Its great hall might have come from one of the pattern books, an interior called by one or more architectural critics the finest Amercian room of the first quarter of the century.³⁷

In Chesterfield County near the present city of Richmond the builder Henry Cary, Jr., or his son Archibald built before 1732 a mansion which still stands, though on a new site with its once detached flanking dependencies physically now connected to it by enclosed passages or rooms. The house is Jacobean in its plan, with the glazed-head stringcourse and English bond brickwork. Architects have found it a fascinating structure, for it possesses major features of both the medieval style and the Georgian. There are three hips in the roof of the main block and hips on the wings or dependencies.

Not far down the James from Cary's Ampthill are William Byrd II's Westover in Charles City County, famous for itself and because of its owner and probable designer and builder; the Nelson House at Yorktown (c. 1740); and Wilton in Henrico (1753). Nearby is Elsing Green in King William (1758). All these latter bear extraordinary resemblance to each other and to Councilor Robert Carter's now lost Nomini Hall (c. 1730). In the four standing houses the four-room-and-central-hall plan is varied by the halls being off center, which enabled owners to have two large rooms on one side, one perhaps used as a ballroom such as Fithian describes at Nomini in 1774. This off-center hall plan occurs in no other known Virginia houses but does appear in an English house illustrated in Leoni.

Westover remains little changed since the date of its completion save that unattached dependencies have become attached. In its fine setting of

lawn and trees on the great river, it has no peer in dignified beauty. It is approached on the land side through a pair of wrought-iron gates beneath a scrolled overthrow which has heroic brick piers with cut-stone caps and bases and large finials in the form of birds. No such entrance gates are known elsewhere in America, though they occur in English estates of the period. The owner's diary of 1711 indicates that the gates and walls were erected long before the mansion, and there is clear evidence that the gates were made in London.

Bricks for the new house were being made on the place in 1729. Sash windows with segmented brick heads, elaborate Palladian doors, the seven bays of each of the two façades, doorways of Portland stone, Flemish bond brickwork, hipped roofing for dormers and house, gauged brick trim, superb graduated slate (probably Welsh) roof, are among the external features. Within are fine paneling and enriched plaster ceilings, a remarkable stair and balustrade, and notable mantels in stone and wood. With its lawns and gardens and dependencies, this Palladian house remains the fitting habitation for perhaps the most variously gifted of colonial southern gentlemen.³⁸

Though Westover stands before us, Nomini Hall in Westmoreland, home of Councilor Robert Carter, a later contemporary of Byrd and well-nigh as complete a gentleman as this kinsman, remains only as a memory. Built about 1730, it was contemporaneous with Sabine Hall and Christ Church, to be discussed in a moment. There is a sketch drawn in 1850, and there is tutor Philip Vickers Fithian's detailed description of the house and its dependencies and setting. Nomini Hall overlooked the Potomac and with its other buildings formed one of the great plantation groupings of the century. The sketch shows a large rectangular building with a number of chimneys and a Palladian window and hipped roof. Fithian describes the house as built entirely of brick covered by a strong lime mortar so that it was perfectly white. It was seventy-six feet by forty-four in the main block, with five stacks of chimneys and two full stories. Large dependencies at each corner of the building include Fithian's school-room and living quarters, this apartment itself forty-five feet long, one-and-a-half stories with dormers and fireplaces in each room.

Though Corotoman, home of the Councilor's grandfather, Robert ("King") Carter, in nearby Lancaster County, certainly one of the major architectural works of the earlier period, burned in 1729, the site of the great house remains strewn with cut stone and marble. It may have been the most imposing of all early eighteenth-century American houses, but evidences of its character are few. Completely destroyed more recently is the grand Page family mansion of Rosewell on the York River, begun about 1726 and standing complete from 1744 to 1838, with a pair of de-

pendencies toward the north. It passed from the family in 1838 and was substantially altered and actually pillaged after that date. The lead roof was removed and sold, the cupolas and parapets were removed, and the roof was changed from deck-on-hip to a low hip. The denuded building was burned in 1916, but not before some useful photographs from various angles had been made. Five bays long on each façade, the building stood three stories above a high basement. Two fine brick doorways had pilasters and pediments in cut stone and gauged and molded and carved brick and originally were reached by broad flights of Portland stone steps. Unparalleled were the two cupolas on the roof. The curved staircase was an interior feature, and there are only suggestions of a once magnificent interior paneling. Built from bricks made on the spot, owing its general plan and many details to Salmon's *Palladio Londoniensis*, Rosewell was the greatest of a proud group of Virginia mansions following what has been called the Shropshire type from the manor and mansion houses of the British county with which so many Virginians were intimately associated. Even its crumbling ruins give the viewer an impression of the high tide of the colonial golden age in the colony.³⁹

A more completely vanished mansion, as far as one can judge from the nineteenth-century character of the present house on the site, is Rosewell's neighbor Rosegill, once the home of the powerful and gifted Wormeley family. Extant documentary data are confusing; it may have been a cluster of small buildings rather than a great center block with dependencies. And no trace of the large Jennings mansion on the York, Rippon Hall, remains. The scarred remnants of Cleve (1754) stand on the north bank of the Rappahannock. It is another brick Carter building, richest of all in its stone trim, now totally lacking in its dependencies.⁴⁰

Among the completely obliterated elaborate Palladian mansions is Marlborough, built by lawyer and writer John Mercer in 1730-1731 on the site of an old port town on the Potomac and almost totally forgotten until the Smithsonian excavation on the site within the last decade. These archaeological investigations together with Mercer's ledgers and other account books indicate that this was one of the major Virginia mansions of the period, perhaps more genuinely Palladian than anything else in the colony before Thomas Jefferson. Bricks were burned on the place, oyster-shell lime mortar was made, timber and ironware and stone were imported, and carvers and plasterers were brought in. The result was an elaborate building which almost surely followed designs from the four architectural books Mercer bought for his library, one of them Salmon's work. Remains have been recovered of fossilized-marble fireplaces, red and white sandstone arches for the arcade surrounding the veranda and outside steps, and other stone trim as well as much brick trim. The insur-

ance policy describes a very long one-story brick building, or story-and-a-half house with wood shingled roof. Three books of gold leaf may have been used on a cupola or on interior decoration. The house was one hundred and eight feet eight inches long and twenty-nine feet six inches wide for the main foundation, not including the portico of eight feet four inches. The investigators point out a similarity in outline to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Virginia houses; yet its form resembles the elongated-cottage plan of Chiswell's Scotchtown and the later Gunston Hall. In the report on the excavation appears an illustration showing a Palladian villa with a full-length one-story arcade for the whole house except a portico area, arcades strikingly suggestive of those Jefferson used later on the Ranges of the University of Virginia. This illustration is from Leoni's London edition of Palladio (3d, 1742) which Mercer seems to have owned. If Marlborough was indeed a Virginia brick and sandstone adaptation of this beautiful Italian structure, it was one of the most original and handsome houses of its time.⁴¹

Other eighteenth-century Virginia country houses still stand, many of them as large as those mentioned and all owing a great deal to Georgian styles and English Palladian pattern books. The Fitzhughs' Marmion (before 1735) survives without its most gracious room, now in the Metropolitan Museum. The Nelson House at Yorktown has been mentioned as belonging to the Westover group in plan, though it is neither a city (Williamsburg) mansion nor a plantation seat, but the home of a great merchant. There are many others, such as Berkeley, Peckatone, Kenmore, and Tuckahoe.⁴²

Mount Vernon has gone through many stages of alteration and addition, the two latest some time after the colonial period. Its evolution is discussed in some detail in such studies as Waterman's *The Mansions of Virginia* (pp. 268-300, etc.). It is one of the three great houses of the period with quadrant connections between the house and its dependencies. Adam's *Vitruvius Scoticus* had its influence in the successive designs for this house. Blandfield (1760-1770), home to this day of the descendants of the original Beverley owners and builders, is on the Rappahannock not very far from Mount Vernon. This brick house with hip-on-hip roof, connected dependencies, and an enclosed rose garden, is quite original in some of its features, as the mode of communication with the outbuildings. In its pediments, window framing, cornices, and portico it is strongly Palladian.

Carter's Grove (1751), the Burwell mansion outside Williamsburg on a magnificent river site, is now being slightly altered to conform to its original plan. Originally a large rectangular, hip-roofed Georgian house with detached dependencies, it includes in its great hall probably the finest

stair and wood paneling of the era. Its external brickwork, especially of huge chimneys and north and south doorways, is both plain and well finished.

Three other northern Virginia mansions of distinctive features must also be noted. The earliest is the Sabine Hall (1730) of Landon Carter, another great house remaining in the possession of the builder's direct descendants, the only house still standing of the three "King" Carter provided for his sons. Though it contains many original features, it suffered from alterations during the Classic Revival period. Originally Sabine Hall was a simple Palladian block with detached brick dependencies. The masonry trim of the windows is perhaps unique in this country. Nearby Mount Airy (1758), the home of the Tayloes, is built of local dark brown sandstone with trim of cut Portland and Aquia Creek stone. The main block, two stories above a high basement, has a central pedimented pavilion. The north and south fronts seem to have been inspired respectively by the drawings of Haddo House in Adam's *Vitruvius Scoticus* and of a Gloucestershire design in Gibbs' *Book of Architecture*.⁴³ The whole group plan with curved connecting passages to the major flanking dependencies is characteristically high Georgian or Palladian.

Gunston Hall (1755-1758) in Fairfax County, built for and by George Mason with the assistance of a known architect to be discussed below, William Buckland, is today one of the best-known colonial houses of America, thanks to the sponsorship by the Colonial Dames and its proximity to our national capital. It is by no means a pretentious building commensurate with the wealth and prominence of its owner. It is a one-story brick in Flemish bond with sandstone trim and modillioned wood cornice. Dormer-lighted bedrooms are within the roof construction and two chimneys are located at each of the gable ends. The whole detail is well within the later Georgian tradition, from the handsomely proportioned entrance porches to the Chinese ornament of the dining room and rich detail of paneling, stairs, cornices, mantels, and other interior features. Its two principal rooms are in Chinese Chippendale and baroque Palladian respectively. This was the first American building by the man who became the colonial South's premier architect.⁴⁴

There are a number of cottage-type eighteenth-century brick houses standing in Virginia, especially in the Mobjack Bay area of the Chesapeake and along the James and scattered through the Piedmont. That others somewhat like them may have been of wood does not entirely explain their disappearance, for Forman has found in Maryland scores of wooden as well as brick dwellings scattered throughout the older part of the state. Perhaps the greater number, even proportionately, of large houses in Virginia has caused the antiquarian and archaeologist generally to overlook

the small Virginia cottage. One has only to drive along the older roads of the state to see quaint or handsome small buildings, from the tiny birth-place of Walter Reed to substantial farmhouses possessing eighteenth-century Georgian features, to realize that the pattern book, ingenuity in adaptation to terrain and climate, and taste for the Georgian colonial existed for the builders of small houses as well as great.

In the Mobjack Bay country, along the western Chesapeake shore and the York and its tributaries, are dozens of houses large enough to be classed as manor houses, with dependencies and obviously Palladian design, houses such as Little England and Timberneck. In the area of the James River, besides the larger dwellings already mentioned, are simpler houses such as Meadow Farm in Henrico (pre-Revolutionary); the well-known Eppington, home of a famous family; the Tylers' Greenway (original portions dating before 1700) in Charles City; the Glebe in Charles City (before 1732), a fine T-shaped brick house in Flemish bond; the so-called Thomas Rolfe house in Surry, once called the oldest standing brick house in Virginia, now usually dated in the eighteenth century; and the Moore House at Yorktown (c. 1750), a restored eighteenth-century dwelling of great historic interest.⁴⁵

Except for Henry C. Forman's comprehensive work on general seventeenth-century Maryland and the smaller houses of the eighteenth century, only the Annapolis dwellings have been extensively covered in major histories of architecture. In other words, what is to be learned of the great country houses of the colony must be gleaned from scattered articles on single mansions or in rapid surveys of all Maryland's major houses. One recent book mentions that some 550 or 600 "colonial homes" of the state have been listed or described or illustrated in this century but that some of these have already been destroyed. The book itself contains photographs and discussions of some 202, all but 30 of which were built before 1800. About 15 of what are called large five-part houses fall within the colonial period, and 4 other great mansions including Doughregan Manor and Readbourne are listed.⁴⁶

In his first published book on his beloved province, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (1934), Forman declares that the dwellings described are of varying sizes, principally small, and that he has purposely omitted some forty mansions which are one hundred feet long or over, a few of which were built after the colonial period. He includes five large houses because either they were then falling into ruin or had plans which especially appealed to him. His book, and his later studies except *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, are primarily compendia of photographs, drawings, and verbal description of small houses. Of the great

houses he lists but does not study, Whitehall and Doughregan are among the most interesting. One can only wish that someone will consider in detail all the great houses, for they are as indicative of Maryland taste and mind among its leaders as are the major dwellings of Virginia.

Of the impressive country houses, one of the earliest is Readbourne (1731) in Queen Anne's County, a highly individualized and distinguished house, though it has much in common with certain Virginia Rapahannock River residences. Standing today in a considerably altered state, it originally had two large rooms on each floor of the main block, a wing of two small rooms with a stair opposite, a cupola, symmetrical flanking buildings, and a fine arched doorway.⁴⁷ Tulip Hill (1745) in Anne Arundel County, a beautiful semiacademic house with later wings, is famous for its front and garden doorways, its interior paneling and balustrades, and a stair said to be the only mid-Georgian one in Maryland to rank with the great Virginia stairs. In the same county is the ell-shaped Holly Hill, a partly seventeenth-century house with paneled chimneys and remarkable interior woodwork and decoration. In Baltimore County is Mount Clare (1754), built by Charles Carroll the barrister; with eight houses in Annapolis, Montpelier near Laurel, and Hampton near Towson, it forms Maryland's group of distinguished mid-Georgian academic mansions. Belair (1746 central portion) in Prince Georges County, a five-part mansion situated on the crest of a hill, is one of the best maintained examples of Georgian architecture in Maryland. Terraced grounds, beautifully carved interior woodwork, and handsome brick exterior mark this mansion owned by Taskers and Ogles.

Perhaps the two finest Maryland mansions are known as much for their famous builders as for themselves. Doughregan (or Doughoregan) Manor (begun 1727), home of the Catholic Carrolls including Charles Carroll of Carrollton, is located in Howard County. Three hundred feet long with two ells, it has a cupola and a richly finished chapel, in which services are still held. The family portraits, the terraced gardens, and magnificent views add to its effect as the "strongest link which binds Maryland to its colonial past."⁴⁸ The other mansion is Governor Horatio Sharpe's Whitehall (c. 1762-1766) in Anne Arundel County, perhaps the last and greatest of Maryland colonial country houses of the post-1750 period. A red-brick mansion with a handsome white portico, it is almost two hundred feet long and one room deep. A great central hall with elaborately carved woodwork extends through two floors. It anticipates Jefferson's kind of Palladianism in many respects, especially in pediments and columns, but its lawns and terraced gardens are more characteristic of earlier Tidewater Chesapeake landscaping. Arcades and arches connect it with semi-octagonal buildings including a water closet, and there was a brick

octagonal racing stable. Almost surely Sharpe employed an architect, whether a William Anderson or William Buckland is a matter of dispute. Waterman calls Whitehall the "earliest essay in American domestic architecture of the temple-form house." It is said to have initiated the neoclassic (Jeffersonian Palladian) dwelling into this country.⁴⁹

Forman was the authority in 1934 for the count of about six hundred colonial houses in Maryland, but his subsequent books through 1967 indicate that he later discovered dozens more. He has surveyed, excavated, sketched, and photographed more early American dwellings within a single state than has any other architectural historian. His more recent discoveries bear out or support his earlier thesis, that wooden or brick, large or small, the colonists' dwellings were built by men of taste and remarkable ingenuity in adaptation to resources, terrain, and climate. Many of the houses shown or described are first-floor-and-loft, with or without dormers in the steep roof, and perhaps partly brick and partly wood in construction. Many others have at least a two-story central block, with wings, an ell, or a T of perhaps one story. Great free-standing pyramidal chimneys are frequently in pairs joined into a solid wall by a brick pent, or closet, a feature found most frequently in Maryland of all the colonies. Elaborate mantels and paneling may be found in quite small houses, and various forms of Flemish bond appear in their external walls.

There are few better ways to form an adequate and accurate conception of the way of life and thought of the yeoman and middle-class farmer of the southern colonies than to study the text and the photographs in the several books on rural houses by Forman already mentioned. His ingenious and imaginative reconstruction through his drawings or elevations may be for some critics somewhat too idealistic, but usually he proceeds from fragments as archaeologists have always done, with the additional attribute of a trained designer's professional eye. He has enough complete proof without his envisaged reconstruction that the Maryland colonist was a practical man who built according to his needs with an eye to symmetry and texture.

The Town House. Of the eighteenth-century dwellings in the towns of Baltimore, Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Norfolk, and smaller villages of Maryland and Virginia only a few survive today, notably in Alexandria and Fredericksburg, and many now counted as town houses were once country houses which have been engulfed by expanding cities. The two northern Virginia towns did and do contain houses which, though basically Palladian in design and detail, have been influenced by their urban environment by being crowded into small lots and usually built flush with street or sidewalk. In Alexandria several of the 1750-1760 decade are graceful Palladian houses in the same sense that the Adam houses of London are,

whatever the row effect. Fredericksburg, evidently less pressured for room than Alexandria, built more detached houses, though a small area left after the Civil War battle indicates that there must once have been several blocks of eighteenth-century two-and-a-half-story row houses. In Georgetown, D.C., too are scattered clusters of early nineteenth-century houses which followed models from England and Scotland. And there is a 1752 wash drawing of Baltimore which indicates roughly the features of several types of homes—mansard and hipped roofs, several sorts of dormers, chimneys usually in a gable end but sometimes in the middle of the house, wings and ells, and varying sizes from two-story-plus-half-basement to one small story.

But the city houses of the two capitals, Williamsburg and Annapolis, are of greatest interest, for they were an integral part of town planning and are individually handsome units in themselves. The Virginia colonial capital has become world-famous as a representative museum collection of buildings illustrating the British empire in America. Since its restoration began in the late 1930s more than 440 recent buildings have been torn down and 18 others moved outside the colonial area. By 1935 66 colonial buildings had been repaired or restored and 84 reproduced upon colonial foundations, and the work still goes on. Of these structures most are dwelling houses, which excluding the Governor's Palace range in size from tiny hall-and-passageway cottages (most of these are among the entirely rebuilt) to substantial mansions resembling in plan and to some extent in appearance their country cousins just discussed.

The Williamsburg dwelling was built for a provincial official, a local tradesman or artisan (and sometimes included his shop), college faculty or the clergy, and notably plantation owners who wanted for social or political reasons a second residence at the seat of government. A half-dozen or so of the major or larger residences were built after the colonial period, but more than twenty of them were constructed between 1707 and 1764. The majority are clapboard covered, sometimes with brick nogging beneath, and a few are brick. There are as might be expected medieval features or details, but in general effect all of them are to some degree Palladian and may loosely be called early or middle Georgian. From the Capitol at one end of Duke of Gloucester Street to Market Square is an almost solid facade of buildings, set by an act of 1699 six feet back from the street line. Among taverns and shops were a great many homes, and the parallel Francis and Nicholson streets, and others, were primarily residential. Small though the city was, its effect was distinctly urban, though there were really no row houses as in earlier Jamestown or contemporary Fredericksburg or Alexandria, despite the few blocks of contiguous dwellings-shops.

In design these houses were basically English provincial, not London urban, and had evolved as had the country house from the yeoman's dwell-

ing of rural England. As in the rest of Virginia, in Williamsburg the characteristic house surviving from colonial times is story-and-a-half, sometimes with the early plan of central hall and one room on each side on the ground floor. Dormers of several designs pierce the steep roofs, and chimneys even on small houses vary from the end flush or central stack to the double or single-end free-standing forms. Doors, shutters, windows, outside cornices may be austere plain or fairly elaborate Palladian. Some interiors contain fine paneling. Roofs vary from steep medieval to mansard to hipped or gambrel. The frame houses within and without are in neat and beautifully appropriate color combinations based on original painting.

If they could afford to do so, the permanent residents of Williamsburg built substantial houses on lots wide and deep enough to include also outbuildings such as detached kitchens, dovecotes, offices, or stables. The "publick-times" resident, again depending somewhat on his degree of affluence, constructed a house large enough for comfort but little more. Councilor Robert Carter's Williamsburg residence, though he actually lived in it almost continuously for some years, cannot compare in size or impressive detail with his Nomini Hall. On the other hand Peyton Randolph, who spent most of his life as an official of the colony, built in three sections a large mansion which would have been more imposing if it had been set on a river estate.

As far as date of construction can be traced, the Nelson-Galt story-and-a-half frame house, with brick cellar and two brick chimneys, is the oldest residence now known, built soon after 1707. Some handsome paneling and a stone chimney piece within and a Palladian outside entrance door and cornice hip-roofed dormers, and rare (in part) original window shutters render this small house one of the city's most interesting. The large Peyton Randolph house (1715-1720s) contains some of the finest paneling in the town. The simpler Archibald Blair residence (1716-1718), built by the brother of the Commissary, is in beautiful geometric proportion two rooms deep, with four rooms on each floor and a central passage and stair.

Every house is worth detailed description. Benjamin Waller, almost life-long public official, had an ell-shaped story-and-a-half dwelling built about 1746 with partly gambrel roof, great free-standing chimneys, and stone semicircular front steps. John Tayloe of Mount Airy built in Williamsburg about 1752-1759 a handsome gambrel-roofed house of modest size with floor-to-ceiling paneling in the front room of the ground floor with a crowning cornice. Three partially original outbuildings including an ogee-roofed office enhance the unusual effect of the dwelling-group of one of the Northern Neck's most powerful planters.

At least two of the larger brick residences should be noted. The two-story hipped-roof Ludwell-Paradise house (1710-1737) was built by the heirs

to Berkeley's Green Spring, Philip Ludwell II and III. Its rich pattern of Flemish bond brickwork, transomed main door, and iron-railed double front steps are among its features. Frequently considered the most handsome colonial house in the city is the Wythe house, built by architect Richard Taliaferro in 1750. George Wythe, jurist and signer of the Declaration of Independence, married Taliaferro's daughter in 1755 and probably moved into the house then. The walls, double doors on both fronts, and other features are original, and there was plenty of evidence for accurate restoration of the remainder. This hipped-roofed Palladian mansion, built on a geometrical design, with a spacious rear garden, is graceful evidence of the manner of living of a professional man in this southern colony.⁵⁰

Annapolis claims, probably rightly, to have standing more original eighteenth-century brick houses than any other American city. Here the situation is quite different from that at Williamsburg. Though in recent years notable efforts in repairing and restoring a number of buildings have been made, the United States Naval Academy occupies the site of several once-notable edifices, and businesses and port facilities long ago caused the utter obliteration of others. Several of the standing buildings were or are for public use, from market house to the first governor's mansion, also known as Bladen's Folly, now McDowell Hall of St. John's College.

Annapolis is the site of most of the surviving work of architect William Buckland, who got his American start at Gunston Hall in Virginia. His best-known Annapolis houses really come in the decade after 1763 but before the Revolution though they represent the tradition established earlier. But there are a number of handsome earlier Annapolis houses, some built for Crown officials, some for local business or professional men, and some as town houses for the great planters.

Row houses of more modest form and dimensions, but hardly less pleasing, go back to the early century. In *The Sot-Weed Factor* (1708) Ebenezer Cook satirized the early town, including its dwellings, probably as unfairly as he did so many other things, though he gives no hint whether they are row houses except that they resemble fair stalls:

Up to *Annapolis* I went,
A City Situate on a Plain,
Where scarce a House will keep out Rain;
The Buildings fram'd with Cypress rare,
Resembles much our *Southwark* Fair:

In 1760 Andrew Burnaby in different mood described Annapolis as a small, neat town, though not laid out regularly: it is "tolerably well built, and has

several good brick houses." In 1769 William Eddis was even more favorable, praising particularly the private houses, almost all with well-planted gardens. An 1860 view of the city shows streets of the row houses in which each dwelling was built on the front property line, a tradition continued from the colonial period well into the nineteenth century. As in Georgetown and Fredericksburg, it is difficult to distinguish early-nineteenth- from mid-eighteenth-century row houses. The Annapolis effect is of an enclosed urban street façade broken only by well-proportioned door and window openings. These portions of the town still have the appearance of the agreeable village Eddis suggested.⁵¹ By mid-century the row houses, probably originally timber-frame, had become largely brick, perhaps partly because of fire hazards. In both large and smaller houses, eighteenth-century Annapolis was to be proportionately much more a brick-built city than Williamsburg ever was.

Of the detached larger houses, one of the oldest (c. 1680–1690) is that in which lived printer-publisher Jonas Green, a moving spirit of the famous Tuesday Club of 1745–1756 and a versatile and gregarious citizen. His house, with gambrel roof, clapboard front and brick ends, and flush double chimneys, appears in early views of Annapolis. Today its tiny end windows of the first floor and obviously enlarged casements of the second are among the evidences of its early origin, as its shed-roof dormers may be.⁵² Though modernized in other details, the Green house is obviously pre-Georgian. Then there is a group of early or mid-Georgian brick houses of larger size and more graceful line and ornamental detail between 1730 and the several mansions attributed to William Buckland built 1765–1772 and perhaps begun a bit earlier.

These middle-period residences include the Randall-Bordley house (1730), built by Thomas Bordley, the lifelong residence of Stephen Bordley and his sister Elizabeth. Most of the furniture and silver was imported, and in their more than thirty rooms the Bordleys entertained lavishly. Surviving in letters, as one of 1737, are charming pictures of life in the great house surrounded by its boxwoods and flower garden. The two-and-a-half stories with curved-roof dormers, old window glass, iron grillwork, inside shutters, and gracefully carved mantels are among the building's features.⁵³ The two-and-a-half-stories-plus-full-basement of the great rectangular mass of the 1735 Dr. Charles Carroll house, birthplace of his son, the Signer of the Declaration, has on the upper floor a chapel forty feet long, probably in religious use before the building became the home of a religious order. About 1740 Samuel Ogle, three times provincial governor, ordered a town house built. Recently restored, this two-story-plus-attic Georgian mansion has a beautiful classical doorway flanked by pilasters, an elaborate exterior

cornice below the steep roof overhang, and flat arches over the façade windows. In the Buckland period Benjamin Ogle added the semi-octagonal wing containing a great ballroom.⁵⁴

Adjoining the Carroll is the Upton Scott house (1750–1768), a handsome Palladian mansion with a pediment above the façade doorway and elaborately carved cornice all the way around the building and the pediment. Called by Daniel Dulany the Younger “the best Town House in America,” it or at least the detail may have been designed by Buckland.

Most studies of Annapolis, especially the early ones, date the James Brice house in the 1740s, though Beirne and others who describe Buckland’s work say that it is his, of a period thirty years later. This great brick two-story-plus-dependencies house has a steep unbroken sweep of roof and towering chimneys suggestive of a period earlier even than the 1740s. In contrast to these features is the unusually elaborate cornice. The evidence is somewhat confusing, complicated by whether John Brice or James, his son, built it. It is all together certainly one of the imposing “Georgian” houses of America. Quite different is the gambrel-roofed frame Windsor house (c. 1760), moved in 1940 from its original site to the College Green. This is a long, rectangular structure covered by beaded boards of the pre-Revolutionary period and with an off-center entrance door.⁵⁵

Though a number of other houses have been dated between 1694 and 1760, the more significant remaining dwellings belong to the William Buckland era, and that architect may have had a hand in designing, building, or decorating all of them, though the evidence is largely circumstantial or by analogy. This designer will be considered below with other southern master-builders and architects, but here his work itself—or that most usually conceded to be his—represents high-Georgian exteriors and ornate Palladian interiors of the urban Chesapeake area at their best. Since Buckland moved from his Virginia country mansion work at Gunston and in the Northern Neck of Virginia begun in 1755 to his Maryland urban dwellings within the colonial period and continued his work well into the 1770s, these buildings which form his greatest monument should be noticed together.

There are evidences that Buckland was doing some work in Annapolis during his Virginia years, as on the Upton Scott house as early as 1762. Scott’s and Governor Horatio Sharpe’s friend John Ridout, whose descendants still live in the house he completed 1763–1770, may have had Buckland as his architect, though Waterman, who thinks John Ariss was the builder, believes that the Brice, Paca, and Rid(e)out houses are too early for Buckland to have designed them. These three contain distinguished Georgian interior trim such as the finely carved sitting-room mantel of the Ridout house, but the superlative decoration in certain slightly later mansions suggests to some historians that only the latter were the work of

Buckland. Beirne and Scarff, however, feel there are enough internal and other evidences to indicate that Buckland at least contributed to the design and detail of several of these and of the Ringgold house in Chestertown, among others outside the capital. They see the Brice, Chase-Lloyd, and Hammond-Harwood houses as the architect's supreme achievements.

The Brice house has already been noted. As for the second of this group, Samuel Chase, Signer of the Declaration, started the massive three-story brick structure in 1769 but sold it four years later to Edward Lloyd, later governor of Maryland. Lloyd wished to have the grandest house in Annapolis and purchased a neighboring lot for garden and stables. The Lloyd papers document completely the materials and progress of construction of the great house. They show Buckland in Annapolis at work supervising construction on December 22, 1771. The Palladian windows over rear doorway, the elaborate exterior plaster work, the beautiful door treatments, the carving in the dining room, and the cornices are among details mentioned.

As the Lloyd house neared completion, a new building slowly rose on a lot directly opposite, the Hammond-Harwood house (1774), the latter generally conceded to mark the climax of Buckland's career. It is a long, low house, a central block with attached dependencies, or wings, familiar in outline but unapproached in size and modest grandeur among other late colonial Georgian houses of Virginia or Maryland. The whole concept, supervision, and in part execution seem to have been Buckland's. Gibbs' and other books of architecture were drawn upon for outline and details, as in other Buckland work. Its distinction is its restraint in external effect, though richly ornamented doors and bull's-eye windows in the pediments above the façades are far from simple. The half-octagon bays on the wings (which contained kitchen and office) probably derived from similar features of earlier English country houses. Chair rails, window and door trim, chimney breasts and cornices are carved. The rich and varied ornament of the rooms is even more impressive than in the Lloyd house. The front entrance doorway is perhaps the mansion's most beautiful and sophisticated feature. Festoons of roses grace the spandrels. A splendid Palladian pediment stands above double doors, with a segmented semicircular fanlight surmounted by a second keystone arch between. For colonial America it is a remarkable building, suggestive of the mental processes of both builder and owner.⁵⁶

Frontier, Servant, and Slave Dwellings. As already suggested, the earliest Chesapeake houses, all frontier then, were modeled on English rural huts or cottages with some strengthening as protection against the Indians. Before the eighteenth century many of them were of logs, as they continued to be past the end of the period. But not all were. Especially in the second

colonial century a number of affluent immigrant pioneers, or sons of affluent Tidewater planters, built in the mountains and Valley of Virginia relatively sophisticated buildings, most of wood frame but many of brick and, probably because it was plentiful in the region, stone.

In the beginning, servant quarters, working buildings for the plantations, and storage houses were of framed wooden materials, and some slave quarters continued to be wattle-and-daub. But more were of logs, and a considerable number, even of servant living quarters, were in the later years of brick. Former white indentured servants who remained as paid employees of their former masters, and more rarely (in the earlier period) freed blacks, lived in neat tenant houses, such as those depicted in the painting many believe to represent the Randolphs' Turkey Island plantation grouping. Certainly overseers and other tenants, including agents in charge of iron furnaces or port shipping, lived in simple but fairly well constructed houses, as the remains of the actual buildings indicate. They hardly possessed architectural distinction, though many of them were story-and-a-half cottages of decent proportions.

Ordinary field hands, by the end of the colonial period practically all of them black slaves, lived in the quarters, which consisted of a clustering or street of simple one- or two-room shelters each possessed of a fireplace. These structures were usually fairly wind and water tight, for the owner had to protect his property, whether he was or was not humane. William Byrd's histories of the Dividing Line would indicate that the white squatter or frontiersman probably had no more elaborate quarters.

Thus the architecture of the laborer's dwelling was strictly utilitarian. But one of the interesting discoveries of recent years by architectural historians, already mentioned, concerns the hundreds of standing dwellings—and hundreds more of walls and foundations—for middle or lower-class persons, many or most of whom had risen from the indentured-servant group or were on a par with the latter economically. These remains show that they had been small houses with pleasing geometrical Georgian lines and usually some ornamental cornices or window or door detail and handsome free-standing chimneys.

The Carolina and Georgia Manner

The three southernmost colonies, founded later than their Chesapeake sisters and possessed of differing climate and coastline, developed housing in their own way. Though they owed almost as much to the traditional medieval buildings and equally as much to the Georgian-Palladian-classical, differing natural conditions and other factors, such as new national or ethnic elements in the population or immigration via the West Indies rather than straight from Europe, created differences. Yet there are Carolina country

houses, and even a few city ones, which differ little from certain Chesapeake dwellings. There was no great bay with navigable tributary rivers to create such a sylvan Venice as were colonial Virginia and Maryland, and there were few majestic waterfront sites even on the Ashley and Cooper and Savannah. When South Carolina developed a city which outstripped Williamsburg and Annapolis in size and economic importance, its adaptation of the classical Georgian to its own needs produced an urban dwelling much farther removed from its British-Palladian models than anything in America to the north of the province. And the Carolina Low Country plantation house in general was often quite unlike the drawings of country villas in the pattern books.

Plantation and Manor House. The only full-length study of the early architecture of North Carolina indicates that, unlike Virginia's, its pioneer dwellings from the time of the charter to the Lords Proprietors in 1663 were built of logs. Apparently Scandinavian precedent did not suggest this usage, but local needs and resources, partly because, like the Scandinavians, the settlers found themselves in a land of dense forests. Land had to be cleared quickly, and there was neither time nor implements for hand-hewn or hand-sawn construction. Logs in the round, notched together at the corners, or formed in heavy, rough beams or timbers dovetailed at the corners, required only an ax, an adze, and occasionally an augur. Even after the hurry of initial settlement had passed, the hewn-log construction became a permanent type which continued to rival framed timber and masonry.

As in the frame houses, wooden or brick or stone chimneys were used, the last material being a little more plentiful in tidewater North Carolina than in the Bay country to the north. From almost the beginning, as the western Virginians were to do later, the settlers frequently covered the original log house with clapboards and added a frame or brick wing as settlement and individual prospered, an architectural evolution that could be found all along the American frontier to the Mississippi.

Some of these log houses grew into modest manor houses, as the McIntyre house near Charlotte (destroyed in 1941), perhaps at the time of its demolition the oldest dwelling in the state. Then there was and is the smaller, clean-lined, simple John Knox house of 1752 near Salisbury and several dog-run houses, with an open passageway between the units or wings, each with its own chimney. But the architectural historians found standing no medieval or late seventeenth-century residence of the size or beauty of Bacon's Castle or of the smaller and simpler brick or wood houses of Virginia and Maryland, though the great plantation owners, merchants, and officials of the area almost surely did not live in log cabins.

The eighteenth century is something of a different story, but architecturally it too is disappointing save in one major late instance. Most standing brick or more imposing frame houses of that century are post-Revolutionary. There is the finely proportioned Flemish-bond brick Newbold-White house of the early eighteenth century at Harvey's Neck, Perquimans County. This is a story-and-a-half, flush-chimneyed, dormered house of the Princess Anne County, Virginia, seventeenth-century type which settlers brought with them from the southeast corner of the Old Dominion. The 1760 frame Wakefield in Wake County, with steep gambrel roof and shed dormers, is a Tidewater type in piedmont.

The Grice or Grist house of 1746 in Camden County is characterized as a Delaware River type with a plastered cove cornice, a substantial dwelling. Equally impressive is the 1755 Walton house of Gates County, a two-story dwelling with unusual brick wall patterns, probably showing Maryland or South Jersey influence. The Mulberry Hill brick house near Edenton has only two rooms and a hall down the side, but it is a full two stories in height with a handsome semicircular window in the gable.

The only country mansion remaining in the New Bern area is Bellair in Craven County, and it was probably built just before the Revolution. It is a handsome two-story-with-full-basement brick house with an academic façade and within Palladian mantels, cornice, and door trim. One can be fairly sure that the country mansions of Governor Arthur Dobbs and other royal executives were stately Georgian houses and that the great plantation owners of the Bath and Wilmington areas had suitable habitations. As it is, the three or four most distinguished of North Carolina houses standing today were urban, though their style and manor-type grouping of dependencies in some instances would have made them quite appropriate country dwellings.⁵⁷

South Carolina ranks with Virginia and Maryland for its distinguished colonial country houses. Perhaps even more than in the Chesapeake country the plantation owner was likely to have both a city and a country house, and if he did, the city house was likely to be the handsomer if not the larger of the two. And then there were the habitual city dwellers, merchants and physicians and lawyers who, like Dr. Alexander Garden, built themselves rural retreats which might also be working plantations.

The seventeenth-century Low Country planters who built Medway and Middleburg probably did not feel the strong attraction of Charleston life as their eighteenth-century successors did, for in 1700 the future metropolis of the colonial South was no more a city than Williamsburg and Annapolis were later. One should remember, however, that it was the

Huguenot Benjamin Simons' Middleburg house plan, a blending of Barbadian and Old World architectural features in its adaptation to South Carolina climate and terrain, which was the prototype of what today is considered the highly original Charleston "Single House." After 1700 country houses built by Calvinist Puritans and Presbyterians, by French Huguenots, by Germans and Scots and Scotch-Irish, and by many of English birth or ancestry sometimes did and sometimes did not follow what came to be called the Charleston Single-House or Double-House plan, with their use of high ceilings, breezeways, and great verandas as in the Barbadoes. There was even a touch of Dutch influence. Whatever West Indian or other models some settlers brought with them and used, all builders seem to have employed the same Vitruvius-Palladian pattern books used in the Chesapeake colonies for overall design or for detail.

Perhaps the earliest standing rural mansion of the eighteenth century is Mulberry, built by Thomas Broughton about 1714 with what Samuel G. Stoney calls one of the first of the crop of Low Country fortunes made in the colony. This is a rectangular house with rectangular appendages or towers at each corner similar in plan to our Elizabethan manor house and certainly including features of "the ripe Jacobean baroque style." A heavy brick building with a hip-on-mansard roof, it has today tall, narrow dormers and nearly as narrow windows below. The cupola-like towers with curious medieval curved roof-on-roof with splayed eaves are perhaps the reason why one distinguished South Carolina-born cultural historian referred to the house as a monstrosity. He blamed Huguenot influences and tastes from France rather than late Tudor or early Stuart styles for the four protuberances. They could have been from either.

The considerably smaller Hanover of 1720, also built by a Huguenot soon after the royal family of that name ascended the British throne, seems at a glance a Georgian story-and-a-half frame type with gambrel roof one might see in Williamsburg. But the heavy free-standing chimneys with a stucco band at the top, the splayed roof at the eaves and the grand plan for first and second floor, as well as the heavily pedimented dormers, are in some respects quite distinct. The paneled entrance hall too is in design not orthodox Georgian. The Middleton mansion Crowfield (1730) made famous by Eliza Lucas Pinckney's ecstatic description of its external setting (see one of the epigraphs for this chapter), no longer stands, though ruined walls show Flemish bond, English bond, and trim in a soft, yellow stucco.

But the finest of Low Country Palladian mansions is John Drayton's Drayton Hall of 1738 on the Ashley. The Draytons were third-generation Barbadians when they came to Carolina, but their house shows externally few if any Barbadian modifications of the high Georgian. The deck-on-hip-

roof surmounts a brick house of two full stories above a high basement. The land side entrance is through a two-story columned and railed portico surmounted by a pediment outlined by the modillion scheme which also is in the cornice around the house. Two flights of steps lead to the ground from the first floor porch, with a basement stone-trimmed doorway between them.

The great Middleton Place (1755) remains only as one of the world's major private gardens, with one flanker building, but Comingtee and Oakland (1738 and 1740) survive. These are the major manor houses left in South Carolina after Indian wars, the Revolution, and the Civil War. They are suggestive monuments of one of the most opulent and discriminating of rural cultures.⁵⁸

Though there were country houses in Georgia in the colonial period, in both urban and rural areas fewer mansions built before the Revolution survive than in any other southern colony. This is natural, for Georgia existed for only one full generation before 1764, and more than any other province it began by concentrating on a series of planned towns, most of them now known as the lost towns of Georgia—Frederica and the two Ebenizers, for example. And then many of their first immigrants were Salzburgers who brought with them ideas of a German nonacademic architecture and, with the rough materials at hand, built accordingly. What little building there was by British colonists in coastal Georgia, rural or urban, was influenced strongly not only by Georgian England but by the West Indies and Charleston. The Moravians, who arrived in 1735, first built huts and then simple German frame dwellings. Basically, the typical yeoman's house might have been British or Continental, a gable roof on a sheathed frame with stair or ladder leading to loft or second floor, a stout door, and a few windows. The German settlers were most likely to build of hewn logs chinked with clay.

There were large wooden houses on the plantations as well as in Savannah, but how early and how many it is difficult or impossible to determine. Brick or tabby was used for foundations, and by 1743, according to a London magazine, there were houses in Frederica entirely of brick. One Augusta plantation group—within or without the town—was described in 1669 as a "compleat Dwelling-house" recently painted and glazed, with two chambers (second-floor rooms), a dining room and hall-parlor, four good shed (wing?) rooms, brick-founded frame smoke-, milk-, and meat houses, a barn forty feet by twenty-four, a framed poultry house, a corncrib, stables and carriage houses, a one-acre contiguous garden, and an overseer's house. The last would seem to prove it a plantation and the emphasis on *framed* outbuildings indicates that the dwelling was of brick.⁵⁹

Town Houses, North Carolina and Georgia. Surveyor Claude Joseph Sauthier traveled through North Carolina in 1768–1770 and drew beautiful maps of Bath, Beaufort, Brunswick, Edenton, Fayetteville, Halifax, Hillsborough, New Bern, Salisbury, and Wilmington. These engraved drawings show dwellings and other buildings of various dimensions. Earlier surveyor John Lawson, co-founder of New Bern (c. 1710) and Bath (1706), had laid out these towns presumably in much the way they appear on the later maps of Sauthier, and Lawson probably built some of the houses indicated on the graphs more than half a century later.⁶⁰ Sauthier's surveys indicate considerable building in all these towns, and from the surviving examples and their relative size one may surmise that most were modest story-and-a-half structures not differing much from Chesapeake brick and frame two-rooms-and-an-attic-or-upper-floor variety. But several were larger and have somewhat distinctive qualities.

One was the Palmer-Marsh house (c. 1744) in Bath, an unusually large-scale rectangular frame dwelling which shows on the surveys as much greater in dimension than its neighbors. It is said to have been built for the Whittemore family by a Frenchman named Cataunch. Steep gable roof, center stair hall, a huge chimney seventeen feet wide at the base with brick closets and two flues on each floor, and a front room planned for business purposes are among its features. And around this urban dwelling was a large lot containing outbuildings, including a well house with a pyramided or hipped roof and a smokehouse with a similar covering. Two others were probably barn and dairy. There were gardens and an orchard. Recently repaired and restored, this house is externally and internally simple Georgian.

Houses much like it in plan are the 1771 Burgwin-Wright-Cornwallis house in Wilmington and one of the best-known dwellings in North Carolina, the Cupola house of Edenton, built between 1712 and 1758. The latter has been called the "finest framed Jacobean type house south of Connecticut." Externally it is hardly beautiful, for the octagonal cupola is too heavy for the two-story frame structure. It has a medieval overhanging second story, and its interior is lavishly decorated and most imposing.⁶¹

The town of Brunswick, remembered primarily because royal governors chose to live there from 1758 to 1770, had in 1754 only twenty families, according to Governor Dobbs, and its great rival Wilmington had about seventy. It was Dobbs' successor, Colonel William Tryon, who built just after the colonial period ended the great mansion which in its now reconstructed state is known by his name; it is certainly the finest colonial house in North Carolina if not in the American colonies, the culmination of Georgian building. This "Palace" was built as both capitol and viceregal residence. Tryon brought with him to North Carolina an architect for the

building, John Hawks. The story of this structure belongs here, for in many respects it was the successful climax of the efforts of a succession of colonial governors to build a dignified and handsome administrative headquarters for North Carolina. Though the building burned in 1798, its plans were brought to light in this century and a reconstruction even more accurate than that of its counterpart in Williamsburg has been possible.

Tryon's building has a three-part layout design, kitchen-palace-stables, and in addition other detached dependencies. The long façade of the palace is broken into wing—central block—wing, the central block crowned with a pediment and projected slightly forward, with a smaller pediment over the door in the center. Cornices running around all three buildings, a series of hipped roofs, subordinated chimneys, regular rows of decorative outlined windows, a low parapet about the roofs are all ingeniously designed. Semicircular pillared passageways connect the great main structure with the two-story flanking kitchen and stable.⁶²

As noted above, little or no Georgia rural architecture of the pre-1764 period is known. This is not quite the case for urban dwellings, for in recent years excavations on the sites of Georgia's lost towns have revealed something of the smaller settlements' types of buildings, and for Savannah there are plans and descriptions which give some idea as to the sort of dwellings built there in our period. Most of the lovely Georgian and Greek Revival homes of Georgia were built, however, some years after 1763.

Margaret Davis Cate and Charles H. Fairbanks have discussed the town and a typical house of the old coastal community of Frederica on St. Simon's Island. Original maps made in 1736 by a Swiss engineer were discovered in 1952. An interesting double dwelling—or contiguous dwellings—named for the occupants the Hawkins-Davison house, has been excavated and described. There were dry-laid brick floors set in sand, brick walls up to the dormers, and in one unit a center brick fireplace. Both houses were exactly what early documents said they would be, sturdy brick structures with one party wall between them. They suggest regular streets and some sort of row housing.⁶³

Peter Gordon's engraved 1734 drawing of the city of Savannah shows a forest-surrounded town laid out in a neat rectangle, with what appear to be in most instances small one-story dwellings at the front of deep rectangular lots, the latter enclosed with walls and fences. The town is decidedly English in appearance, though it was built of wood rather than Georgian brick. The Trustees' regulations required brick or framed houses twenty-four by sixteen feet and eight feet in height. Gable roofs and symmetrical windows, central doors, and end chimneys are evident. Twenty-odd years

later De Brahm drew a new map of this city and described it verbally, now with four hundred dwelling houses. His map shows six new squares. The house De Brahm built for himself in 1757-1760 had a piazza and a ventilated cellar for wine making.⁶⁴ About this time the city's appearance was rapidly improving, for by 1760 the well-to-do had brick-cellarred stout frame dwellings with the usual dependencies, including pigeon houses and kitchens, stables, and carriage houses. Even earlier some people were building all-brick houses. The largest house in Savannah, built by William Bradley for William Stephens, had a foundation wall of stone seven feet high surmounted by hewn-log construction. There seems to have been little if any Flemish bond brickwork before 1764, and even painting the exteriors of wooden buildings seems not to have been begun until about the end of the period. The beautiful Georgia city house was to come after the Revolution.

Mansions and Other Charleston Houses. The urban dwellings of South Carolina have been written about and pictured even more than the plantation houses, partly because they were easier of access and partly because their designs are for the colonial Georgian period in architecture quite distinctive, if not unique. As already noted, the city of Charleston is renowned for what is called its Single House, its Double House, and its more nearly orthodox later Georgian mansions. There are also the contiguous row houses. Few dwellings built before 1740 stand in the town, but those built during the rest of the century are most interesting.

The Single House is so called for its width, that of a single room. The building stands with gable end to the street and usually consists of two rooms on a floor with a small hall containing a staircase. A piazza, usually tiered, runs along one side of the house, generally the south or west, to shelter it from the sun and to provide outdoor living space. Entrance is usually through the piazza. The design is obviously functional in origin, though influenced by the lack of space and by the ideas settlers from the Barbadoes brought with them.

The Double House was familiar in both England and America, with a hall running through the middle from front to back. It lent itself to considerable variation, including the tiered piazza on one side or the other. The row houses of this city are in the older section, larger and more varied architecturally than those in the Chesapeake towns.

Reputedly the oldest dwelling is the Colonel William Rhett house at 54 Hasell Street, built about 1712 and now handsomely restored. Constructed on a high basement, this two-story dwelling was made with two rooms across the west side and two small rooms and an entrance hallway with staircase on the east. The dazzling interior plasterwork was probably

added by Rhett's widow in 1745. The entrance is through a doorway in the garden wall.

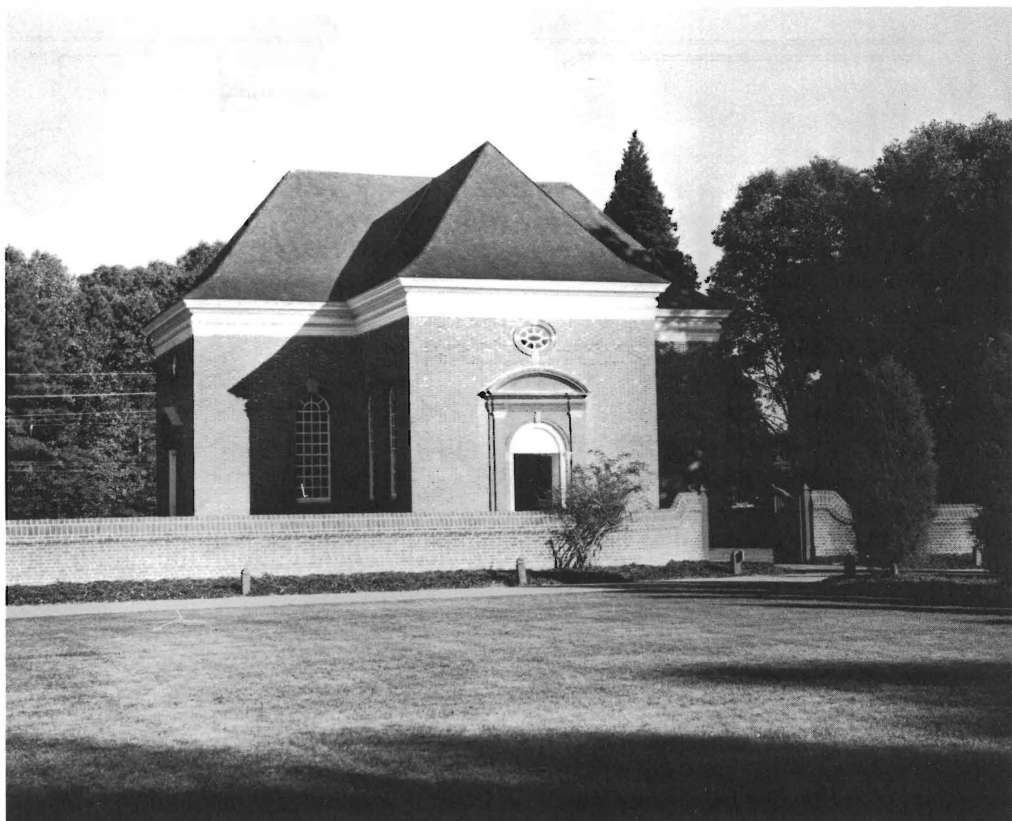
An interesting double or square house such as the two-story-plus-dormers, hipped-roofed 1735 Thomas Rose house at 59 Church Street has the double piazza on one side with excellent effect. Of the full-sized Georgian houses built before 1764 one of the best known is the Daniel Huger house (1760) at 34 Meeting Street, really a three-story double house on a high basement of stucco-covered brick, with large rooms and fine paneling. The Miles Brewton house with its two-storied portico and hipped roof of 1765, the Heyward-Washington three-storied dwelling of 1770, and the William Gibbes mansion of 1772 are later fascinating and imposing adaptations of the Palladian to South Carolina.

There are modest merchants' and pharmacists' houses distinguished by their clean symmetry. And there are the narrow row structures such as the Pink House on Chalmers Street, which contribute as much to Charleston's charm as the mighty mansions. The Pink House may have been built as early as 1694-1712 and was a tavern in 1752. One can wander on and on through the older city and see peculiarly original variants of the Georgian and medieval styles, the design being as usual partly functional and partly decorative.

The recent three hundredth anniversary celebration of both city and colony elicited a number of books and pamphlets which indicate in detail and frequently in full color external appearance and internal decoration. These publications indicate that the examples of Charleston colonial art most obviously surviving are architectural.⁶⁵

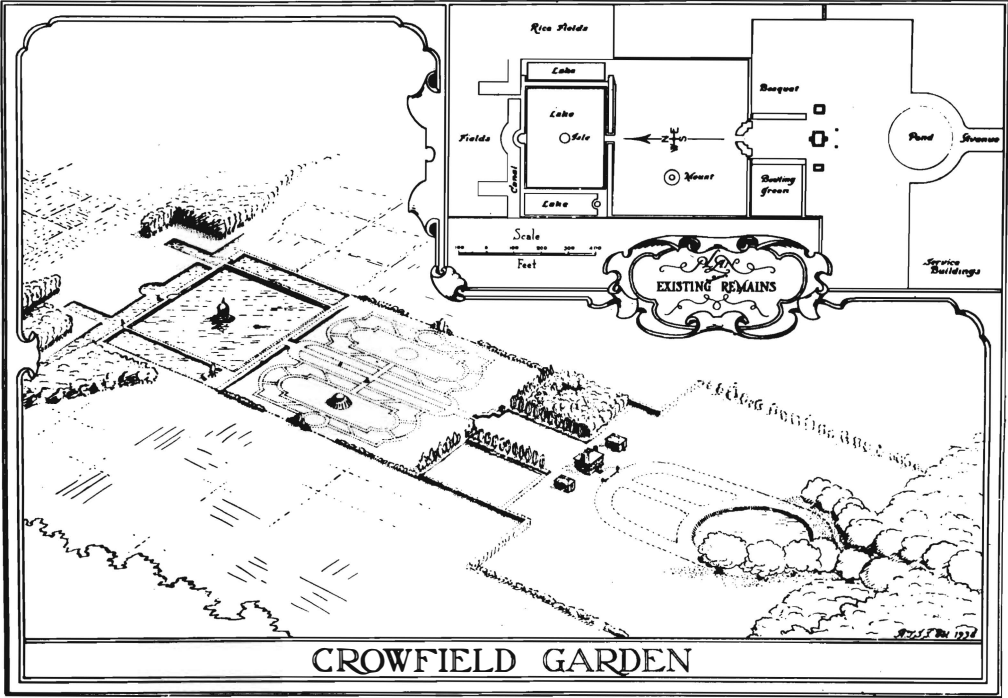
Frontier, Servant, and Slave Quarters. Almost nothing tangible remains of the cruder dwellings for human beings in Georgia and the Carolinas before 1764, for they were constructed of perishable stuff. As in Maryland and Virginia, slaves on the plantations lived in "quarters," lanes of huts a little removed from the manor house block if the plantation was large. If the small farmer owned a few slaves, he must have housed them in fewer but similar buildings. As the use of logs was frequent from an early date from North Carolina on south, it is likely that the blacks lived in crude log structures—and, one may surmise, structures not so wind- and water-tight as those to the north. House servants occupied similar structures close to the masters' houses.

The indentured servant or apprentice lived in one variation or another of the simplest room-and-loft cottage, depending on where he worked. The frontiersman certainly built in the lower South the log house already mentioned, which through accidents of preservation one can occasionally see. As in the Chesapeake country, these lowest and even lower laboring



Virginia State Library

Christ Church, Lancaster County, Virginia, often considered
the finest rural church building in the colonial South



Courtesy of the Carolina Art Association

The gardens at Crowfield described by Eliza Lucas Pinckney

classes lived in buildings purely functional, with no thought of architectural design save that symmetry itself was functional.

Yet the humblest dwellings of the colonial period have their place in the development or evolution of the American house. They were probably never or rarely worse than the cruck and wattle-and-daub buildings of the first Jamestown and usually followed the simplest of English cottage patterns from the seventeenth century.

Church Buildings

Except in South Carolina, no great city churches were erected in the eighteenth century, and even there St. Michael's alone of the great colonial Georgian houses of worship now stands. But in the Chesapeake provinces and in the Carolina Low Country there were numbers of Georgian Church of England buildings and some of Roman Catholic (in Maryland) or Dissenting groups. Dozens of wooden structures known to have existed are utterly obliterated and their sites forgotten. Dozens of others are known by brick or stone foundations or ruined walls of masonry. Most churches were small and in the eighteenth century included only the sanctuary and porch with perhaps a bell tower. In form they were rectangular or T-shaped or cruciform if Anglican or Roman, and usually rectangular if Dissenting.

Chesapeake Houses of Worship. A recent count shows twenty-nine Maryland churches built before 1764 still standing. Of these most are brick, a few stone, and some wood. They range chronologically from the seventeenth-century edifices noted above to some built in 1763. And Maryland's most architecturally interesting Georgian Anglican church, St. Anne's in St. Mary's County, was built in 1766. It has twin spires (a specified third spire was never built) and an enclosed porch representing an ancient European ecclesiastical tradition.

There are a 1752 German Lutheran Old Stone Church and a 1763 German Reformed stone chapel in Frederick County, the 1724 brick East Nottingham Friends Meeting House in Cecil County, the 1741 brick St. Thomas' Manor Roman Catholic Church in Charles County, and a 1742 Baptist church in Baltimore County. Among the better structures architecturally, all Anglican and usually of brick, are 1742 St. Mary's in Cecil, 1717 Wye Church (St. Luke's) in Talbot, and 1755 St. Martin's in Worcester. But some less ornamental sanctuaries of equal interest also survive, as the church at Green Hill in Wicomico.

A 1763 Anglican church is St. James' in Anne Arundel County, also known as Old Herring Creek, which has a side porch in the English fashion, and two walls of all-header bond with the others English bond. St. Luke's, Church Hill, Queen Anne's County (1730-1732), had elabo-

rate doors and heavy iron hinges, locks, and bolts, with windows partially glazed and partially wooden shuttered. The aisles were paved with free stone. Though a "Cupella" had been planned to support a bell, it was never built. Like St. Paul's in Kent County, St. Luke's had a circular apse in the Old World tradition.

The original simple pine-box pews survive at Green Hill Church (1733) in Wicomico. The church itself "saved by a providential isolation" offers an interesting study in original Church of England features of the less elaborate kind. A large rectangular building with double gable-end doors, once with a detached bell tower now long departed, four windows on each long side with segmental arches, it stands at a crossroad location now far off the major highways. St. Paul's near Chestertown (1711), perhaps the oldest Episcopal church having continuous services, has beautiful rounded arches above rectangular windows and doorways, but undistinguished brick walls.

A few of these rural Maryland churches are good Georgian, but there were probably once finer examples of the style in old Baltimore, Oxford, and Annapolis. But from the evidence surviving, Maryland's urban and rural mansions were even relatively much superior architecturally to her churches. And then the churches do not rival the finest of their surviving Virginia counterparts, perhaps because Maryland was never as strongly Anglican as was Virginia in the colonial period. As noted in Chapters V and VI, Maryland had some remarkably able clergy who served these Anglican parishes, men whose taste was excellent in other matters. But in America the clergy rarely build the churches.⁶⁶

The Virginia provincial capital's eighteenth-century church is still standing and is in constant use. Hugh Jones in *The Present State of Virginia* of 1724 describes this Bruton Parish edifice as "a large strong piece of brickwork in the form of a cross, nicely regular and convenient and adorned as the best churches in London." The original part of this third parish church was completed in 1715 under the rectorship of Commissary Blair, probably from an original draft or design by Governor Spotswood. Its length was extended in 1752 to one hundred feet (inside). Today it is the oldest standing cruciform church in Virginia. Its brickwork is handsome Flemish bond above and below the water table. Its present tower was added between 1769 and 1771, and there was a series of other additions and enlargements (besides the length) between 1715 and the latter dates. The modillion cornice of the church is believed to be largely original. This is a majestic church, surrounded by majestic armorial tombs of such notables as Governor Nott and David Bray.

A few hundred yards from Bruton Church is another ecclesiastical

structure sometimes overlooked, the Chapel of the College of William and Mary (c. 1728). It forms one of the rear wings of the Wren building and is laid in Flemish bond. The Bodleian plate shows that it had a hipped roof and five dormers on each side and a single dormer at the west end. Rubbed brick is a principal ornamental feature of all jambs and arches of the openings. Like Bruton, the Chapel has a large wheel window. Though the exact number of persons buried in its vaults is unknown, they include Sir John, John, and Peyton Randolph, Lord Botetourt, Bishop James Madison, and Chancellor Nelson.

The two structures in the capital village are among the forty-eight churches which have been counted as surviving from the colony. The seventeenth-century buildings have already been noted. St. Peter's in New Kent (1701-1704) has been mentioned, as has Yeocomico (1706) in Westmoreland. The latter is so unusual that it deserves some further comment. Its irregular dimensions, T-shaped with a traditional English entrance porch on one side but off-center, its original entrance doors with unique wicket for use in bad weather and original walnut Holy Table, and the delightfully varied bands of masonry are among the many features which mark this as an excellent example of the transition from the medieval to the classical or Georgian.

Among many others worthy of comment which can only be named are Christ Church in Middlesex (1714); Ware Parish in Gloucester (1710-1715); St. John's in Hampton (1728); Farnham in Richmond County (1737) in the form of a Latin cross; Westover Parish in Charles City (1731); the interesting Pungoteague church in Accomack (c. 1738); St. Paul's in Norfolk (1739); Hungar's on the lower Eastern Shore (1742-1751); Timber Ridge in Rockbridge (1755-1756), Presbyterian stone edifice; and Christ Church in Alexandria (1767-1773), a little after the colonial period.

Blandford Church of Bristol Parish (c. 1736-1737), now in the city of Petersburg, was in its original portion modeled on the Merchant's Hope Church mentioned above, and its wing was added probably in 1752 and 1759. Flemish bond above the beveled water table is varied in places by English bond; below the water table English bond is on the original portion and Flemish is on the wing. The windows have semicircular arches, and there is a good deal of rubbed brick in the window and door trim. Aquia Church in Stafford (1751), near one of the colony's first major stone quarries, is a very handsome brick structure with elaborate stonework and much rubbed brick around the windows. Aquia stone was used for the quoins and keystones of all the original windows and the three doorways. The three doors are all surmounted with triangular pediments of the same stone. No other colonial Virginia church has a more elaborate interior,

most of it original, including an ornate pulpit with an ogival top and an enormous hexagonal sounding board supported by four pilasters. The west gallery is the most richly decorated in the colony. And Aquia is one of the two colonial churches in Virginia with a true Greek-cross plan.

Abingdon Parish Church in Gloucester (1755), in the form of a Latin cross, has walls in splendid condition and in recent years has been quite accurately renovated. The superb brickwork is Flemish bond with glazed headers both above and below the water table. The chancel and transepts are twenty feet long and the nave is twenty-five. The enormous wooden reredos, believed original, is a striking feature of the interior. Some of the pews seem also original.

An edifice generally acknowledged to be even finer is the Christ Church in Lancaster County built by Robert "King" Carter and completed about 1732. Its remarkable state of preservation perhaps stems from two unusual conditions. It was built and endowed by an individual, a fact which probably prevented its spoliation after the confiscatory act of 1802. It was not legally parish property until 1960. Second, it lay out of the line of the wars for which other parts of Virginia were the battlegrounds.

The shape is again a Latin cross or modified Greek cross, approximately seventy feet by seventy feet on the outside. The nave is twenty-four feet long and the chancel sixteen. It is unusually tall even among tall Virginia churches. Beautiful brickwork in bonding and rubbed ornament, oxeeye windows over each side of each transept and in each side of the chancel, queen closers at the corners of the building, and other rich though simple Georgian detail mark the exterior structure. Within, it is most elaborate, from paneled box pews, gallery, and cupola-topped sounding board for the pulpit to marble carved baptismal font. This Virginia crossroads church has been called by at least two architectural historians the finest eighteenth-century building in what is now the United States.⁶⁷

These and other graceful Georgian churches of the colonial Old Dominion seem to parallel the best of the domestic and public secular architecture. They were small compared with the city churches of Charleston or New York or Boston or Philadelphia, but they represent at least as well as the urban edifices the sophisticated good taste of those who built and designed them. Like other examples of southern architecture, they show the influence of the Inigo Jones-Wren-Gibbs-Palladian pattern books, but they employed soft-hued brick and stone peculiar to the American region and adapted the interiors to the needs of rural congregations made up of governors and great planters, small farmers and merchants, artisans and indentured servants, and slaves. Pews, galleries, doorways, whatever their stylistic models, became peculiarly southern American.

Ecclesiastical Buildings, the Carolinas and Georgia. In North Carolina no church building remains of an earlier date than that of St. Thomas' Bath (1734), though there was a church in Edenton in 1701 and by 1715 the Church of England was officially established in the colony. The dominant Quakers of the latter seventeenth century may have had wooden meetinghouses but not one is known to have survived. The four important churches of the colony were St. Paul's Edenton, St. Thomas' Bath, St. John's Williamsboro, and St. Philip's Brunswick. Of these St. Philip's is now in ruins, though its graveyard is well kept and includes the resting place of Governor Arthur Dobbs, who had designated the church the King's Chapel for North Carolina.

St. Paul's (1736-1745) is a brick rectangular church with a rounded apse, the nave laid in Flemish bond and the apse in all-header bond, all the large windows with segmental arched heads. The tower with spire is unusual for the period in America (if indeed the spire then existed), and at least one architect thinks the original plans for the edifice came straight from England, possibly through the S.P.G. St. Thomas' is also a rectangular brick church, four bays long.⁶⁸

In South Carolina even outside the city many more eighteenth-century churches remain. Surviving buildings and their dates of erection reflect the economic ups and downs of the Low Country, with gaps during upheavals caused by Indian wars and political agitations. Older than any ecclesiastical edifice now standing in Charleston are some lovely rural churches, buildings which are in design basically Georgian but in effect quite different from those of the Chesapeake region or even of North Carolina.

The walls of the nave of St. Andrew's (1706) on the Ashley River are today the oldest ecclesiastical architecture of the Episcopal establishment in South Carolina. After it was burned to its walls in 1764, the interior was renewed in the then current fashion. Surrounded by moss-draped trees and some interesting early tombs, this stucco-finished Palladian building has recently been restored with care.⁶⁹

The best-known once-rural church of the Charleston area is St. James', Goose Creek (1711, completed 1719), the place of worship of the earliest Anglican congregation outside the city itself, a congregation of the Barbadians who were the first of the Low Country's great planters. It is also perhaps the best preserved and in some ways the most interesting of the older parish churches. It is a small building in stucco over brick with pastel coloring, a jerkin-head or clipped-gable roof, Palladian arched windows, and a fine door with pediment, within which is the figure of the "Pelican

in her Piety," tearing her breast to feed her hungry young, the symbol of the S.P.G. Inside, the building is notable for the handsomely carved swan's-neck pediment above the east window, an impressive reredos, the only known royal arms of George I to survive the Revolution, and—most unusual of all—an elevated *central* pulpit, perhaps a Puritan influence. The interior details are frequently described as fine examples of baroque design, and certainly they suggest the earlier forms of the classical period.⁷⁰

But St. James' was not the only one of its species in the Low Country. Strawberry Chapel (1725), of St. John's Parish, Berkeley, on the western branch of the Cooper, has a roughly comparable jerkin-head roof, stuccoed brick walls, and arched windows, though they are not as large and ornate as those at Goose Creek. This chapel of ease is all that remains of the college, free school, and clergyman's house for Childsbury, the educational foundation discussed in Chapter III above. Pompion Hill Chapel of St. Thomas' Parish, erected as late as 1765, has the same jerkin-head roof, arched windows, and small round windows in gable or pediment, but it is not stuccoed over the brick. Pompion Hill has a fine Palladian window in the apse, which sheds lovely sunlight on the altar,⁷¹ and like St. James' Goose Creek a central raised pulpit. Then one country Presbyterian church, that on John's Island (1719), deserves notice, for it is a large and imposing frame structure. It has arched windows and doors on the ground tier and rectangular smaller windows above.

Thus the rural parish church of South Carolina before 1764 was quite distinct from the ecclesiastical edifices of the three more northern colonies of the South, as distinct as the Charleston Single House is from the city house of Annapolis or Williamsburg. The same may be said for the only major city church built before 1764 now standing, the impressive pile of St. Michael's, completed about 1761. Its design seems to follow Gibbs' 1728 *A Book of Architecture*, though in certain respects it seems to have followed other models. The trussed roof provides a large space without columns. The three stages of octagons above a square base which form its tower are certainly within the Wren tradition, and there are resemblances to St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Samuel Cardy is believed to have been its architect, of which more later. George W. Williams' detailed history of the church reveals as much about its building, early pewholders, clergy, organists, clock and bells (imported 1764), and general external and internal architectural features as is known about any southern colonial church. It is in majesty the queen among southern colonial houses of worship.

St. Michael's companion church, St. Philip's, is the older church organization, going back at least as far as 1681. The first wooden church was on the site of the present edifice, which was not erected until 1838.

Its predecessor, burned in 1835, was described in 1776 by an outsider as the most elegant religious edifice in America, one hundred feet long, sixty wide, forty high surmounted by a fifty-foot cupola with a clock and bells, "modelled after the Jesuits' church in Antwerp." The present building's dimensions are similar to those of the 1710-1723 structure. The notables buried beneath the chancel or in the churchyard have caused it to be labeled the Westminster Abbey of South Carolina.⁷²

In earliest Georgia, churches were considered the most important buildings after forts, but not until 1735 was a tabernacle of split boards erected. It was thirty-six feet long and twelve wide. In 1746 a church was covered with shingles, but the walls continued to be worked on until the building was dedicated in 1750, a white-plaster-wall structure "as neat and plain a little building as can be shewn in America." This colonial Christ Church burned in the great fire of 1796.

In Augusta an Anglican church had been erected by 1749 (later burned and rebuilt). Earlier, in 1739, George Whitefield gave a bell to the Ebenezer church, and in the same year a frame church on brick foundations was erected at Frederica, and in 1749 a church at Darien. Today Georgia's fine churches are of post-Revolutionary dates. There is no hint, save in the detail of white plastered walls, that the St. James, Goose Creek, pattern may have been imitated in the southernmost colony.⁷³

The Public Edifice

As far as is now known, only Maryland at St. Mary's had a really imposing public building in the seventeenth century. This was the great state-house of 1676 considered above. But in every one of the four then existing southern colonies stood a variety of public buildings from government assembly halls down to jails and taverns. Almost all were modified-medieval in design, the sturdiest of brick and even stone (the latter especially for jails and customhouses) or frame on brick or stone foundations. For the provincial administrative buildings, there was already thought of going beyond the purely functional, as the last assembly rooms at Jamestown with the plaster decorative painted designs indicate. In the eighteenth century, authorities at home and in the colonies were directing the construction of seats of government which symbolized in their architecture the dignity and symmetry and beauty of authority. Courthouses were among these seats, and in Virginia especially one pattern of them survives in at least two examples. Even powder magazines became handsome structures, schools and colleges in a few instances had fine Georgian buildings, and theaters and taverns were variants of European styles adapted to New World resources and needs.

Capitols and Statehouses. At Annapolis the province of Maryland built the first of the eighteenth-century statehouses. Nicholson's new capital town was laid out and by 1695 the construction of the first capitol building was under way. It was probably ready for occupancy in 1698 and burned in 1704. It was definitely a seventeenth-century structure with a two-story porch, rounded-arch open door, hipped roof, cupola, and window in the attic of the room above the porch. The second building was begun about 1704 and ready for occupancy by 1707. It was an oblong brick building, the entrance a hall containing a judges' seat on a raised platform, and on each side jury rooms. On the floor above were three large apartments, one each for the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly and the other for the mace-bearer and miscellaneous officials. The handsome cupola surmounting the building was surrounded by a balustrade and furnished with seats for those who wished to enjoy the view. It was demolished in 1770 to make way for the third and present statehouse. This present venerable statehouse, a Palladian deck-on-hip-roofed rectangle with heavy dome surmounted by a cupola and possessing a handsome pedimented portico and columned porch, is a fitting contemporary of the city's fine private dwellings.

But to return to the second statehouse. Its inadequate size is suggested by William Eddis' 1769 comment that the Council was then meeting in a separate detached building of one "tolerable room." Radoff adds some details of the 1707 main building. For example, in 1718 over the judges' bench was a full-length picture of Queen Anne presenting the charter, and there was a tiered dome and a "tower" as well as outbuildings.⁷⁴ It could hardly have compared in size with its Williamsburg counterpart and contemporary, but it seems to have been a handsome structure.

In Virginia "An Act Directing the Building of the Capitoll in the City of Williamsburgh" was passed by the Assembly and approved by Governor Nicholson on June 8, 1699. This was the first use of the word *capitol* applied in North America to a building housing the offices of a colonial government. The act prescribed in meticulous detail the height, shape, structural character, and general architectural form. The manuscript copy of this act says that the building should be made "in the Forme and Figure H" with two principal wings connected by a cross gallery raised upon piazzas (arcades) and that the gallery should be as high as the two larger wings. It was to be surmounted by a cupola in which a clock should be placed. In 1701 the plan was modified to a simple "H." Each of the wings was to measure seventy-five feet by twenty-five and terminate at one end with a semicircular wall. The first story was to be fifteen feet high, the second ten, all of it topped by a hipped roof with dormer windows.

In the year 1700 materials and workmen were being gathered. Six men who were trained artisans were imported from England. The foundation was laid on August 8, 1701, exactly six years after the laying of the College's foundation (of which more below). The two buildings together with Bruton church were to be the focal points of a capital town of numerous dwellings and other buildings. Henry Cary, of whom more will be said later, was engaged as builder or overseer of the construction.

The Capitol was to house in one wing the Council and General Court and necessary supporting offices and in the other the Burgesses with similar necessary offices. The rooms upstairs in each wing were to contain the Council Chamber, commerce rooms, and the Clerk's office. The downstairs great rooms were to be laid with flagstone. In 1703 Nicholson managed to push through further legislation designed to speed up the construction. Further details of interiors, such as wainscoting and the Queen's arms to be set up in the General Court and Assembly Room, are known. Part of the building was in use by 1703, but the Burgesses did not sit in it until May 1705. By August 1705 Nicholson was recalled and replaced by Nott, and certain embellishments he had ordered, as his own arms as decoration in one place, were obliterated. In place of his arms the Queen's were painted.

Only one good contemporary view of this first capitol is known, the north side shown on the Bodleian copper plate of about 1737. The reconstructed present building is faithful to this view, with the tall cupola from the apex of which flies the British flag. A crude drawing by the Swiss traveler Francis Louis Michel in 1702 clearly shows from the south the rounded ends of the wings. In his 1724 *The Present State of Virginia* Hugh Jones gives a brief description of this elegant building. He considered it "the best and most commodious pile of its kind that I have seen and heard of."

The building burned to the walls in 1747 and was rebuilt in 1751. Though a great deal is known about the first Capitol, there is little contemporary information on its successor. John Blair's diary informs us that he laid a foundation brick in 1751 and later gives us the valuable information that not only the foundation but some of the walls of the original building were absorbed into the new structure as they stood. In 1755 under Governor Dinwiddie the second building was completed, and the royal arms were presented to be placed over the new and different two-tiered monumental portico (perhaps the first in Virginia) with different orders of columns on its two levels. It did not have the rounded ends of the earlier wings. But both had cupolas.

The interior was described in some detail in 1777, with mention of a Van Dyck full-length portrait of Queen Anne, the marble statue of Lord

Botetourt in his robes, and full-length portraits of George II and Queen Caroline. Records saved from the burning were housed in a separate building, the Secretary's office, once next to the General Court's room, now a handsome little structure of three rooms.

From all one learns—or the little one learns—of the second Capitol, the architects were using good judgment in choosing the earlier structure for reconstruction. As it happens, both buildings clearly influenced the design of county courthouses throughout the province. The "piazza" of the first, originally perhaps a traditional English feature, reappeared as the arcaded front porches of the court buildings of Charles City, Hanover, and King William, in that order, and later of Richmond and Caroline. The apsidal ends, its other most distinctive feature, were adapted for the Lancaster courthouse in 1740 and the Isle of Wight building in 1750. Outside Virginia this feature appears in the handsome Chowan County, North Carolina, court of 1767, the architect of which is said to have been a Williamsburg man. It was the portico of the second Capitol which had its imitators. Both the house at Shirley and the destroyed Tedington in Charles City County were almost certainly indebted to it. And the likenesses of the second building to early Jeffersonian designs is noticeable, though the greatest of Virginia architects disparaged its contours.

The situation of these successive buildings at one end of Duke of Gloucester street with a nearly mile-long vista to the college is not the least of its attractive features. No other eighteenth-century southern statehouse had such a location, though the Maryland building has an interesting site. Today's visitor sees a handsome and original structure eminently appropriate for the legislative and judicial bodies and personages who ruled Virginia in the colonial golden age. It was the product of European traditional form, of royal governors, of provincial builders and materials, and of colonists of taste and ability who furnished the funds for the construction and supervised the erection.⁷⁵

As observed above, in the latter years of colonial North Carolina Tryon's Palace was built to serve as residence and administrative building for the province. During the early years, probably no public building was erected before 1700, though as early as 1670 the Proprietors wrote to Governor Samuel Stephens of Albemarle colony to use the first money from fines and quit rents "to Erect a State house for the reception of ye Governr: Councill & assembly." In 1676 the Proprietors asked the Assembly to erect a "chief town" on Roanoke Island where the Council and Assembly could meet and in 1681 in instructions to the new governor of the Albemarle-North Carolina colony ordered him to build a chief town with an Assembly house for the meeting of the two branches of the Assembly.

There is no evidence that any of these instructions were carried out. There is a 1701 entry of a meeting in the "Gran Court House" of Perquimans. About the same time the General Assembly ordered the erection of a "Corte House 60 foot long, 20 foot wide, 7½ foot pitch" in Chowan precinct. It was to contain rooms for the colonial secretary and the clerk of the Assembly, clear indication it was to be used as a provincial governmental headquarters. By 1718 the Council met at the courthouse at Chowan and the next year the General Court at the "Court House at Queen Annes Creek." A law of 1720 referred to "the Gen'll Court House in Chowan and Bath Town."

In 1725 the Council met for the first time in the "Council Chamber" in Edenton, designated the official capital in 1722, and the following year the Lower House met at the "Usuall Place" at Queen Anne's Creek. Presumably public buildings had been erected for legislative groups about sixty-two years after the granting of the charter. At the end of the Proprietary period in 1728, North Carolina had no more government buildings than these legislative ones, if it actually had them. Meanwhile by 1712 the Proprietors had provided for separate governors for North and South Carolina. But from the 1730s through Dobbs' time in North Carolina in the 1750s-1760s the royal governors had to complain of lost and scattered records and their inability to keep proper rent rolls because of lack of housing, Arthur Dobbs especially emphasizing these difficulties in a 1754 letter.

Edenton under the Crown, with floods of new settlers coming into the colony, ceased to be a central site for the capital, and in 1734 new Governor Gabriel Johnston persuaded the General Assembly to meet in New Bern, which he attempted to fix as the capital. Johnston was not successful. In the 1740s various groups worked for Wilmington or Bath. In 1750 a resolution of the General Assembly required new brick provincial buildings at New Bern consisting of a courthouse 50 feet by 30 and a Council house 30 feet by 20, and a third building for officers of the province. At the same time Governor Johnston made it clear that there were in existence no public buildings. When Dobbs arrived in 1754, he ran squarely into the capital-capitol problem. He too found not "one publick office." He proposed a site up the Neuse River, bought up the land himself and offered to sell it for what he had paid, and found himself like his predecessors unsuccessful. The Assembly vetoed the site.

Thus until Tryon's time there is little evidence of a statehouse building. If the Lower House and Council once had brick meeting houses they must have been quite plain. Tryon's Palace was used primarily for the governor's and the Council's business, the Lower House meeting there only once each session for its opening ceremony. The sumptuous building did little to meet North Carolina's need. In 1768 the Assembly directed that

all provincial records be brought together at New Bern. Some were housed at the Palace and some elsewhere in the town, but after a hundred years the papers at least had a home or homes. The representatives of the people did not.⁷⁶

For over three quarters of a century after Charleston's founding, the legislative and executive branches of the South Carolina government had to function in rented quarters. Under the Lords Proprietors there were acts for building a statehouse in 1712 and 1718/1719. A letter from Governor Robert Johnson in 1729 to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and the Plantations reveals that the royal government then in control was no more interested than the Proprietors had been in erecting a capitol building. But an act of 1751 passed by the General Assembly provided for annual funds for erecting such a structure.

In 1752 or 1753, on the northwest corner of Broad and Meeting streets, was laid the cornerstone of the new statehouse which was to last for less than a full generation. The occasion was celebrated at the home of the remarkable painter-politician-antiquarian Alexander Gordon (q.v.), who may have designed this capitol. It was completed by 1760. Dr. George Milligen-Johnston in his *Short Description of the Province of South-Carolina* (London, 1770), written in 1763, described the "State-House" as a large, commodious brick building, adorned on the south front by four columns of composite order with highly finished capitals, supporting a large angular pediment and cornice. It was two stories in height below the roof. On the lower floor were the courtroom, the Secretary's office, and apartments for the housekeeper. On the upper were two handsome rooms, one for the governor and Council and the other for the "Representatives of the People," with offices for clerks. Milligen-Johnston criticizes the Council chamber as "rather [more] crowded and disgusting, than ornamental and pleasing, by the great Profusion of carved work in it." Here then were most of the features of the legislative house at Williamsburg, and except that it lacked a double portico, it may have resembled the Virginia second Capitol, especially in columned portico and profusely decorated Council room. Its site clearly was not so impressive as those of Annapolis and Williamsburg, both selected to give views of the capitols from considerable distances, sites which were part of the original city plans drawn probably by Governor Nicholson.⁷⁷

Georgia's legislative and administrative buildings were certainly originally located in Savannah, but apparently under the Trustees the President and his assistants in the colony met in the largest private house in the city or in the courthouse. Even the early courthouse was a large

wooden room which served also as a church. Peter Gordon's *View of the Town of Savannah* identifies this building in the lower lefthand block of the city, a building of frame and clapboards.⁷⁸

Courthouses and Other Public Buildings. Several seventeenth-century buildings erected for the use of county commissions of the peace in the Chesapeake colonies have been noted. There is evidence of others, and, as Bruce has suggested, probably by 1700 every Virginia county had at least its own building. But counties continued to be created, and the older counties' wooden buildings, as most of them were, deteriorated to such an extent that there was in the eighteenth century considerable rebuilding on old sites in both provinces. From surviving specifications it is evident that most of those built before 1764 which are now gone were usually of brick, and at the beginning of the century quite plain in appearance. There were some handsome buildings, however, especially in the capital towns and in the older counties.

Radoff's study of Maryland courthouses indicates that a number built in the 1690s or slightly earlier existed well into the eighteenth century. One recalls that the 1697 first statehouse at Annapolis was also a courthouse for the General Court of the colony and the Anne Arundel County commission of the peace. Its replacement in 1706 was also a courthouse which William Eddis described in 1769 as having a fine site on an eminence affording a view of river, bay, and Eastern Shore. He noted that it was then in a bad state of decay and was not imposing in any way, a verdict some others such as Jefferson agreed with.

The Joppa Town courthouse of 1709 seems to have been, according to a 1725 plat, a plain rectangle with an arched door and four windows on the front and a thirteen-foot pitch. Talbot County's 1711 courthouse had a handsome front door and lead and glass windows. At nearby Oxford specifications for the courthouse in 1709 called for sash windows with shutters over the lower parts. There was a new courthouse at Princess Anne in 1747, at Snow Hill in Worcester in 1742/1743 (burned c. 1830), and at Upper Marlborough in 1721 (repaired in 1735); and at Chestertown a 1696/1697 building was rebuilt after it burned in 1720. These structures were small, except that at Annapolis, and ranged in height from one-and-a-half to two-and-a-half stories, according to surviving specifications always containing a large courtroom with raised platform for justices, and conference rooms, as in the preceding century.⁷⁹

The Virginia courthouse of the century before 1764 was likely to have been T-plan, if one may generalize from the surviving buildings at Charles

City, King William, Hanover, and Isle of Wight, and what is known of the courthouse at Yorktown. Williamsburg had three successive eighteenth-century James City County courthouses, the 1770 building still standing. There is evidence that the bricks of the old statehouse at Jamestown were used in the 1715 structure, and architectural historians have speculated as to whether this was not a T-form prototype of the other counties' buildings. The 1770 structure has a handsome hipped-roof with cupola, semicircular arched windows and main-door transom, and a prostyle (actually astylar) portico.⁸⁰

Although interiors have frequently been much altered since colonial times, in external appearance several courthouses have remained as they then appeared. The Capitol's arches as noted seem to have influenced the portico of the long-vanished Richmond County courthouse (for which Landon Carter was the contractor and probably designer) and the semicircular end of the General Court's room, and its parallel probably inspired Norfolk County's 1726 building, the "compass end" specified for the 1740 Lancaster County court, and the Isle of Wight courthouse's rounded end (1750-1751). After mid-century new courthouses discarded the arches but retained the T-form.

Symmetry, grace, and dignity mark the almost twin courthouses of Hanover and King William (both c. 1734) and the similar Charles City building (c. 1736). The T-shape, hipped roof, arcaded piazza across the front, fine cornices of heavy dentils, and beautiful brick walls laid in Flemish bond have been reproduced with slight variations all along Virginia's interstate highways for purposes other than procuring justice. But in their new function they are as utilitarian and graceful as are their models, felicitous symbols of the state's approval of its colonial past. The memory of such men as Samuel Davies and Patrick Henry and their association with it have made the Hanover building especially well known and frequently visited.

York County's long-vanished courthouse of the same period has been described as an imposing structure in a town of interesting buildings. On the Eastern Shore at Accomack in the 1890s a garish red brick courthouse replaced a charming colonial building. In Essex County the remains of the 1728 courthouse have been incorporated into a church.

Many of the newer courthouses contain portraits of colonial worthies who had been residents of those counties. And there is evidence that for the old Caroline courthouse artists such as Charles Bridges were employed to decorate the façades with the royal arms. *Iustitia cum dignitate* might have been an appropriate descriptive phrase for these modest colonial buildings.⁸¹

The pattern for courthouses in North Carolina was very much that of the Chesapeake colonies. The first courts were in planters' or governors' houses and then in makeshift wooden buildings of quite primitive forms close to those of the dwelling houses of the same periods. Waterman declares that the 1767 Chowan County courthouse at Edenton, mentioned above, is quite similar to the King William-Hanover-Isle of Wight buildings, especially the last. It has been called the finest Georgian courthouse in the South, and indeed its T-plan with central courtroom flanking offices, and semicircular apse at the rear are handsomely done.⁸² But the Edenton fine two-story façade with central pedimented pavilion and its beautifully designed cupola are not represented in the Virginia buildings.

There is no evidence that in the colonial period in South Carolina the rural courthouse attained the politico-legal or social importance it represented along the Chesapeake or tidewater North Carolina, for almost from the beginning the South Carolina planters spent a great deal of time in their seaport capital and felt no great need of organized judiciary suitably housed in the counties in which they lived. Undoubtedly they had courthouses, but none built before 1764 left impression enough to be described in the numerous volumes on colonial South Carolina architecture. There were certainly commissions of the peace and places for them to meet. To this day the citizen of this state is likely to identify himself with a city or region or "district" rather than a county—or so this writer observes who has lived there and in both Chesapeake states. In the colonial period the South Carolinian settled his more serious affairs in Charleston and, as just noted, was likely if he was even moderately affluent to spend a part of the year there. If he was a small planter or Indian trader from the Upcountry he was also likely to visit Charleston several times a year. This is all a relative matter, and certainly other factors such as dampness and General Sherman may have destroyed or obliterated courthouses resembling those in North Carolina and Virginia, though this seems highly doubtful.⁸³

In Savannah, as noted above, the early large wooden room which was used as a courthouse, thirty-six feet by twelve, also served as a church. In 1741 Tailfer, Anderson, Douglas, et al., in *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, described the courthouse as "one handsome Room with a piache on three Sides" which still served also as a church, with a log-house prison opposite. The county square with its administrative courthouse building at some central crossroads, now so familiar in Georgia as well as the upper South, had not in the colonial period come into existence, though Frederica and Augusta and Ebenezer and other early

settlements must have had some sort of building in which trials could be held and records kept.⁸⁴

Near many southern colonial courthouses stood halls for records, jails, and frequently magazines. The earliest courthouses and many later had a room within the main buildings for records. The provincial General Courts first felt the need of separate buildings for the colonial secretaries and their documents. The building for the purpose at Williamsburg is easily the most distinguished of these architecturally, a fine Georgian structure. Radoff notes a 1733 building with similar purpose in Annapolis.

In both these Chesapeake towns were prisons. Annapolis had one before the century began, another on the site in 1707, and a third begun in 1736. Beyond the original town boundaries stood a timber powder magazine in 1701, replaced by a brick one on another site in 1712. They may be represented in some of the views or plans of the city reproduced in various places. Then the other counties' records in Maryland were usually housed in the courthouse, but before 1764 some counties had built separate buildings for the records for obvious reasons.

In Virginia court records were kept in much the same way as in Maryland, though architectural historians have been more conscious of the sort of buildings in which they were housed. The building noted above for provincial records near the Capitol is a little gem of brick architecture built or completed in 1748. The Williamsburg jail or gaol is also near the Capitol, a brick building thirty feet by twenty "in the clear," externally not unpleasing in its now rebuilt form. And in 1711/1712 a debtors' prison was built also near the Capitol. In 1722 new acts for the public prisons in Williamsburg ordered these structures joined by walls, and in 1772 a gaoler's house of brick with shingled roof was built.⁸⁵

Handsome than these subordinate buildings in Williamsburg was the octagonal brick powder magazine. It was erected under an act of 1714 and still stands in Market Square today. Probably designed by Spotswood, this structure has all the beauty of geometric symmetry in its walls, windows, and steep roof the same height as the walls. Aesthetically if not functionally it is a most satisfying building. That it was practical enough in design is borne out by an advertisement for a building of the same form and size and purpose in Hanover in 1775. County records today sometimes repose in the neat brick buildings near the courthouses proper, buildings which in some instances may originally have been the courthouses themselves. At Eastville in Northampton County, Virginia, for example, the neat ivy-covered brick structure of 1731 housing the documents was probably once the courthouse. Near it is the small brick debtors' prison and the old whipping post.

A number of eighteenth-century customhouses were built in the designated port towns. A few survive. Among others in Maryland are the tiny brick customhouse at the foot of Low Street in Vienna on the Nanticoke River and the three-and-a-half story larger brick structure near the corner of Front and High streets in Chestertown. Both were probably built in the 1770s. Also on the Eastern Shore at Princess Anne stood until 1935 a brick gable-ended, clapboard-sided square building thirty-one feet four inches each way, with a large flush chimney having five flues on the main floor.⁸⁶

In Virginia at Yorktown a handsome small Georgian building known as the Customs House was actually never a public building but the private storehouse of one of the leading merchants, Richard Ambler. As Ambler was collector of ports during the age of Spotswood and Yorktown was a royal port, the building was probably used on occasion for customs inspection. It was built between 1706 and 1726. A two-story, thick-walled, and hipped-roof building, a graceful modillioned cornice gave it a certain elegance. In Fredericksburg in 1732 William Byrd saw the stone building which he described as a prison. It also later served as a warehouse and just possibly as a customs clearance house. It is still in use for storage. There may also have been built-to-order customhouses at Fredericksburg or at Falmouth across the river, both officially designated ports.⁸⁷

Though there is a good deal of information on customhouses and other smaller public buildings of the lower South for the period from 1770, whatever such edifices there were for general use before 1764 have been forgotten. In the records of all the colonies occasional references are made to armories and market houses, and some of their specifications appear. But rarely if ever is there evidence that a building now standing was used for arms or produce. Then there is the matter of inns or taverns or ordinaries, which by 1764 were frequent in every southern town. Few have survived from this early date, but from those few one sees that they were externally and to a considerable extent internally somewhat larger replicas of the less elaborate dwelling houses. Only in the towns were they large.

A good example in Maryland is the recently restored Indian Queen tavern or hotel in Charlestown, Cecil County. Once one of three taverns in that flourishing port, it was built about 1755, with high double-galleried porch pleasantly enclosed from the street by a picket fence. It is a two-story frame structure with a massive chimney in the middle and a cellar without a fireplace. It has the original stair and mouldings and trim typical of the mid-eighteenth century. Its neighbor, the Red Lion, is noteworthy for its log-plank dovetailed construction. Maryland was well supplied with such ordinaries, as they were often called. A list of 1746 shows 845 licensed taverns. Every crossroads courthouse settlement had at

least one. In his *Itinerarium* of 1744, Dr. Alexander Hamilton mentions several still remembered, as Treadway's just across the Susquehannah ferry as he journeyed north. Others within Maryland he patronized for lodging and meals included Miller's and Smith's at Northeast, Brown's in Joppa, Rogers' in Baltimore, and Moore's at the head of the Severn River.

In Annapolis members of the Tuesday Club frequented Middleton's Tavern, and out-of-town members or guests of the group often stayed there. Still extant is the 1737 Reynolds Tavern, an all-header brick two-and-a-half-story large building with end chimneys and unusual arched stringcourses. It has a mansard roof and a small classical porch-portico. It is probably the best surviving Maryland example of the architectural care which could be lavished on early taverns. Such inns varied from brick to wood, from one-story to two-and-a-half, from what were little more than tipling houses to commodious hotels. Certainly those in Virginia were varied in architectural detail.

It has often been said that especially in the South the ordinary was rarely used by gentlemen, who expected to be entertained by planters whose manors lay along their way. This is hardly true, for by mid-century they frequently patronized the rural inns, largely for the sake of their convenience or accessibility to highways and other routes of travel. In Williamsburg and Annapolis they filled these hostels during Court or Assembly sessions. Dr. Hamilton was preceded by William Byrd and succeeded by George Washington and a host of others who complained of conditions in town and country inns but patronized them just the same.⁸⁸

Eighteenth-century Virginia contained more ordinaries, inns, and taverns than perhaps any other form of "public" building. Enough survive for one to see their variety of architectural forms. In certain areas for the accommodation of travelers they were built at twelve-mile intervals along the roads and often at ferry crossings. The authority on the Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania County area, for example, has counted at least 125 ordinaries or taverns between 1729 and 1781, with about fifty of these in the town itself. Petersburg had a considerable number, as did Norfolk, and Williamsburg contained hostelrys still famous. Many of the standing buildings everywhere have become private homes. Most are basically Palladian in external structure, with interiors varying from the very simple plaster or unadorned wood walls to the ornate panel and cornice. The smaller inns included a great room on the first floor which served as bar, dining room, and lounging place, with kitchen usually at the back and several rooms on the second floor for travelers. The larger taverns such as the Raleigh in Williamsburg had several rooms on the first floor and a number of smaller ones on the second. Porches all the way across the front

appear frequently, though it is probable that most of these piazzas were added after the colonial period.

In rural areas there are several interesting buildings. Boswell's Tavern in Louisa County at a crossroads is a story-and-a-half frame building with large chimneys, praised highly by the Marquis de Chastellux when he stayed there in 1782. Hanover Tavern (1723) at the courthouse is an ell-shaped frame building with gabled roof and high brick basement. A long veranda fills in the angle of the ell. More imposing is Burke's Tavern (1731) near Burkeville, a two-and-a-half-story brick and weatherboard structure with a high pitched roof and tall outside chimneys. It was famous as a stagecoach stop. On Jefferson's mountainside on the road to Monticello is the Michie Tavern, the oldest part built before 1740. The older part has fine interior woodwork.

In Yorktown stood the well-known Swan Tavern, built in 1719-1720, destroyed in 1862, and rebuilt in 1934, a story-and-a-half frame structure over a sturdy brick-walled basement. Gadsby's Tavern (1752 and addition 1792) in Alexandria is declared by more than one critic the finest inn, architecturally, built in colonial times. It is a two-and-a-half story brick Palladian building with large keystones over the flat arches above the windows and a portal with triangular pediment. The interior has fine simple Georgian mantels and paneling and pedimental doorways.

Petersburg also had a number of well-known taverns, among which the Golden Ball (1750) was popular until at least 1825. Among Fredericksburg's inns built after 1730 were Thornton's, Gordon's, the Indian Queen, Weedon's, and—best-known—the Rising Sun. A quaint story-and-a-half old frame tavern frequented by waggoners stood until 1957. The Rising Sun, built by Charles Washington in 1760, a story-and-a-half building with three dormers, end chimneys, and a pedimented porch with high stone steps leading to its stone threshold, catered to the traveling gentry.⁸⁹

Williamsburg as the capital may have had more inns-taverns than Fredericksburg, though no one seems to have examined all the James City and York County records with any intention of studying all the hostelrys from 1700 on. In his 1709-1712 diary, William Byrd II mentions, usually more than once, Allen's, A-t-k-s-n's, the Brick House, the French Ordinary, G-l-s's, and Marot's. The reconstructed Brick House Tavern may not be that which Byrd refers to, which from his context appears to have been far outside the city. Marot's Ordinary (c. 1705?), however, stands in its reconstructed form as a handsome story-and-a-half building of three sections. Externally most of the other taverns—Burdett's, the Brick House, the Red Lion, Chowning's, and Market Square—are undistinguishable from the neighboring dwelling houses save for the inn signs. Christiana Campbell's

was where the third William Byrd and others among the aristocracy stayed, and even more took meals there. Most inns served a less august clientele than did the Raleigh Tavern, but the diaries of men like William Byrd II and Washington show that they stayed at different places at different times, probably depending on how crowded the town was, and in Byrd's case probably on whether or not his wife accompanied him.

The commodious and renowned Raleigh Tavern (built before 1742, reconstructed and opened 1932) was, next to the Governor's Palace, the place where the wealthy and famous and politically prominent gathered. Its original elegance is attested to in the extant inventories of two of its colonial proprietors. This ell-shaped, white, weatherboarded building with eighteen dormer windows has been rebuilt on its original foundation. A lead bust of Sir Walter Raleigh stands again above the doorway. In its Apollo Room beginning in 1769 the extralegal sessions of seditious burgesses were held, and perhaps in the same room Phi Beta Kappa was founded. But long before, during the "Publick Times," it was a center of social activity. Balls held there rivaled those of the Palace. Though it was destroyed by fire in 1859, two wood engravings of 1848, insurance policies, and archaeological finds aided in a reconstruction probably as faithful to the original as any in Williamsburg.⁹⁰

North Carolina was relatively thinly populated during this period. Though there were surely taverns or wayside hostelries, the first to be recorded by architectural historians is the handsome brick Moravian inn of 1780. The more prosperous and thickly populated South Carolina had a few more remembered taverns along the routes leading into the interior. Near York was Fergus Cross, apparently before 1757 a stagecoach tavern. At Jonesville is the Jones House, or Wayside Inn, a brick hipped-roofed building near an old blockhouse, both undated. Others obviously old are uncertainly dated and undistinguished in form, including some in and near Charleston. Though here is a matter worth further investigation, it seems doubtful that any standing colonial buildings will be identified as inns. The principal work on early Georgia architecture mentions two eighteenth-century inns, but they are both post-Revolutionary. There is the recently excavated Davison tavern at Frederica, which can now be visualized in some detail. As in South Carolina, the guest houses of Savannah and Augusta and the lost cities appear to warrant further investigation, even if they survive only in documents.⁹¹

Theaters. Though no eighteenth-century structure intended primarily as a theater exists in any American former colony today, something is known of several buildings used as playhouses. As far as is known, the Anglo-American theater or drama began in an Eastern Shore of Virginia (tavern

or) courtroom in 1665, of which more below. And from time to time in Charleston in South Carolina acting companies performed in the courtroom, probably because it was the largest secular assembly room available and had a raised platform for the judges which could be used as a stage. In other instances, as at the period of the beginning of the secular drama in England, strolling players performed in taverns.

Some time between 1716 and 1718 English America's first theater was erected on the eastside of the Palace Green in Williamsburg. It was built by William Levingston(e) for actors Charles and Mary Stagg. Recent excavations indicate that it stood on brick foundations thirty feet two inches by eighty-six feet six inches, with the narrow side facing the Green or street. Advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette* indicate it was weatherboarded and roofed with shingles, though no other details are known. It was probably on the plan of an English provincial theater with a crude pit, box, and gallery arrangement, though the excavations suggest no real pit but a place for the orchestra above the proscenium arch. The long structure had brick foundations all around and across the narrow portion at two points, with one additional masonry foundation between the outside wall and one of the internal supports. Externally it must have been one of the plainest buildings in the young capital.⁹²

The second Williamsburg theater opened in October 1751, on the eastern side of Waller Street just back of the Capitol. It was built in record time and was apparently very plain, though it was almost surely fitted with pit, boxes, and gallery. When the newly arrived Hallam company took it over in the summer of 1752, it was "improved" considerably to make it "a regular Theatre," whatever that may have meant. The boxes were "lined" (incidentally proof that there had been boxes earlier), and advertisements indicate that it now positively had pit, balcony, and gallery. The only description we have is the romanticized one in John Esten Cooke's novel *The Virginia Comedians*, which was written by a normally accurate historian-fictionist who may have got his information from those who had known the building. Cooke describes it as having velvet-cushioned railings for the boxes and a flower-decorated "panel" extending all around the house. It was destroyed or moved by 1780. The Frenchman's Map (c. 1782) may show its long rectangular foundation. It certainly had brick foundations if not walls, for in 1787 the old bricks from the playhouse were being sold.⁹³

The Murray-Kean company which left Williamsburg in 1751 played in Norfolk in a "temporary theater" in Captain Norton's great room: that is, in a large tavern. In Fredericksburg they played in something called a playhouse, in Tappahannock in the courtroom, and in Petersburg in what was in 1782 called the old playhouse. In Alexandria in 1768/1769 the New American company (or Virginia Company) may have played in a tavern,

but in Norfolk in 1768 there seems to have been a theater building.⁹⁴ The external appearance of the so-called theaters can only be guessed at.

Maryland's theater was inevitably tied to Virginia's, for the same companies performed in both the Chesapeake colonies. In 1752, after their Fredericksburg stay, the Murray-Kean company hurried to Annapolis. It has been claimed that the "New Theatre" in which they performed was built of brick, but this seems unlikely. Its exact location is unknown. The Douglass company was playing in the "old theatre" in 1771 when local authority decided to erect a new playhouse. The result was that by September of 1771 there was in Annapolis a brick theater which was probably the first in the colonies, even including the Philadelphia Southwark Theater. It was on West Street next to Reynolds' Tavern. William Eddis described its neatly decorated and commodious boxes, its large pit, a stage well adapted for both drama and pantomime, and striking stage scenery. The building stood until the 1830s. In the 1750s the Murray-Kean company played in Chestertown, Piscataway, Port Tobacco, and Upper Marlborough, in the last instance in the New Theatre, probably a converted warehouse, and a few years later the Douglass company performed in Upper Marlborough in "a neat convenient tobacco-house, well fitted up for that purpose."⁹⁵

The southern colonial metropolis of Charleston in South Carolina had a play or plays as early as 1703, though its first regular dramatic season was in 1735. The first 1735 performance was in the courtroom, but on February 1, 1736, the "new Theatre in Dock Street" (later Queen Street) was opened. The Lewis Hallam company acted in a new theater in 1754. In 1763 the Douglass troupe arrived in the city and immediately began negotiations for a new building on a former church's site, again in Queen Street. Measuring seventy-five feet by thirty-five, the building was completed within six weeks of ground breaking in "a very elegant manner." In the 1770s Douglass persuaded the Charlestonians to erect a new theater for his American Company. The 1773 fourth building was apparently more elegant than its predecessors. Designed by Douglass, it is believed to have been one of the better examples of his architectural skill. The descriptions here again would suggest a typical eighteenth-century English provincial theater.⁹⁶

Collegiate or School Buildings. Though some of the standing dependencies of colonial manor houses may include small buildings used as schools, no well-known elementary or secondary school of the many varieties mentioned in Chapter III above appears to have survived. Only for or in Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Bethesda are there actual buildings or well-drawn specifications or drawings or paintings to show that certain institutions were housed in interesting and rather imposing structures. The

College of William and Mary's main building was begun at the end of the seventeenth century. McDowell Hall (1742) of St. John's College in Annapolis has origins in a governor's private residence, and the King William School was chartered in 1696 and opened in 1701. The Georgia Bethesda Orphanage of Whitefield was burned in the eighteenth century as it was about to become a college, but its architectural features were described and drawn by contemporaries. These buildings are quite unlike, but each shows something of the architectural aspirations of its builders.

The central building of the College of William and Mary was nearly finished in April 1697 and completed about 1701. With its slightly later large flanking Georgian houses, it forms one of the architecturally interesting eighteenth-century groups in all the colonies. The main building has been altered and burned several times, but as it stands in renovated or reconstructed form it has both dignity and grace and probably appears from the front much as it did originally. For archaeological investigation, the description of a Swiss traveler in 1702 and numerous subsequent drawings and verbal descriptions give us an excellent idea of what it was like at various points in the eighteenth-century. It was and is a Wren-type Palladian building, 138 feet in length and 46 in width. Hugh Jones, formerly a professor there, wrote in 1724 that it was "first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there; and since it was burnt down, it has been rebuilt, and nicely contrived, altered and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spotswood; and it is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital."⁹⁷

Today it stands in its second form, that devised by architect-mathematician Alexander Spotswood. It was originally planned as a quadrangle, but the proposed duplicate of the present front to face the west was never realized. Blair as well as Spotswood may have influenced its second form, and the Commissary may have employed Scottish models for the first building. The Bodleian Plate already mentioned shows it about as it is today, with a pedimented pavilion to form a more emphatic center. As restored, it is a two-and-a-half-story building above a full basement, surmounted by a steep roof and cupola and many chimneys. With its wings at the back of either end, one containing the chapel (c. 1732) and the other the hall, it remains a three-sided open quadrangle. Its walls are of beautiful bonded brick, but as one architect observes, it is a pity Spotswood did not have stone to work with in the trim.

In 1723 the college received its first additional building, the Brafferton House for Indians, paid for and endowed by the executors of the estate of the inventor Robert Boyle in Yorkshire and named for that estate. Probably built by Henry Cary, it is a two-and-a-half-story, hipped-roof, dormered

Palladian building with a pediment over the doorway. Its size is fifty-two feet by thirty-four. There are three rooms on each of the main floors and a stairway in the central passageway which runs through the building.

Brafferton's opposite or balancing number is the President's House (c. 1733), externally its twin, though not identical. The latter is four feet larger in each dimension than the Indian house. There are other variations in details. Though college and city were laid out with mathematical certainty, the college group of buildings, and their builders, disdained mechanical symmetry. Their walls are largely of a mellow pinkish brick, partly English and partly Flemish bond on the main building.⁹⁸

In Maryland, of the several schools discussed earlier, something is known of the architectural character of two of them. The Reverend Thomas Bacon's charity working school in Talbot County in the 1750s was of brick. The provincial free school at Annapolis, urged by Governor Nicholson as early as 1694/1696, was completed by 1701. It stood on one side of the State House, a plain building, probably of brick. This King William School flourished for about eighty-five years, and when it became St. John's College in 1785, or when the new college inherited the school's revenues, the unfinished mansion of Governor Bladen was taken over as its main building and completed. As McDowell Hall it is a three-story square brick building with a pediment over the projecting portico and a hipped roof, in its restored state a dignified representative of late colonial classical architecture akin to other public and private buildings of Annapolis and vicinity.⁹⁹

In Georgia, at Bethesda, the evangelist Whitefield with the aid of colonial official James Habersham built an orphan house, begun in 1740 and completed in 1742. The original plan presents a good example of a Palladian villa, resembling somewhat the designs for Mount Airy and Blandfield in Virginia. Built of wood on brick foundations, its architect showed he was aware of the subtropical environment by building piazzas ten feet wide all the way around the house somewhat suggestive of South Carolina-Barbadian styles. His main house was admirably oriented with cross-ventilation in each room and protected from direct sun by these encircling piazzas. It was a two-and-a-half story structure with shed-roofed dormers in the steep hipped roof. It was flanked by lesser dependencies. William Bartram described the main house in 1765 as a neat brick building well furnished and painted within and without, with a cupola and bell, but Habersham said specifically in 1773 after it was burned that it was of wood and should now be rebuilt of brick (it never was). It had been designed by a Mr. Day, of whom nothing more is known. Partly because of Whitefield's death, it never became the college he envisioned and urged in 1764.¹⁰⁰

Town and Fort Plans. The earliest town and fort plans usually converged, and several have been discussed incidentally in other chapters. The cartographers sometimes were engineer-surveyors who included in the corners of their topographical-geographical drawings plans for either forts or towns. Only John White in the earliest period produced handsome watercolor fort-and-town designs. Throughout the seventeenth-century there were a number of community-fortification specifications and drawings for the four older colonies, among them the early rough plats for the port cities ordered to be founded in the two Chesapeake colonies. Most were probably drawn in this country and some sent to England for engraving, though others were probably drawn by British engineers at home on the basis of outline maps of certain regions.

It is the drawings of the eighteenth century or at earliest of the very end of the seventeenth which are of greatest interest, however. Fortunately a thorough and stimulating study of the Tidewater Chesapeake towns of this period includes reproduction of the plats. Among other things, it proves that the plans of Annapolis and Williamsburg were premeditated, ingenious constructions which affected permanently the development of those capital cities, even though the original designs were altered in subsequent years. For another, it relates these and the plans for other Virginia-Maryland port towns to European traditional designs, naturally primarily British urban ones, and indicates that usually they followed fairly conventional gridiron geometrical patterns. A 1680 drawing of Tappahannock, Virginia, indicates this rectangular design as does a later 1706 plat of the same area with more detail. A 1691 plat of Marlborough town, later the site of John Mercer's mansion, shows the same gridiron design modified by the contours of the banks of the Potomac, and a plat of Yorktown for the same year is similar. For Maryland there are original gridiron-design plats for Green Hill (1707), Snow Hill (1793), Cambridge (1753), and Oxford (1707). The names of the surveyors who drew the plans are usually attached. An old city plan of Richmond, Virginia, prior to 1744, also follows the rectangular geometrical pattern, and a reconstructed one of Baltimore in 1730, though there were changes in the layouts of the two future metropolises in the eighteenth century after the colonial period.

Most interesting are Annapolis and Williamsburg, which are convincingly demonstrated to be the work of the soldier-governor Francis Nicholson during his period of office in each of these colonies. For Annapolis the evidence of authorship is circumstantial but strong. The plan he either brought with him or formulated there in the late 1690s. The original drawing does not survive, but one of 1718 reproduced from a 1743 copy differs sharply from the simple gridiron designs, presenting a more sophis-

ticated and complex form probably suggested by the 1666 plan for rebuilding London prepared by John Evelyn and Sir Christopher Wren. Employed by them and by Nicholson is the device of leading several radial or diagonal streets to an open square or circle in order to focus views on an important monument or building situated at the center or border of the square or circle. The technique was in itself not new, but here it was fitted to local topography of knolls, shoreline, and flat areas. Its balance and lines of intersecting streets and other qualities may have had European origins, but they anticipate in many respects L'Enfant's plan for the later nearby national capital. The designer placed public buildings on commanding eminences with real vistas to and from them. This baroque city plan went unrecognized by many eighteenth-century visitors until the public and private buildings began to line the streets or appear on the eminences or squares or circles, so that by the time of the Revolution men could recognize what a traditional complex urban plan might produce when imposed on a sea-and-river-bordered New World landscape. The result is impressive.

For Williamsburg's plan there is even stronger evidence of Nicholson's authorship. Within a few weeks after he returned to Virginia as governor-in-chief in 1698, the Jamestown statehouse was destroyed by fire and the Assembly and executive found that the decision whether the capital should be moved was imminent. The new college had already been located at Middle Plantation, and as early as 1677 several residents of York County had petitioned the King's Commissioners that the capital be moved to that place. The Act of Assembly of 1699 authorized the move, the building of the Capitol, and the taking up of several hundred acres as the site of the future city and its ports. There are no known drawings for the first planning and early development of Williamsburg, but the evidence points to an interlocked W and M (for the King and Queen) as having been in an early plan, and today there remain suggestions of portions of the "monogram" and strong possibilities as to where the remainder were located. The axis formed by Duke of Gloucester Street as it connects at its opposite ends the Wren building of the college and the Capitol, with the Governor's Palace and Bruton Church (already located) at strategic points, was probably the geometrical line from which the planner proceeded, though it may have been straightened out later. Hugh Jones and other eighteenth-century observers testify to the cipher "W. and M." plan for the city. Undoubtedly it was altered by later governors, but its traces are there in diagonal roads shown in the Frenchman's Map leading to the western end of Duke of Gloucester Street and in many other now-lost street lines appearing in eighteenth-century plats, and there are peculiarities of street pattern within Capitol Square, for example, which may be thus explained. A conjectural plan of the city as it was in 1699 indicates several possibilities as to W's and

M's. The more conventional plan later developed made a handsome town, but one is intrigued by the "cypher" design with which it started. Despite later modifications, Nicholson left his imaginative stamp on the designs of these two capital towns.¹⁰¹

North Carolina's most distinguished colonial writer, John Lawson, seems to have laid out the towns of Bath and New Bern, though he had assistance from others, who were his cofounders. Bath follows a modified gridiron plan, in 1706 with seventy-one lots of one acre and four poles each. One of Claude J. Sauthier's 1769 plats shows the gridiron plan, though most of the lots appear then and in an 1807 manuscript plat as rhomboids rather than rectangles. New Bern, planned with Lawson's partner von Graffenreid, has a cruciform design perhaps suggested by the peninsula-like point of land on which the town was located. Edenton, incorporated about 1722, shows in Sauthier's survey a more orthodox gridiron form than the two other early towns.

Sauthier's plans of the several North Carolina towns now repose in the British Museum. The ten or more all show gridiron or modified gridiron plans, even the cruciform design of New Bern being but a modified gridiron.¹⁰²

In South Carolina numbers of forts were built, though there had been several around Charleston as early as the 1670s. Fort Johnston (c. 1708 or 1711) was a triangular coastal enclosure with a moat on the land side. The walls were wood and oystershell and the buildings within clapboarded. Along the frontier the palisade or stockade form of protection much like the Indians' or the earliest British was usual. Though the earliest forts were purely functional, when engineers such as William Gerard De Brahm began to plan and build, they showed some symmetry and even at times a rough beauty.

Edward Crisp's 1704-1711 plat of Charleston outlines the city plan and notes the position of a few churches and other public buildings. A half century later engineer-surveyor-cartographer De Brahm drew several handsome plans of the fortification of the Charleston area, including Fort Johnston as he redesigned it. These, like his other plats, show the use of traditional triangles, pentangles, quadrangles, crescents, and other shapes adapted to the peninsula and location of the city. De Brahm's "Plan and Profiles of Fort Loudoun," which he designed, shows that diamond-shaped enclosure with internal buildings as an ingenious adaptation of conventional military engineering patterns to its location on the Tennessee River.¹⁰³

From the beginning the towns of Georgia were carefully planned. Writing before Repts' recent investigations of Annapolis and Williamsburg, the architectural historians of Georgia state that Savannah was the only city built on a preconceived plan in British North America to achieve

precise geometric regularity. They see this symmetry as seventeenth century in origin. The profusion of squares, however, was to become popular after 1800. Georgia's other towns have the gridiron plan and have no particular architectural significance per se except that several of them followed in modified form the squares-plus-straight-streets design of Savannah.

The Savannah squares had in some respects been anticipated in the 1717 proposed layout of Azilia, the colony of Sir Robert Montgomery discussed in Chapters I, II, and elsewhere. Savannah was laid out in 1733 by Oglethorpe, with regular squares, wide streets, fortified wall, and Trustees' Garden. Oglethorpe seems to have arrived with a plan, made some definite changes, and sent the revised plat to the Trustees. Evidence points to Gabriel Bernard, uncle of Jean-Jaques Rousseau, as responsible for this plan of Savannah (he also seems to have revised the original plan of Charleston in 1735-1736). It is in the Renaissance tradition, based partly on aesthetic and partly on military considerations. As noted above, Peter Gordon's 1734 *View of Savannah* shows all the city's features and deep surrounding forest, but De Brahm's description and plat of about 1755 give details and an all-around view not in the perspective of twenty years before.

Forts were obviously functional, but their forms, including the buildings within the enclosures, are often aesthetically interesting and architecturally ingenious. De Brahm's "View and Plan of Fort Barrington," for example, shows not only a beautifully balanced outline of the square fort with pointed corner bastions and exactly balanced diagonals for buildings within, but a "South View" of palisade, storehouses and living quarters, central block-house with cupola, and smaller cupolas or lookout posts atop the tips of the bastions. The effect is a pleasing balance and silhouette suggestive of both New World Georgian manor house and Old World medieval fortress. Perhaps quite crude in execution, De Brahm's plats and views indicate that the military engineers who designed eighteenth-century forts often had the same passion for geometric balance as the Palladian house architects did.¹⁰⁴

Architects. It is generally impossible to separate master carpenters, master builders, engineers, and gentleman amateur designers from the few architects, in the modern sense, that were in the southern colonies before 1764. As has been seen, first settlements in each of the colonies began as fortified towns designed in Britain and adapted to local conditions. The first arrivals usually had carpenters in their midst, soldiers with some engineering experience, and surveyors. Jamestown and St. Mary's were fortified and to some extent laid out according to plans brought with the colonists. Who executed or adapted these plans is now unknown. Sir Thomas Dale may have planned Henrico, and any of a number of other

men the other seventeenth-century towns and houses and churches. Occasionally in the extant records one comes upon specifications for dimensions and materials with builders' names attached, but that any of these seventeenth-century men were even master builders is unproved, although obviously some had training as engineers or surveyors.

Also, in Maryland and other southern colonies even well into the eighteenth century the professional architect was unknown. The great rural and Annapolis residences built before mid-eighteenth century were erected by joiners or carpenters for woodwork and "undertakers" for construction work. What training any of these men had is puzzling. Occasionally one of them in a particular situation may be referred to as "architect," meaning the same as master builder, a superior carpenter or joiner probably trained in a good apprenticeship. It has occasionally been argued by an architectural historian that one great mansion or public building or another was built under the direct supervision of an English architect imported under a short-term contract, but there seems no real proof of this argument. Wealthy planters were as likely to bring in under indenture youths trained under English master builders, as they were to import other trained artisans, and in one classic case, to be noted in a moment, the young man matured into an imaginative architect. But it is probable that almost all the Maryland buildings before the arrival of William Buckland in Annapolis were based on the great Palladian pattern books mentioned earlier, from which the educated plantation owner or a neighbor better trained than himself adapted the engravings of elevation and minutest details to his situation and for which the owner had as building supervisor a carpenter or even master builder bound to him by contract. Moreover, the plans for many of the finer buildings were probably drawn by men who had seen Continental or British architecture for themselves.

William Buckland (1734-1774) seems to have been Maryland's, and possibly Virginia's, first professional architect. Born in rural England, Buckland was in 1748 apprenticed to his uncle James, a London joiner, at a time when classical Palladian architecture was at its height in the mother country. His seven-year apprenticeship ended in 1755, and that same year he signed with Thomson Mason a contract to serve George Mason in Virginia as a carpenter and joiner, with reasonable allowances in living expenses and a good salary of £20 a year. Thus arrived in Stafford County in northern Virginia the man who, perhaps with his master, George Mason, and certainly with Palladian pattern books, designed Gunston Hall, one of the handsomest houses of colonial America. And this was the man who built it, supervising carpenters and masons and other artisans and laborers of varying degrees of training. The general plan had probably already been decided upon before his arrival, for the Masons, like most of their neighbors,

had the principal architectural volumes in their library. George Mason wanted a man who could visualize and decorate externally and internally, and that is what he got. The carvings of cornices, moldings, door frames, window trim, inside archways, and other richly classical ornamentation seem to have been Buckland's personal work, perhaps his "specialty." Both Thomson and George Mason considered Buckland a master of his craft in both theory and practice.

Even before he finished with Gunston Hall and his indenture, Buckland built a glebe house for nearby Truro Parish. By 1762 he was free to seek employment on his own. Opportunity beckoned in Richmond County in the Northern Neck, where he had a chance to work with John Ariss (Oriss, Ayres), already established as an architect or master builder, of whom more later. Buckland probably did the interior woodwork for Mount Airy, the Tayloe mansion called today "the most ambitious house in Virginia." He built another glebe house, did some undefined work for Landon Carter of Sabine Hall and probably for Francis Lightfoot Lee at Menokin, Muscoe Garnett at Elmwood, and the Beverleys of Blandfield, among others. By the early 1770s Buckland had moved to Annapolis, though he had worked in Maryland before.

About 1765 seven Maryland mansions were being built which seem to show his influence and probably his hand. These include Upton Scott's and John Ridout's Annapolis residences, Sprigg's Strawberry Hill and Governor Sharpe's Whitehall, Galloway's Tulip Hill, the Snowdens' Montpelier, and the Ringgold house in Chestertown across the Bay. He used a central block, the walls are frequently all-header bond, the dependencies are usually detached, and the interiors are beautifully ornate in their Palladian detail. They and others were of course actually built in the decade after the close of the colonial period; yet they are but extensions of the Gunston Hall forms of 1755, though the interior woodwork of the Maryland houses is usually somewhat simpler than that of Gunston.

These later Annapolis houses at least equal Gunston and the earlier Maryland buildings in their impressive Palladianism. The Chase-Lloyd the Hammond-Harwood, the Brice, and the Paca houses are among those in whole or in part Buckland's, though the evidence for some of the attribution is internal and circumstantial. But here in the late colonial Chesapeake Bay country was a first-rate architect who had perhaps better than any other builder in the South adapted the graceful classical plans and patterns and detail to the needs of well-to-do men living in a clime quite different from England's or Italy's.¹⁰⁵

Buckland ends the 1700-1764 architectural era in Virginia as he does in Maryland, but in the former colony there were from the beginning of the century men who designed and sometimes executed work. We may infer

that they were either architects in the modern professional sense or close to that level of skill and training as master builders, or worthy predecessors of Thomas Jefferson as amateurs of great ability. In Williamsburg and along each of the great rivers were houses and churches and other structures they may have designed. In a few cases it is evident that they built them.

The question of one or more architects in Virginia residence for the major Williamsburg buildings already discussed is a fascinating one. No final answer can be arrived at without more documentary evidence. But the two Henry Carys, gentleman contractors, had a great deal to do with the early building in the town. The elder Cary was the "overseer," or supervising building contractor, for the first Capitol, the Gaol, and the Palace, the younger Cary for the Brafferton, the college chapel, the President's House, and a fence about the Magazine, besides churches and other structures elsewhere in the province. How much this father and son contributed to design has not been determined, but there is evidence that they too knew the pattern books. Governor Nicholson is not known to have been a draftsman of buildings, but his city plans suggest that he might have been. A Thomas Hadley, from England on salary, was a "surveyor" for the first Wren building, but we know little else of him. Hugh Jones, one recalls, said this building was *adapted* from Wren's design to the nature and needs of the new country "by the gentlemen there," which may suggest adapting from or with the Palladian pattern books. But Jones adds that in its second form it was made handsome by Governor Spotswood's more deft touch, which brings us again to this able executive who was surely an ingenious draftsman and mathematician. He not only immensely improved the college's main building but was directly the creator of the Debtor's Prison built in 1710/1711 and almost surely of the present Bruton Parish Church. He made changes in the Gaol, the powder magazine, and Nicholson's "cypher" plan for the city streets. He completed the Palace, giving it its present "beauty and conveniency," including its lovely gardens. It is very likely that he designed his own later home at Germanna and perhaps manor houses for his friends. But Spotswood had many interests in Virginia, and building was only one of them.

The architectural historian Thomas T. Waterman makes much of John Ariss (mentioned above) as a lost but important figure in the building of American Georgian. In the *Maryland Gazette* of May 22, 1751, appears "John Oriss's" advertisement that he undertakes "Buildings of all Sorts and tecture there. He was the son of a well-known builder. There are abundances" according to "the Ancient or Modern Order of Gibbs' Architect," and that he may be found at Major John Bushrod's [Bushfield] in Westmoreland County, Virginia, where he has a great variety of draughts of buildings as well as some nearly finished buildings "after the Modern

Taste." Ariss was born about 1725 in Westmoreland County, a great-grandson of one-time acting governor Nicholas Spencer. Waterman believes he studied in England, probably going through an apprenticeship in archidant records that he built or assisted in building a number of Northern Neck churches, unfortunately none among them now extant. Ariss is considered as primarily an architect of houses, however, and to him on internal evidence have been assigned Sara's Creek House, Gloucester County; Kenmore in Fredericksburg; several in Jefferson County, Virginia, and two in Talbot County, Maryland; the Carlyle house in Alexandria, and such famous Virginia buildings as Mount Airy and Menokin in Richmond County, Mannsfield in Spotsylvania, Mount Vernon in Fairfax, and Blandfield and Elmwood in Essex County. Buckland and he may have worked together on some of them. Adam's *Vitruvius Scoticus* (1750) pattern book is the source for the designs of this group, beginning with Mount Airy, which are more formally British Palladian than the others called Virginia colonial. At least Ariss resided in the neighborhood at the time these houses were erected, though it has not been proved that he owned Adam's book. If not, he may of course have borrowed it from a patron. In photographs and elevations striking similarities with each other and the engravings are evident. Though the impartial viewer may not accept Ariss as the designer and builder of all the structures ascribed to him, it is clear that he was a native-born architect-builder who worked in northern Virginia from Richmond County west to Berkeley County, now in West Virginia. And there are ascriptions to him of early work at Mount Vernon.¹⁰⁶

Even before Ariss appeared, Richard Taliaferro (1705-1779) of Williamsburg is known to have worked on the Palace alterations of 1748. Acting governor Thomas Lee referred to him as "our most skillful architect," perhaps meaning master builder. Presumably born in Virginia, where his surname is a familiar one, he too may have studied in Great Britain. The buildings tentatively assigned to him appear to have existing Shropshire models, and Taliaferro, like so many other Virginians, may have had connections in that county. But the similarities between the Virginia group of houses ascribed to him and the Shropshire buildings may be due to the builders' having used the same pattern books, such as William Salmon's *Palladio Londoniensis*. Waterman thinks that Taliaferro probably designed the houses of Robert ("King") Carter's children and grandchildren and probably the beautiful Christ Church, Lancaster County. The villas of Corotoman, Sabine Hall, Stratford, and a dozen others with strong English qualities may have been by Taliaferro, or perhaps the earlier ones by a now unknown Englishman who came to Virginia and under whom Taliaferro served an apprenticeship. The latter seems the more likely possibility, though Waterman believes Taliaferro worked from 1725 to 1755. Talia-

ferro's name is linked with houses from the 1725 Rosewell through the 1755 George Wythe house, which he may have built for his son-in-law.

All this leads to the possible conclusion that Taliaferro was the mentor of the third Virginia-born architect of the period, the amateur Thomas Jefferson. When one recalls that George Wythe was a close friend of his law student Jefferson and that Wythe was son-in-law of Taliaferro, he may indeed conjecture that Jefferson's first look at Palladian pattern books was in Taliaferro's library. Robert Morris' *Select Architecture*, which influenced the early Jefferson next to Leoni's *Palladio*, may have been among Taliaferro's volumes.¹⁰⁷ The whole story is not yet in on Ariss or Taliaferro or Jefferson and their relation to pre-Revolutionary dwellings in Virginia.

Though Taliaferro may have had some connection with the building of William Byrd II's Westover, it is far more likely that the versatile owner who had so many architectural volumes in his library designed it himself with the assistance of these pattern books. Brickwork and exterior and interior detail may have been done by contractors or subcontractors who were not master builders, such as the James Wilson of Williamsburg, "Carver, from London," who did also plaster and stucco work. Mantels as well as iron gates and carved stone pediments may have been imported. Though Nomini Hall and Sabine Hall possibly were designed by one of the architects named above or others not yet known, it is more probable that the Carters themselves acted as supervising architects. The builder-designer of any of the great Virginia mansions is most likely to have been the colonist who owned it. Any or all these men may have anticipated Jefferson in modifying classical designs to local materials and in accordance with the limitations of local artisans. Though there is suggestion here and there of imported artisans for building or decoration, most were probably permanent residents, whatever their origins.¹⁰⁸

Early architects in North Carolina are hard or impossible to unearth. The Cupola House may have had a local or imported professional designer or an owner with pattern books. But immediately after our period, in 1765, new Governor Tryon brought with him an English architect, John Hawks, who as soon as he arrived and looked over the situation went to Philadelphia to procure trained workmen. There is correspondence between Tryon and Hawks which indicates that changes were made as the building proceeded. Hawks may have brought a plan with him, but the designs he sent back to England (preserved in the British Museum) seem to indicate that he drew his plans after arrival. He may also have been the architect of the James Coor house in New Bern, a handsome Palladian frame building.¹⁰⁹

Charleston had before 1764 a number of "architects" of the same kind as Virginia and Maryland, really master builders, joiners, gentleman ama-

teurs, and surveyors and engineers, though more of the last group than had the Chesapeake colonies. One master builder, a Mr. Johns, set out for Charleston from London in 1698. That is all that is known of him. "Bricklayers" John Fitch and Thomas Rose, vestrymen, supervised the building in 1706 of St. Andrew's Parish Church. Among the several other men who owned architectural books and advertised themselves as draftsmen of dwellings was a Samuel Holmes.

By 1735/1736 Gabriel Bernard (d. 1737), Huguenot uncle of Rousseau as already noted, was chief engineer for the colony and rebuilt some of its fortifications and erected other new ones. That he built any dwellings is doubtful. Othniel Beale (d. 1773), native of Massachusetts, merchant and engineer, in 1744 was erecting fortifications about Charleston. Peter Henry Bruce (1692-1757), in the city in 1741 and 1745, was three-fourths German despite his Scottish name. He designed a brick magazine for Lieutenant-Governor Bull in 1744 (built 1749) and later advised on fortifications. Last but not least among the engineer-surveyor-builders was the aforementioned William Gerard De Brahm.

The architects advertising in the *South-Carolina Gazette* describe themselves, as one would expect, as surveyors, bricklayers, engineers, and master builders, and many declare that they are recently from London. On July 4, 1744, the effects of "John Wood, Architect" were advertised for sale, but what "architect" meant is as usual not clear. This seems to have been the earliest use of the term in the colony. More surely a master builder and perhaps architect in our sense was Dudley Inman, "Carpenter and Joyner, lately arrived from London," who drew designs for houses according to the modern taste in building. His personal philosophy of adapting the "conveniences and beautiful proportions of [modern] architecture" to the climate of the country is spelled out in his notice.

Samuel Cardy (d. 1774), probably an Irishman, was in South Carolina by 1752. His name appears on several indentures for the building of pews for St. Michael's, followed by the word "Architect." This church is described in the *South-Carolina Gazette* as having been built according to a plan of "Mr Gibson," but most historians believe that *Gibson* is a slip for *Gibbs* and that the reference is to his book of architecture. They are inclined to see Samuel Cardy not only as contractor-builder of the church but as its designer. We do know that his name is listed on a copperplate in the foundations of a lighthouse near the entrance to Charleston harbor, followed again by the word "architect." Nothing more of his work is known; the death notice in the *Gazette* of January 31, 1774, refers to him as "the ingenious Architect, who undertook and completed the Building of St. Michael's Church in this Town, and the Beacon or Light-House on Middle Island."

Because other South Carolina builders did their earliest known work

several years after 1763, they will not be considered extensively here, though again those known by name were probably wood carvers or brick masons or contractors and not architects. Gabriel Manigault (1758-1809), who designed or drew plans for builders to carry out, was the first native-born architect in the modern sense. His grandfather Joseph Wragg of the South Carolina Council had owned most of the great books of architecture, and Manigault may have studied them. Later he went to Rhode Island and then to Europe. After reading law at Lincoln's Inn, he returned home. He designed the impressive dwelling of his brother Joseph built about 1803, a simplified Adam building. He also built his own house, now destroyed, the Orphan House Chapel, standing until recent years, and the attractive South Carolina Society building. Other structures have been attributed to him.

German, Dutch, French, Irish, Scottish, or English, the Charleston building designer followed the British versions of the classical revival pattern books of the century. The Single House plan has parallels in the Barbadoes, but it is, after all, Palladian too, with some curious exceptions in detail. One would like to know who designed the 1714 Mulberry in the Low Country. And one should remember that from these architectural monuments and their makers emerged in the national period Robert Mills, one of the first major national architects, a man who like Jefferson continued to design in the classical tradition.¹¹⁰

William Gerard De Brahm, who worked in South Carolina and lived and worked in Georgia, seems to have been the first identifiable architect of the latter colony, though perhaps the Mr. Day who drew the "Plan" for the Orphan House at Bethesda for £2 10s. was actually the first. The building was finished in 1742, but there is no way of knowing whether Day supervised its erection. As already noted, it was an admirable functional adaptation of the Palladian style, with verandas and high ceilings suitable to the climate. The names of most of its master builders or architects, as the great and the modest houses they designed, have in this youngest of the southern colonies been practically obliterated by conditions of climate, political and economic unrest, and war.¹¹¹

THE ORNAMENTAL GARDEN

Concomitant with southern colonial architecture, in most respects part of it, was the formal or flower garden. As already noted in Chapter VII, it is difficult to separate the ornamental garden from the herb or kitchen garden, for the plants in the same plot of ground adjacent to the dwelling house might be a mixture of the edible and the decorative. Yet both kinds existed

from almost the beginning of the colonial period, and the principal functions of each are distinct enough in epistolary descriptions or horticultural dictionaries of the time.

The American colonial envisioned or understood any one of several things by the word *garden*. As literary and environmental historians have shown us, the term takes us back to the beginning of the New World adventure, when *garden* was used in juxtaposition to wilderness, when *garden* carried connotations of felicity and plenteousness and *wilderness* of barrenness and terror. As suggested in preceding chapters, the southern promotion tract and the history used *garden* to denote a land of primitive simplicity, with a promise of future pastoral profusion, and this is what most southern colonists expected or hoped America would be. Their New England contemporaries more often found America a "howling wilderness" and were determined to transform it, though their future city on a hill was by no means any sort of garden. The southern colonial's cultivated flower-and-shrub garden, essentially a European importation, does have some attributes of the pastoral-primitive, for the colonist planted side by side with his Old World importations wild flowers and shrubs and trees he found growing everywhere in his natural paradise. This American ornamental garden, which was for certain curious gentlemen also a nursery and experiment station, has as we have already seen in previous chapters its connections with European botany, medicine, and landscaping. But here it will be considered in its primary function, the living and growing artistic adjunct of the manor house or lesser dwelling.¹¹²

Before turning specifically to the European formal garden in the southern colonies, one should recall a few kindred or allied things. First, in the drawings and paintings of John White of the 1580s, it is strikingly evident that the Indians planted within their palisaded villages in geometric patterns—circles, rectangles, and squares. To be sure, edible plants were the constituents of these beds, but there were double-purpose flora such as sunflowers. It is possible that the form of the Indian garden influenced the first and later food-producing gardens at Jamestown, Kecoughtan, and St. Mary's, the latter two of which were located on former Indian-village sites. Though the contours of the red men's gardens seem not to have affected the form of the large manor-house vegetable or ornamental gardens in the South in the places where one can trace them, it is possible that they did influence, especially in the seventeenth century, the small farmers' or town dwellers' gardens, of which archaeologists now inform us there were many. Even more than in external outline, the interior design of rows and hills of grouped plants and the Indian method of fertilizing may have suggested some procedures to the colonists.¹¹³

Then one must keep in mind the botanical factor even in the formal

garden. Men like John Clayton II and John Custis in Virginia undoubtedly planted in arranged beds, but a large proportion of their plants were grown or developed or gathered—if they were American in origin—for exchange in Europe. In other words, the great gardens of Dr. Alexander Garden, William Byrd II, and a number of colonial governors and lesser “aristocracy” were to a certain extent plant nurseries. This might not be true for the garden of Stratford in Westmoreland, for the Lees were not known to be “curious gentlemen” as far as nature was concerned; but perhaps because they were eager for European exchanges, a remarkable number of plantation owners from the seventeenth century on grew American plants, ornamental or useful, to obtain seed or roots suitable for exchange. And not only great landowners and semiprofessional botanists gathered plants, but lesser farmers and urban women (as in Charleston) and ship captains and merchants developed ornamental-useful nurseries for themselves and their European correspondents.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The seventeenth-century European, perhaps especially the Englishman, saw the New World below the Susquehannah with the eyes of a gardener. George Percy in his journal describes the country around Jamestown as “ground all flowing over with fair flowers of sundry colors and kinds, as though it had been any garden or orchard in England. . . . We saw the woods full of cedar and cypress trees, with other trees which issues out sweetgums like to balsam.”¹¹⁴ Perhaps in the first utility gardens at Jamestown described optimistically by Captain John Smith some of these indigenous flowers and trees were planted. The author of the 1609 *Nova Britannia* does describe and enumerate the fruit trees and herbs both European and American which the colonists intend to plant. In William Strachey’s *True Reportory*, also 1609–1610, the Jamestown church could be decorated with “divers flowers,” probably English domestic as well as American wild flora. In 1620 Smith of Nibley wanted the garden or husbandry works of Markham and Gouge, which with the later English manuals and horticultural dictionaries were to influence planting of all kinds. In 1613 the Reverend Alexander Whitaker mentions the English products of the Henrico settlers’ gardens, which include the herbs marjoram, thyme, parsley, and hyssop, usually later grown in beds with shrubs or flowers.¹¹⁵

There is somewhat more direct evidence of ornamental planting in the first generation of Virginians. Wealthy Jamestown merchant Abraham Persey in his 1632 will directed that he be buried in the garden surrounding his new “framed” house. That garden was hardly a vegetable patch. In 1634 George Menifie (Menifee) had in his large garden at Littletown

near Jamestown, according to a visitor, "fruits of Holland and Roses of Provence." There is some evidence of a formal garden in the 1636-1640 period at the Adam Thoroughgood house. It would seem that the "gardens" about the Kemp and Sherwood houses in the little capital probably included more or less formal flower beds. Edward Digges' fine establishment almost surely included ornamental gardens. Alice B. Lockwood lists some half-dozen seventeenth-century manor-houses she has reason to believe had ornamental gardens, but she overlooked or did not know some Northern Neck sites, or Sweet Hall in King William, or Governor Berkeley's Green Spring.¹¹⁶

The excavations at Green Spring and Latrobe's watercolor show the formal gardens and terrace enclosed by curved garden walls. Though the garden surviving at the end of the eighteenth century may not have been as it was in Sir William Berkeley's time, it probably was not greatly changed. The greenhouse, a useful adjunct to both ornamental and vegetable gardens, seems to be eighteenth-century but may have had a predecessor in the governor's lifetime. As the house in architecture was belated Tudor, the early flower garden must have been late Tudor or early Jacobean. A recent work on the flowers of colonial Williamsburg gives Berkeley credit for developing the first great gardens in Virginia, including his fifteen hundred fruit trees, a hothouse for oranges, and extensive rose gardens on a terraced lawn.¹¹⁷

But the classic reminder of the Virginia seventeenth-century garden is the question Robert Beverley addresses to his reader in his 1705 *History*. Besides his own cultivated beds, he is referring to those of his father-in-law, William Byrd I, and there is no mistaking the fact that the latter's garden was just what most colonial southerners of taste and curiosity possessed, a combination of Old World designs and New World flora and fauna:

Have you pleasure in a Garden? All things thrive in it, most surprisingly; you can't walk by a Bed of Flowers, but besides the entertainment of their Beauty, your Eyes will be saluted with the charming colours of the Humming Bird, which revels among the Flowers, and licks off the Dew and Honey from their tender Leaves, on which it only feeds. Its size is not half so large as an *English* Wren, and its colour is a glorious shining mixture of Scarlet, Green, and Gold. Colonel *Byrd*, in his Garden, which is the finest in that Country, has a Summer-House set round with the *Indian* Honey-Suckle, which all the Summer is continually full of sweet Flavors.¹¹⁸

One may be sure that the elder Byrd was advised by his friend, the botanist John Banister, in designing this garden, and that there were English as well as American flowers and shrubs in it. It is clearly a formal garden, designed for retirement and recreation as were its contemporaries in the mother country.

Maryland's early gardens must have been much like Virginia's. Henry C. Forman has found remains of the geometrical patterns formed in them and has photographed some and reconstructed others. Outlines of the knot patterns (square or oblong beds later called parterres in amplified form) he has discovered, and he has reconstructed entire elaborate gardens, including "falls" (terraces), walks, fences, orangeries, and gazebos, or summer houses. The seventeenth-century knot if open was usually bordered and designed in box or rosemary with colored earths in the open spaces; if closed, the spaces were filled with flowers. Occasionally there were crooked knots, as in the tremendous and complex Wye House garden (c. 1660). Forman's reconstruction on paper shows the symmetrical axes and geometric details of this greatest of seventeenth-century Maryland gardens. The rectangle is the dominant design for flower and herb and vegetable knots, which exist side by side with graveled walks between. There are other large designs of circles and semicircles, ha-has and brick walls, some brick paving, and raised terraces and moats.

Variations of these features, including a series of falls or terraces and geometric box patterns within knots, he has found throughout Maryland. The celebrated Rose Croft at St. Mary's still survives in its garden of great boxwood between the house and the river, and there are records of the earlier Smith's Town House garden and orchard also in St. Mary's. The boxwood design of Fairview in Talbot is considered the most beautiful garden of the kind in this country. Porke Hall on the St. Mary's River had a brick-walled garden adjacent to the manor-house. Unlike Hedrick, Forman believes that hundreds of small gardens existed on modest estates, especially in the next century, and that St. Mary's, for example, was in the beginning planned as a city of row houses with a garden behind each house. In the provincial records he has discovered here and there dozens of evidences of gardens beside small dwellings.¹¹⁹

There is not a great deal on Carolina gardens of the seventeenth century. But as early as 1682 after remarking that as yet because of the problems of settling their plantations the people have not had time to cultivate their gardens, Thomas Ashe in his *Carolina*, goes on to say that kitchen vegetables are now being grown and that "Their Gardens also begin to be beautified and adorned with such Herbs and Flowers which to the Smell or Eye are pleasing and agreeable, viz. The Rose, Tulip, Carnation and Lilly, etc."¹²⁰ And one may be sure that the few ambitious manor houses before 1700 mentioned above, as Medway and Middleburg, had their acres of household plants such as they now have in restored form.

Charleston, founded in 1670, shows in a 1672/1673 map the Lords Proprietors' gardens in their "plantation" in old Charles Town. One may

be sure individual planters soon had their own cultivated plots. Ten years later the city was moved to the present site and gardens were begun again. The Charleston Museum has assembled an interesting collection of drawings of old city gardens now totally obliterated. Though most are of eighteenth century origin and show that rigid symmetry was the *sine qua non* of that period, some perhaps go back to the first twenty years of the settlement. A few are quite intricate and elaborate, all probably from the eighteenth century. But they collectively give evidence that in old Charleston, as in rural areas of the Carolinas and the Chesapeake country, the great houses were not the only ones to have ornamental gardens. The South Carolinian especially to this day shows a great interest in cultivating his garden of flowers and shrubs and in designing its contours.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century in the southern colonies was the first great age of flowers and box on this continent, paralleling the age in great European gardens. Box and to a lesser extent yew flourished from Maryland through South Carolina. In Chesapeake gardens dogwood and redbud and other native trees and flowers came from the forests to mingle with Holland tulips and English roses, and in South Carolina oriental and West Indian shrubs and flowers, camellias and azaleas and citrus trees were mixed with the European plants which could thrive in the heat.

In Williamsburg at the Governor's Palace was the earliest of the great eighteenth-century gardens of the South. Designed or laid out by Governor Spotswood, it is essentially an English garden, as its authenticated restored form demonstrates. It is also a formal garden, laid out in those geometrical figures Spotswood used so successfully in the public buildings he designed. And it is really a series of gardens, from the forecourt with four oval planting beds, stone walks, curved enclosing walls, and entrance gate (all clearly indicated on the Bodleian Plate) to the rear with a parterre of lozenge-shaped beds edged with box and the fishpond and falling gardens. Spotswood cut vistas from the garden through John Custis' woodland, as the latter complained, but this part of the baroque design has not been restored, for the town even before the end of the colonial period was too grown up to admit of this new-fangled (to Custis) arrangement.

Hugh Jones in his *Present State of Virginia* (1724) calls the fishpond "a fine Canal," and he comments on the orchards and walks. The grounds were bordered in part by European lindens, probably the first in this country. A kitchen garden, the "falling garden," or terraces elaborately graded in the water garden (the only one known north of the two Middleton

gardens in South Carolina), a mount, arbors, topiary work, pillars of yaupon holly, marl paths, embroidery or flower parterres, and a maze of American holly are features which are characteristic of English gardens except that native American shrubs or trees have been used in greater proportion than European. Down to and including the bowling green all this is beautifully in keeping with the Palace as Spotswood improved it. And it is physically linked to the mansion by handsome brick walls of considerable height and lower walls surmounted by paled fences or wooden balustrades.¹²¹

The second most famous garden of eighteenth-century Williamsburg survives only in one towering yew, perhaps originally a trimmed and shaped border ornament of the gardens and nurseries of John Custis, who like Beverley was a brother-in-law of William Byrd II. Custis' letters to Collinson and others tell us much of what he grew in his garden, from native wildflowers and trees to European and oriental flowers and shrubs. Apparently he began his gardening in 1717 and kept it up to the end of his life in 1749. The site of his extensive garden was partially excavated as recently as 1964 and 1968, archaeological investigations which confirm much of what is known of it through Custis' correspondence. Peach seed, fragments of flower pots, spade blades, and other remains confirm what he wrote about his garden, which included more than four acres on Duke of Gloucester and Francis streets. He built a brick house on Francis Street in the midst of his developing garden, using yew and holly and cedar for both decoration and boundary lines. He had herb and kitchen gardens besides his ornamentals. A gentleman who had his portrait painted with a book on the tulip in his hand probably was as much interested in parterres filled with this and other flowers as in the nursery-exchange side of gardening, for he was a son of the eighteenth century who had seen British gardens for himself.¹²²

Gardens have been reconstructed in Williamsburg along the lines of excavated brick walls and surviving plants such as box. Behind the George Wythe house is a green garden of grass and box, though there are flower beds and herb beds, with fig and papaw trees. The Brush-Everard house nearby still has some ancient dwarf boxwood in the form of tall, twisted trees. Everard had a small pond and an axial walk along each side of which the box was planted. The Ludwell-Paradise and Benjamin Waller houses are among others which have more modest but handsome gardens in formal patterns. Recent archaeological and documentary investigation has revealed much of simpler gardens and flower beds on smaller properties of artisans and tavern keepers. Garden tools and bell glasses turn up in excavations and in documents for all sorts of people. It is no wonder that Nicholas Cresswell in 1777 thought that some of the gardens here were

"laid out with the greatest taste" of any in America. The same visitor's comment that the Yorktown gardens were "now almost ruined by disorderly soldiers" may explain the disappearance of the Williamsburg gardens, for the little capital suffered even more from such men from 1776 through 1865.¹²³

Mary Newton Stanard, though somewhat hazy and unreliable about dates and details, knew as much about all features of life in colonial Virginia as anyone of her time. She writes of the driveway from porch to gate around each side of a circular or oval plot planted in shrubs, trees, and flowers in front of every pre-Revolutionary farmhouse. She names dozens of manor houses which had eighteenth-century formal gardens containing terraces and parterres, box-lined walks or box mazes, and large patterned areas devoted to herbs and flowers. U.P. Hedrick, at the same time he laments not finding ornamental gardens in colonial Virginia middle-class homes, admits that there were at least a hundred formal gardens outside Williamsburg in the colony before 1800, some of which he thinks may have been finer than any within the capital. He is quite right in thinking that the great families and great houses all had elaborate gardens of a modified English variety, and he adds the topiary forms to Mrs. Stanard's summary of their features.¹²⁴

Only a few of the better-known gardens and their creators can be here noted. Perhaps first should be considered William Byrd II, for his landscaping of Westover connects the seventeenth-century gardens of his father and Robert Beverley with those of the period after 1725. Even as a London gallant writing to his mistress "Cleora" in 1719, he used an elaborate conceit of arrangements in gardens throughout the epistle, concluding with the flourish or request, "I beg I may always write to you in the stile of a Gardener."¹²⁵ His extant diaries refer frequently to walking in his Virginia garden, and in 1712 he mentions that Mark Catesby had helped him in designing it. Heir to the garden Beverley describes, Byrd was always busy improving it, as John Bartram wrote to Collinson in 1738. The Philadelphia naturalist noted its "new gates, gravel walks, hedges and cedars finely twined, and a little greenhouse with two or three orange trees" bearing fruit. Collinson in London had written Bartram that he heard that Colonel Byrd had the finest garden in Virginia. Years after Byrd's death, the Marquis de Chastellux in 1782 visited at Westover and described the whole complex at length in his journal. The French nobleman was never tired of watching the hummingbirds sipping from the honeysuckle which covered the walls of the garden. The following year a young relative from Philadelphia, Thomas Lee Shippen, then a law student in Williamsburg, described the whole place to his parents in a long letter accompanied by a plat of the mansion and its environs. This "favored seat of Grace and

Beauty" is described room by room and building by building, but on the garden, which is very large and exceedingly beautiful, he is vague.

The walled garden to one side of the mansion is the location of the tomb of William Byrd II. One half of it is planted now, as probably in the 1730s, in box-edged parterres of flowers and shrubs, the other half in fruits and vegetables. It is an appropriate resting place for this son of the Enlightenment, part of the pastoral setting he half-defensively liked to describe to his noble friends in London, "A Library, a Garden, a Grove, and a Purling Stream are the Innocent Scenes that divert our Leizure."¹²⁶

Near Westover is Brandon, the grounds of which followed similar eighteenth-century patterns. Older Tuckahoe as recently as 1898 showed vestiges of an elaborate box garden and a charming parterre garden, the flowers including daffodils probably planted or set out before the end of the seventeenth century. Shirley, like Brandon a neighbor of Westover, has ancient box and flowers in beds.

In northern Virginia are the homes of three famous men who loved gardens. At Mount Vernon have recently been restored the large and formal gardens of George Washington's time, probably designed or approved by this owner himself, who owned many of the books on the subject. There are records of planting and grafting and beds and bell glasses from the colonial period to the 1780s and 1790s.

Nearby Gunston Hall, the first Buckland mansion and the home of George Mason, has had its early garden recently restored, the parterres being particularly fine. Originally there were an adjacent deer park, extensive tree plantings, and boxwood hedges. Down the Potomac in Westmoreland the Lees' Stratford Hall has in the past forty years been restored to full plantation status. Excavations uncovered the garden terraces, curving walls, and a huge geometrical pattern for gardens at the rear of the mansion, with a grassy forecourt or U-shaped lawn flanked by brick dependencies. And the same Thomas Shippen who visited Westover in 1783 found at this home of his closer kin elaborate gardens and orangeries as well as all the rest just mentioned. As at the Governor's Palace and Mount Vernon, there is a vista, in this case through the forests to the Potomac.

In the Northern Neck area Mount Airy has gardens developed within a square, a monumental central plan, and a bowling green. The square was divided into five levels. The sections nearest to the house to the right and left were the formal parterres for flowers. There were an orangery, a vista, and holly and yew on forecourt and terrace, and great old tulip poplars guarding the house. Its neighbor Sabine Hall has on the river side six terraces with grass ramps connecting them. Grass plots, terraces, flower beds, English broadnut and hickory trees, fruit and vegetable areas, all together give an effect strikingly like the frontispiece of Philip Miller's first edition

of *Gardener's Dictionary*. The whole is especially interesting as one of the very few original gardens left in Virginia.¹²⁷

One other Virginia garden must be mentioned, though it survives only in the descriptions in Fithian's diary. This was at Nomini Hall in Westmoreland on an inlet of the Potomac. Fithian's descriptions are of 1773-1774, but the gardens date back into an earlier period. The tutor records frequent walks along its paths with the family, the advent of the first blossoms in March, the delightful views, the two full-time Negro gardeners, the fruits and the flowers. With Mrs. Carter he would stroll there even in December, as she propped up small plants, dug around others, and above all talked of horticultural problems. The young northern Presbyterian was obviously impressed by the garden's part in the daily life of the planter and his whole family.¹²⁸

In the other Chesapeake colony in the eighteenth century, gardens were much as they were in Virginia, though Forman believes he has found vestiges of more smaller or middle-class gardens than has any investigator in Virginia. Annapolis, like Williamsburg, had some handsome ornamental gardens, though there was none to compare with the Governor's Palace's or the conjectural layout of John Custis'. City or country, the Maryland garden had the same balanced axis and terrace, the kitchen and herb and flower beds side by side, and the boxwood edgings and parterres.

Most of the Annapolis formal gardens have disappeared. In 1797 the Strawberry Hill garden was considered the finest in the city and may have been there for several decades earlier. The Governor's House, or Edmund Jennings' mansion, had a small garden with a central walk and a green mount beside the Severn River. In the 1750s Jennings employed there for three years an "extraordinary good Gardener." The great mansions before and by Buckland surely had ornamental gardens of distinction, for the estates had garden entrances and garden views.

There appear to be more large formal gardens surviving, reconstructed, or traceable outside Annapolis than within the ancient capital. Little Rousby Hall in Calvert County had two "falles" or grass terraces immediately in front of it. Quinn or Sweet Air has a garden on the south side with three 150-foot terraces, a large kitchen garden, and three apple orchards. Ratcliffe Manor of mid-century has a boxwood allée extending down three terraces, with large boxwood loops near the mansion. A painting of Holly Hill probably of the early eighteenth century shows as forecourt a knot garden in four squares separated by walks and bounded by pale fences. Doughregan Manor, the great Carroll estate, has an elaborate garden plan.

A number of letters and other documents give information about early

Maryland gardens. Charles Carroll the barrister, for example, ordered books on gardening and fruit trees for planting at his country seat. John Adams describes the terraces at Mount Clare in Baltimore as he saw them in 1777. William Eddis in 1769 commented on the well-stocked Annapolis gardens. But what is known principally about early Maryland gardens is that they were characteristic American versions of the British gardens of their time.¹²⁹

Though there were undoubtedly gardens at Edenton and New Bern and other North Carolina towns and on country estates, no remarkable example seems to have survived. At Orton, where an early mansion has been completely transformed into a classic or Greek Revival structure, there were and are elaborate gardens, but there seems to be no proof that the present flower beds and walks follow the lines of an eighteenth-century predecessor. Sauthier's town plans mentioned above occasionally indicate the presence of flower gardens, though modern art critics are skeptical as to the accuracy of their design. His plats also show fences and hedges.¹³⁰

South Carolina, with many more colonial country houses still standing and the sites of others known, and with the famous city houses of Charleston, has a great number of beautiful gardens, some 250 years old and some modern though along eighteenth-century lines. Like the Chesapeake Bay people, the builders of these houses owned the garden and architectural books published in Great Britain, though because of their climate and soil and the proximity of the West Indies some of the designs they created were quite unorthodox, and the plants and trees that filled their grounds were much less English than the growing things of Virginia and Maryland.

Within the city of Charleston there were already gardens when the eighteenth century began. In various ways historians and landscape gardeners have managed to recreate the colonial gardens. There is a very interesting plat of the geometrically symmetrical early garden of the Colonel William Rhett house (c. 1720), a study in ovals and semicircles and rectangles, in flowers and shrubs and trees. On the Rhett site now stands a modern garden. Once at 30 Anson Street was an elaborate English arrangement of twenty-one flower beds, each representing a Linnaean classification, the list of plants including many indigenously American. At 37 Hasell Street is a long, narrow garden of gravel walks in curves and circles and shrub-edged flower beds of many shapes fitted into proportioned patterns. A plan of the eighteenth-century Miles Brewton house garden indicates its size and complexity, and some old plants and marble seats still remain.

Sculpture, varied brick walls, paving of several varieties in the walks, iron gates, Palladian doorways, and sundials occur in many places. All resemble those illustrated in horticultural manuals and dictionaries. Despite boxwood and roses, many of the shrubs and trees and blossoms are quite un-English. Pittosporum, various kinds of ligustrum, Chinese magnolias, and scores of other plants from southern Europe, the Orient, and the West Indies thrive there as they do not in the Chesapeake country. Alongside them are the once-wild flowers and trees from the swamps and cypress groves of the colony. The azalea and camellia were brought in during the first half of the century, and their direct descendants are still to be found in both city and rural estates.

Owners then and later took delight in planting and watering and fertilizing, but there were also professional landscape gardeners in Charleston. From 1734 the *South-Carolina Gazette* carried advertisements of such men, some of whom had their own nurseries and a few of whom were indentured servants. In 1752 John Barnes advertised his services as "Garden-Architect"; in 1757, George Newman as "late gardener to . . . Henry Middleton"; in 1763, John Watson as "Gardener from London"; and there were several others before the Revolution. Some slaves also were trained horticulturists.

Besides the botanical gardeners mentioned earlier, prominent citizens such as Robert Pringle, Henry Laurens, and Eliza Lucas Pinckney cultivated their gardens and wrote about them. Eliza Pinckney delighted in her own and others' designs in both city and country, Laurens and his wife imported trees and plants and roots and seeds for their several-acre plot of ornamentals and herbs in the suburb of Ansonborough and had gardener John Watson to help them, and Pringle ordered black gravel for walks and boxwood from England or the middle colonies and sent his own oranges as presents or as merchandise.¹³¹

But gardens outside Charleston in the country, surviving or reconstructed or traced from the eighteenth century, are better known today than any within the city, and rightly so. Though not so extensive or elaborate as slightly later English gardens, several of them are or were the most beautiful as well as ambitious in the America of the century. Even more than the city gardens, they contain a variety of exotics and elaborate topographical features then fashionable in Europe. A nineteenth-century list of what were considered the most distinguished colonial gardens of the state numbers eighteen, some after 1763 and some now totally obliterated.

The Elms on Goose Creek, original seat of the Izard family in America, had a garden called in 1795 by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt one of the finest he had seen in America. The house (1718) and garden

are today a total ruin, albeit a beautiful one. Perhaps the most famous of the vanished landscapes is that of Crowfield, home of William Middleton on Goose Creek. It was described in rhapsodic detail by Eliza Lucas Pinckney in the 1740s in one of the epigraphs for this chapter. Ruin it is, but its immense lagoons and walls, its terraces and mount and even vestiges of paths and walks have defied time. It may have been the most extensive and elaborate garden in America. The mile-long avenue, the spacious basin or canal or lake and greensward before the house, the bowling green, the fishponds and live oaks and double rows of magnolias, the isle in the lake, the symmetrical patterns of flowers and shrub beds indicate what could be created by an imaginative integrating of classical patterns and topography and native and imported plants. There had to have been as much cerebration in the creation of Crowfield as in the composition of the greatest of the Puritan New England sermons.

Middleton Place, domicile of Henry, brother of William Middleton, survives as a garden but not as a mansion (except for one flanking dependency). This is a far more spectacular site than Crowfield, and Henry employed professional gardener George Newman to assist in laying out his grounds. The place was looted and burned by Federal troops in 1865, but the site (and garden) has remained in the family since it was originally presented to a Middleton and hewn out of the forest. It remains today what has been called the premier garden of the thirteen colonies. It too is a triumphant reconciliation of geometrical patterns and Low Country terrain, with wheels, squares, rectangles, mounts, and drives, oriented perfectly with the buildings on the banks of a river, living and blooming with the descendants of the plants its creator imported, visited by thousands each year. Its principal modern scenic rival, Magnolia Gardens, is not colonial, though its site has been in the Drayton family since about 1700.

Drayton Hall, already discussed in its architectural features, once had a garden which the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt preferred to that of Middleton Place. Saved from Sherman's army by a clever ruse of its owner, the house stands, but its ornamental grounds remain in only barely discernible earthworks. The great trees and clumps of shrubbery the French nobleman thought so handsome have gone, though a few local historians sometimes declare that the present garden was laid out by an English professional before the Revolution. Its present beauty lies principally in the great live oaks and wild azaleas and yellow jasmine, gray moss and silent pines, which make it Nature's own handiwork.

One has only to visit the Low Country in the early spring to find out how beautiful these places are, and how many of them here unmen-

tioned there are to see. Along with the Chesapeake manor houses, the South Carolina gardens remain one of the major artistic creations of the southern colonial.¹³²

Savannah was in plan a city of gardens. Before and behind each residence was room for planting, and the residences faced on open squares which were part of their front gardens. No eighteenth-century gardens survive in the city, but indications are that they were surrounded by brick and tabby walls and were planted in flowering shrubs, figs, citrus trees, and herbs. Usually arbors of roses or grapes connected the residence with an outbuilding.

Other Georgia towns such as Augusta, though their plans were roughly those of Savannah, had room for complete plantation units within their urban limits. The group of buildings offered for sale (noted above) contained "a very good Garden contiguous to the house of about an acre of ground, and under a good clapboarded pailing" as well as an orchard. This garden was certainly a combination vegetable-herb-fruit-flower plot. In 1784 General Nathanael Greene described Mulberry Grove plantation and all its grounds and buildings, including the ruins of a fine garden in which there was still a variety of shrubs and flowers. The Whitefield Orphan House shows in its plan "the Great Gate [into]" but nothing of the garden itself, which was probably primarily a food-producing arrangement. Habersham described it, however, as very beautiful, and Kimber called it one of the very best he had seen in America.

The great garden of colonial Georgia was the Trustees', described in some detail in the preceding chapter. It was a ten-acre combination of herb and vegetable garden and agricultural experimental nursery, but laid out in rectangles or squares with crosswalks and ornamental as well as fruit-bearing trees. It was also a city park. Francis Moore, who saw it in 1735 and published the account of his travels in 1744, describes it in great detail. He emphasizes the American trees and shrubs, such as the sassafras, American ash, and laurel tulip, and the West Indian plants the Trustees hoped would thrive in the new colony.

Along the coast were other old gardens. Bonaventure, formally the Tattall Estate, built about 1762, had a formal English garden with parterres and box edging. The Wormsloe original gardens, which disappeared long ago, were touched upon by traveler Edward Kimber. On St. Catherine's Island and St. Simon's Island were residences with contiguous gardens, ornamental in part, now almost completely disappeared. Among those on St. Catherine's were the estates owned by the Bosomworths and then by Button Gwinnett, a Signer of the Declaration.

It should be noted that the English formal garden persisted in Georgia

deep into the nineteenth century, usually as an accompaniment of the beautiful Greek Revival mansions built in the two or three generations after the Revolution. It is thus not quite of the early garden and architecture books tradition, but rather of the later Adam and subsequent modifications of neoclassic styles. Of the Trustees' era or the royal little remains.¹³³

Southern colonial gardeners used all the manuals and pattern books published in Great Britain, and some French ones, in making their own designs. As noted earlier, a few of them wrote their own books, among them Martha (Mrs. George) Logan of South Carolina, John Randolph, Jr., of Virginia, and somewhat later Marylander John Beale Bordley. All these colonial manuals consider the vegetables and herbs along with the flowers and shrubs, for in the eighteenth-century sense the ornamental was as useful as the life-sustaining. And one should recall that the horticultural bible, Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary*, is full of references to southern colonial botanical gardeners and the plants they discovered and brought before the world. Thomas Jefferson, horticulturist and landscape engineer, possessed and used almost all the eighteenth-century manuals and experimented a great deal on his own, as his now-published *Garden Book* shows.

THE GRAPHIC ARTS: PAINTING, DRAWING, DECORATION

The southern colonial's interest in the product of pen and brush and pencil was considerable, yet he never displays in the graphic arts the originality or creativity he does in architecture or gardening. As patron of painters and collector of prints, however, he does show another side of his aesthetic character well worth noting. There is no history of southern painting, colonial or otherwise, for the whole area or for a single colony, with the possible exception of South Carolina, and the making of prints did not begin below the Susquehannah until after the period under study. Most of the colonial inventories indicating what and how many pictures anyone possessed have not yet been printed, but scattered here and there in print and in easily accessible manuscript are the materials for a brief assessment of this facet of the colonial mind.

Oil portraits appear to have survived much better than other paintings and prints for fairly obvious reasons. Most of the personal likenesses were limned for the sitter or his family as interior decoration and as tribal record. So many have survived that one is inclined at first glance to consider the period before 1764 solely an age of portraits. At second glance the interested investigator will find that this is not quite the case. In oil there are landscapes, city views, religious scenes, and mythology,

many of them painted in the colonies and others painted to order in London. In the eighteenth century especially, prints became fashionable on both sides of the Atlantic. Southern inventories indicate that the colonist generally collected those on popular subjects, or by popular painter-engravers such as Hogarth, but both inventories and letters indicate that the American resident found graphic representation of matters related to his other life-interests, as hunting and horse racing or race horses, particularly appealing. The 520 prints in the 1776 estate of Nicholas Flood of Richmond County in Virginia must have included many more subjects—and Flood was not a dealer.

Many problems regarding the artists who immortalized certain colonial visages are unsolved, whether the portraits were done in Europe before emigration, in England on a visit home, or in the colonies. Most of the pictures are unsigned, and some have signatures which are suspect. Then there is the problem of identifying the subject and the dating: numbers of pictures belonging to families were, in the nineteenth century especially, stepped back in time one or two or three generations by the descendants of the subjects. Most portraits identified as seventeenth century, including one said to be of Sir William Berkeley, simply could not be so because of the eighteenth-century costumes the subjects are wearing. Dozens are in this category. Most of the colonial portraits assigned to the great British painters Lely, Kneller, Ramsay, Gainsborough, and Reynolds are very probably by some of their imitators, perhaps their former pupil-apprentices. Yet it is clear from his letters home that a South Carolina Manigault was indeed painted by Allan Ramsay, and it is probable that the young William Byrd II was painted by Kneller in 1702. Undoubtedly there were colonists visiting Great Britain who could afford financially one of the fashionable and great painters, and some of these visitors probably sat for the best artists of their day. But recent critics who have examined a great number of the paintings ascribed to these artists have been highly skeptical of the alleged origin.

Of the many portraits known to have been painted in the colonies a few have the authenticated signatures of the artists. Others are confidently assigned by the best critics to certain of the better-known itinerant painters, but scores more are ascribed on exceedingly dubious grounds to these known painters, for it is generally acknowledged that there were in the Chesapeake Bay area and in South Carolina limners whose names have not yet come to light.

Two aspects of the New World are favorite subjects in the graphic arts. There are views or perspectives of towns and manor houses, in oil, water-color, and drawings, and maps which with their embellishments rise to the level of art sometimes accompany the views. And then there are the depic-

tions of the red man, from the John White paintings and drawings of individuals and modes of life in the 1580s to paintings of Indian chiefs at treaty conferences in America or visiting in London at the end of the colonial period in the 1760s. Although these pictures are stylized according to various European traditions, they also represent the painters' fascination with these particular primitive people, a fascination increasing into an American artistic tradition in the nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, as southern wealth increased, colonial ladies and gentlemen became sophisticated enough to be able to judge the merits of several kinds of painting and drawing for themselves. From the 1720s and 1730s the gazettes contain advertisements of teachers of the graphic arts recently arrived from Europe. The Manigault who was among other things a painter surely had his instruction in Europe, as did South Carolina Secretary Alexander Gordon. During their stays in London merchants or planters such as William Byrd II had private lessons from competent artists. Books on painting and drawing appear in dozens of library inventories, though the colonial gazettes were publishing little on the art of painting.

PAINTING BEFORE 1700

A recent picture catalog of South Carolina art 1670-1970 reproduces as cover and frontispiece a watercolor by Jacques LeMoyne of a meeting of French and Indians in 1564 at the column in North Florida set up by Ribaut two years earlier. Since present-day Port Royal, South Carolina, was the site of the first colony resulting from this expedition, this one surviving painting of the many this artist made of Indian life and phases of the expedition is a fitting symbol of the first major European contact with what became the southern English colonies. Other LeMoyne paintings were the bases of some of deBry's engravings. They show among other things being built in the later South Carolina the familiar triangular fort with bastions such as was later constructed in the Chesapeake colonies. After the expeditions LeMoyne lived in London and perfected his paintings there from his notes and sketches. The LeMoyne paintings and engravings were known to John White, whose conception of the red man's appearance may have been influenced by them. Then LeMoyne, White, and deBry coalesce as the first European artists to depict the aborigines and the first settlers, as well as the topography, fauna, and flora of the southern colonies of the northern hemisphere of the New World. The humans are Europeanized by all three of them, and even the hills and rivers suggest French or English landscapes, though the fruits and flowers are consciously American.¹³⁴

From Jamestown to the Founding of Charleston

Almost half a century ago Alexander Weddell assembled an exhibition and then a handsome volume of *Virginia Historical Portraiture*. Seventeenth-century Virginia is in a sense well represented, for famous portraits of James I, Prince Henry, noblemen such as the Earls of Salisbury, Pembroke, and Southampton, and Nicholas Ferrar are reproduced—all associated with the founding of the Jamestown colony. Of those who actually appeared on the American scene there are likenesses of George Percy, Sir Thomas Gates, and Lord de la Warr among those of the Virginia Company period. John Smith is represented by the engraving of that hero in his thirty-seventh year by Simon van de Passe. Instead of the Pocahontas of the engraving also by van de Passe appears the oil painting which is almost surely a late eighteenth-century work based on the engraving. Weddell made no attempt to verify any of these or authenticate them as to actual artist. One can add to his list of portraits of those who had some part in the first settlement the two of George Sandys by Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen (1593–1664?), who as court painter had probably also done Sir Thomas Gates and Prince Henry. No one of these could have been done in North America. One may also add to Weddell's group of notables the probably American-originated scenes depicting Pocahontas and other Indians in de Bry's *America*.

Weddell also includes as representative of mid-century and later the alleged portraits of Sir William Berkeley and his wife. Recent critics point out that neither of these can represent this pair, for the costumes are unmistakably eighteenth-century. Weddell's John Page the Immigrant (1627–1692), now at the College of William and Mary, is attributed to Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), like Janssen a Dutch artist who prospered in England. In this case the costume may fit the period, but the portraits of Richard Lee I and his wife seem in costumes of a later age.

Perhaps the most intriguing group of English Commonwealth Period portraits in Virginia are those of the Moseley family of Lower Norfolk, who came to the colony via Holland from Staffordshire. Mary N. Stanard counted thirty-two family pictures, including some later ones done in this country, long kept together and said to represent every generation of the family from William Moseley II to the early nineteenth century. The fine William Moseley II portrait which experts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art attribute to Cornelius Janssen is certainly in the Janssen manner, coloring, and costuming. It reminds one of George Sandys' two likenesses by this painter. This picture and some other family portraits the Moseleys brought with them to Virginia, sometimes counted as twenty-two, may have been painted after Janssen in his later years had returned

to Holland. Four of the original imported collection are said to have been by Van Dyke.¹³⁵ It is significant that the purchaser of most of the Moseley collection (prior to 1876), a Mrs. Bloomfield Moore of Philadelphia, wrote to Kate Mason Rowland that in England she had visited Sir Oswald Moseley of Rolleston, Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, and had found there the full-lengths of the portraits she had bought, hers being only half-lengths. The Moseleys of the period of Charles I were all Janssens, she averred. All Mrs. Moore's pictures have entirely disappeared. Four of the Virginia portraits were photographed by Heustis P. Cook of Richmond, and these are reproduced in Charles K. Bolton's *The Founders*. One likeness, allegedly of Susanna Moseley, shows a costume of a generation earlier than the others. The significance of all this is that it represents a procedure adopted by other of the more affluent colonists, William Fitzhugh probably being a second example: before or after they settled in America, they had skillful copyists make replicas of portraits which probably belonged to some elder branch of the family who were not going to emigrate. Cutting the size of full-length likenesses would be the most natural thing in the world. At any rate, here seems evidence that the work of a renowned seventeenth-century painter, or good copies of his work, did reach a southern colony and remained on family walls for more than two centuries.¹³⁶

One suspects that the first Richard Lee, the first Edward Digges, the Ludwells, Sir Thomas Lunsford, the Corbins, and other seventeenth-century Virginians brought copies or originals of family portraits with them. Maryland families must have done the same thing, though citing a surviving example is difficult.

It is doubtful that there was any painting being done in the second Chesapeake colony before 1670 any more than in Virginia. Several of the Calverts were painted in Great Britain by such noted painters as Mytens and probably Kneller. The only other known portraits of Marylanders of the period are those of George Alsop, appearing in its engraved form as frontispiece of his book, and Augustine Herrman, the cartographer and lord of Bohemia Manor, and his wife. A portrait of Herrman appears on his 1673 map of Virginia and Maryland, and the portraits of the two Herrmans now in the Maryland Historical Society are late eighteenth-century copies of originals lost in a fire. It has been suggested, on little evidence, that the engraved likenesses of both Alsop and Herrman were from paintings done by the latter.¹³⁷

From 1670 to 1700

A number of Chesapeake colonials of the last three decades of the seventeenth century have in the past been said to be represented in certain por-

traits now in Virginia and Maryland. Most of these pictures have more recently been assigned to the next century and their subjects tentatively identified as descendants of the pre-1700 colonists. This holds for certain Lee and Carter and Hill portraits, among others. There are identifiable pictures of colonial governors such as the Maryland later Calverts and Lords Culpeper and Effingham, in each case surely done in Great Britain. On the other hand, there exist a few entirely unidentified and undated portraits which from costume and technique seem to belong in this period.

Then there are pictures identified as to subject and not painter. The costume of Robert Bolling the Immigrant (1646-1709) seems to fit the later seventeenth century, for example, and the subject does not look to be even fifty years of age at the time of the sitting. This Bolling arrived in America from London at age fourteen. Whether the portrait was made while he visited in England is not known.¹³⁸

Inventories and sometimes surviving examples indicate that by this period ancestral portraits looked down from the walls of the first great planters such as Thomas Ludlow, Joseph Croshaw, and William Fitzhugh and the Edward Digges already mentioned. Philip A. Bruce agrees that almost all these portraits were probably copies of ancestral pictures brought with the colonists from England. Edward Digges, for example, may have brought his when he first arrived or picked them up on one of his visits to Great Britain. Of the Fitzhugh pictures we know more, though it is difficult to account for all of them or to identify each of them in full. These latter include portraits offering the suggestion that there was at least one painter in the Chesapeake country in the 1690s.

J. Hall Pleasants, who knew a great deal about early art in both Chesapeake colonies, stated flatly as recently as 1952 that there exist in Virginia a number of unsigned portraits "certainly painted" in the colony between 1690 and 1710 which have not been identified, and that they form definite stylistic groups.¹³⁹ One collection of such unsigned pictures belonged to the Fitzhugh family, though the now-known portraits are a mixture of copies and originals signed by the John Hesselius to be discussed more fully later on. One of the Hesselius signed copies is of Henry the father of immigrant William Fitzhugh, the original having been painted about 1634. Hesselius may have made a copy of a copy. Then there is Hesselius' 1751 signed copy of a portrait of the immigrant at age forty-six, which would indicate the original was painted in the colony about 1697/1698. Two known copies by Hesselius made in the 1750s of Captain Henry Fitzhugh (1687-1758), second son of the immigrant, one of which is probably an original done by Hesselius for the subject is an older man, and the other a copy by the same artist. Mr. Richard K. Doud, who has admirably discussed these and other Fitzhugh portraits by John Hesselius, is puzzled

especially by the existence of the two portraits of Captain Henry. He apparently did not know that the presumably deteriorating *original* of the Colonel William Fitzhugh portrait also was in existence in the early twentieth century.

On July 1, 1698, William Fitzhugh wrote one of his British factors that he had now an engraver among his indentured servants and on July 26 requested another factor to send him lacquered picture frames, some forty or fifty shillings' worth "of colours for painting" with "pencils Walnut Oyl & Lynseed Oyl proportionable together with half a doz: 3 quarter clothes to set up a painter."¹⁴⁰ The painter and engraver might well have been one and the same person. And this brings us back to the identity of the painter of the original William Fitzhugh portrait. Though there is some slight suggestion (as in Fitzhugh's will and the gap in his correspondence) that the founder of the American branch of the family was in Britain in the year 1700, extant correspondence would prove that he was not away from Virginia earlier in the preceding decade. The portrait is a competent performance (even as seen through the copy) and no painter of comparable ability to this one is known to have been in the colonies at the time. Either it was painted by the man for whom he ordered materials, probably his indentured servant, or he had it done in England in 1700, at which time he may have secured the copy of his father's portrait. The original portrait of William, in bad condition, appears to have been in existence at least as recently as 1919.

As for the two copies of Captain Henry's portrait and the later Hesselius copies of Colonel William and ancestor Henry, they were probably ordered by a Fitzhugh who did not inherit the originals. That is, a younger son or a daughter or other relative may have wished copies for himself of these heirlooms, for the Fitzhughs had a strong pride in family. The fact that a deteriorating copy, probably the original painting of Colonel William, was known in this century would argue for an additional copy rather than a replacement. The Fitzhughs did just this sort of thing about Colonel William's remarkable letters: a son or grandson not destined to inherit the originals had a copy made early in the eighteenth century for himself. This is borne out by the word "Boscobel," the name of a younger son's estate, written on the bound cover of the known manuscript copy, and the positive knowledge of an elderly Fitzhugh in 1960 that there was in the hands of descendants another copy of the same letters.¹⁴¹ John Hesselius, well enough known as an original painter, probably made the copies of the earlier Fitzhugh pictures to oblige a family which through three generations sat for his brush.

In 1919 the same person who owned the deteriorated William Fitzhugh portrait, Mrs. Edward C. Mayo, appears to have possessed the original

picture of William Randolph of Turkey Island (c. 1650–1711), the American founder of a clan as prolific as the Fitzhughs and even more famous. Weddell in *Virginia Historical Portraiture* assigns the portrait and that of Randolph's wife, Mary Isham, to John Hesselius, who could not have painted the originals. The companion pieces (though some critics believe Mrs. Randolph's to be by a different hand), now in excellent condition, hang in the galleries of the Virginia Historical Society. Both portraits, judging by costume and age of the subjects, could be of the later seventeenth century and certainly could not be of living persons of Hesselius' mid-eighteenth-century heyday.¹⁴² Allowing for the possibility that the original was made on a Randolph visit to Great Britain, these offer another strong suggestion that one or more portrait painters were in Virginia in the last decade of the seventeenth century.

In nearby Maryland the first Charles Carroll (1660–1720) may have been drawn in the seventeenth century, though more probably the unidentified painter was Justus Engelhardt Kühn (d. 1717), of whose estate Carroll was the executor.¹⁴³ Perhaps one or more painters and their works of the years before 1700 will eventually be identified, as J. Hall Pleasants thought they might be.

In South Carolina before 1700 there definitely were pictures but none really identified as to exact date and subject. Wills and inventories tell us what little we know, and they are dated in the eighteenth century. In 1724 an innkeeper and his wife bequeathed three large old pictures and a dozen or so others including six small old pictures. In 1727 Francis Holmes left to his son "the Pictures of his Grand Father Francis Holmes dec'd & myself." And there were others, though no actual painting is mentioned in inventories before 1700. There is the beautiful miniature of Isaac Mazyck, probably painted in England before 1700.¹⁴⁴

Obviously the southern paintings of the seventeenth century have no distinctive character or characteristics. Most were, as far as one can now judge, portraits designed to remind the immigrant of his ties with and previous life in Europe, to offer evidence of his gentle background, or to celebrate his New World success. One would like to know, for example, the story behind the picture of "Judge Richardson to ye waist" which appears in Colonel Thomas Ludlow's inventory of 1660 in York County in Virginia, a picture which may merely represent a friendship. The seventeenth-century art varied from the work of a Janssen and perhaps a Lely to the crude representations of half-trained itinerants or lesser London limners.

That there were already drawings and woodcuts and engravings on a variety of subjects is borne out by the wills and inventories and other indirect evidence. William Byrd II probably began his print collecting in the seventeenth century while he was being educated in Britain. But as early as

1667 John Brewer of Isle of Wight County in Virginia left "12 small pictures" and Thomas Madestard of Lancaster County left a number of miscellaneous pictures in 1675. Between 1690 and his death in 1702 David Fox also of Lancaster, a man mentioned in the Fitzhugh letters, itemized in his will "3 pictures in the parlor and 25 Pictures of the Scenes in the Hall," and in 1692 Edward Digges of York "6 pictures."¹⁴⁵

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN THE GRAPHIC ARTS

Up to the time of the Revolution southern colonists visiting in Britain continued to have themselves painted by both obscure and well-known artists and increased their purchases of miscellaneous paintings and prints. They also patronized a number of resident or itinerant painters, usually for portraits, but occasionally for landscapes and mythological and religious scenes. Henry Laurens in South Carolina and John Custis and George Washington in Virginia were among those who ordered through their English agents landscapes to be used in completing the furnishing or decoration of certain rooms. By the time of the first newspapers in the 1720s and 1730s, limners settled among them advertised their ability to paint coats of arms, decorate rooms, draw likenesses in several media, and teach the graphic arts to young ladies and gentlemen.

The First Quarter of the Century in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina

Locally produced graphic art in the southern colonies got under way slowly in this century. There is not one clearly identifiable painter in Virginia before 1726, though there are what appear to be portraits painted in the colony. Maryland and South Carolina had some identifiable artists, most of whom continued to work in their respective provinces after 1725. As wealth increased more and more families visited Britain and were painted there.

Portraits or other paintings made for Virginians in the first quarter of the century are not too frequent, or at least few have been identified. In London William Byrd II in 1702 or 1704 seems to have had himself painted by Kneller in what is surely the earliest of his four known portraits, and about 1722 Commissary James Blair probably had the second of his three portraits done in that city. Colonel Daniel Parke's portrait, also attributed to Kneller, came into the possession of his descendants among the Custis family.¹⁴⁶ Other pieces mentioned in the wills of the period include two small pictures and "a prospect of the City of London" bequeathed by John Swann of Lancaster County (1711); "three large pictures" bequeathed by Andrew Monroe of Westmoreland (1714); "Richard Lee's picture, frame and curtain, G. Corbin's picture, the Quaker's picture, T.

Corbin's picture" bequeathed by Richard Lee; and five pictures and a framed coat of arms in color bequeathed by William Churchill of Middlesex. In 1726 Robert "King" Carter left two portraits of himself, two of his wife, and to each of his children "his own picture," all probably done in Great Britain. Others in the period owned pictures of a Bishop of London, of Queen Anne and Prince George, and of St. Paul's Cathedral and "The Royal Oak."¹⁴⁷

Perhaps the clues to one or more itinerant painters in Virginia lie in the interesting group of Jaquelin and Brodnax family pictures. In the summer of 1722 or 1725, all the members of the two leading families of Jamestown sat for their portraits. The twelve likenesses are extraordinary in many ways, and their creator and the subjects' place of sitting are not precisely determined. It has been said that the pictures were painted in London during a visit of the whole group "by an artist of the greatest merit [Edward Jaquelin] could find." But two recent and careful studies come to the conclusion that they were done in Virginia. The author of the two studies concludes that they were produced by an unknown painter whose work much resembles that of certain known but unidentified Hudson River Valley artists of the period. In the second essay a single artist, name still unknown, is declared to have been the probable painter of all the Jaquelin-Brodnax pictures before 1722 and of numerous other strikingly similar portraits in New York after 1723 and also to have painted at Jamestown and Providence, Rhode Island, in 1723. The critic theorizes that Governor Spotswood met the artist on his journey to the 1722 Indian treaty conference at Albany mentioned in Chapter II and persuaded him to visit Virginia in the summer of 1723.

The internal evidence is quite striking. An awkward angularity, a satiric or devastating realism in certain qualities, bright colors, native Virginia red and green birds in two of the pictures are among the similarities to the New York painter's other work and/or fit the Virginia provincial background. There is no evidence that the two families in either 1722 or 1723 went en masse to England. Thus the investigator sees a relatively untutored provincial artist working at Jamestown and at nearby, more thriving Williamsburg. All together, about one-fourth of the "known" work of a colonial painter called the "*Ætatis Sue* limner" because of the similarities of inscriptions and appropriateness of dates is thus represented in Virginia, all but two in the Jaquelin-Brodnax collection now at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.¹⁴⁸

Other Virginia portraits probably painted in this period and attributed, like William Byrd's first likeness, to Sir Godfrey Kneller, may be the work of that German-English court painter who died in 1723. They are believed to represent Philip Ludwell II (1672-1726/7) and his wife Hannah Har-

rison Ludwell. If one agrees with Edgar P. Richardson that the artisan and artist traditions in painting can be distinguished, these clearly belong to the latter, for a sophisticated painter, either Kneller or one of his school in London, produced this handsome pair.

Among the other extant portraits is one said to represent Mann Page I (1691-1730) as a child, with a tame bird perched on his hand. The builder of Rosewell entered Eton when he was fifteen and Oxford three years later, but here he looks to be a child between ten and fifteen. The artist is unknown, and the picture may have been painted in Virginia. With it in Weddell's book is a portrait said to be of Page's second wife, Judith Carter Page, and it is ascribed to Wollaston. The costume seems to be of the period after 1750, and it may be the portrait of another Page lady. The Weddell-produced portraits of Robert ("King") Carter (1663-1732) and his wife, Judith Armistead Carter (1665-1699), by an unknown artist appear to be eighteenth century in costume, though his picture seems to represent a man much older than the lady. So one might go on and on with pictures of this period without finding positive identification of either artist or subject, or any real clue whether they were done in Great Britain or Virginia.¹⁴⁹ Wherever they were painted, the pictures indicate that British styles in art were being followed, that except for the few possible Knellers they were not distinguished work, and that on the other hand they show in general a taste for the so-called baroque or quieter Palladian classicism.

In Maryland in this first quarter of the century there were at least two painters known by name, with whom several portraits are definitely identified, and dozens of other pictures are probably theirs. It would seem natural because of proximity for both of them to have worked also in Virginia, but no single piece in that colony has been positively identified as the painting of either, though several are attributed to them.

The first of these painters to appear in Maryland was the German Justus Engelhardt Kühn, who arrived in Annapolis in 1708 and died there in 1717. Records show that he was married and had a son, that he was a churchwarden, and that he was something of a flutist as well as a painter. When he died he left three pictures and a coat of arms unfinished, and fourteen "pictures & Landskips" as well as painting equipment. Pleasants identified ten paintings as his and divided them into two groups: the three large portraits of children with elaborate backgrounds and surroundings, and seven smaller bust portraits of adults. Pleasants feels that the three large canvases are more finished and sophisticated than any other paintings in America up to that time. They all represent young Maryland aristocrats—Ignatius Digges, Henry Darnall III, and Eleanor Darnall—figures stiff and prim but with a great deal of charm. The faces are less doll-like than

those in comparable New England portraits of the period. Each child has a pet, Digges a parrot, Henry Darnall a bobwhite, and Eleanor Darnall a dog. In the Henry Darnall picture is a black slave boy wearing a silver collar, who has just retrieved the bird his young master has shot with the bow and arrow shown in his hands. This Darnall picture is probably the first example in American portraiture of a Negro slave introduced as an accessory to the portrait of a young aristocrat, though there is a Negro maid in the portrait of a female Byrd of slightly later date, and in several Maryland paintings by John Hesselius are black boys, nurses, or children. At least one other child's portrait by Kühn has been identified since Pleasants wrote, that of Charles Carroll of Annapolis as a boy of ten.

The children's backgrounds of palatial gardens and mansions were presumably representative of the painter. They probably represent the kind of Palladian classical grounds and buildings the colonial aristocrats longed for or in some measure hoped to achieve. These particular scenic embellishments may have been borrowed from the well-known engravings of English and European baroque portraits. Yet for all this, Kühn's work has been seen by most critics as naïve, and there is no evidence that he had followers.¹⁵⁰

Kühn's immediate successor in Maryland was Gustavus Hesselius, sometimes called the founder of the American school of painting (he preceded Watson by three years and Smibert by seventeen). He landed in the colonies in 1711/1712 at Wilmington, Delaware, and then proceeded to Philadelphia. In 1717 he moved to Prince Georges County in Maryland. In 1724 he was commissioned to paint the Last Supper as the altar piece for the Anglican St. Barnabas' Church in Prince Georges County, said to be the first work for a public building contracted for in the British colonies in America. By 1734 he was back in Philadelphia, having accumulated a comfortable fortune in the Chesapeake colony or colonies. In the city of Penn he continued to paint, build organs and other musical instruments, and show a variety of other interests before his death in 1755.

Over fifty portraits are attributed to Gustavus Hesselius from the Pennsylvania-Maryland-Delaware-Virginia area. Of these, his best are probably those of himself and of the two Indian chiefs he did in his old age, or at least after 1735, in Pennsylvania. The brushwork in the treatment of the red men's faces is bold and competent. In the portrait of himself he is almost brutally realistic. His portraits generally are rich in coloring, consistent in modeling of faces, and skillful in subordination of backgrounds, and show overly small hands. His greatest weaknesses are in his handling of anatomy and what one critic calls his inability to manage receding diagonals. But these last qualities are more than offset by his ability to produce forceful and sensitive likenesses.

Among the southern portraits sometimes identified as his are those of Mrs. Henry (Ann Talbot) Darnall III, Thomas Bordley of Maryland, and John Baylor of Virginia. The Darnall and Baylor portraits have been at least twice exhibited as his, though his latest critic reiterates the opinion that no known Virginia painting can be attributed to Gustavus Hesselius with any degree of probability.

Hesselius' religious and mythological painting is of interest for both itself and its historical primacy. Two early twentieth-century critics believed that the Last Supper painting had been rescued from the now demolished church, and even placed on exhibition in 1931 at the Philadelphia Museum a *Last Supper* they believed to be his. Richardson has presented convincing arguments, however, that Hesselius' religious painting is lost, at least this one. He mentions a *Holy Family* as genuine, though an inferior work, done in the artist's later years.

Perhaps Hesselius' two mythological paintings, probably completed during his Maryland period, are in the end his most intriguing. The *Bacchus and Ariadne* and *Bacchanalian Revel*, so far as is known the earliest paintings of classical mythology in the history of American art, were obviously intended as a pair, and with no known patron in mind. They show qualities of both his early and his late styles, and were probably derived from European engravings of the late baroque, especially of the works by Poussin and Rubens. It may be argued that the fauns and nymphs have undergone a second metamorphosis in America, for they look much like American Indians. On the other hand, the portraits of his two red chiefs show the aboriginal Americans as possessing a real classic dignity.

Gustavus Hesselius, trained in his native Sweden and perhaps elsewhere in Europe, had some influence on certain later painters, especially on his son John. The son's early work, as well as that of other unknown or lesser-known early portraitists, indicates that in coloring and facial expression Gustavus was imitated, though the influence is not marked anywhere save in his son's pictures. The Palladian-baroque, a belated Renaissance style, he brought in both manner and subject to the middle and upper southern colonies.¹⁵¹

There are today in South Carolina portraits of several persons by unknown artists painted during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Of these perhaps the best known is the painting of Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson (1644-1713) inscribed "Ætatis : 61 : April : 7th : 1705." Clad in armor and with a large, dark wig, Sir Nathaniel is an imposing figure. There is no evidence he was in Europe in 1705. In fact, quite the contrary. Efforts have been made to move up the dates of Henrietta Johnston's arrival in Charleston and to declare the picture hers, or to question

the date inscribed on the portrait. But it seems most likely to have been the work of an unknown sophisticated painter who was visiting in the colony.

Then there are the small canvases by unknown artists. Isaac Mazyck, mentioned above, probably brought his own miniature with him to Charleston in 1686. Another Huguenot, Francis Le Brasseur (16?–1725) arrived after 1685 and was certainly in the province in 1709. His portrait may have been painted abroad. What is believed to be a self-portrait of Elizabeth Leger Le Sururier (16?–1725) also survives in Charleston.¹⁵²

But one unusual painter from this period is known, a gifted woman who was the wife of the Bishop of London's Commissary in South Carolina. This was Henrietta Deering Johnston (?–1729), who arrived in the city of Charleston in 1708. She brought the materials for pastels with her, and when she was not too ill to work continued to paint in this medium from her first year until her death, probably to augment her husband's meagre income. One interval she spent in London on her husband's business and another in New York for reasons unknown. It is believed that she was probably Irish and learned her technique from two gentlemen, one an Anglican bishop, in Dublin. She had married Gideon Johnston as his second wife in 1705. After the Commissary was drowned in 1716, she continued working in Charleston, drawing the picture of Anne Broughton in 1720 and of Thomas Broughton in 1723. In 1725 she was signing portraits in New York, including one of the later botanically learned Elizabeth Colden, daughter of Cadwallader. She was certainly back in Carolina by 1727.

About fifty portraits are attributed to Mrs. Johnston by Mary Simons Middleton. Mrs. Middleton even ascribes the Sir Nathaniel Johnson oil portrait to her on the ground that the date 1705 may have been a mistake added when the picture was restored, though she admits that its origin is a highly controversial question. Among other subjects in pastels are the later North Carolinian Christopher Gale, one of the villains of William Byrd's histories of the Dividing Line; Susanne Le Noble, granddaughter of Elizabeth Le Sururier; the Johnstons' friend Colonel William Rhett; a Virginia Bolling; the Reverend Francis LeJau, noted in several chapters above; and a number of socially prominent Carolinians.

Following a newly fashionable medium designed to adorn rococo walls too delicate for oil paintings, Henrietta Johnston produced a rural English version of the pastel in a series of fragile colored and gentle likenesses principally of persons she must have seen daily. Her women are especially well done. Her men, probably principally because of the babyish face of the subject in the Colonel William Rhett picture, are said to lack virility. Actually the Sir Nathaniel Johnson likeness is extraordinarily virile, and the

portraits more surely hers—of Robert Johnson, Colonel John Moore, and Governor Robert Daniell, among others—are as strongly masculine as are the oil paintings done of and by men in the England and America of the period. She is worth remembering not only as the American colonies' first woman painter, but as the inaugurator of the tradition in Charleston of supporting professional artists.¹⁵³

Mid-Century Painting and Prints

The relative prosperity of the middle half of the eighteenth century is reflected perhaps as well in decorative pictures and personal portraits as in the other fine arts. The newspapers in existence during almost all of this period reveal that varieties of prints were sold, that there were teachers and practitioners of several sorts of painting in the southern colonies, and that very occasionally local contributors even discussed theories or philosophies of painting. Letters and journals tell us the names and visiting dates of portrait painters and a number of other things indicative of a considerable interest in various forms of the graphic arts.

Portraits. It is in this period that most of the likenesses which have come down to us of colonial worthies and of long-forgotten men and women were painted. Some were still being done in England, but by now there were identifiable limners working in almost every colony, some visiting or itinerant, some resident, one or two native-born, though no one of the stature of the native son Copley in New England at the end of this era.

Judging by extant pictures, newspaper advertisements, and documentary sources, there was considerable activity in Maryland, in both Annapolis and Baltimore and on country estates. Gustavus Hesselius was still working in the province at the beginning of the period and his son John, possibly born in the province, succeeded him there. Francis Brerewood, English architect and painter and the son of a sometime custodian of the Baltimore County records, is believed to have painted Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert in the province about 1730.¹⁵⁴ In 1752 A. Pooley announced that he was ready to do anything "in the limning way, history, altar pieces for churches, landscapes, views of . . . houses and estates, signs, or any other way of painting and also gilding."¹⁵⁵ Whether he did any of the unidentified Maryland portraits is an intriguing question. And John Wollaston the younger (fl. 1736–1767), like Brerewood an English artist, had come to New York about 1749–1751 and was in Maryland in 1754, in Virginia probably by 1755, in Philadelphia by 1758, and in South Carolina in 1765–1767.

John Hesselius (1728–1778), perhaps the only native-born southern painter of the colonial period (for he was born in Philadelphia or Annapolis), produced known paintings approaching one hundred. In his youth

he seems to have assisted his father and learned his early technique from his parent. His first work in both Virginia and Maryland shows his father's influence, some of his middle period reflects the popularity and possible direct influence of Wollaston, and in his final years the individual qualities present from his youth emerge most strongly.

As he accompanied his father about the Chesapeake Bay country John probably began, as many apprentices have, by painting arms and hands—for many of Gustavus' works of this period have coarse or crude bodies with fine heads. After his father's death in 1755 John, perhaps always susceptible to outside influences, shows something of Wollaston's grand rococo, or courtly, style. Thus a number of Maryland and Virginia families or individuals are painted in an elaborate manner, though the Fitzhugh family contemporary portraits John did from living models bridging the two periods do not show this florid or ornamental quality. Charles Calvert (1761), Benedict's son, does, however, reflect Wollaston's habit of harmonizing bright colors in costume with a brownish background.

John Hesselius married a wealthy widow in Maryland in 1763 and settled there for the rest of his life. He did fewer portraits from this time but continued to do some work. The Fitzhugh individuals copied or painted from life are among his better-known identified and signed pieces. He surpasses Wollaston here and elsewhere in that he did not glamorize what he saw. Among other Virginians he painted Mrs. John Page (Jane Byrd) and a number of persons of the Northern Neck counties across the Potomac from Maryland. In such later examples of his Virginia work as the Lawsons of Falmouth he demonstrated his ability to handle color well.

Hesselius probably made his headquarters in Maryland after 1759. In that year and the next he painted men in Chestertown and in Queen Anne's County. In 1761 he had a prestige commission—to paint the portraits of Governor Benedict Calvert's children. In the next few years he did likenesses of Chews, Colonel Samuel Hanson, a Mrs. Hammond, Mrs. Richard Galloway, and a number of other Maryland men and women.

In Hesselius' style his critic Richard K. Doud sees three periods in his "use of line, his handling of color, his treatment of tone, his concept of dimension and form, and his basic approach to his subject and his tools." From 1750 to 1757 he remains somewhat amateurish, his hands especially being bad. From 1758 to 1763 he moves from the linear to the three-dimensional concept in depicting mass, perhaps the influence of Wollaston. The Calvert children are the most widely known pictures of this period. In 1764 probably his most independent work, the picture of Sophia (Richardson) Galloway, a Quakeress from Anne Arundel County, inaugurates his third style and period in which he is more serious and sophisticated. His



Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

Eleanor Darnall (later Mrs. Daniel Carroll) (1704-1796),
oil portrait by Justus Englehardt Kuhn



Collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles V. Cheney

Portrait of Thomas Sprigge of Maryland by John Hesselius (1728-1778)

last signed portrait is of 1777. Doud has located all together fifteen signed and twenty-four unsigned ascribed portraits of Maryland subjects. At his worst he documents a galaxy of prominent individuals of the Chesapeake country. At his best he created lively and vivid works of art.¹⁵⁶

John Wollaston (fl. 1736-1767), son of an English painter of the same name, had already left work in England before he crossed the Atlantic to New York in 1749. He moved on to Maryland by 1755 and worked in both Chesapeake colonies in that year, was in Philadelphia and then India and then Charleston in subsequent years through 1767, when he seems to have returned to his native country. His influence on colonial painting outside New England was probably greater than that of any other artist, and the pictures now attributed to him (of which only one is signed) number some three hundred. He may have influenced Charles Willson Peale and Benjamin West as well as John Hesselius. Yet he himself was so adept at imitating the style of the greater English painters of the day that many American portraits by him have been at one time or another ascribed to various London artists of renown, among them Kneller, and to the Bostonian American Copley.

Many years later Peale made derogatory remarks about Wollaston as a mere drapery painter who had filled in backgrounds for English artists such as Sir Joshua Reynolds. Such indeed may have been his first training. The drapery remains prominent in Wollaston's American work, but it is well integrated into his compositions. His faces are much alike, in a sense stylized in flattering "likenesses" which pleased his subjects. His work was so popular that poems were composed extolling it, one by a Dr. T.T. in the *Maryland Gazette* of March 15, 1753, and another by Francis Hopkinson in the *American Magazine* of Philadelphia in September 1758.

It was Wollaston's fortune to see and paint many of the notables of the three southern colonies in which he worked. Washington, Marshall, Pinckney, Page, Carroll, and Randolph are among their names. Almost one-sixth of his known work consists of portraits of Randolphs! He did ten portraits of relatives of George Washington, including Lewises and Custises. In Maryland among his fifty-five are Diggeses and Carrolls and Calverts, Chews and Keys. Coldens in New York and Byrds and Wormeleys in Virginia were also among his subjects. He painted George Whitefield in the act of preaching in England as early as 1742, and American historians, religious and otherwise, are grateful for this interesting work.

A specifically American element in one painting, a picture of Jefferson's lifelong friend John Page (1744-1808) as a young hunter, is the bobwhite instead of the traditional English pheasant. The fowling piece is painted with such meticulous detail that a gunsmith might make a replica today,

one critic has suggested. Probably painted at the same time were Page's younger brother and sister Mann and Elizabeth, the former standing with a cardinal on his wrist, the latter clutching a doll.

Doing most of his work in the rural Chesapeake area of the "Barons of the Potomac and Rappahannock," Wollaston drew the society from which the leaders of the Revolution came. His sitters reveal something about themselves in their approval of the color and elegance and facial contours of his pictures. In justice to the painter it should be added that of those of his subjects who are known to history, what is usually considered their individual character to a considerable extent emerges in their painted faces.¹⁵⁷

In Virginia there were other painters in addition to John Hesselius and John Wollaston. Inventories, wills, and newspaper advertisements indicate a variety of pictures owned by persons of moderate as well as great means, and a number of painters with whom not a single portrait or other picture has been identified. A 1737 inventory of Robert Dowsing of York County lists a number of pictures including eight landscapes, and several necessities of the painter's art including quicksilver, magnifying glass, turpentine and varnish, printing blocks and cushions, sixteen picture boards covered with canvas, 150 pounds of whiting and painting pots, and a wiping box frame. In the same county in 1756 one Robert Orchard left an even more imposing stock of painting tools, including palette knives, paint brushes, books of gold leaf, paint spoons, colors in varying amounts, and pots. In 1769 Henry Warren advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* his willingness to do night pieces or family pieces or anything except landscapes. In 1752 in the same journal a John Keef, who had lived in Williamsburg as a painter for some months and had arrived in 1750 as an indentured servant, was wanted on charges of passing stolen Dublin bank notes. One would like to know who painted the portrait of John Custis' "negro boy John" which that unusual gentleman left in 1749 to his friend Mrs. Anne Moody.¹⁵⁸ Others of these forgotten limners may have painted portraits now unidentified or ascribed to better-known men.

But there were in Virginia two rather well-known British "artists" (*one* not too well known for his graphic skill) who arrived in the colony in the 1730s. Charles Bridges, quite elderly when he arrived, worked in the colony from about 1735 to 1740; and William Dering, who came after a period in Philadelphia, is first noticed in Virginia in 1737 and remained there until his death in 1751. These two, the former especially, are with Wollaston the principal recorders of the Virginia visage of the colonial age. Many of the pictures probably by one of the Hesseliuses are attributed to Bridges but were certainly drawn before his arrival. Others by him have been credited to one of the Hesseliuses or to Wollaston, almost always on grounds of family tradition rather than critical analysis.

Of the two, Charles Bridges is much better known as a painter. He arrived in Virginia, probably at age seventy, with a son and at least two daughters and with letters of introduction to Governor Gooch. William Byrd II is said to have become acquainted with Bridges in Kneller's studio probably when the Virginian's picture was done, about 1702-1704. Bridges then was apparently a background or drapery painter, and he is sometimes characterized as an inferior painter of the Lely-Kneller school. He is definitely in their tradition, but recent critics feel that he is by no means as inferior as has been asserted. At least one signed British painting is his, and three of the portraits possessed by Byrd, of his wife, Maria Taylor Byrd, the so-called Duchess of Montague, and one of Byrd himself are believed to be Bridges' on stylistic grounds and to have been painted while he was still in England.

Gooch rather wryly commented to his brother the Bishop of Norwich that he had gone out of his way to lend Bridges his own coach and a wagon for his goods, entertained him at dinner and at supper several times, and was getting him started by sitting himself for a portrait. The governor thought it a little odd that a man in his position should show so much attention to a mere painter. The colonial attitude toward the elderly limner is not made clearer by Byrd's diary references to "old Bridges," when the latter's brother-painter (and dancing master) Dering is always quite respectfully mentioned as "Mr. Dering." Yet in his letter introducing Bridges to Spotswood, Byrd spoke of the painter as "a man of Good Family" who had fallen on hard times.

In any case, Byrd had Bridges paint him again at age sixty-one, and his several daughters. Whether Bridges painted Gooch is questionable, for the Weddell *Virginia Historical Portraiture* engraving of a so-called Sir William Gooch picture is of doubtful authenticity, attractive as the figure is. The old man did have prominent acquaintances in the colony, for he seems to have been witness to the will of Sir John Randolph in December 1735. Byrd's letter of introduction for Bridges to Spotswood recommends Bridges as a most capable portraitist, not a Lely or a Kneller, but worthy to be called "the Sergeant-Painter of Virginia," and observes that Bridges had painted a number of persons in Byrd's neighborhood. There is record dated 1737 of the old artist living in Hanover County, really on the road between Williamsburg and Spotswood's Germanna. In 1739 and 1740 he was visiting and dining at Byrd's Westover, apparently riding over for a few hours from some nearby estate where he was working. In 1740 he painted the royal arms for the Caroline County courthouse.

His definitely identified work shows Bridges to have been a competent painter of sophisticated, decorative performance and refinement in color and tone, and not too conventional in drawing. He rather than Wollaston may

be responsible for what Richardson calls the school of aristocratic portrait painting which sprang up in the southern and middle colonies. Foote identifies fourteen portraits as definitely his, fifteen as probably his, and four as possibly his, and names and discusses others at various times ascribed to him.

If only his Byrd family portraits remained, posterity should be grateful to the old man. Two of Colonel Byrd, possibly two of his wife (the so-called Duchess of Montague portrait may be one of these), two of his daughter Maria, and others of Wilhelmina, Evelyn, and Anne, are a remarkable group. Of interest are the cardinal on a bough above Evelyn's right shoulder and the Indian sewing basket on the table beside Wilhelmina, as well as the black servant in fancy dress standing beside her. The "authenticated" pictures also include those of William Prentiss of Williamsburg and two of Alexander Spotswood. Among those probably or possibly by Bridges are the Bolling family group of portraits, several Carters (including Landon and his first wife), Philip Ludwell III and Mrs. Ludwell with three daughters, and Richard Randolph and his wife. Possibly his is a third William Byrd portrait of uncertain date but supported by interesting "proof" and another Carter, a Fitzhugh, and Mr. Waltham or Walthoe. Foote discusses a number of others of Virginia notables and lesser-known folk as possibly his.¹⁵⁹

Even less is known of William Dering than of Bridges, though the discovery of his signed and dated portrait of Mrs. Drury (Elizabeth Buckner) Stith has led to some investigation. In 1736 the *Pennsylvania Gazette* refers to him as a dancing master and conductor of a school in which reading and writing and embroidery were taught. In November 1737 the first notices of him appear in the *Virginia Gazette* in advertising his dancing class at the College of William and Mary. The next record is in the Byrd diaries of 1739-1741, where he is mentioned as being among other gentlemen who visit Byrd at Westover. From January 30 to July 31, 1741, seventeen diary entries mention Dering's visits. They played bowls together, walked in the garden and told stories, and looked at Byrd's prints, and Dering played the French horn. Dering appears in 1742 and 1745-1747 in York County records and the *Virginia Gazette*. His reputation as a painter rested for some years on the portrait of Mrs. Stith, an indifferent production, though the head is better than the dress.

Pleasants believed portraits of Maria Byrd Carter (1727-1744), second wife of Landon, and Mrs. William (Anne Harrison) Randolph (c. 1724/1725- after 1769) may be by Dering and predicted in 1952 that other Virginia portraits of the period may eventually be identified as his. Since that time evidence that John Mercer of Marlborough was painted by Dering in 1748 while the lawyer lodged in the artist's house in Williamsburg has turned up in Mercer's account books. The known portrait of

Mercer reproduced at least twice recently may be that by Dering. It is much cruder than Bridges' work, the head being out of proportion to the body, but Mercer is depicted with his hand on a book which may be his own famous *Abridgement* of the laws of Virginia.¹⁶⁰

Representative of the English portraits of Virginia of the mid-century is that of Councilor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, painted in London when the colonist was in his early twenties. He is dressed in a handsome silk coat with high lace collar and holds a mask in one hand. Long ascribed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, it is now believed to be the work of that painter's early teacher, Thomas Hudson, well-known for the beautiful silks and velvets of his subjects' costumes. The strong, sensitive, handsome face of young Carter makes this one of the most attractive portraits of the period.¹⁶¹

The *South-Carolina Gazette* by 1733 was carrying notices of teachers and practitioners of painting, drawing, and engraving. On May 17, 1735, Bishop Roberts (fl. 1735-1739) advertised himself as a portrait painter as well as engraver and interior decorator. His principal identified work is his water-color and later engraving of *A Prospect of Charles Town, South-Carolina* (c. 1737-1738), but he later advertised he would do landscapes and chimney pieces and "Draughts of . . . Houses in Colours or Indian ink." His wife Mary, perhaps after his death, gave notice in 1740 that she did "Face Painting." On January 23, 1750, Peter Manigault wrote home from Britain that he had just been painted by the fashionable and expensive artist Allan Ramsay, who was infinitely superior to the Keble who was portraying other wealthy young Carolinians. And in 1759 the versatile Alexander Gordon, Scottish antiquarian and provincial official, bequeathed his own and other portraits by him to his son and to other Carolinians. There was also a miniaturist in this period, perhaps the "Noted limner" Warwell, who died in 1767.

In Charleston the most popular delineator of faces and figures from 1740 to the end of the colonial period was the Swiss Jeremiah Theus, "Limner" (1715-1774). Manigault wanted Theus' opinion of his own portrait by Ramsay. And other Carolinians made special mention in their wills of portraits by Theus. In 1899, in his excellent pioneering article on "Art and Artists in Provincial South Carolina," Robert Wilson gave extended attention to Theus and a list of the thirty-seven portraits which he knew by the artist. The recent study by Mrs. Middleton places the Swiss-born painter in style between Van Dyck and his followers in the grand manner and the English school of the eighteenth century. His poses are static, and he produced what pleased, conventional academic work fairly realistic and not really flattering. Perhaps, as Richardson suggests, he was at his best in his early Charleston work such as his portrait of William Wragg (1740s), which has dignity and color, and his three-quarter length of Mrs.

Peter Manigault (c. 1757), which is pleasing as well as imposing. For about thirty-four years Theus was almost official limner for South Carolina, and one can learn much of the province's mid-century culture by examining the costumes and other details of his pictures as well as by noting whom he painted.

At least one miniature, allegedly of Mrs. Jacob Motte of Charleston, has been assigned to Theus on good authority though Mrs. Middleton is inclined to think it represents a lady of another generation of the same family. Among the subjects of his portraits are members of the Ball, Elliott, Heyward, Horry, Izard, Manigault, Mazyck, Ravenel, Richardson, and Broughton families. He also executed likenesses of Dr. Lionel Chalmers and his wife, as well as of Georgia "Governor" James Habersham.

The painter of Charles Pinckney, a portrait probably of the 1730s or 1740s, is unknown, and the picture may not have been done in America. After the colonial period Benjamin West portrayed Thomas Middleton (1735-1797). Then there is the magnificent portrait of Henry Laurens (1724-1792) by John Singleton Copley in 1782, who had in 1775 also done Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard. Zoffany had painted Ralph Izard earlier when he was a student at Cambridge. And a half-length of three Cherokees by John George was exhibited in London in 1764.¹⁶²

A recent survey of colonial Georgia inventories indicates that pictures of several kinds were owned in that province. As early as 1739 a Salzburger benefactor in Germany sent his portrait to his fellow countrymen at Ebenezer and numerous Georgians owned "pictures" of King George and Queen Charlotte. William Ewen, a Revolutionary leader, owned in 1772 an expensive portrait of George III. Some miniatures and other portraits of the period before the Revolution survive, most of them of about 1772 and attributed to Henry Benbridge. But in that year the James Habersham mentioned just above commissioned seven pictures from Jeremiah Theus at a cost of £320 South Carolina currency.¹⁶³

Landscapes, Murals, and Chimney Pieces. Portraits were by no means the only form of oil painting or watercolor popular in the southern colonies, though most of the eighteenth-century landscapes are to be found in the backgrounds of portraits of such artists as Kühn and others of Virginia and Maryland. But Kühn's inventory with his will indicates that he possessed at that time "14 pictures & Landskips" done by himself. From the extant advertisements of several others of the Chesapeake and Carolina colonies, it is evident that men whose bread was earned primarily by their portraits also painted other sorts of things, and that certain painters were landscapists and decorators first and portraitists second.

A. Pooley of Maryland, mentioned above, was in 1752 one of the painters who did everything. Roberts of South Carolina not only did the watercolor of Charleston but with engraver William Toms transformed this scene into a more detailed profile of the town. As just noted, he also advertised his willingness to do landscapes and chimney pieces of all sizes and colored drawings of houses. Theus in 1740 offered to do landscapes of any size, and Thomas You in 1764 had for sale in engraved form his drawing of St. Michael's Church.¹⁶⁴

The frequent advertising of altar pieces suggests that there were once many more religious paintings in southern churches than there is any specific record of. In Virginia the second Petsworth Parish Church of 1677-1679 had a mural painting of "the Cherubim" drawn by Thomas Powell and a painting of the King's arms probably by the same artist. The third church of this parish, completed by 1723, had in 1738 a more ambitious mural by Richard Cooke, who was indentured to Charles Carter. This picture, which a later observer saw in a ruinous state, was described as depicting an angel with a trumpet and other angels on vast bodies of clouds.¹⁶⁵

In wills and inventories are notices of other religious and miscellaneous paintings. Governor Spotswood left "one scripture piece of painting" and "the History of the Woman Taken in Adultery" valued at £36 (proving these were not prints?). In 1752 Susan Catlett left a number of paintings and prints including "A large Ruin in a Gilt Frame" and in 1759 (May 21) York County inventories list among Susan Green's property "1 Historical Picture" and "Rachel and Leah." In 1755 an unidentified or not fully identified artist drew sketches and wash drawings of Yorktown and Gloucester Town to accompany his other views made during the 1754-1755 voyages of two of His Majesty's ships to Nova Scotia and Virginia. The artist has been tentatively identified as a John G[a?]untlett, perhaps an officer on one of the ships. These two are remarkably handsome and useful views. An interesting 1752 watercolor of Baltimore by a John Moale is now in the Maryland Historical Society. In 1774, when sometime president of the Council and attorney-general Egerton Leigh left South Carolina, he advertised for sale a collection including works by "Paul Veronese, Carladolsci, Jordano, Ghisoldi, Corregio and Guido" along with some miniatures, one being of Queen Elizabeth done in the year 1574. Most of these works may have been copies, but it is entirely possible that some were originals. Earlier in 1751 the inventory of Joseph Wragg listed "1 Picture in Oil of Utrech Markett."¹⁶⁶

Landscapes, views of towns and manor houses, and flower and other decorative painting survive frequently, both in actuality and in the manuscript record, as wall paintings or chimney pieces in colonial dwellings. In

some instances they are intrinsically or historically valuable enough to be preserved in such museums as the Metropolitan and the Winterthur. Others once present are described or mentioned in letters.

The chimney piece may have been an overmantel scene fastened permanently to a wall or a painting made specifically to fit the fireplace opening and to be used only in summer. Sometimes as flanking pieces to the overmantel design were smaller pictures—rural scenes or floral figures. The landscapes advertised in Maryland and South Carolina were undoubtedly almost always done to fit these spaces on the wall of a great hall, a drawing room, or a dining room, though a few simpler ones are occasionally on the second floor.

One of the more interesting overmantel paintings is that from Morattico, built by Charles Grymes in Richmond County, Virginia, before 1717. Though the house was destroyed through the erosion of the river about 1827, the woodwork of the great drawing room, one of the finest in Virginia, has been preserved in the Winterthur Museum. The overmantel piece, probably of the late Stuart period, is held by most art and architecture critics to represent another manor house, and the vanished Rippon Hall, Warner Hall, Corotoman, or Turkey Island has been suggested as its subject. It shows a large mansion of three and a half stories in the central block, many portico columns, cupolas on each wing, and an unidentified town or city in the background. The imposing wall and gate in front with discernible gardens suggest the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, but the whole scene may be based on some family manor house in old England. This picture is flanked by smaller landscapes painted on panels.¹⁶⁷

The other famous Virginia overmantel piece is that in the Metropolitan Museum as part of a complete room from the Fitzhugh mansion, Marmion. In what was probably the most elaborate wood-sheathed room of colonial Virginia, the central panel is an imaginary landscape with a windmill as its principal focus. There are equally or more elaborate landscapes in the wall paneling of the room and other decorations of scrolls, festoons, and cornucopiae, all with marbleized wood background, all together rococo decoration.¹⁶⁸

On April 15, 1757, George Washington sent an order to a distant relative in London for certain items connected with the remodeling of Mount Vernon. Among them was "A Neat Landscape after Claude Lorrain . . . £3.15.6." The picture now over the mantel in the west parlor, painted on canvas, coincides exactly in measurements with this order and is believed to be the original placed there by Washington in 1758. The John Custis already mentioned several times, father of Martha Washington's first husband, had on April 10, 1723, ordered his English agent to secure for him "two pieces of as good painting as you can procure," which he wished to

place in the summertime before each of his fireplaces. Custis gives the exact dimensions of the chimney openings and hopes that the painter will take time to do them well and then let them dry thoroughly. The great gardener preferred nothing to mere daubing: "Let them bee some good flowers in potts of various kinds and whatever fancy else you think fitt." Chimney boards or fire boards were later advertised in the *Virginia Gazette*.¹⁶⁹

Several wall paintings are extant from or in fine Maryland houses, and another was until quite recently. Seventeenth-century Bond Castle in Calvert County, already mentioned for its architectural features, was a mansion recently destroyed. Mrs. A.L. Sioussat made a watercolor of the fireplace wall of the dining room, however, which shows in some detail an overmantel house-and-garden scene flanked by paintings of pots or baskets of flowers. Though the doors, beamed ceiling, and fireplace are severely simple and in some respects medieval, the formal garden of the center picture appears to be early Georgian. Forman feels that this scene probably represented the English residence of the Bond family.

Also already mentioned for its architecture is Holly Hill in Anne Arundel County. There are mantel paintings in oil in bedrooms, and at the head of the main stairs is a painting depicting an ancient survey of the plantation, showing the house in perspective with a court in front divided into four grassy plots or knots. The painting was probably done about 1720 for the then owner Samuel Harrison, whose portrait with that of his wife is now in the Maryland Historical Society. The present owner says all the paintings have been attributed to Gustavus Hesselius, though he knows of no proof. Historically the survey and mansion elevation is perhaps the most valuable, but the three landscapes are quite interesting in themselves. Two are stylized with castles, perhaps depicting European scenes, though the shoreline in at least one of them is very much like that of certain areas along the western shore of the Chesapeake. The third landscape, in the dining room, is again land and water, with a ship under sail flying the British flag in the center, on the right a two-story mansion with perhaps hipped roof, and in front a high garden wall with arched entranceway. This last picture is set in marbled paneling. The landscapes according to Forman are oil-on-wood, a popular form of painting in old Maryland houses.

One of the most fascinating of overmantel paintings is that depicting the shipping and shipyard at New Yarmouth on Gray's Inn Creek, Kent County. Now in the Maryland Historical Society, it is said to have been originally in ancient Spencer Hall and then at Wickcliffe, a neighboring homestead. Again it is an oil-on-wood mural. Depicted are ships under sail and under repair of many kinds, new vessels on the stocks, and a large house in the background.¹⁷⁰

In North Carolina there are evidences of murals and overmantel pieces

in the post-Revolutionary decade, and these suggest that such interior decoration existed in that colony earlier. In South Carolina there are several references to landscape and chimney-piece painting. B. Roberts in 1737 showed in his advertisements that such work was already popular by that date. Precisely what sorts of chimney pieces were wanted is spelled out in a letter of Henry Laurens in 1756 to his relative Richard Shubrick then in London:

Our Brother Elias Ball who has lately finished & got into his new house is desirous of compleating the decorations within by adding two handsome Landscapes of Kensington & Hyde Park which will just fill up two vacancies over the chimney pieces in the Hall and a large Parlor. . . . He would have handsome Views of those two places with the adjacent Woods, Fields, & Buildings & some little addition of Herds, Huntsmen, & ca., & ca., but not too expensive in the Painting.¹⁷¹

Local or imported, the wall paintings were much used in South Carolina. That few remain from the pre-Revolutionary period may be accounted for in a number of ways. From a later time the Miles Brewton house has an overmantel painting of the ship *Mackinaw* (c. 1840) owned by John Ravenel, whose fleet of merchantmen roamed the seven seas. Other restored late eighteenth-century Charleston houses have spaces outlined above the mantel for some sort of painting, but in most instances it is left blank or partially filled by a portrait.¹⁷²

Prints. By far the most abundant form of the graphic arts to be found in the southern colonies was the print, from the early woodcut to copper plate engraving and mezzotints. The paintings on glass were often derived from these prints as well. All these varieties, with their subjects, appear in advertisements, letters, inventories, and diaries. Yet they went out of fashion, and very few survive from the mid-eighteenth century. Sufficient descriptions remain, however, for restoration foundations such as Colonial Williamsburg to be able to find in Britain originals from the same plates as those from which the prints which once adorned colonial southern homes were struck.

Prints were more popular than oil or pastel paintings or even watercolors for several reasons. They were cheaper, and they could be procured more easily. Inventories of modest properties include them, and the wealthy planters also had them along with their paintings. The South Carolina merchant Robert Pringle was not aiming entirely at any one class of colonists when he advertised in 1743 that he had just imported "a very choice collection of Printed Books, Pictures, Maps and Pickles to be sold very reasonable."¹⁷³ Taverns as well as private homes displayed them. In 1755,

traveling in the Northern Neck of Virginia, Daniel Fisher found that a Rappahannock ordinary had "as elegant an appearance as any I have seen in the country, Mr. Finnays or Wetherberns in Williamsburg not excepted. The chairs, Tables, & c. of the Room I was conducted into was all of Mahogany, and so stuf with fine glaized Copper Plate Prints: That I almost fancied myself in Jeffriess' or some other elegant Print Shop."¹⁷⁴ The elegant British shops sold plain prints for a few shillings, with a little more for the colored ones. The favorite subjects included Roman antiquities, portraits of the Caesars, or "sets" of the months, the seasons, or the "Sences" (such as David Fox's in Lancaster County, Virginia), horses and hunting scenes, sea pieces, botanical specimens, especially flowers, other aspects of natural history, views of famous British places such as Kensington Gardens and Hampton Court and noblemen's seats, and portrait engravings of great British contemporaries.

Former Governor Spotswood left to his children twenty-six prints of "Overton's Theatrum Passion" and twenty small prints with glasses. On August 23, 1758, Joseph Ball sent to his friend Benjamin Waller in Williamsburg "the Finest Print of a Horse that Ever I set my Eyes on." The York County, Virginia, inventories of the 1745-1752 period alone list scores of pictures including prints, unfortunately usually without subjects. John Burdett on August 26, 1746, however, left twelve Roman Emperor Prints and "Sir Richard Steele Pictures" besides thirty other prints and maps. In May 1752 one woman left three "Philosophe[s?] in Black" [frames?] and others.

Hogarth's moral and satirical engravings were everywhere, especially such subjects as the companion Idle and Industrious Apprentices. Henry Laurens in 1784 bought from the widow Hogarth a set of the engravings by her late husband. "The Harlot's Progress" was a six-print set owned by Joseph Wragg (d. 1751) in South Carolina.

Thomas Gadsden in South Carolina had ten prints of the "History of King Charles 1st," four hunting pieces, twelve flower prints, eight unidentified, and twenty-three of the popular series depicting Don Quixote in various situations. In 1760 Mrs. Martha D. Harriotte owned ten of the Royal Family. In 1755 Alexander Hamilton had Vandeval's [Van de Velde's] Green Sea Pieces. The 1764 inventory of Williamsburg merchant William Prentiss lists twelve fruit pieces (*Twelve Months of Fruit* were first published in 1732); and earlier, in 1734, John Custis had thanked a Mr. Cary for the "flour pieces you sent me," noting that as a subscriber he should have received the thirteenth print with the subscribers' names, as other Virginia gentlemen, including Colonel Lee, had done. In 1764 Barnard Elliott of Charleston wrote his brother-in-law from London that he was sending landscapes from the print shops and complained of the price of a

set of hunting prints he would have liked to buy. He commented also on the fine historical pieces and the scarcity of anything concerned with agriculture.

Thomas Monck in South Carolina in 1744 offered his fellow colonists a variety of prints, in color and plain, of churches, noblemen's and gentlemen's seats, a bridge, landscapes of "Porto Bello, Carthagens and of St. Sebastian . . . rotundas of Rome . . . sets of views of Guernsey, Jersey" etc. In 1750 in Maryland Thomas Williamson offered prospects of most of the famous public buildings in Europe, views of shipping, prospects of churches, rivers, fountains, and lakes, with other things. Williamson declared that he was on the way to Virginia with his collection.

Bishop Roberts' view of Charleston 1739, engraved by W.H. Toms in London, naturally was popular in South Carolina. Catesby's great plain or hand-colored engravings could be bought singly in Britain or America. The portrait engraving was probably the most popular print in both northern and southern colonies. In 1719 a resident of York County in Virginia had pictures of King William and Queen Mary, and in 1739 and later in the same county pictures of Charles II, the "Judges of England," the King of Prussia, and William Pitt were named among others. Because of his pro-colonial activity, Pitt was represented most frequently. One engraving after a portrait by Hoare underwent so many alterations it had to be re-engraved. It appears in a rural North Carolina inventory of 1769. A more famous one of Pitt by Maryland-born Charles Willson Peale, engraved in London in 1768, was also available in the colonies.¹⁷⁵

Favorite places for hanging either glazed or unglazed prints were stairway walls and entrance halls, though they might also be found in any other room except the kitchen. There may have been others like William Byrd II, who kept them, probably in great portfolios, so that he might leaf through them again and again. Byrd probably collected prints, as has been noted, from his earliest English years. In his 1719 diary he shows himself buying prints sold by his London drawing teacher, and in 1741 at Westover he records frequently that he looked over his prints and on one occasion that he showed them to William Dering.¹⁷⁶

Perhaps the best-known prints of American subjects were those engraved in London from Catesby's drawings of animals and plants and Roberts' view of Charleston. Some of the portraits painted in London of southern Indians were also engraved there, as the Cherokee embassy of Sir Alexander Cumming in 1730 showing chiefs, and the later small group of the 1760s taken over by Henry Timberlake, or of Queen Anne's earlier Indian kings.¹⁷⁷ As already noticed, British or European mezzotints and other prints supplied several painters in the southern colonies with poses and backgrounds they used in their portraits. A Hogarth engraving might inspire a poem or be the

subject of one, as will be pointed out in the next chapter. Hogarth's influence on American colonial satire would make an interesting study.

SCULPTURE AND THEORY OF ART

Though carving is not a graphic art, it is close enough to be considered here, especially since there is so little of it to consider. The armorial bearings and effigies on elaborate tombs throughout the southern colonies have rarely even been photographed, much less discussed. Many of the stone forms were ordered from Great Britain, in one instance a slab of black marble in which a brass coat of arms was set. Most are too far gone to recover, but those remaining should be brought together for an in-depth study as indicative of taste and fashion.

In South Carolina the most profitable form of sculpture for trained local artisans was ship carving. Figureheads, ornamental billetheads, and stern-pieces were among their products. Also some of these men carved the pulpit and the cherubim's heads of St. Michael's Church. There are a few records of ordering garden statuary in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, but most of these instances are late in the century. Manigault wrote that he was sending with his portrait by Ramsay two busts, perhaps of himself. And at the outbreak of the Revolution Charleston had a fine statue of William Pitt and Williamsburg another of Lord Botetourt, the latter now mutilated but still in the old Virginia capital.

On December 24, 1728, the Parks' *Maryland Gazette* published a "Plain-Dealer" essay (no. 6) on "Poetry and Painting," a revised version of British *Free-Thinker* essay n. 63.¹⁷⁸ Dr. Alexander Hamilton in his *Itinerarium* shows himself something of a connoisseur and does not hesitate to analyze and criticize the paintings he sees in the North, going into some detail on the work of Feke and Smibert. But there is little or no presentation of conscious theories of the graphic arts in the colonial newspapers. Private letters contain some implicit and a little explicit art criticism, it was not even so frequent as music and theater criticism.¹⁷⁹

DRAWING MASTERS AND AMATEURS

The Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina *Gazettes* before 1764 carried numbers of advertisements of would-be or actual teachers of drawing and painting. Some of their names are totally forgotten. Others have already been referred to in these pages as professional limners or painters of landscapes. Most of those who advertised were in the one real city of the southern colonies, Charleston.

Artisan painters such as A. Pooley in Maryland in 1752 and Bishop

Roberts in South Carolina in 1740 advertised only their ability to draw or paint. In Charleston in 1741 Judith Thomas let it be known through the *South-Carolina Gazette* that she taught drawing, as did Nathaniel and Mary Gittens in 1744. In 1748 in that city Magdalene Hamilton proposed to teach embroidery and drawing, and in 1749 Elizabeth Anderson offered to teach drawing. Better known is the Martha Logan who in 1754 taught reading and drawing. In 1755 John Thomas proposed to teach six young ladies to draw and shade with the "*Indian* ink pencil." In 1761 and 1763 others offered drawing lessons.

The Gittenses operated an evening school for young ladies, and Theus himself in 1745 advertised his evening school in which young gentlemen and ladies might learn drawing. Undoubtedly many a young woman in town and on the plantation was taught to draw.

At least two amateurs profited from training in drawing, though both were probably taught in Great Britain. One was Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis, who illustrated his "History" and "Minutes" of the Tuesday Club with a series of pencil and ink caricatures of his individual fellow members, of some of the meetings of the club, and of certain of their anniversary parades. The sketches are meant to be no more than crude, but Hamilton shows the talent here he does in his prose for capturing a character or personality.

The second amateur is George Roupel, English official of the post office in Charleston. His wash drawing of a dinner-table group of Peter Manigault and his friends is immediately reminiscent of the Tuesday Club seated about a fairly similar table. But Roupel anticipates the full-fledged cartoon by having streamers from the mouth of each gentleman carrying words suggestive of the semi-inebriated state of each. Hamilton's festive group had a flowing bowl and long-stemmed pipes, the Carolinians a bowl, a half-dozen bottles, and wineglasses. The background of Roupel's picture shows a paneled doorway and fireplace and in a window seat a large bird in a cage.¹⁸⁰

WILLIAM BYRD II AND THE GRAPHIC ARTS

William Byrd's apparently lifelong interest in prints and his collection of them have already been commented upon, as well as his acquaintance with or patronage of Charles Bridges and William Dering. There were probably in all four portraits of Byrd, the 1702-1704 one by Kneller or a member of his school, two by Bridges (one of which perhaps was done in England), and one by an unknown artist. Three are listed in the will of his daughter-in-law and the Kneller portrait did not reach this country until the twentieth century.¹⁸¹

One portrait by Bridges is believed to be of the 1715-1720 period of its subject's stay in London. Another of about 1735 has now been lost sight of, though it was reproduced in John Spencer Bassett's *Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esquire* (New York, 1901) and Richmond C. Beatty's *William Byrd of Westover* (New York, 1932). Along with his Bridges' portraits go those of his second wife and of his daughters of both marriages.

As far as is known today Byrd was the greatest collector of oil paintings, especially portraits, of the colonial period. In 1871 most of his pictures still hung on the walls of Lower and Upper Brandon, estates near his Westover, and all of his and a few more seem to have been included in the will of his daughter-in-law, Mrs. William (Maria Willing) Byrd about 1814. She bequeathed ten pictures to her son Charles Willing Byrd, nine to son Richard Willing Byrd, and eight to son William Powell Byrd.

Besides the family portraits by Bridges noted above, there is a fine representation of Byrd's best or closest English friends. They were apparently acquired simply by his asking these friends to furnish him with their likenesses or to sit for their likenesses. Whether he or they paid for them is not known, but in at least one instance he reciprocated by giving his early "Kneller" portrait to the Earl of Orrery. Whether the known portraits are by major British artists seems not to have been looked into. Many of them he received after his final return to America in the 1720s.

Among those inherited by Charles Willing Byrd was a portrait of Virginia colonial barrister and official, Mr. Walthoe [Waltham] of Williamsburg, who is said to have been so impressed by the faces of the many noble ladies and gentlemen at Westover that he offered Colonel Byrd a diamond ring on condition his own likeness be hung among them. A so-called Titian and a Rubens are probably not originals, though they may be. A decade or so ago the former picture was in California and the Rubens in Clarke County, Virginia. The "Titian" is a Venus, the "Rubens" the portrait of a man. With these went one of the portraits of Byrd himself and six others of his particular friends, Lord Orrery, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Lord Oxford, the Marquis of Halifax, the Duke of Argyle, and Sir Robert Southwell, the last of whom was his patron and surrogate father during his earlier years in Britain.

The Richard Willing Byrd group includes one of William Byrd II, supposed portraits of both his wives, "Cousin Taylor" (the second Mrs. Byrd's London sister-in-law), supposedly another portrait of Sir Robert Southwell (perhaps his son Edward?), Lady Betty Southwell, the Earl of Egmont, Sir Charles Wager, and one other. William Powell Byrd had a third picture of his grandfather William II and pictures of Mr. Dutton, William Blathwayt, Lady Betty Cromwell (Southwell) or of a Lady Clay-

poole, Teresa Blount, Colonel Daniel Parke (William II's first father-in-law) said to be a Kneller, and two of William Byrd II's daughters, Mrs. Charles Carter of Cleveland and Mrs. Landon Carter. In addition to these named (or misnamed) in the will, there are portraits of William Byrd I and Lord Albemarle. Also at Westover, and surely included in some bequests, were the pictures of Colonel Martin Bladen, Peter Beckford, the so-called Duchess of Montagu(e), and Sir Robert Walpole, according to reports of 1871 and 1891.

Byrd's vanity and his unabashed desire to be reminded of the friendships of the London in which he had spent half his years were among the factors which brought this remarkable gathering of paintings into existence. They were in a very real sense conversation pieces. On October 10, 1735, in addressing a favorite correspondent, Mrs. Taylor, he remarked, "We often discourse you in Effigie and call the painter a Bungler for falling so short of the Original." Almost a year later, on July 12, 1736, Byrd addressed his friend the Earl of Egmont, thanking him for the recently received portrait: "I had the honour of your Lordship's commands of the 9th & since that time have had the pleasure of conversing a great deal with yr picture. It is uncommonly well done & the Painter not only hit your Ayr, but some of the Virtues too which usd to soften & enliven yr Features." He goes on to say that he can read his Lordship's character in the canvas.¹⁸²

In many of his writings Byrd seems to be thinking of himself as a painter as well as a gardener. In a great number of his sketches in essay or epistolary form he uses the terms of the graphic artist. The vignettes are indeed closely akin to the prints he collected, of both the satiric or Hogarthian and the complimentary or serious varieties. During his 1717-1721 London stay he engaged a well-known teacher of watercolor to train him in the art. This man, Eleazar Albin, gave the Virginia gentleman lessons in the latter's own apartments from December 1717 until October 1719, arriving at ten or eleven in the morning and teaching for about an hour each time. Albin also brought various prints, perhaps for Byrd to choose from, and once came with his pupil's "paint box and several other things." Whether Byrd had some idea of drawing Virginia plants and animals for his naturalist friends or was merely amusing himself he does not say. When he did plan to have his *History of the Dividing Line* printed in Britain he asked Mark Catesby to do the illustrations.¹⁸³

Byrd's patronage of Charles Bridges and in a sense William Dering has been discussed. There is no positively identified portrait from his collection by the latter painter, though a copy of one of Bridges' portraits of one of the Byrd daughters who married Carters may be Dering's work. Byrd also

encouraged and sought the advice of Mark Catesby in many things, probably including drawings for natural history. Portraits and prints and drawings were for him significant elements of his eighteenth-century world.

MUSIC

From the Jamestown of 1607 to the Williamsburg and Charleston of the 1760s music was part of the life of every southern colonial, even when he spent much of his time on a plantation or a small cleared farm on the western frontier. If he was English in origin, he had already been a part of one of the greatest outbursts of musical activity in human history, activity on its way before 1600 and continuing in varied forms to the end of the eighteenth century. If he had a Swiss or French or Italian or German background, he was sure to have been familiar with the vocal and instrumental traditions of his native land. If he was black, he often practiced his African tribal music on the slave ship in which he was being transported to America. Whatever his origin, he came almost at once into contact with red Indian music and frequently left record of his reactions to it, as has been mentioned.

As time went on, the black adapted the evangelical hymns to his own traditional antiphonal singing and made therefrom the Negro spiritual and folk hymn. And the black may have brought the African banjo, which Jefferson declared to be his natural instrument, and used it as accompaniment for his dancing or in some instances taught his white master how to use it. The white settler of every class or level of literacy continued to enjoy the English and Scottish traditional ballads, preserving them in distinctly altered forms and language to our own time. Perhaps the first white colonists brought no instruments save military drums or trumpets on their tiny, crowded ships, but before the end of the Virginia Company in 1624 there were other instruments. By the close of the seventeenth century, Philip A. Bruce believes, there were European instruments on every plantation. And before the Revolution every instrument of the European eighteenth-century orchestra was being used in the five southern provinces. There were organs in several churches even in rural areas and a few in private homes, and spinets and harpsichords of the most expensive forms and materials were in most great planters' households and in many town houses.

Church choirs, musical societies in Maryland and South Carolina especially, the introduction of the great evangelical hymns of Watts and Doddridge and the Wesleys, along with the Moravian and other German sacred

music, encouraged the steady development during the eighteenth century of vocal music. The advent of the professional theater and the need for adequate instrumental music for dancing encouraged professional musicians who ranged from Negro slave fiddlers through indentured servants to well-trained artisans and even to a few gentlemanly itinerant instructors who participated in the social life of those they taught. The gentleman amateur in the Chesapeake colonies studied the art, performed for his family or friends, and encouraged the professional musician. Those who believe that the arts cannot be encouraged in a rural atmosphere forget or have never realized how gregarious the southern planter was and that music was a principal means of entertainment when he joined his neighbors. Even the tavern keepers owned instruments, especially violins, for the use of transient guests.

William Byrd II thought and spoke in terms of music as well as of gardening and painting, and at Westover visitors such as William Dering performed on the French horn and other instruments for his pleasure. Byrd also knew the songs of the theater and the traditional ballads, and he might have heard, had he been born a little later, as good organ music in Williamsburg as in London. Councilor Robert Carter of Nomini, a shrewd industrialist and planter, was a skilled musician who played on several instruments, had a good musical library, and "perfected" a gadget for tuning his harpsichord and *fortepiano*. Thomas Jefferson and music were inseparable from youth onward. A whole book has recently appeared on his relationship to the art. He wanted at Monticello, as the Tayloes actually had at Mount Airy, a plantation orchestra of his own servants, of course to be joined upon occasion by members of his family. Chamber music was part of the eighteenth-century southern colonial planters' way of life, and in the capital towns at least this form of art was enjoyed also by both artisan and middle-class merchant.

A few wrote in the provincial gazettes about music, and many more amateur and professional musicians tried their hands at composing. Most of the work of these men is today known only by title or description, but enough survives in manuscript and print or engraving to demonstrate that the southern colonist was more creative in music than in the graphic arts.

BEFORE 1700

The first chroniclers of the Jamestown colony all are interested in comparing the red man's vocal and instrumental music with their own. George Percy pictures the Werowance of Rappahanna coming down to the river bank in 1607 "playing on a flute made of a reed." Captain Smith described what was perhaps the same sort of instrument as a recorder made

of a thick cane. He also comments on the drums and the omnipresent gourd rattles which the Indians had in bass, tenor, countertenor, mean, and treble. A mimic battle with war songs and dancing so strange that it seemed "very delightful" is outlined in some detail in *A Map of Virginia* (Oxford, 1612). And William Strachey in his *Historie of Travell* attempts to explain their vocal music, the love songs, battle songs, scornful (of the English) songs, and recitals of their prowess, along with four three-line verses in the Algonkian language. Strachey's efforts to reproduce aboriginal songs or choruses in European or English sounds is not very successful, but he must have felt that his countrymen in Britain would be interested in the strange music.¹⁸⁴

Even on the first ships the English probably brought with their drums and trumpets a church bell which would call everyone to divine service twice a day. Sir Thomas Dale's famous or infamous *Laws* for colonial behavior frequently mention that the settlers were called to their various duties by the bell or drum, and Captain Smith and others mention the trumpets used in making an impression when they visited such a chief as Powhatan. Perhaps the earliest references to a personally owned instrument designed for entertainment are in the court records of 1624 when Ensign John Utie complained of the reproaches and slanders heaped upon him by William Tyler, who called him a "Fidlinge Rogue and Rascal." One witness affirmed that Tyler also accused Utie of having made his living in England "by fidlinge." The defendant admitted that he had called the plaintiff "Mr Utie fidler, because he saw him play upon A violl at sea; and . . . hurde other say he was a musitione in England." Though the matter of stealing some of the Company's tobacco was involved here, the significant facts for us are that a professional violinist was settled in the colony by that time and that the professional musician in general was ill regarded by at least certain colonists. Utie's military rank, however, would suggest that he was a gentleman, and at the time of the trial he was a Burgess and lived at his plantation Utiemaria. Eventually he rose to the rank of captain and membership in the Council.¹⁸⁵

As the century wore on, in both the Chesapeake colonies musical instruments appear in wills and inventories. The virginal, the fiddle and/or the violin, the recorder, flute, and hautboy were parts of personal estates. The court records indicate that there were teachers of instrumental music in Maryland in the 1650s and later. William Sturdivant of St. Clement's Manor in 1673 had to sue his former pupil William Younge for his fee for "learning" Younge to "play on the violin." In 1670/1671 Miles Chafe sued for payment for having taught John Hitchison to play on the cithern (here Gittren) and in 1672 John Harvey went to court to recover his "Citterne" from the man who had promised to mend it. As

early as 1672 a Maryland trader fined for carrying on business with the Indians without a license had in his stock ten jews' harps, a trade item popular among the red men at least down to the Revolution.¹⁸⁶

In Virginia there were fiddlers in force during the latter half of the century. A Clason Wheeler was one who took part in Bacon's Rebellion and then fled to New England. Captain Richard Bailey of Accomack County had a slave fiddler who was in great demand throughout the neighborhood. In 1667 Charles Hansford, father of the rebel, was awarded judgment against James Lucas for breaking his treble viol. In 1679 innkeeper Josias Modé of the French Ordinary in York County owned two violins, and in 1676 Joseph Pullett, innkeeper, of Williamsburg was able to supply a trumpet and two French horns for his guests. In the 1680s William Fitzhugh seems to have been able to conjure up at a moment's notice three fiddlers, an acrobat, a jester, and a tightrope dancer when a large group of guests arrived. In 1685 the inventory of Thomas Jordan of Surry County shows "a pair of very old virginalls" and "a base violll unfixt."¹⁸⁷

In this period, too, military music had advanced beyond mere use as signals and marching accompaniment of drums and trumpets, though the use in such capacity spread to the extent that the militia of each county felt it should be well supplied with them. In 1687, for example, the justices of the peace in Middlesex County ordered from England two brass trumpets with silver mouthpieces "to be hanged in black and with silke" and two drums with six spare heads fit for use with troops of horse and companies of foot. In the same year Governor Lord Effingham suggested to the commission of the peace of York County that they lay a levy for "Trumpetts, Drums, Colors, and other ornaments." The justices replied that they had no legal authority to assess for such a purpose. A year later Captain William Lee of Northumberland was to be paid for "two trumpets and a bandora {?} sent for to England." In 1691 the clerk of the General Court of the colony published and proclaimed an order that all the militia should give accounts of powder, colors, drums, arms, and trumpets.

Some county militia officers seem to have owned their own drums, for in 1677 Colonel William Farrar of Henrico County had in the hall of his house a new drum with the arms of his family painted on it. Evidently many colonists personally owned trumpets as well as drums. Both these instruments had in Europe become parts of the orchestras for German churches and Italian operas by the mid-seventeenth century, and Handel and Bach continued to use the cavalry-sized kettledrum in the next century. The half band-half orchestra for great occasions in the colonies appears in the records just after 1700.¹⁸⁸

This is about all that is known of seventeenth-century southern colonial music. That Anglican congregations sang the psalms with their designated tunes from Sternhold and Hopkins is to be taken for granted, for the hymnody of Watts and Doddridge and Davies in the eighteenth century had its roots in the English service as well as Moravian and other Continental ecclesiastical music. As in New England, the hymn in Maryland or Virginia or South Carolina was surely lined out by a member of the congregation (in Anglican churches the clerk or lay reader), for there is no known southern church organ in this century. It is perhaps worth remembering too that the earliest European music to be heard in any of the thirteen original colonies was French psalmody, sung by the Huguenots in 1562 during their short-lived settlement at Port Royal in South Carolina.¹⁸⁹

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ACTIVITY

One of the earliest and most detailed descriptions of social life in a southern colony of the eighteenth century includes a great deal about an impressive musical celebration, of a kind which must have been repeated many times in this and other colonies as the decades passed. The reporter was the Swiss traveler Francis Louis Michel, the place was Williamsburg, and the time was June 18, 1702, a day set aside by Governor Francis Nicholson of Virginia to proclaim the occasion of Queen Anne. Cavalry and infantry, the Commissary, and government officials participated while townspeople and visitors, including forty Indians, looked on, Michel estimates the militia alone as numbering two thousand. Musicians were stationed on the three balconies of the main college building, with buglers from the warships at the top, hautboys on the second, and violins on the lowest. When one group stopped the next began, and at times all played together. All this was in the European baroque tradition.

To begin with, on this occasion there was mournful music played before and after a eulogy for the departed King William. At this time the governor and other participants were in mourning. After considerable marching and counter-marching of the troops, the musicians (it was now noon) began to play a lively tune, and the governor and his party reappeared in blue uniforms covered with braid. The new Queen was proclaimed. As dark came, the college windows were filled with lighted candles, "the musicians played as best they could, [and] the buglers were especially good."¹⁹⁰

This band-orchestra seems to have been made up of professional military musicians and amateur hautboyists and violinists, though the latter groups probably included the professional teacher-musicians of the col-

ony. There is no known mention of a military band or of an organized orchestra so early in the Virginia colony or in Annapolis, though both in modest form were to develop with the century.

Vocal and Instrumental Groups

No record exists in the Chesapeake colonies of either formally organized orchestras or choral groups during the first third of the eighteenth century. William Byrd's diary of 1709-1712 notes fiddlers in pairs at least for balls at the Governor's Palace or the Capitol in Williamsburg, but he does not mention other instruments. When the Stagg-Levingston first Virginia theater opened in 1716, there must have been some sort of small grouping of instruments to accompany certain dramatic productions. Stagg, like most dancing masters and actors, played one or more instruments, and the contracts between him and Levingston called for musicians to accompany the theatrical performances.

Stagg may have been the violin teacher of John Langford, who was to become the first native music instructor of the colony. In 1722 the two men, perhaps with other instrumentalists from Stagg's theatrical troupe, supplied the music for the wedding of Ann, daughter of Robert "King" Carter, to Benjamin Harrison, or Langford may have got together a group from among his own pupils, for he was paid more than Stagg. Langford, who lived in Hanover County, died in 1736/1737, a month or so after his music students were barred from a St. Andrew's Day fiddling contest in Hanover, probably because they were too good.¹⁹¹ The prize was a "fine Cremona fiddle." A year later at the same festival drums, trumpets, and hautboys were provided to be played together with twenty fiddlers *after* the contest among the latter. On the same occasion "A Quire of Ballads [was] to be sung for." A later report notes that drums, trumpets and other "Musick" were played for the entertainment of the company.

By mid-century the dramatic companies of Murray-Kean and the Hal-lams had talented musicians among their number and engaged local gentleman amateurs to play their dramatic accompaniments, often conducted by Peter Pelham, Bruton Parish Church organist. The 1751 diary of President John Blair, nephew of the commissary, shows how active the amateur circle of musicians was at this time. Blair or the ladies of the household played on the spinet or harpsichord and various members of his family performed on other instruments and sang. In January he notes that his visitors John Randolph and Dr. Hackerston played on the violin and German flute respectively, presumably to Blair's accompaniment. When Maryland musical virtuoso Thomas Bacon visited in Williamsburg in July, they had a fine benefit concert at the Brafferton for Bacon's Charity

School noted in Chapter III above. A few days later after dinner at Blair's house they had "fine musick" and the next day at Dr. George Gilmer's more, with the host on the violin.¹⁹²

In the *Virginia Gazette* for December 11, 1766, is an account of an orchestra composed of three violins, one tenor, one bass, two flutes, one hautboy, one horn, and one harpsichord. In the early 1760s young Thomas Jefferson was with his law teacher, George Wythe, among several gentlemen forming with Governor Fauquier a chamber-music group or ensemble which had weekly concerts. John Tyler, father of the later American president of the same name, was the cellist, and Councilor Robert Carter of Nomini the harpsichordist when he was in town. Landon Carter, who did not have the musical ear of his nephew, confided to his diary in 1771 that he had heard that in the little capital "from every house a constant tuting may be listened to upon one instrument or another." Molnar found that the presentation of public concerts was well established in Virginia by 1766.¹⁹³

But an outline of the Williamsburg area's group music would not be complete without mention of a lovely little story of 1769 which Anne Blair, one of John's daughters, described or related in a letter to her sister. One August night the Blairs and their visitors, the Dawson family, were singing "a few Songs" before parting when an approaching candle was observed, an illumination hardly necessary on such a fine night. It proved to be the governor, Lord Botetourt, who called out "charming! charming! proceed for *God* sake." My Lord declined to go within, but sat on the steps and sang with the young choristers for at least another half hour.¹⁹⁴

In the two generations just before the Revolution, especially the latter, group musicians performed outside Williamsburg at country mansions or in public concerts in towns such as Fredericksburg. There are several indications that before 1746 Henry Lee of Westmoreland had several musicians, including a piper, among his servants, slave and indentured, probably enough to form an ensemble. John Tayloe II, whose Mount Airy was visited by tutor Philip Vickers Fithian in 1773-1774, had indeed a small orchestra among his servants. His daughters also played the harpsichord and other instruments. At Lee Hall Fithian heard a French horn and two violins play "country dances" and occasionally marches. At Nomini Hall itself Councilor Carter had around him in his wife, children, tutor Fithian, music master Stadley, and neighbors, enough persons interested in instrumental music for frequent evening ensembles. From the surviving music once owned by Robert Bolling (1738-1775), poet and essayist, one may be sure that he had enough of family and friends for the group to perform on several instruments for their own enjoyment, though the music was primarily intended for the violin.¹⁹⁵

Religious music received new impetus in Virginia as several churches by mid-century had acquired organs and the Great Awakening brought a new and renewed interest in hymnody. The same family groups that enjoyed playing and singing secular pieces were also much interested in psalmody and hymnody. Fithian points out that the Carter family frequently played or sang both psalms and hymns and that Councilor Carter showed him the collections he had recently imported of psalm tunes, hymns, and anthems set in four parts for the voice. The group at Nomini practiced these vocal pieces with accompanying instruments. Even the worldly music master Mr. Stadley was carrying from one Virginia plantation to another "A Hymn for a dying Believer," and Carter insisted that his daughter Nancy play and sing "the Funeral Hymn" until she had mastered it. At Yeocomico Church the tutor was surprised to hear a choir in a gallery leading the singing of "the Psalm" and was told that a professional singing master was training them. Fithian added that in Anglican churches he had usually heard only the clerk and about two others singing.¹⁹⁶

The Reverend Samuel Davies, certainly the major native southern hymn writer of the colonial era, has been discussed in other respects below and above. The hymns attached to his printed sermons entered Presbyterian and other evangelical hymnals and were popular to the end of the nineteenth century. One of Davies' greatest interests was the education of Negroes so that they might become intelligent Christians. He secured books, especially Psalters and hymnals, for them through London societies, "which enabled them to gratify their peculiar taste for *Psalmody*. Sundry of them have lodged all night in my kitchen; and, sometimes, when I have awakened about two or three a-clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber."¹⁹⁷ Though Davies declared that the hymnal of Isaac Watts was the blacks' favorite, one wonders how far they had progressed by 1756 in developing the Negro spiritual.

In Maryland most of our records of group vocal and instrumental music begin in the 1740s in Annapolis and on the Eastern Shore, but there must have been ensemble playing in the colony long before this. Parks' *Maryland Gazette* indicates an interest in music which will be commented upon later. Dr. Alexander Hamilton of the Tuesday Club on his journey north in 1744 recorded constantly comments on individual and group music, some of it within the boundaries of his own province. The Tuesday Club itself for more than a decade from 1745 was a center of music performances and even composition, two members, the parsons Alexander Malcolm and Thomas Bacon, being adept at both. The twenty-five (orig-

inally fifteen) members of the club were drawn from various professions or were gentlemen of leisure or business, but a love of music and lightheartedness were prerequisites to membership. Many were virtuosos, as George Neilson, once a member of the earlier Red House Club, who could play on the violin, bass viol, flute, hautboy, and jews'-harp as well as the bassoon. Several were strictly vocalists, though most performed on one or more instruments.

The Reverend Thomas Bacon excelled in chamber music as both performer and composer, and after he became a member much of the music was serious. His scores to accompany the lyrics of others still remain in the Club manuscripts. Bacon lived on the Eastern Shore during his earlier years in the Club and was present only sporadically. Near Oxford he and his merchant friend Henry Callister were leaders in the late 1750s in Talbot County in a "musical society." A James Hollyday and Samuel Chamberlaine were also active in the group. In a letter of October 26, 1756, Bacon wrote to Callister of "the most delightful concert America can afford" which the latter had missed. It had been performed at Colonel Edward Lloyd's, and the Philadelphia singer-composer-harpsichordist John di Palma, a professional musician, had accompanied Bacon's fiddle. Callister was to attend the next gathering at Lloyd's.¹⁹⁸

Colonel Edward Lloyd himself was, like Bacon, a member of the Tuesday Club and attended its gatherings whenever he was in Annapolis. In the little capital was an abundance of musical talent. Alexander Malcolm, author of a standard British musical treatise, played second violin, Bacon first violin, Jonas Green the French horn, Samuel Hart the flute, Thomas Richison the dulcimer, and on occasion Daniel Dulany, Jr., Robert Morris, and even John Wollaston played the violin. The last-named, the painter, was not a member, but played with the group on January 23 and May 15, 1753. Hamilton, like Neilson, played on several instruments.

Nonresident members of this club from the Eastern Shore, Baltimore, and western Maryland had their own branch groups. Possibly the musical society of Bacon and Callister was one of these. The "Baltimore Bards" and "The Eastern shore Triumvirate" (to be discussed in the next chapter) undoubtedly indulged in chamber music at their meetings, as probably did the Loyal Club of Upper Marlborough.

Though musical as well as literary activity declined for a time after Dr. Hamilton's death in 1756, there were some other concerts. Before his death a group of gentlemen had played at the production of *The Beggar's Opera* at Upper Marlborough and probably at Annapolis. Many or all of them may have been Tuesday Club members. But the singers were usually mem-

bers of the professional troupe of actors. Later there was in 1769 a private charity concert in the Assembly Room at Upper Marlborough, with professional musician Jacob Leonard as first violin. And other evidence of music by groups is to be found here and there.¹⁹⁹

Records of music in colonial North Carolina seem to begin with the 1750s, and almost all of it is Moravian. Psalms were sung in the Anglican churches, however, and in 1759 Governor Arthur Dobbs composed the words for a Thanksgiving hymn to be sung in all the churches of the colony to the "100 Psalm Tune." In 1762 S.P.G. missionary John Macdonald wrote to the Society, "We have Psalmody performed in great Perfection, in our Chapel at Brunswick, by a number of Gentlemen & Ladies; But for want of bookes with the new Version, as we do not give out the Lines, very few of the Comon people can join in singing; but with these helps we will soon have many to join."²⁰⁰

As Adelaide Fries points out, music occurs on every page of the diaries of those Moravians who settled in the Salem-Wachovia region in 1753. From the beginning they gathered for services of song. A series of visitors also testify to their vocal and instrumental accomplishment. Congregations were divided into groups or choirs of single men, single women, married people, older boys, older girls, and children. No distinction was made between secular and religious activities: they sang as they harvested or cut trees as well as in church. The hymn-sermon was one of their distinctive developments. The famous trombone choirs began at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania in 1754, and the North Carolina Moravians made their own first trumpet from a hollow tree the same year. By 1755 French horns and trumpets and flutes were among them, but there were no trombones until 1768. An organ was brought to Betharaba in 1762.

They had able composers, especially after 1780. Much of the original music from earlier periods survives, however. They wrote words for special occasions and welcomed new tunes from recent arrivals. There is a pleasing picture of their entertainment with both the old and new when Governor and Mrs. Tryon visited in 1767. Moravian music, much of it composed in the colony and state, remains one of North Carolina's living traditions.²⁰¹

South Carolina music in the eighteenth century had a distinction perhaps unequalled elsewhere in the colonies. When in 1732 the *South-Carolina Gazette* began to record or to advertise musical activity, the art was clearly a major part of the life of the people of the city-state. Naturally all of it centers in Charleston, though the rural churches had psalmody, and occasional secular concerts were given in smaller towns. To South

Carolina flocked European Continental as well as British musicians, often reaching Charleston after stays in the more northerly provinces.

Music in this city is a story of the leadership of professional musicians and the interdependability of church and secular forms. Church organists taught music to individuals, conducted public secular vocal and instrumental concerts, and composed cantatas, sonatas, minuets and other forms. The Anglican churches employed these musicians for their liturgical services, but the oldest music positively known is Huguenot, from a copy of Marot's *Pseaulmes de David* (Paris, 1679) owned by David Manigault, who died in 1705. This psalter indicates that French services according to the Geneva liturgy were conducted in the city in the seventeenth century. In both Huguenot and Anglican churches the early psalmody was unaccompanied singing.

The 1732 *South-Carolina Gazette* gave the names of the earliest major musicians. John Salter, probably already organist of St. Philip's, is the earliest name of a professional to emerge. On March 11, 1732, he sponsored "an Assembly for Dancing and Cards," and a month later a "Consort of Musick at the Council Chamber" was given for his benefit. The latter performance may dispute with a similar Boston one the honor of being the first recorded American public concert. In June a Henry Campbell presented another program of vocal and instrumental music. Salter gave several other concerts during this first documental season. No details appear, except that a vocal and instrumental concert advertised on February 17, 1733, was to include nothing but "English and Scotch Songs."

By July 1733 concerts were being given by subscription, and from then well into 1737 the Council Chamber was the scene of a number of musical programs either given by Salter or advertised without any name whatsoever. In February 1737 Salter transferred to the "Court-room in Mr. Shepheard's House." In May a benefit concert for the family of the late Mr. Cook was given at the playhouse. In November of the same year a full program of vocal and instrumental music including a cantata suitable for the occasion, St. Cecilia's Day, was given at the theater by Charles Theodore Pachelbel (1690-1750), the most distinguished of the European musicians to live in the city in this period. The advertisement of this concert noted that it was the first thing of the kind attempted in the province. Pachelbel was organist of St. Philip's from 1740 until his death.

No concert is advertised between 1737 (a final one for Salter) until November 1751, when one was given for Mr. Uh'l. In 1755, a "concert of music" by Frederick Grunzweig, later organist (1762-1764) at St. Michael's, was advertised. Benjamin Yarnold, first organist at St. Philip's and then at St. Michael's and a teacher, set to music an anthem for St.

John's Day (a Masonic celebration), where it was sung and played "by several masterly hands." In 1762 he was proposing to print this or some other Masonic anthem. Meanwhile in October 1760 an Edward Wallace gave a vocal and instrumental concert to be concluded with a ball. In 1765 an Orange Garden program featured the "Concertos On the Franch Horn and Bassoon by Mr. Pike." From 1765 to the Revolution organist-composer Peter Valton advertised concerts, wrote music for Masonic celebrations, and of course performed himself. Scattered between his notices are those of the St. Cecilia Society and various more or less forgotten individual musicians. Valton in 1774 employed in his concerts the vocal and instrumental talents of members of the theatrical company then performing.

All the many "societies" of Charleston employed musicians upon occasion. The Sons of Saint Patrick, the Masons, the Saint Andrew's Society, were but three among many organized for benevolent and social purposes. Then there were the three musical societies, the St. Cecilia, the Orpheus, and the St. Michael's Bellringers, all of which gave regular performances. The St. Cecilia, founded in 1762, the oldest American musical society, sponsored an orchestra of paid musicians supported by several amateurs. During the spring and winter season it gave regular fortnightly concerts for its members. It advertised as far away as Boston for properly qualified musicians, and it secured them. A concert of the society in 1773 made a tremendous impression on the normally supercilious visiting Josiah Quincy of Boston. Quincy also attended a dinner given by the Sons of Saint Patrick, an occasion on which the music was six violins, two hautboys and other instruments, and afterward a concert by six French horns. At Orange Gardens and the Vauxhall more popular open-air programs were given in imitation of those held at the English resorts.

A choirmaster's book kept by Jacob Eckhard of a later period includes music by several of his predecessors at St. Michael's and incidentally reveals that church music, including organs and choirs, was a significant part of the city's musical life during the generation just before the Revolution. Lutheran as well as Huguenot and Anglican churches were interested in music, and, as their names suggest, several of the organists of the two great Episcopal churches were of German origin.

The first operatic performance in the American colonies was the presentation in Charleston in 1735 of John Hippisley's ballad opera *Flora, or Hob in the Well*. The next year another musical production was Charles Coffey's *Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphosed*. The theater under Douglass in the 1760s and 1770s presented various musical farces, usually as afterpieces for plays. In 1774 the two given in 1735-1736 were still favorites, though others composed by Thomas Arne, Charles

Dibdin, and Henry Carey, among several, also appeared. Two of Dr. Arne's pupils, Stephen Woolls and Miss Wainwright, sang on the Douglass company's programs. Thus from at latest the 1730s to the Revolution there was music in Charleston of every kind known in the period.²⁰²

Georgia, with its considerable proportion of Salzburger and lesser group of Moravians, quite early showed some of the characteristic German interest in music. A Moravian weaver and religious leader, Anton Seiffert, was among the early group in Savannah and led them in hymn singing. The earliest music of the province, however, was military, provided by the bands of Oglethorpe's regiment. The founder of the colony requested French horn players or drummers as early as 1739 as absolutely necessary to the defense of the city. A "Georgia Grenadiers March," though not published until 1776, was played many years earlier.

There are records of music for a 1742 wedding and to accompany dancing in 1744. Musically conscious hymnologists such as the two Wesleys must have seen to it that psalms and hymns were sung at all church services. Entries in John Wesley's journals indicate that religious music was part of his daily life. In 1757 John Tobler of South Carolina tried to sell the Savannah church a home organ, but the church got an organ in 1765 and in that year John Stevens was organist. In June 1766 the first known concert in the colony was presented by Stevens.

In the provincial records are brief suggestions of Indian instrumental music with dancing, of the Salzburger and Moravian hymns and song-books, of Negro psalm singing with violin and fife accompaniment, of Scottish bagpipes, and of the first ball in December 1763. In the De Renne Collection of the University of Georgia is a copy of the *Death Song of the Cherokee Indian, An Original Air, brought from America, by a gentleman, long conversant with the Indian tribes. . . . The words adapted to the air by a lady. . . .* (London, c. 1762). This may represent something roughly like what Georgians heard from their red neighbors.

The Salzburger at Ebenezer, though tempted in 1740 to order a harpsichord from Europe, contented themselves with unaccompanied singing. Henry M. Muhlenberg testifies that their pastor Bolzius gave singing lessons to his congregation as long as he lived. At the Anglican church in Savannah before the organ arrived, and in the Midway Congregational or Puritan Church, the time was set by a person paid to perform that office.²⁰³

Musicians, Teachers, and Composers

There were more professional musicians in the colonial South than there were painters and drawing masters. Almost all the musicians were

teachers as well as performers. Many of them, especially the organists, published or left in manuscript their own compositions, some produced before they came to America. All too little is known about most of them, but in the groups were some remarkably able, even gifted musicians.

A few of the more competent performing and composing musicians were not, as suggested in part above, professionals at all. Clergymen, physicians, planters, merchants, and provincial officials are among them. They sometimes played in orchestras with the professionals in public concerts, but most of their activity was confined to their family groups or the societies to which they belonged.

Though records of several professional musicians and music teachers exist in eighteenth-century Maryland, there is much more about the non-professionals. Certainly there must have been a number of John Lammond's kind. This man advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* of November 21, 1750/1751, his willingness to furnish music for balls of merrymakings anywhere in the vicinity of Annapolis. On November 6, 1755, John and Mary Rivers (or Revers) offered to teach singing along with French and dancing, and on October 27, 1757, John Ormsby proposed opening a dancing school in Upper Marlborough where there would be a musician "to teach to play well" on the violin. Actually professional teachers of instrumental music and dancing seem to have been in short supply in Maryland from 1755 to 1765. For vocal training, in addition to the Riverses, a Philip Williams, clerk at St. Anne's at Annapolis, in 1763 opened a psalmody school which he left to Hugh Maguire. This is about all that is known of these people.

The gentlemen who formed the Tuesday Club were probably better vocalists and instrumentalists than these few professionals. The elder Hesselius, too, one recalls, was an organist and harpsichordist and manufacturer of instruments. The two parsons Alexander Malcolm and Thomas Bacon have been mentioned as instrumentalists and writers on or of music. Malcolm, who had done missionary work at Marblehead and taught music in New York, had published in 1721 in Edinburgh his *Treatise on Music, Speculative, Practical and Historical*, a book which was widely circulated in the colonies.

Thomas Bacon (1700?-1768), one of the more versatile of colonial Marylanders, was probably a native of Cumberland but had certainly been a long-time resident of Dublin before he came to America in 1745. Callister's letters reveal that almost immediately Bacon became well known as a musician and was in great demand for chamber music.

The Reverend Jonathan Boucher fifty years later wrote of the several surviving pieces of music composed by Bacon under his Tuesday Club sobriquet Signior Lardini. He composed the music for the sixth anniversary ode as he had the music for other celebrations earlier. Callister's letters mention minuets and other "innumerable fine things" composed by the rector of St. Peter's.²⁰⁴ As someone has said, it is not the quality of Bacon's music that is significant—most of it is judged to be fairly crude and somewhat derivative—but the fact that he could compose at all in the crowded and hectic life of the New World colony.

One music historian has identified at least six itinerant music and dancing masters in Williamsburg between 1716 and 1775. There were actually a few more than this in Virginia during that period. Among them were Charles Stagg, already mentioned for his connection with the first theater; William Dering, noted above as also a painter; Stephen Tenoe (1739); Francis Christian (1770); John Victor (1775), John Schneider and John Stadley (Stedler, or Stedley). Though a single entry in the *Virginia Gazette* is all there is on some of them, Christian as dancing master and Stadley as music teacher are referred to by Fithian a number of times as being present at Nomini Hall in 1773-1774. Christian is also referred to in the records of Mount Vernon and Sabine Hall. Whether he was much of a musician is not known. Stadley, a German, had taught music in Philadelphia before he came to Virginia. In the Chesapeake colony he made a regular circuit, including the families at Nomini and Mount Airy (the Tayloes) in it.

Stadley played a good flute and harpsichord, Fithian tells us, and apparently was a man of tact and charm. He played with the family group at Nomini on various occasions and even sang and played some hymns and psalms (noted above) with the Councilor, who was growing more and more religious. Socially Stadley seems to have been accepted by the Carters as William Dering was by the Byrds at Westover. And the Stagg husband and wife, who enter the record as indentured servants, appear to have concluded their respective careers as highly regarded citizens of Williamsburg.

Men like John Langford and Cuthbert Ogle were in a sense itinerants, for they appear to have jogged about within self-prescribed areas to instruct their pupils, or at least to have been willing to. The excellent violin teacher Langford had two home bases, perhaps at different times, Hanover County and Williamsburg. Ogle, who died in 1755 in Williamsburg within a few weeks of his arrival, had as recently as 1751-1752 been sponsoring concerts in London starring some of Europe's finest musicians

as soloists or conductors. Something happened in 1752 which caused him to end his London activity abruptly. He arrived in Virginia in January 1754/1755 with an excellent harpsichord, a violin, a large assortment of music, and an extensive wardrobe. He may have come for his health, after talking with Councilor Robert Carter or Philip Ludwell Lee, who were in London at various periods during 1747-1751. Or he may have been engaged to supervise the installation of the Bruton Parish organ, which finally was set up after his death. But on March 28 and April 11, 1755, Ogle advertised his services as teacher of organ, harpsichord, spinet, and other orchestral instruments and stated his willingness to settle in any part of the province.

His collection of music will be noted below. He did not live to carry out his plans, but died on April 23, and the funeral given him indicates that he was regarded with esteem and would not bear out categorizing him as an ordinary itinerant, even of the presumably high quality of Stadley. The inventory of his estate, discussed below, is one of the significant music lists of colonial Virginia. At least two music historians have found it worth analyzing.²⁰⁵

The most gifted and longest lived of colonial professional musicians in Virginia was Peter Pelham (1721-1805), organist at Bruton Church, conductor and instrumentalist in chamber groups and in the theater, teacher of harpsichord and other instruments, jailer, and clerk to two governors. Son of the Boston mezzotint engraver and portrait painter Peter Pelham, this younger man of the name was at eleven years of age apprenticed to Charles Theodore Pachelbel and was in New York and Charleston with the German organist. He probably left South Carolina for Virginia in 1750, where he was employed by the General Assembly to set up the organ at Bruton Church and became the first organist. He played in Williamsburg until 1802, when his eyesight failed him.

Though Pelham is occasionally cited as the one full-fledged colonial professional musician to make his living through his art, actually he never quite succeeded in doing just that. He had to petition for years to get his annual small salary as organist, he gave secular and sacred concerts, he played at theatrical performances, he had his pupils as noted, but this was not enough. He became city and province jailer during the decade before the Revolution and lived in his own apartments adjacent to the prison. Jefferson once paid him 2/6 "for playing the organ," and he was in constant demand for special occasions, among them the funeral services for Lord Botetourt and for William Rind, publisher of a *Virginia Gazette*. He was also Grand Organist of the Grand Lodge of Virginia Masons in an era when music was a vital part of Masonic rituals and anniversary celebrations. John Blair consulted him as to the probable value



Courtesy of The Detroit Institute of Arts Purchase:
The Mr. and Mrs. Walter B. Ford II Fund

Mrs. Charles Carroll of Annapolis (ca. 1755) by John Wollaston;
American; ca. 1710–1767; oil on canvas; 50 x 40



Colonial Williamsburg Photograph

"A Prospect of Charles Town (1735-1739)," watercolor by Bishop Roberts

of a spinet and the music sent with it. Letters of others of his time reveal him as in every way a highly respected citizen.

It has long been believed that Pelham was a composer of both sacred and secular music, though no proof had been found until quite recently. In 1972 the organist of Bruton Parish Church edited *A Little Keyboard Book: Eight Tunes of Colonial Virginia Set for Piano and Harpsichord* from manuscript music of the family of Robert Bolling (1738-1775) of Chellowe now in the collections of the University of North Carolina. Among the works of Handel, Felton, Tortini, and Linnaeus Bolling ("The Cannonade at Yorktown") was a "Minuet by Mr. Pelham, Organist of the Church in Williamsburg," published as far as is known for the first time in this little book.²⁰⁶

At least one other organist-teacher and two or three organs had preceded Pelham and the Williamsburg instrument in the colony. There was an organ at the Poplar Spring Church in Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County. The teacher-organist was Anthony Collins, engaged by the church on June 29, 1737. Part of his contract was that he teach someone else "the Mistory of the Said Musick with all convenient speed he Can." This church incidentally was also one of the few with a mural painting over the altar.²⁰⁷

More is known about several of the amateur musicians than about any of the professionals except Pelham. Of intriguing interest is the rather mysterious Dr. Henry Potter, physician, instrumentalist, amateur actor, and composer of words and music for *The Decoy: An Opera*, printed and performed in London in 1733, the year before he came to Virginia. Governor Gooch asked his brother the Bishop of Norwich to find out more about Potter than the governor could. Gooch added in the same letter that Potter composed music and wrote plays and was a pleasant fellow. William Byrd, in a letter which is full of innuendos, asked Sir John Randolph how Potter performed in Williamsburg amateur theatricals. Potter himself wrote a letter to the *Virginia Gazette* of July 1, 1737. He was supposed to have had a wife in England, but he married into a prominent Virginia family and died about 1746 in Spotsylvania County near Fredericksburg. Though he practiced his profession and one of his avocations in the colony, there is no record of his part in chamber music, but he probably did play. Certainly he brought a firsthand up-to-date knowledge of the British musical theater with him.²⁰⁸

Amateur musicians were in and out of Williamsburg during the mid-century decades. Of inveterate instrumentalists such as John Blair, Dr. George Gilmer, James Geddy the jeweler, Governor Fauquier, George Wythe, John Tyler, Sr., only their frequent enjoyment in playing is evident, not the quality of their performance. John Randolph, Jr., and his friend

Thomas Jefferson were active young violinists in the period, but even the author of a recent good study of *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (1974) admits that it is difficult to judge the latter's performance.

Councilor Carter of Nomini, thanks to Fithian and family records, is better known to us, as mentioned above. He had an organ in his house in Williamsburg and a great number of instruments at his Westmoreland plantation which were played by his children and himself. Guitars and Benjamin Franklin's glass harmonica (or musical glasses), violins and flutes and horns and *fortepiano* and harpsichord were among them. He had a large and varied music library, not only scores but musical theory, and he invented a new contrivance for tuning his harpsichord and *fortepiano*. He spent some evenings transposing music, and there can be little doubt that he also tried his hand at composing, although so far no work of his has turned up. One may guess, too, that his younger contemporary Jefferson also tried his hand at composing.²⁰⁹

In North Carolina the Moravian composers of reputation came after the colonial period, and there are few if any records of itinerant or other music masters. In South Carolina the situation was quite different. The *Gazette* in Charleston lists not only the several organists mentioned above who gave concerts and taught young ladies and gentlemen, but many others who perhaps performed on one instrument and gave lessons on that one, though most teachers instructed in more than one phase of music. As early as 1736 two men, John Keen and Henry Makeroth, advertised their ability with the French horn. In 1742 George Williams was teaching violin and 'cello. In 1749 Elizabeth Anderson was listed simply as music teacher, and in the 1765-1775 period a number of women offered instruction in all phases of the art (probably primarily in the fundamentals of singing and keyboard performance). Several men from 1750 on taught psalmody, among them Jonathan Badger, who in November 1752 published his engraved "Collection of the best PSALM and HYMN TUNES," claimed to be the first of its kind in the colony. Various people taught singing and playing on the dulcimer, the French horn, the bassoon, the mandolin, the German flute, the violin, the guitar, the *fortepiano*, the harpsichord, the viola, the violoncello, drums, and the organ. The several teachers of organ and of church music including psalmody are indicative of tremendous interest, an interest that was not confined to Huguenots and Anglicans but included Lutherans and the evangelical dissenting sects of the colony.

The organists already mentioned as sponsors or conductors of concerts were the greatest teachers and performers and composers of the colony.

With his wife John Salter, early organist of St. Philip's, operated a boarding school where music was taught. Charles Theodore Pachelbel, who with his apprentice Peter Pelham taught the harpsichord to the precocious young woman Eliza Lucas at least as early as 1742, advertised within the last year of his life that he was opening a singing school for young ladies. Like Stadley in Virginia, Pachelbel made the rounds of nearby plantations to give harpsichord and spinet lessons. He died in 1750. Edmund Larken, who succeeded Pachelbel at St. Philip's in 1751, advertised that he taught singing and playing the spinet and harpsichord. He died in 1753. Larken was followed by Benjamin Yarnold, who was organist from 1753 to 1764 and in turn was succeeded by Peter Valton. The latter two also appear to have been teachers.

St. Michael's had ten organists during the eighteenth century, one a woman. Almost all were "Professors of Musick" who combined teaching private pupils with their church duties, and almost all of them also tried their hands at composition and gave their contemporaries glees, cantatas, sonatas, overtures, or hymn and psalm tunes. Some of the last are preserved in later choirmaster Jacob Eckhard's choirbook; others were printed from engraved plates during their composers' own time. Most of these musicians were of English extraction, but Hoff, Grunzweig, and Eckhard were of German origin and training. Frederick Hoff served 1761-1762, probably during the use of the first organ at St. Michael's. He went from there to the St. John's Lutheran church. Frederick Grunzweig played from July 5, 1762, until his death in October 1764. He taught singing and playing on at least six instruments. Yarnold moved from St. Philip's to St. Michael's in 1764. During his time in 1768 the new Snetzler organ arrived from London, though he went to London in that year and remained there until after the Revolution. He was followed by John Stevens, organist and presenter of the first concert in Savannah. Mrs. Ann Windsor was interim organist 1772-1773 and was succeeded by the first native-born South Carolina organist, George Harland Hartley, who taught a number of private pupils and all together had a very handsome income of some £450 sterling per year, probably matched by no other musician of colonial America.

Pachelbel had composed his *Magnificat for Eight Voices and Organ*, only recently edited and published, before he left Europe. The 1737 cantata he announced for St. Cecilia's Day was probably his own composition, and other compositions of his will probably come to light. Most of the musical composition of which there is record, thanks largely to Eckhard's choirmaster's book, came from the St. Michael's organists. Benjamin Yarnold did not publish his *Six Overtures for the Harpsichord*

or *Piano-Forte* until 1780, when he was in London, but it seems likely that they were composed in South Carolina. In Charleston in 1758 he had composed the Masonic Ode for St. John the Evangelist's Day which was "sung, and played by several masterly hands," at the annual Masonic service, and another for the same occasion in 1762 which he proposed to have engraved in London. The most prolific, so far as is now known, of the organist composers was Peter Valton, who had arrived from London in 1764. In London he had composed some seven catches and glees preserved in printed collections of 1765 and 1771 and in manuscript in several places. In South Carolina he set to music an ode, "Gratitude and Love," for performance at the Queen Street Theater in 1766, and in 1768 offered his "Opus I, Six Sonatas for Harpsichord or Organ, with Violin Obbligato" for publication, though there is no evidence that it appeared. He also composed a 1770 anthem and a 1772 ode for the Masons and another anthem for the anniversary meeting of the Clergy Relief Society in 1774. To Charleston Anglican church music he contributed eleven psalm and hymn tunes, preserved in Eckhard's choirmaster's book and in a manuscript music book of about the same period in the Charleston Museum. A competent critic declares that in harmonic structure and richness of tunes these display "a thoroughly competent musical hand."²¹⁰

At least one other composition, really a collection and adaptation, must be recalled in any survey of pre-Revolutionary Charleston music. It has both intrinsic and historical interest. While John Wesley was in Georgia, in fact some time before and on the voyage over, he had become greatly interested in Moravian church music. His was always a singing religion, and he saw that the Anglican Psalter alone, in either the Sternhold-Hopkins or the Brady-Tate version, was stiff and awkward for his needs. Therefore he translated, adapted, and selected words and tunes from earlier English sources, including Hicckes and Addison, his earlier contemporary Watts, and his brother Charles, and chose five of his own versions from the German. The result was the manuscript he carried from Savannah to Charleston for Lewis Timothy to print in 1737, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, the first real Anglican hymnal published in the world and the first hymnal of colonial America. Included were seventy hymns. Wesley began using it in Savannah in the summer of 1737 and immediately got into trouble with his parishioners for this radical departure in hymnology. Substantially the same hymns appear in later English editions, including the final one of 1784. The little book marks the beginning of a great hymn-singing tradition in both Anglican and Methodist churches. That it should have appeared in Charleston in South Carolina is entirely in keeping with that city's continuing interest in hymnody and psalmody.²¹¹

Instruments

Perhaps every form of musical instrument present in the southern colonies in the eighteenth century has been touched upon incidentally in the preceding pages, but a few observations on certain of them should be added. The military drum, fife, and trumpet, and after 1761 the bugle, were present everywhere. And because of its small size, convenience in handling, and tone, as well as the relative ease with which a moderate skill in its use might be acquired, the violin or fiddle was the most popular single instrument. Rarer were the older instruments such as the Celtic crowd and the dulcimer, though the colonials had them along with the continually popular recorders.

The organ, because of size and cost, was infrequently present in rural churches before the Revolution, but the story of its installation in urban and country parishes tells something more about musical interests, especially in hymnody and psalmody. And that there were small organs in private homes and that a few colonials built the instruments may come as a surprise.

Maryland's earliest known organ builder, the painter Gustavus Heselius, made his instruments during his Philadelphia years. He turned out a number of spinets before he moved in 1746 to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to build a pipe organ for the Moravian congregation, said to be the first organ constructed in this country. He left to his son John, even more closely affiliated with Maryland than his father, a chamber organ as well as his painting implements. Mid-century parsons John Gordon of St. Anne's Annapolis and Thomas Chase of St. Paul's Baltimore managed to get organs for their churches, one at least an English instrument. Visits of the Philadelphia organ builder Philip Feyring to Maryland in 1762 stimulated the demand for both church and home organs. The *Maryland Gazette* of that year carries notices of five-stop and three-stop organs for sale. In 1754 the Reformed Town Clock Church received some sort of organ. In this period Annapolis had at least one organ manufacturer of its own, Richard Parker.²¹²

In Virginia there may just possibly have been an organ at St. Peter's, Port Royal, in 1700. The instrument from that church now in the Smithsonian is probably of a half-century later, however. But there was an organ or there were organs in the province in the first half of the century. The instrument on which Anthony Collins played at the Poplar Spring Church in Petsworth Parish was ordered in 1735 from London and received and set up in 1737. On the Eastern Shore the third Hungar's Parish Church (1742 or 1751?) had traditionally the earliest pipe organ in British America, the only truth in the tradition being that the church probably did have

an organ in the colonial period. The Stratton-Major Parish Church had a very fine instrument in 1768 but offered it for sale, for reasons unknown, in 1773. It is described "for elegance and sweetness of tone inferior to none on the Continent. Cased in mahogany, pipes gilt and the Imagery which adorns it striking and as large as life."

The new Suffolk church in Nansemond County in 1753 had a fine organ purchased by popular prescription. The other known church instrument before the Revolution was that which Pelham installed and played upon in Williamsburg from 1755. A Virginia woman who heard Pelham play the Bruton organ wrote that she had been entertained by the works of Felton and Handel.

The home organ Councilor Carter had in his Williamsburg residence had been built in London to his specifications. Though he later complained of it as a "very defective" instrument, he declined to sell it to Jefferson in 1778, on the ground that his daughters enjoyed playing upon it. Carter did sell it some years later to a nephew of George Washington who was married to one of the musical Tayloes. Meanwhile Jefferson bought one in Europe, after writing to Dr. Charles Burney for advice and informing the English musicologist that he wanted it for a room twenty-four feet square and eighteen high. Though he had other instruments made in Europe to his specifications, he never seems to have followed up the matter of the organ.²¹³

The Moravians brought a small organ to North Carolina in 1762, only nine years after the first settlement. Later, about 1771, Joseph Bullitschek built organs there.²¹⁴ South Carolina, or Charleston, had by 1728 an organ at St. Philip's imported from Britain and said to have been an instrument used in the coronation of George II. This organ, certainly one of the earliest in English America, gave the Charleston Anglicans certain liturgical advantages over their dissenting neighbors. The second known South Carolina instrument was in the rural parish of St. Andrew's near Charleston, and the organ was imported from England. The German church in the city had its organ by 1763. St. Michael's had a small hand organ in 1761 which was replaced by an instrument from noted London manufacturer Johann Snetzler in 1768.

As in the Chesapeake colonies, there were some home organs. The first St. Michael's organist Frederick Hoff, for example, had one along with his spinet and other instruments. He also repaired and tuned organs, proof in itself that several existed in the province. William Jones was also a repairer of organs. In 1767 John Speissegger advertised himself as an "Organ Maker," and earlier in 1753 "a new chamber organ, made in this town, with three stops" was offered for sale in the *Gazette*.²¹⁵

In Georgia the first pipe organ was in Augusta rather than Savannah,

and a good musician was organist. This was in 1763. Two or three years later an Edward Barnard of Augusta gave Christ Church in Savannah the instrument on which was played a dirge at memorial services for Whitefield in 1770. As early as 1757 John Tobler of South Carolina, presumably the almanac maker, had offered to sell his home organ to the Savannah church. The German sects in the province, though they wanted such an instrument, felt unable to afford either organ or harpsichord in the colonial period. Thus as in South Carolina the Anglicans in Georgia were the first to develop a rich musical liturgy.²¹⁶

Fiddles or violins were not only ubiquitous in the southern colonies: several of them were reported to be valuable instruments. Tench Francis of Philadelphia at mid-century played a violin that had formerly belonged to Governor Charles Calvert of Maryland. In Virginia in 1747 Henry Fitzhugh had an invoice for musical items ordered from London which included "A Cremona Fiddle," twelve sets of strings, collections of songs, and a gilded leather case. John Randolph, close friend of Jefferson and brother of Peyton, had imported a fine violin which Jefferson coveted. An agreement between the two men gave Randolph books if he survived his friend, and Jefferson the violin if he lived the longer. As it turned out, John Randolph was a Loyalist who had to leave the colony at the outbreak of the Revolution and he sold the violin to Jefferson for £13. The instrument has been variously described as a Cremona, a Stradivarius, and simply a fine imported violin. "Cremona" violins had been awarded as prizes in country fiddling contests from John Langford's time, as the advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette* attest. Jefferson bought at least three violins in the eighteenth century, including one in Paris. The first he is known to have bought, that from Dr. William Pasteur in Williamsburg in 1768, may actually have been a Cremona or Stainer violin. The price he paid for it, however, is more in line with the price of a Stradivarius or Amati. Labels in violins meant nothing, for they were often copied. At least one of the two Jefferson still owned at the end of his life was pronounced by "a celebrated performer" as an admirable Cremona.²¹⁷

The harpsichord and spinet were usually imported, though the late eighteenth-century organ builders in the colonies usually made also one or both these instruments. The organ makers of South Carolina seem to have been content to repair spinets and harpsichords. Councilor Robert Carter probably ordered his *fortepiano* and harpsichord from England, as he did his organ. Harpsichords were favorite instruments, as has been pointed out, of the Tayloes at Mount Airy, and Jefferson had beautiful ones made in Britain by Kirkman for each of his two daughters. The first, made to Jefferson's specifications and under the supervision of Dr. Burney, was after long negotiation shipped to France and later to Virginia, arriving at Monti-

cello in 1790. It was still on the hill top four years after Jefferson's death.

In November 1768 Henry Fitzhugh had ordered "a large Spinnet" from London and with it the usual extra strings, in this case brass wires. Six years later one of his invoices shows a harpsichord with a single row of keys and a number of books of music. His children were learning to play upon the spinet at least as early as 1761. In that year George Washington ordered a spinet from the London master craftsman Plenius for his stepchildren. Carter sold a spinet, probably from his Williamsburg house, to the widow of Philip Ludwell Lee in 1778. The Reverend William Dunlop of Stratton-Major Parish in Virginia left in 1779 "a genteel spinet." From the inventories it is evident that there were many spinets and harpsichords in every colony save Georgia at least two decades before 1764.²¹⁸

Benjamin Franklin's glass harmonica, or glassichord, manufactured by a London firm, fascinated late colonial amateur musicians such as Jefferson and Councilor Carter. Pelham heard Franklin himself perform on the instrument and told Carter about it. Jefferson never bought one, possibly because he wanted it with six octaves, but Carter ordered his from the firm of Charles Jones. It was described as "the musical glasses without water, framed into a complete instrument." Carter played it for Fithian one day in December 1773, and in 1774 the tutor heard both Carter and Stadley perform on this one indigenous American instrument of the period. A dancing teacher in Baltimore is said to have played Franklin's musical glasses at the same time he demonstrated the latest steps from Europe. In South Carolina in 1774 at a concert by the Dutch musician Van Hagen one Signora Castella sang and played the "Harmonica or Musical Glasses."²¹⁹

The other more familiar instruments appear in personal inventories, letters, and advertisements. The English flute and/or recorder was not as popular in the eighteenth-century colonies as the German flute, though both or all were played. Violas, violoncellos, hautboys, horns, trumpets, string basses, and drums were owned in all the colonies and appeared with the other instruments named above in orchestras in public concerts and in smaller private groups. They were played by professionals, leading planters such as the Carters, town merchants, indentured servants, and slaves. The guitar and banjo and mandolin also appear frequently, the second of these usually in the possession of a Negro performer but sometimes an Indian. The trombone was the hallmark of Moravian music in North Carolina.

Favorite Music and a Little Theory

Though a number of resident composers in the southern colonies have been mentioned, no one of them seems to have been known for his music outside his own colony and usually not outside his own town or area. As in

the other forms of art, music that was popular in Britain and Europe was also popular in the colonies. The great planters frequently ordered directly from London, but they and others bought also from provincial booksellers who advertised the latest music. Even the more sophisticated amateurs and professionals apparently enjoyed what would now be called popular music and hymnody as much as they did Handel and Felton and Vivaldi.

Hymn and psalm arrangements were advertised frequently and are to be found listed in the inventories of many libraries. In South Carolina Wesley's hymns were published in 1737 and Badger's in 1752, and the Charleston booksellers from 1732 offered Watts' *Psalms*, Anglican Psalters (Brady and Tate's), French Psalms, Mason's Hymns, Scots Psalms with Bibles, Watts' *Horæ Lyricæ*, and combined versions. In Virginia there were fewer dissenter hymnals, but still Watts and his provincial counterpart, Davies, sold well, to aristocrats as well as to middle-class merchants. In the first decade of the century William Byrd and his first wife quarreled about the manner of singing psalms, and in 1710 he noted "We began to give in to the new way of singing Psalms." The new way referred to singing by musical annotation rather than note. Byrd had in his great library Brady and Tate's and Patrick's Psalms, the "Psalmist's Companion," "Psalmi G Majoris," and several other books on or of religious music. Councilor Carter's interest in hymns has been mentioned, and Jefferson had in his 1783 library catalogue Henry Purcell and Daniel Purcell's Psalms, Playford's Psalms, and a number of other volumes of sacred music. His granddaughter remembered that he was particularly fond of hymns and psalms and sang them as he went about the plantation.

The great apostle of dissent in colonial Virginia, Samuel Davies, was as well known for his hymns in the Watts tradition as he was for his great sermons. His tunes are from Watts or the standard English Psalters, but his words are those of the American Great Awakening, of which he was a part. His hymns were published in England and America in his own time and for more than a century after his death in 1761.

In one sense the musical library of Cuthbert Ogle, who had been in Virginia in 1755 only a few months before he died, is hardly representative of colonial tastes. It is what he brought with him straight from the concert halls of London, but it was at least what Ogle thought would be useful in Virginia, and the other evidence from the *Virginia Gazette* advertisements and laymen's inventories would suggest his judgment was sound. Pelham checked the inventory for the executors and may have bought some of the items. William Felton, Handel, John Hibdin, Henry Purcell, John Blow, and many others are here, composers who wrote for vocal use, harpsichords, and spinets, and the smaller instruments of the orchestra, and of the Italians, Corelli, Alberti, Giardini, Pasquali, and Palma are all

there. Though most of them except Handel, Purcell, and Corelli are largely forgotten, they were all popular in the Europe of their time. Handel is the only really great composer represented in the whole library, and he was as much German as English, or the reverse. Actually the library is distinctly English in tone.²²⁰

Councilor Carter's library, catalogued by Fithian, contains the same composers, with a few differences. Handel's version of Dryden's *St. Cecilia Ode*, "Book of Italian Music," Handel again in his "Operas for Flute" in two volumes, Watts' *Horæ Lyricæ*, Felton, and a few others were in book form. Fithian in his journal mentions the popular airs Carter liked, as Arne's "Water Parted from the Sea" from his libretto adaptation of Metastasio's *Artaserse*, Felton's "Gavotte" (Gavot), and a "Sonata" the whole family played. Carter ordered a copy of D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (6 vols., 1690-1719) in 1771 from his London agent. This was a collection of songs by a popular anthologist of a somewhat earlier period. Carter also had ordered in 1770 Dr. Smith's *Harmonicks, or the Philosophy of Musical Sounds* (1749, 1759), dealing with a mathematical analysis of pitch. It is by no means the only manual of musical theory owned in the colonies in his time.²²¹ John Playford's *Skill of Music*, for example, is listed in several places.

The music of the colonial southern theater was the same as that of the English theater and of the colonial musicians already mentioned, as Peter Pelham, who played for various acting companies. The ballad opera and the musical interludes sometimes had original music but often relied on currently popular airs and tunes from folk or other non-dramatic sources. A recent selection of fifty *Songs from the Williamsburg Theatre* represents all the southern colonies, for these were sung in performances all down the coast from Annapolis to Charleston and, for that matter, farther north. The composers' names are fairly familiar, for they were popular with eighteenth-century nontheatrical vocalists and instrumentalists. Among them are Daniel Purcell, Thomas A. Arne, Richard Leveridge, John Eccles, William Boyce, Henry Carey, Henry Purcell, William Lawes, Felice de Giardini, Handel, Charles Dibdin, and Francesco Geminiani.²²²

Also recently published by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation is *The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany* by Robert Bremner, an edited facsimile of this 1765 item. This contains some "lessons" for the beginner as well as exercises for the "tolerable performer" and the work of Corelli and several now forgotten composers are here along with Welsh and Scots songs and minuets. *The Little Keyboard Book*, based on music among the manuscripts of the Bolling family already mentioned, includes, besides the minuet by Pelham and the Linnaeus Bolling Yorktown can-

nonade piece, two marches (one German in origin), a jig, and two horn-pipes. In the Bolling collection are also pieces by Handel, Felton, and Tartini, and perhaps other tunes by other Bollings. The editor of *The Little Keyboard Book* feels that these family manuscripts are typical of the popular music of a decade or so before and after the Revolution. It was probably brought together by Robert Bolling, already mentioned as poet, who was also probably himself a composer.²²³

Interest in music extended beyond performance to criticism, including theory. Virginians of the second half of the eighteenth century ordered Rousseau's *Dictionary of Music*, Holden's *Essay on Music*, and Dr. Smith's *Harmonicks, or the Philosophy of Musical Sounds*, the last especially a favorite of Robert Carter. In the 1730s in the *Virginia Gazette* one "Zoilus" and others argued in the "Monitor" papers as to the value of music, sometimes expressing themselves in verse. The same newspaper reprinted from a London source an ode by Colley Cibber set to music by Dr. Maurice Greene. On October 22, 1736, another writer reported that

nothing can be more unjust than to imagine that the sole Pleasure of Hearing Good Musick, consists in the Sound; or that it is nothing but the tickling of the Ear, and a mere Delight of Sense, as they were pleas'd to call it. . . .

I would therefore advise those Gentlemen that find themselves unmov'd by Harmony, (which I take for granted are but few,) to look upon Musick as a Thing out of their Province; and I warn them from intermeddling with it in any Manner whatsoever.

There were at least two printed replies to this. One of these writers gives an interesting attitude toward the musical education he received in London. Two years later in the *Virginia Gazette* were notices of a Handel oratorio given in London.²²⁴ In the same period in his *History of the Dividing Line* William Byrd tells a whimsical tale of the "Power of Modern Music," a tongue-in-cheek story of tunes which expel the venom from the bite of tarantula.²²⁵

Before he ever went to Virginia, William Parks in his *Maryland Gazette* showed considerable interest in music as an art. The earliest known issue contains an essay on the importance and charm of art generally, and the editor frequently reported musical events in Europe, as the Paris *Te Deum* in 1729 and the lavish musical balls in Pennsylvania and Maryland to celebrate English holidays. And in the second *Maryland Gazette* of Jonas Green there was considerable incidental discussion of music though almost nothing on theory per se, despite the presence of the internationally known writer on the subject, the Reverend Alexander Malcolm, in the Tuesday Club. The literary history of the club, an essay

almost surely by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, published in the June 29, 1748, *Maryland Gazette*, contains only incidental comments on artistic tastes and psalmody and reveals no writer who wrote specifically music criticism.²²⁶

Though Thomas Jefferson's musical interest continued through his long life, he had relatively little to say of music as an art. Even when his friends Francis Hopkinson and Maria Cosway sent him their compositions he barely acknowledged them. He did leave some indications of taste for Carlo Antonio Campioni. Though music was the avowed "favorite passion" of his soul, it was certainly less than that, for architecture and gardening at least had precedence in practice over it. He enjoyed it aesthetically and technically, and it was indeed his "delightful recreation."²²⁷ So it was for other gentleman amateurs from Baltimore and Annapolis to Savannah, and in its more popular forms for most southern colonials of the eighteenth century.

THE THEATER

The southern colonial of every class and level of education who reached the New World in the seventeenth century in most instances brought with him a sense of theater and a knowledge of plays. Explorer or clergyman was likely to think and to write in terms of the drama, and even the several Puritan-Dissenter groups who professed to despise it could do little to diminish its popularity in the Carolinas or the Chesapeake area. Though there was no professional acting company or playwright in these colonies before 1700, there are suggestions in the documents that the dramatic farce or satire was written and in one notable instance produced by a group of amateurs. Those who were born in the colonies often went to England and therefore actually saw plays—except perhaps during the Cromwellian period—or if they never went to Britain still might read many of the great Elizabethan and Jacobean dramas, some of which were in the libraries long before 1700.

In the second decade of the eighteenth century Virginia had a theater and an acting company, and by mid-century theaters existed also in Maryland and South Carolina. All three of these colonies were far more receptive to the professional drama than were Philadelphia and Boston, though New York enjoyed plays much as did the southerners. And all the colonies including Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were entertained by the same acting companies and the same plays. The pieces performed were almost always those popular in the mother country at the time, though theatrical producers took into account the individual abilities of

their personnel and to some extent the tastes of their audiences. As has frequently been pointed out, the plays and the performers are more nearly the parallel of the English provincial theater than of the London stage.

Basically the southern theater was a mode of entertainment for the pleasure of Charleston artisans as well as of Virginia gentleman planters such as Byrd and Washington and Jefferson. But as the authors of eighteenth-century sentimental novels were on the defensive and rarely neglected an opportunity to proclaim the moral quality or didactic element in their fiction, so too did the authors of the prologues and epilogues for plays in the colonies—and these authors were local amateur devotees of the theater or members of the dramatic troupe—frequently declare that their productions were essentially inculcators of virtue. Then there is the play by Addison, enormously popular, which had political as well as general moral overtones recognized by all who had seen or read it—and in the southern colonies seem to have both read and seen it. And on the threshold of the Revolution there were locally authored plays which were in part propaganda pieces.

The pastoral colloquy was employed by schoolmasters as entertainment by and for their students and as a means and mode of instruction. Plays, farces, and charades were performed at private houses in the rural and urban areas for the amusement of the participants and their friends and neighbors, though the evidences of these private theatricals are just beginning to be uncovered.

Curiously, a number of playwrights lived or visited in the southern provinces before and immediately after 1764. Most of their plays were written before they came to America or to the South. Only one or two of these pieces are known to have been acted and written in these colonies, though it is probable that more were produced by amateur groups. The authors who wrote in Britain and later came to the colonies include a governor, a physician, and a clergyman. The physician at least also acted in amateur productions in Williamsburg.

The southern colonial theater was indeed derivative, more so than southern colonial architecture and gardens, as much so as painting and music. But as Hugh Rankin has remarked, this is not to damn it. It brought a lively and vigorous entertainment from the Old World to the New, and in the eighteenth century it demonstrated that small colonial capital towns such as Annapolis and Williamsburg as well as the port of Charleston could support "one of the important ornaments of civilized life, a repertory theater." It is interesting too that in the playhouses of these three capital towns and of the lesser villages of Virginia and Maryland there was never a reported riot or unusual disturbance, not at all the situation in the theaters in Philadelphia and the Northeast. The

principal historian of the colonial theater suggests that this may have been the result of so many "fine Ladyes" being present in the southern theater as opposed to the preponderant artisans and mechanics in the North, but there is no proof that the representatives of skilled labor were not present in just as great a proportion in the South. In fact, advertised prices of the three levels of seating would suggest that audiences were much the same in all the colonies, with due allowance for the differences in the entire populations of the New England, middle, and southern colonies.

BACKGROUND AND FIRST VENTURES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

When Smith and Percy and Strachey landed in Virginia, one of the greatest flowerings of drama in a single country in human history was taking place in their homeland. Shakespeare had not completed his career, Marlowe's was recently over, Ben Jonson's was under way, and the other giants of tragedy, tragicomedy, comedy, and dramatic satire were writing or about to write. So the British drama continued through the century, going underground during the Puritan interregnum and encountering later more and more opposition from the puritan-Puritan element of the population as the plays became distinctly more concerned with sex and crime.

The Jamestown and St. Mary's men and women, whether they came from the city or the country, had grown up on a diet of contemporary plays, and they had also studied classical drama in their grammar schools and if they were university men had acted it out in their colleges. Captain John Smith in his *Generall Historie* begins his account of the 1622/23 massacre with "The Prologue to this Tragedy" and his description of the Bermudas with "Before we present you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the Stage whereon they were acted."²²⁸

In Great Britain the New World scene had captured the imaginations of all sorts of folk, naturally including the playwrights. Shakespeare's probable use of Strachey's "A True Reportory" in *The Tempest* is too well known to be elaborated upon, as are Jonson's more obvious and specific allusions to Virginia in several of his plays. In February 1613, in honor of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Palgrave of Bohemia, a masque by Inigo Jones and George Chapman was performed at Whitehall on Shrove Monday night. The best musicians of the kingdom rode in two chariots, clad in robes like "the Virginian priests" or Indian medicine men. They had high "spriged feathers on their heads, their vezirds of olive collour, hayre black and lardge waving downe to their shoulders."²²⁹

Britain's interest in the oldest colony's history is reflected later in the century in a play by the well-known Mrs. Aphra Behn, *The Widow Ranter, or The History of Bacon in Virginia* (1689/1690), for which Dryden wrote a prologue and epilogue. In his prologue are several references to recent New World events:

This is the Product of *Virginian* Ground
And to the Port of *Covent-Garden* bound
.
And tho you touch at this or t'other Nation;
Yet sure *Virginia* is your dear Plantation.
Expect no polish'd Scenes of Love show'd rise
From the rude Growth of *Indian* Colonies.
.
The Story's true: the Fact not long a-go;
The *Hero* of our Stage was *English* too:
And bate him one small frailty of Rebelling,
As brave as e're was born at Iniskelling.²³⁰

The performance of plays at Jamestown or St. Mary's is unrecorded. But it would seem possible and even probable that while the quondam playwright Sir William Berkeley was governor—intermittently from 1642 to 1677—dramatic pieces were performed at Jamestown or at his nearby plantation of Green Spring. His *The Lost Lady. A Traggy Comedy* had been published in London in 1637 and 1639, not very long before he first went to Virginia. A second play of his, *Cornelia*, was performed at least once in London after the Restoration. Berkeley, B.A. and M.A. of Oxford, undoubtedly was well acquainted with classical as well as contemporary drama.

During Berkeley's governorship the first play known to have been performed in British America was presented in the Virginia colony. *The Bare and the Cubb* was performed on August 27, 1665, and is known because of the complaint to the commission of the peace in Accomack County by one Edward Martin, obviously one of the Puritan element prominent on the Eastern Shore during the seventeenth century. There are a number of interesting and perhaps significant facts regarding the presentation of this dramatic piece. The three principal and perhaps only actors were working men, two of whom possessed no land at the time and the third a carpenter. Of the three—Cornelius Watkinson, Philip Howard, and William Darby—one may have written the piece. Though Arthur H. Quinn says Darby was the author, actually the playwright was not named. It may have been a farce of English origin or, as the title suggests, a product of the New World. At any rate, the actors were summoned on November 16 and ordered to

repeat the performance, with the costumes and stage properties before used, at the December court. On the latter date the justices found the piece to be perfectly innocuous and ordered Martin to pay all the court costs.

This was not closet drama for the gentleman planter, but theatrical fare performed and patronized and possibly written by members of the so-called working class. The court's finding the actors "not guilty of fault" has been called the first instance of dramatic criticism in this country. The members of the court, always from the land-owning class and usually the wealthiest planters, probably themselves thoroughly enjoyed the plebeian entertainment.²³¹ Opposition to plays per se was hardly new in the English-speaking world, and it continued to exist in varying degree in the colonies as well as Great Britain throughout the period. The dissenting sects in the South, like the Puritan-puritan elements in the North, expressed their disapproval through sermons and tracts, and they were at least in part responsible for the sometimes defensive note referred to above as appearing in prologues and epilogues. But in the southern colonies they never were able to close theaters nor indeed prevent the members of their congregations in individual cases from enjoying this form of entertainment.

THE THEATER AND THEATRICALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Drama in the South in the first decade of the eighteenth century was both academic and professional. The College of William and Mary in 1702 was able to present its "younger Scholars," perhaps those attending its grammar school, in two pastoral colloquies, the first at least being in English verse and the second in Latin or English. Governor Nicholson enclosed copies of these works, perhaps written by the professors, in a letter of July 22, 1702, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The first, on an unrecorded subject, was spoken before Nicholson in the college hall, and the second, celebrating the accession of Queen Anne, probably in the same place. Townspeople and colonial officials as well as outside guests heard and saw.²³² The next recorded performance of the college's thespians three decades later was much more ambitious, the presentation of a popular contemporary play.

In 1703 appeared in South Carolina, "full of Lice, Shame, Poverty, Nakedness and Hunger," Anthony Aston alias Mat Medley, already a veteran actor who had been educated in the law and had followed for a time several other professions. In Charleston, Aston tells us in his autobiography attached to his *The Fool's Opera* (London, [1731]), he turned player and poet and "wrote one Play on the subject of the Country." Presumably with his friends he produced the now lost play in the city. Later, he says, he traveled (and he possibly acted as well as followed other pro-

fessions) in "*England, Scotland, Ireland, New-York, East and West Jersey, Maryland, Virginia (on both sides Cheesapeek,) North and South Carolina, South Florida, Bahamae, Jamaica, Hispaniola. . .*" He mentions being treated handsomely by Governor Nicholson in Virginia, but what and whether he acted in the Chesapeake region remains mere conjecture. Though he was significant enough to be included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the details of his American theatrical career seem nowhere to have been recorded.²³³

The Virginia Theater

The first theater building and professional company of the present United States appeared in Williamsburg in 1716. The architecture and interior arrangements of this and other southern theaters have been noted earlier in this chapter. The nucleus of the group of actors was two of the former indentured servants of the builder of the theater, merchant William Levingston(e). Through a York County contract, on July 11, 1716, Charles and Mary Stagg received their release from indenture with the condition that they join Levingston in obtaining a patent or license for the sole privilege of acting "Comedies, Drolls, or Other Kind of Stage Plays" throughout the colony for a term of three years.

The Staggs, a talented couple, had served Levingston in 1715 in a dancing school in nearby New Kent County, having come to Virginia under bond to serve in the "Arts, Professions." Under the 1716 contract they were to continue dancing classes in the off season and pocket the proceeds, though Stagg was to pay Levingston an annual sum beginning in 1717 for three years. Levingston had begun the Williamsburg part of his career by conducting a successful dancing school in the main college building. In the dramatic venture, the merchant's chief obligation was to finance the building of the theater on the Palace green. The Staggs were not to act in the colony without Levingston's permission, and when they did act with his permission he and they were to share equally in production costs and profits.

The theater appears to have been built before the year 1716 was over, undoubtedly after the desired license for a theatrical monopoly was obtained from the governor. It was apparently never a really successful financial venture, for Levingston appears in the records in various sorts of pecuniary troubles. He seems to have sold or mortgaged his theater and a bowling green adjoining to John Blair in 1721, though Levingston did not leave the premises until he was ejected through court action in 1723. A few years later he appears in Spotsylvania County records 1727-1729, and in the latter year his wife settled his estate.

Stagg lived on until the year 1735/1736, when he died a fairly well-to-

do man. His inventory in Williamsburg is of interest for its books and prints and maps, a violin, sixty-three bottles of cider and 141 of Madeira, an extraordinarily large wardrobe, and two slaves and two indentured servants, among much else. His and his wife's associates in the theater are unknown, but they probably included indentured servants brought for theatrical purposes from London. How long plays were performed and what the repertory was, is so far unknown. From William Byrd's letter to Sir John Randolph of January 21, 1735/36, which refers to Stagg's recent demise, one may infer that he presented plays almost up to the time of his death. More likely Byrd refers to performances given by the ladies and gentlemen of the town, for some of the actors he mentions, such as Dr. Potter, were not professionals. It may be that the professional theater lasted only until 1723, when Levingston quit Williamsburg. Even if the latter is the truth, here was conducted for some seven years a repertory theater which enabled colonials to see contemporary and perhaps somewhat older plays just as they were given in Great Britain.

The first mention of the acting of a play did not come, however, until two years after the first Williamsburg theater was built. In 1718, celebrating the birthday of George I, Governor Spotswood gave a public entertainment open to all gentlemen who would come. On June 24 he wrote a letter complaining that there were eight councilors who "would neither come to my House nor goe to the Play w^{ch} was Acted on that occasion." It has usually been assumed that the play was produced by the Stagg-Levingston company, if the couple and their servants may be called a company. Byrd attended the theater two days in succession in April 1721.²³⁴

The use of this first building for theatrical entertainment does not quite end with Stagg's death, for in January 1736 a local group, purely amateur or amateur with a mixture of Stagg's old company, staged Mrs. Centlivre's popular play *The Busy Body*. It was to this production that Byrd in his letter to Sir John Randolph referred, with innuendos as to the personal character of Dr. Henry Potter, who played Squire Marplot. In September of that year Addison's *The Tragedy of Cato* was acted by the young men of the college and within the following week or two were staged *The Busy Body* again, and two other perennial English and American favorites, George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* and *The Beaux' Stratagem*, the latter three performed by the gentlemen and ladies of the colony. These were followed by Addison's *The Drummer, or the Haunted House* by the young gentlemen of the college.

In September the season coincided with the convening of the House of Burgesses, and these amateur theatricals appear to have been an attempt to continue the sort of entertainment provided up to that time, or nearly

up to it, by the Stagg group. On September 17, 1736, Thomas Jones wrote to his wife in Caroline County, mentioning the performances of *Cato* and *The Busy Body* and everyone's disappointment that no "fine lady" had been found to play Dorinda in *The Beaux' Stratagem*. Jones' postscript concludes that though it is a great secret, the "Miss Anderson that came to town with Mrs. Carter" has been persuaded to play the part.²³⁵

The October 22 *Virginia Gazette* carried a feigned advertisement from "a young lady" who believed she had been flirted with by a gentleman "at the theatre." She calls on him to make himself known. This piece is actually the conclusion of one of the "Monitor" series of papers, Number 11, and infers that the theatrical season had just passed. Exactly one day later, October 23, Elizabeth Jones was being informed by her mother Elizabeth Holloway that "I hear there will be no plays this court" and therefore that daughter Betty need not mind missing this "public time" in Williamsburg.²³⁶

For the next two years the principal entertainment in the little capital was the balls presented by two widows, Mrs. Stagg and Mrs. de (or von) Graffenreid. Shortly after Stagg's death, John Blair sold the original Levingston property including the playhouse to Dr. George Gilmer, who in 1745 sold the theater itself to a group of thirty-one gentlemen, without exception among the leading men of the colony, who evidently hoped to continue theatricals in some form. It was during Gilmer's or the group's ownership that the amateurs performed there. In 1745 the corporation of the city of Williamsburg petitioned the "Gentlemen Subscribers" to bestow the then unused building on the corporation so that it might be employed as a courthouse, the petition pointing out that no plays had been performed there for several years.²³⁷

Williamsburg was not long without a theater building, though meanwhile in Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston acting companies had begun to provide entertainment. A company of actors under the dual management of Walter Murray and Thomas Kean probably began performances in Philadelphia in 1749 and moved to New York in early 1750, playing there until July 1751. In another month most of this company was in Williamsburg, where Alexander Finnie, proprietor of the Raleigh Tavern, announced his sponsorship of a new theatrical project including a building. On August 29 in the *Virginia Gazette* he proposed raising money for the theater by subscription, and pointed out that it had to be completed by the opening of the October term of the General Court. Though subscriptions lagged, the actors as early as September 26 announced their first production of October 21 to be *Richard III*.

This theater near the Capitol contained only the barest essentials of pit, boxes, and gallery, for the Murray-Kean company was operating on a shoe-

string. Three days after the presentation of *Richard III*, the *Virginia Gazette* carried a card announcing the players' financial difficulties. Charles Woodham was now manager, though Murray and Kean continued in some sort of managerial-acting roles. The company concluded its short engagement in Williamsburg by the middle of November, when they took to the smaller towns, including at least Norfolk and Petersburg. They were back in Williamsburg in the spring, when they presented Farquhar's *The Constant Couple* as the benefit for Mrs. Becceley, singer and soubrette of the troupe. The afterpiece was Garrick's *The Lying Valet*.

On April 30 the company announced its intention of taking again to the road. They played in the courthouse in Hobb's-Hole (Tappahannock) for two weeks, then they journeyed on to Fredericksburg to take advantage of the crowds at the June fair. There it was that George Washington saw what was probably his first play on the American stage. There may have been a theater building in Fredericksburg, for the young Washington noted in his journal that he had made a loan to his brother Samuel "at the playhouse." As the fair closed, the players hurried out to Annapolis.

In a short time a new group of actors appeared on the Virginia scene, led by Lewis Hallam and his wife, members of a well-known London theatrical family. William, a brother, backed the new company by supplying scripts, scenery, and costumes from his recently defunct theater. The company was organized on a sharing basis, a system which became the principal method of reimbursing actors in America. Among the troupe were two Hallam juvenile sons and a daughter, the lead actor William Rigby, veteran Patrick Malone, and Mrs. William Adcock as second lady of the company, with her husband in singing roles. There also was John Singleton, a good light comedian who was adept in the composition of prologues and epilogues, and half a dozen other "useful" members of the cast. Their repertory consisted of the then most popular plays on the London stage including Shakespeare's (usually in "adapted" forms).

On June 2 the *Charming Sally* dropped anchor at Yorktown, the players of this company disembarking and traveling overland to nearby Williamsburg. The *Virginia Gazette* announcement on June 12, 1752, stated that "Mr. Hallam, from the New Theatre in Goodmansfields, is daily expected here with a select Company of Comedians, the Scenes, Cloaths and Decorations are all entirely new, extremely rich, and finished in the highest Taste, the Scenes being painted by the best Hands in London." They would offer the best plays, operas, farces, and pantomimes. Actually of course they were already in town.

Hallam's group met with some difficulty in getting a license from Governor Dinwiddie, but eventually they obtained it, and took over the re-

cently built second playhouse behind the Capitol, which they "improved" so as to make it "a regular Theatre." Exactly what the improvements were has been impossible to determine, but Colonial Williamsburg architects surmise that after renovation it probably resembled the surviving eighteenth-century theater at Richmond in Yorkshire, which had interesting box seats and projecting stage.

The Hallam company opened its first season in September by presenting *The Merchant of Venice* in Lord Lansdown's version *The Jew of Venice*, though Shakespeare's name appears as author. It was advertised in the *Gazette* of August 28 and in a separate playbill, probably the earliest extant theatrical broadside in the colonies, word for word like the newspaper advertisement. The prologue written for the occasion, composed by Singleton and delivered by Rigby, suggests that the actors were missionaries spreading the gospel of culture to this farthest outpost of British civilization. The Muse had called to them

*Haste to Virginia's Plains, My Sons, repair,
The Goddess said Go; confident to find
An audience sensible, polite and kind.*

After this prologue the curtain rose on the first performance of a troupe destined to become the most significant in the annals of the colonial stage. Distinguished and usually dignified performance marked this beginning of the continuous history of the theater in this country.

An instant success, the company played three nights a week to large audiences. Though receipts were sometimes as much as £300 a performance, the actors piled up debts, as Dr. George Gilmer grumbled. Presumably they presented the same plays they performed in New York the following summer, including Farquhar's *The Constant Couple*, Congreve's *Love for Love*, Lillo's *George Barnwell*, Philips' *The Distressed Mother*, Shakespeare's *Richard III*, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry IV*, and *Othello*, Cibber's *The Careless Husband*, Steele's *The Conscious Lovers*, Rowe's *Jane Shore*, Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, and half a dozen other favorites.

In November the theater became part of one of Williamsburg's occasional official spectacles, for on the first of that month the Cherokee Emperor and Empress and his son and principal warriors and chiefs visited the capital to renew a treaty of friendship. On Thursday, November 9, they attended a performance of *Othello* with a pantomime afterpiece. The fighting with naked swords by actors on the stage surprised the red visitors, and the Empress ordered several of her warriors to halt the action to prevent killing. The season lasted eleven months, after which the company went on to New York. Rigby fled early to escape his creditors, and judg-

ments were handed down against him, Singleton, William Adcock, and Charles Bell. Hallam deeded the theater to a local perukemaker and a deputy postmaster with a clause that if the aforementioned actors paid their debts the property would revert back to him, but payment the actors never made. As it was, Hallam died in Jamaica not long afterward.²³⁸

The second playhouse near the Capitol was probably closed for several years, for no advertisements of performances appear in the extant *Virginia Gazette* issues between 1752 and 1768. In 1755 another form of entertainment, a mechanical "Microcosm," was presented "at the later Play-House." Robert H. Land believes that despite the absence of newspaper accounts plays were performed in Williamsburg before the autumn of 1760, a belief based in part on Washington's ledger, which notes "By play tickets at Sundry times £7.11.3." Land thinks that the Douglass "American Company" presented *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Miss in Her Teens*, and *Lethe* among other plays then and in 1761 and 1762. An extant original 1765 playbill dated May 1 announces the American Company of Comedians' presentation in Williamsburg on that date of *Love in a Village* and *The Buck*. In 1768 the "Virginia Company of Comedians" of William Verling had a two-months season in the capital from May 31. The two *Virginia Gazettes* of the period carried detailed announcements including play titles and names of actors in each part as well as occasional prologues. The productions were almost always double-headers as had been true earlier: that is, a full-length play followed by a farce, a pantomime, a musical interlude, or even a comic dance. George Washington recorded his frequent attendance at plays this year and again in 1770.

The Douglass company (Douglass had married the widow Hallam long before) played in Williamsburg in 1770-1771 and in 1771-1772. Miss Nancy Hallam received lavish praise for her performance as Imogene in *Cymbeline*. *The Beggar's Opera* continued to be popular in 1771 and was followed by two other Anglo-American favorites, *The Tender Husband* and *The Honest Yorkshireman*. Washington's 1771 diaries show him to have attended the theater on May 2, 3, and 8, and October 29, 30, and 31. The Douglass company advertised *King Lear* in November 1771 as a tragedy never before performed in Virginia. In 1772 in March and April Washington again was a regular attendant at the playhouse, as the American company had returned. By this time the producers were offering some new or certainly less familiar plays mixed in with the old favorites. The playhouse closed with the end of the General Assembly session, and in October 1773 the *Gazette* carried a notice of the death of Mrs. Douglass in Philadelphia.

The building was still standing in July 1775. By 1780 its site is re-

ferred to as that on which "the Old Play House lately stood," and by 1787 its bricks were being sold to a brick mason and carpenter. Curiously one of the company, Sarah Hallam, returned to Williamsburg in 1775 to make it her permanent home. She taught reading, writing, and dancing. If this Sarah was the wife of Lewis Hallam, Jr., she had no connection with the stage save on one occasion, when she played a minor part. She lived well into the nineteenth century, a pleasant reminder to her fellow townsmen of Williamsburg's theatrical golden age.²³⁹

The professionals acting in Williamsburg extended their season by performing in other towns in Virginia which were not too hard to reach by water. In November 1752 the Murray-Kean company opened in "Capt. Newton's Great Room" in Norfolk, offering *The Recruiting Officer* along with other fare and probably making a side trip to Suffolk for a few performances. The Douglass company's first American tour of 1758-1761 almost surely included Norfolk, Suffolk, Petersburg, and Fredericksburg as well as Williamsburg. There is positive proof in the *Virginia Gazette* that in January 1768 actors were living in Norfolk, possibly Verling or members of his troupe. Verling's group, calling themselves the Virginia Company, opened in Norfolk before January 1768, though the only record of activity in that port city is the notice of Mrs. Osborne's benefit (always given toward the end of a season) on January 19, when she recited a prologue including the lines:

For ten long years this motley life I've led. . . .
Yet though doomed perpetually to roam,
Still when at Norfolk thought myself at home.

The company seems to have continued performances in Norfolk until early March. The Douglass company was in the same town in January 1772. There is no list of the plays performed, but they were presented in a wooden structure originally built as a pottery.²⁴⁰

Petersburg saw the Murray-Kean players in the winter of 1751-1752. Little is known of what and where they acted, though an "old theatre" is mentioned in 1773 and later. The building was on Old Street and was later used as a religious revival center. That theatrical entertainment was an established tradition in Petersburg by 1763 is suggested in a letter from young Thomas Jefferson to his friend John Page on January 20 saying that he was thinking of going to Petersburg "if the actors go there in May." As noted, the Douglass troupe was probably there in 1761.²⁴¹

Fredericksburg, Tappahannock, Alexandria, and Dumfries, all in northern Virginia on the Potomac or Rappahannock, were visited by the Murray-Kean company and/or the Douglass troupes between 1752 and 1772. These towns might all be considered on the route between Wil-

liamsburg and Annapolis, especially so by an acting company. In 1771 the Douglass comedians were in Dumfries, perhaps playing in the new sixty by twenty-eight foot Assembly Room. Here Washington saw *The Recruiting Officer* on January 23 and something else six days later, and in 1768/69 the New American Company or Virginia Company of Verling played in Alexandria, where on September 20 Washington or his family saw them in Farquhar's *The Inconstant*. The Murray-Kean troupe had in 1752 made a two-week stay at Tappahannock, from May 10 to 24, where the courthouse was the only building large enough to accommodate players and audience.²⁴² Though these stays were brief, it is evident that all classes saw the most popular eighteenth-century British plays for at least a quarter of a century in six or more towns other than Williamsburg.

The purchasers of the cheapest tickets or even the middle-priced seats have not been clearly identified as individuals or by occupation, but the colonial theater could not have existed without them. There is plenty of evidence that the planter aristocracy, provincial officialdom, and professional men and their families attended and enjoyed the plays. Men like William Byrd II and the earlier Wormeleys of Rosegill and Sir John Randolph had opportunity to see in Virginia only the Stagg troupe and amateurs as far as is known, but they possessed extensive libraries in which plays were major items, and they visited Britain frequently enough to be familiar with the contemporary London theater.

Governors from Spotswood on seem to have attended whatever dramatic spectacle was offered. The body of gentlemen who bought the first theater, the most prominent men of the colony, were obviously lovers of the histrionic art. That Washington was an inveterate playgoer and attended everything performed within miles of his estate or on his legislative or military visits to Williamsburg marks him as a typical Virginia squire of his time in this respect, as he was in others. Jefferson, younger and not quite so typical of his class, must have been a regular patron of the theater in his student days and, as has been shown, was willing to make the considerable journey to Petersburg to see several plays. During 1737, when there were no known performances in the Williamsburg theater, the *Virginia Gazette* ran serially Dodsley's *The Toy-Shop* to satisfy the hunger for drama which may have developed.²⁴³

The Maryland Theater

The Maryland theater beginning in 1752 parallels the Virginia theater in performing companies and repertory. The first Annapolis troupe was the Murray-Kean, who assumed the title of the "Company of Comedians from Annapolis," and gave their first performance, Gay's *The Beggar's*

Opera and Garrick's *The Lying Valet*, on June 22. Tradition says they opened in a brick theater on Duke of Gloucester Street. They advertised in Jonas Green's *Maryland Gazette* much more frequently than they had in the *Virginia Gazette*, perhaps in an endeavor to establish their identity. Though the Annapolis in which they appeared was a city of wit dominated intellectually by the Tuesday Club, which must have welcomed them, their visit was for less than two months. They then moved on to Upper Marlborough, hoping to attract some of the crowds that attended the races there. They had presented in Annapolis *The Busy Body*, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, *The Recruiting Officer*, *The London Merchant*, or *George Barnwell*, *Cato*, and *Richard III*. They must have given some of the same plays at Upper Marlborough and Piscataway and then at Charlestown on the Eastern Shore.

A 1760 list of the Douglass company's feature productions and their companion lighter pieces is almost exactly that of the Williamsburg repertory. A possible exception is *The Toy-Shop*, which they presented as an afterpiece to Edward Moore's popular *The Gamester*. Between March 3 and May 12 at Annapolis they gave some twenty-six features and pantomimes or farces. Then they too went on to Upper Marlborough and played there for seven weeks. In 1770 as the American Company of Comedians they opened in Annapolis, Miss Hallam performing so brilliantly that poetic encomiums upon her appeared in the newspaper. Earlier, in 1760, the prologue and epilogue to *The Orphan* by "a gentleman of the province" were probably by the quondam Irish playwright the Reverend James Sterling. The prologue is a vision of America's future glory, the epilogue a defense of the drama on moral grounds.

In early 1771 William Eddis wrote that the Maryland governor was strongly in favor of a well-regulated stage and that a subscription had just been completed to erect a more commodious theater for the American Company. Incidentally Eddis expressed his surprise that the performers were at least as good as "the first characters in your most celebrated provincial theatres." The new theater of brick, with a seating capacity of six hundred, was probably the finest in the colonies, though it was still unfinished when it opened on September 9, 1771, with *The Roman Father*. During the season the Squire of Mount Vernon attended performances there. Nancy Hallam's portrait as Imogene by Charles Willson Peale provoked more verses in the *Maryland Gazette*. Despite all this the Annapolis season was fairly short and the company returned to Virginia, though they were back in Annapolis by September 6, 1772, for a season lasting into October. All together, colonial theatricals in Maryland may generally be said to have been much like those of Virginia,

with the smaller colony possessing a superior theater building and a great number of men and women who expressed themselves in print in prose and verse on the thespian art.²⁴⁴

The Carolina Theater

North Carolina in the 1760s had a little-known troupe of actors and at least one playhouse. C.J. Sauthier's "Plan of the Town of Halifax . . . Drawn in 1769" shows a theater building. The company acting in the province in 1768/1769 was under the direction of a Mr. Mills and starred a Henry Giffard. The group disbanded soon after this, some going to the Virginia or New American Company under Verling in Norfolk. Giffard sought and obtained Governor Tryon's recommendation for holy orders, although Tryon cautioned the Bishop of London that "If your Lordship grants Mr. Giffard his petition you will take off the best player on the American stage." Giffard may have been the son of the Mrs. Henry Giffard of the Drury Lane theater and of Henry Giffard, sometime manager of a theater in Goodman's Fields.

Thomas Godfrey, born in Philadelphia in 1736 and dying at Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1763, is buried in the churchyard of St. James Parish. Before going to North Carolina for his health, he had published in the *American Magazine* lyric and narrative verse. The first known American tragedy, however, *The Prince of Parthia*, an oriental story of love, lust, despotism, ambition, and jealousy, was completed in North Carolina in 1759. His play was presented after eight years' delay by Douglass on April 24, 1767, in Philadelphia, but only once. One wonders whether it was given in Godfrey's last years in tidewater North Carolina.²⁴⁵

South Carolina in the eighteenth century was perhaps even more interested than Virginia in the theater. Dramatic performances were given almost entirely, of course, in Charleston, for the one real southern city was the only town of the province large enough to support the dramatic companies. Tony Aston's 1703 dramatic composition and performance was only one of its firsts. Within three years after the *South-Carolina Gazette* began publication in 1732, the theater was firmly established, and the earliest of its seven pre-Revolutionary theatrical seasons had begun.

The first season was inaugurated on January 24, 1734/1735, with the presentation of Otway's *The Orphan* in the "Court-Room." What is usually considered the first American prologue, written for the occasion, was spoken on that first night. It touches on Columbus and the fulfillment of the earliest promise of America and apologizes for the actors' inexperience:

Faint our Endeavours, rude our Essays;
We strive to please, but can't pretend at praise;
Forgiving Smiles o'er pay the grateful Task;
They're all we hope and all we humbly ask.

The Orphan proved to be as popular there as it was elsewhere and was repeated at least four times in 1735 with further prologues and an epilogue, possibly all by Dr. Thomas Dale (c. 1699 or 1700–1750). The second prologue stresses the moral quality of this and other plays, mentioning specifically Addison and Shakespeare. The epilogue of February 22 mentions Otway by name, Addison's *Cato*, Congreve's plays, and the witch-hanging propensities of the New Englanders, who also "adjure" plays.

On February 18 came the first production of a musical play in America, Colley Cibber's ballad farce *Flora, or Hob in the Well*, with the after-piece the old favorite pantomime *Harlequin and Scaramouche*. The season closed with Dryden's rather dull *The Spanish Friar, or the Double Discovery*. The cast of the group was never published, but it is usually held that they were local gentry. A careful reading of the prologues and epilogue seems to suggest, however, a mixture of young professionals and local amateurs, with probably an experienced producer.²⁴⁶ The epilogue seems also to hint that other unadvertised plays were presented, perhaps *Hamlet*, *Cato*, and certain Congreve plays. If this be true, it would seem to support the idea that the company could not have been all or even mostly amateur.

The first Dock Street or Queen Street (the name was changed to the latter in 1734) theater was built during 1735 under a Charles Shephard as press agent and William Holliday as manager. Local amateurs who desired to participate in subscribing or acting were welcomed in newspaper notices four times in May of that year. The "new Theatre in Dock Street" opened with George Farquhar's popular comedy *The Recruiting Officer* on Thursday, February 1, 1736. The witty epilogue was written by Dr. Thomas Dale. Dale's lines were published with his name as author in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, VI (May 1736), 288.²⁴⁷

For its second performance the building bore the designation of the "Theatre in Queen Street" and so continued. Then and in subsequent weeks appeared *The Orphan* and *The London Merchant* (sometimes with Charles Coffey's farce *The Devil to Pay*) in addition to *The Recruiting Officer*. In May the theater changed hands, but in November and December *Cato* and *The Recruiting Officer*, the latter with the opera *Flora, or Hob in the Well*, were presented, and *The Recruiting Officer* was repeated twice in early 1737 as the last play to be seen in Charleston for eighteen years. The final May 21 production was sponsored by the

Masons, who remained constant devotees of the theater throughout the colonial period.²⁴⁸

The Queen Street theater was probably destroyed in the great fire of 1740. In October 1754 the Lewis Hallam company reintroduced drama, or introduced really professional drama, with Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* at the "NEW Theatre." It was followed by Mrs. Centlivre's *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* and a farce, Henry Fielding's *The Mock Doctor*, then *The Orphan*, *Cato*, *The Recruiting Officer*, *The Distressed Mother*, and perhaps other items from their repertoire not noted in the *Gazette*. There was another hiatus before November 1, 1763, when Douglass and his troupe disembarked in Charleston under their title of "The American Company of Comedians." Douglass immediately contracted for a new theater building to be located on Queen Street. Measuring seventy-five by thirty-five feet, it was completed in six weeks. On December 13, 1763, it opened with *The Suspicious Husband*, followed by *The Gamester* and *The Provoked Husband* and *The Beaux' Stratagem*, sometimes with afterpieces, and *The Mourning Bride*, Douglas, and *The London Merchant* (by that time being advertised simply as *George Barnwell*). Mrs. Gabriel Manigault's journal names a few more, including *Jane Shore*, *Love for Love*, *The Jealous Wife*, *The Orphan of China*, *Theodosius*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *A Wonder! A Woman Keeps a Secret* (with a farce), and *King Lear*.

These same plays were the best of the London stage fare of the time. In the *Gazette* or in playbills appear the names of members of the cast, including Douglass himself, Mr. and Mrs. Owen Morris, several Hallams, Mrs. Douglass (the former Mrs. Lewis Hallam), and Margaret Cheer, who had just joined them from London as actress and singer. This was all through March 1764. It should be noticed that the two plays by Shakespeare are the first of his produced in the city, though his works were advertised in the *South-Carolina Gazette* fifteen times between 1738 and 1775.²⁴⁹

In October 1765 Douglass made a triumphant return from England after an absence of over a year. He brought reinforcements for his company and planned to entertain the town that winter with English operas. There was fine new scenery made by the best craftsman in London, Nicholas Thomas Doll of Covent Garden, though no description of it is known. Douglass brought six actors and actresses from London, including Nancy Hallam, who may have been sent to England for voice training. Miss Wainwright was also noted for her vocal talents, and the shapely Henrietta Osborne could also take singing roles. Stephen Woolls was more singer than actor, and there were also Thomas Wall and William Verling of varied talents.

Douglass opened on January 17, 1766, with *The Distrest Mother*, followed by *Douglas and Love in a Village*. Then came *The Constant Couple*, *The Gamester*, and for the first time in America Arthur Murphy's comedy *The Way to Keep Him*. Another American first was on April 3, William Whitehead's *The School for Lovers*, enhanced by local musician Valton's music for "Gratitude and Love," written by a gentleman of the province. *Cato* was the final performance of the season, given on April 16 for the benefit of the poor.

The last tour of the American or Douglass company was a progress from north to south in 1772-1774. Douglass preceded his troupe in Charleston to arrange for the building of a new theater, but when his company arrived on November 25, 1773, the structure was still unfinished. Douglass had given the building great personal care, and this Church Street theater was larger than the Philadelphia or New York buildings he designed and was apparently superior in accommodations. The season did begin before Christmas.

With Douglass had arrived his wife, Lewis Hallam, Miss Hallam, Miss Storer, Miss Wainwright, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Woolls, with the rest of the company scheduled to come by sloop. Hugh Kelly's *Word to the Wise* was the first production, with Hames Townley's *High Life Below Stairs*.

Though this has been called by one historian "the most brilliant dramatic season of colonial America," it reflected the troubled times in which it took place. There were newspaper attacks on the theater on religious and moral grounds and some discontent among the company. But this by no means dampened the city's enthusiasm for the theater. The old favorites continued to be performed, such as *The Recruiting Officer* and *Cato*, and some pieces new to the city. In all fifty-eight plays were presented, and of them twenty were of a musical nature. Charlestonians filled the theater night after night and sometimes had to be seated or accommodated on the stage. When the season closed on May 19, 1774, the *South-Carolina Gazette* evaluated it in glowing terms, commenting upon the judicious choice of plays, the variety of scenery and decorations, the able efforts of the fine moral tone of all performances. Quite unconsciously it was marking the end of an era.²⁵⁰

Closet Drama, Private Theatricals, and Colonial Authorship

This chronological survey of the public theater in the southern colonies indicates that the presentation of plays was sporadic. Great gaps in time occurred, in one instance eighteen years, between seasons even after the professional troupes had appeared. And though there were short series of performances in the smaller towns of the Chesapeake country, unless a

planter family went to live in the provincial capital during the "public times," its opportunities to see plays were rare. The small farmer or rural artisan, such as the men who staged *The Bare and the Cubb*, had no chance at all to be entertained by the actors unless they turned thespians themselves at taverns on county court days.

There were pantomimes, dances, charades, and perhaps more ambitious histrionic endeavors among the plainer folk, one gathers from oblique references in letters, judicial records, and newspapers, but specific time and place and character of these is difficult to pin down. What does exist is some concrete evidence and a great deal of suggestion that the large planters staged and produced plays in the great halls of their mansions, that these gentlemen or educated clergy or even Indian traders wrote dramatic satires or lampoons designed usually to be passed about in manuscript but occasionally getting into the pages of the provincial newspapers, that a few colonials were actually playwrights who occasionally saw their work produced at home, and that schoolboys and collegians sometimes presented well-known plays for their own edification. Then there is the statute at the College of William and Mary that if there are any sorts of plays or diversions in use among the students "which are not to be found extant in any printed Books, let the Master compose and dictate to his Scholars Colloquies fit for such Sorts of Plays, that they may learn at all Times to speak Latin in apt and proper Terms."

In addition there was the reading of plays, with each member of the circle taking a part, around the manor house fireplaces. This last, one learns from Byrd's "A Progress to the Mines" (and his diaries seem to suggest the same thing) was a favorite indoor pastime of the master of Westover. Nicholas Cresswell, Englishman visiting friends in Maryland in 1774, noted in his journal that after supper the company, including young lady visitors from Virginia, amused themselves with "several diverting plays." Though Cresswell thought this strange, he noted that "it is common in this country."²⁵¹

William Byrd II's relation to the dramatic arts has not been finally determined and is not likely to be for some time, since new Byrd manuscripts appear to be surfacing every year or two. One excellent essay, based on an account of poet Robert Bolling, raises the question whether Byrd was not with three English noblemen the author of *The Careless Husband* attributed to Colley Cibber, and notes Byrd's directing of the play in Virginia. Bolling records that the question of authorship came up at a gathering of ladies and gentlemen probably in the 1730s for "a private theatrical entertainment" where, at the Harrison family estate Berkeley, this very play was performed. The source of the story was Colonel Richard Bland of Revolutionary fame, then a young man, as prominent in his generation as

Byrd was in the preceding. Byrd designated the particular portions of the play each of the four had written, though exactly what parts Bland did not recall. Byrd directed several rehearsals at Berkeley and apparently took great pleasure in the production.

Though so far no substantiation of the story exists, there is no real reason for Byrd's or Bland's fabricating the story. In a Byrd manuscript at Chapel Hill is one of the songs from the play in a part of a commonplace book of original and copied materials. Possibly Byrd wrote this and other songs for the play. One of the named collaborators, Lord Carteret, was too young to have participated, but that could be merely Bland's faulty memory, which is more likely than Byrd's. The fact is that during his London years, both before 1704 and in the 1715-1720 and 1721-1726 periods, his friends were almost without exception gentlemen and noblemen who had written at least one play and usually had had it produced in one of the London theaters by a professional company. Byrd in London attended the theater several times a week, sometimes two in an evening, and he frequently mentions his companions. A check in the *Dictionary of National Biography* of these gentlemen reveals their authorship, and in his diary Byrd implies or states how pleased some were to see their own plays produced. Byrd did attend during 1717-1719 in London performances of *The Careless Husband* over and over again, more than any other one play.

Byrd also may have contributed the prologue for the London production of Mrs. Centlivre's *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, already mentioned as a popular piece in the southern colonies. The question of why he did not acknowledge authorship of play or prologue has several possible answers unnecessary to go into here. Very recently manuscripts unmistakably his have turned up to show he wrote on other subjects to which heretofore he has never been related. A man whose tremendous (for his time) library was one-sixth drama and who wrote something every day of his adult life probably at some time tried his hand at plays.²⁵² Perhaps of more interest here than Byrd's possible co-authorship of one of the most popular eighteenth-century dramas is the clear evidence presented by a participant that well-known works were acted out by amateurs in private houses.

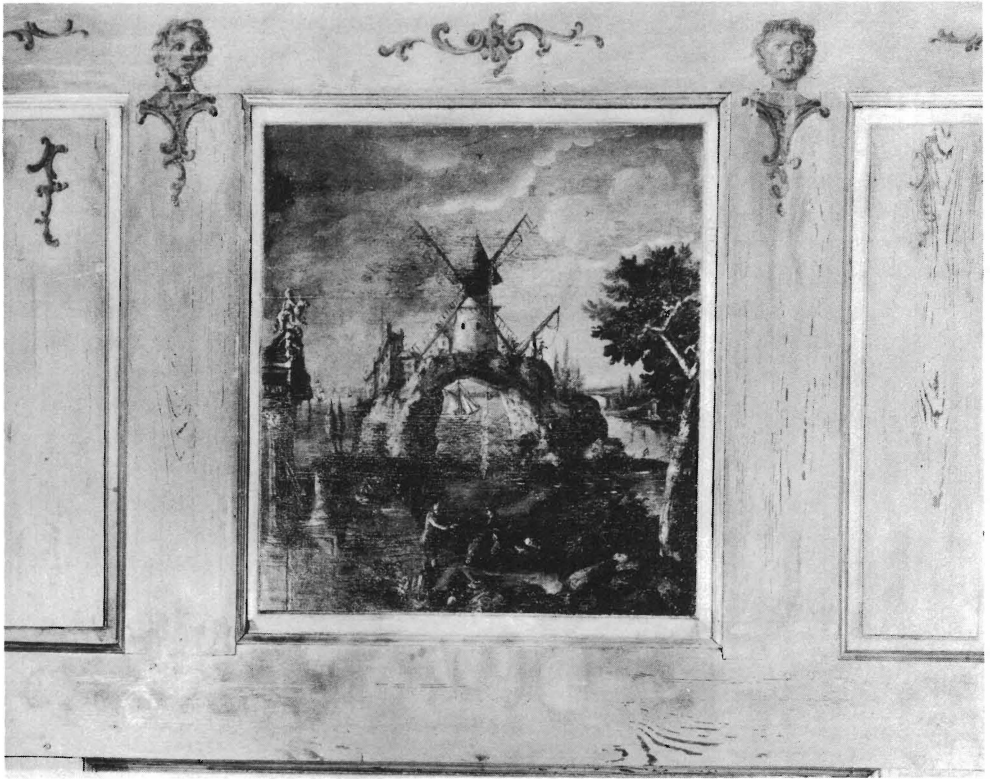
There is another good evidence of a "private theater" and theatricals in Mecklenburg County a generation and more later. The "theater" was probably the great hall of Sir Peyton Skipwith's mansion Prestwoud, where William Munford in post-Revolutionary times played the role of Archer in Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*. William's father, Robert Munford, had written the two plays for which he is remembered, *The Candidates* and *The Patriots*, probably in 1770 and 1777 and just possibly may originally have planned them for public presentation. *The Candidates, or, the Humors of a Virginia Election* (c. 1770) is the first real

American farce, and the setting is the election following the death of Lord Botetourt in October 1770. Containing references to Lunenburg and Mecklenburg County persons, the extant printed version of the play may have been intended for production at Prestwoud or the county seat. *The Patriots* (c. 1777) also contains dozens of local allusions, mostly oblique, and may be defined as America's first legitimate comedy in that Munford "dramatizes with originality and artistry a problem which is particularly American." Local allusions though there are, a major theme, the problem of treatment of minorities, is of course characteristic of this country.

Though local allusions to persons and places are unmistakable, these are good acting plays with both timely and timeless topics. Perhaps they would have been appreciated most by the voting citizenry of the southside Virginia in which they are set. At one time or another, each must have been presented to at least one local circle. The same might be said of the work of the youthful St. George Tucker of Williamsburg, who during the Revolutionary era and early national period composed his still unpublished plays in verse and prose with some music.²⁵³

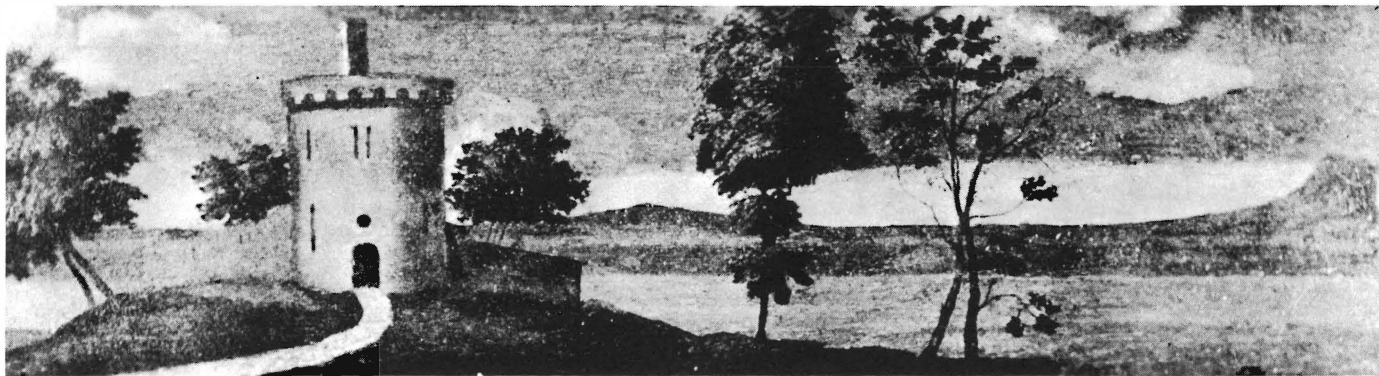
Between Byrd's production of *The Careless Husband* and Robert Munford's two satiric comedies there were other dramatic satires with local allusions probably never intended for public presentation. One is the mock play in Dr. Hamilton's "History" of the Tuesday Club. In the journal of Colonel James Gordon, Presbyterian of the Northern Neck of Virginia area, is the story of a satirical farce written by the Anglican clergyman Adam Menzies which was passed about among people attending "a court" in Richmond County on May 7, 1759. The play ridiculed the evangelical gatherings of the common folk and blacks which a few upper-class Presbyterians such as Gordon, along with the Reverend Samuel Davies, were sponsoring. "Minis's play was read in the ordinary by Mr. Packer, that received it from Mr. Rinehard, who said he found it in the courtyard," the usual procedure of disclaiming authorship of anything that might result in a lawsuit. Gordon also was the bearer of letters exchanged by Menzies and Samuel Davies. Three years later, on Monday April 11, 1763, Gordon adds in his diary, "Mr. Minis was probably the author of Minis's play," a curious statement in view of what had been recorded earlier in the journal.²⁵⁴

In the *South-Carolina Gazette* of September 9, 1745, appeared the first installment (never followed up) of a satirical play full of local allusions called *The Fatal Enquiry*. In the same newspaper of April 9, 1750, was advertised the publication of a pamphlet on Indian affairs by Indian trader James Adair, to which was appended a farce, "as the same was some time ago first rehearsed in private, and afterwards acted publicly; in which are contained some comical and instructive Dialogues." Adair is usually



The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916

Wall panel painting from Marmion, the Fitzhugh family home in
King George County, Virginia



Frick Art Reference Library, Collection of Brice M. Clagett, Holly Hill, Maryland

Eighteenth-century, American school, wall or mantel painting

credited with the farce as well as the preceding treatise. Another satire in dramatic form was solicited in written subscriptions in support of publication and solicited in the same newspaper by Egerton Leigh, judge of the admiralty court, on May 25, 1769. It concerned a dispute between him and Henry Laurens growing out of a decision by the court.²⁵⁵ Another play possibly by a South Carolina author was *The Young American in London* performed as an afterpiece in Charleston in 1774. The southern colonial dramatists from Aston to Tucker thus add up numerically to an impressive number. They warrant further investigation.

One eighteenth-century piece, Addison's *The Tragedy of Cato*, was not only a favorite on the professional stage but was performed in whole or in part by gentleman amateurs, schoolboys, and perhaps other local groups. The play was bound to be successful in the last decades of the colonies because of its author and its depiction of Cato's last stand for liberty against the tyranny of Caesar. Actually it was popular, as the above survey has shown, long before the colonial discontent with the policies of the mother country had become acute, in 1735 in Charleston and in 1736 in Williamsburg and through the years to 1775 in all the colonies. Though Addison had gone to great pains to make the play inoffensive to either Whig or Tory, the mounting resentment against Britain in America resulted in the colonial's reading into it much about tyranny on the part of the mother country. It was quoted and declaimed by schoolboys and referred to by provincial essayists again and again. Scarcely a gentleman's library in Virginia and Maryland and South Carolina was without a copy, and it was owned by Jefferson, John Adams, and various Pennsylvanians before and during the Revolutionary period. Benjamin Franklin had quoted the play as early as his *Busy-Body* essays of 1729.

The 1735 Charleston production by strolling players had resulted in a curious epilogue published much later, on September 5, 1743, in the *South-Carolina Gazette* by one who had written it earlier at the age of seventeen. These verses suggest that a Christian should not follow Cato's example in "the impious crime" even though he was brave and generous. Elsewhere youth was not so hesitant to approve Cato's action as well as his speeches.

An amusing incident relative to the play, recorded in John Blair's diary, occurred in Williamsburg in November 1751. A William and Mary professor of moral philosophy, William Preston, Oxford M.A., attempted to demonstrate the evils of the drama, incidentally demonstrating that Anglicans could be anti-theatrical too: "This evening Mr. Pre[s]ton to prevent the young gentlemen of the college from playing at a rehearsal in the dormitory, how they could act Cato privately among themselves, did himself, they say, act the Drun[ke]n Peasant [the title of a popular farcical afterpiece]; but his tearing down the curtains is to me very surprising."

Blair's meaning is of course double-edged. The 1736 public performance in Williamsburg was, one recalls, by an earlier generation of students at the College.

In 1767 the Reverend Thomas (or John) Warrington of Elizabeth City Parish had allowed the students of his school to act the tragedy of *Cato*. The clergyman's daughter Camilla recited a prologue including the lines: "If nothing please you else, you'll clap the zeal / Of brats who pant to serve the common weal." It would be interesting to know whether his school was the Syms-Eaton endowed establishment noted in Chapter III.²⁵⁶

George Washington, theater-goer par excellence among colonial leaders, shows his fascination with *Cato* as early as 1748 in verses to Frances Alexander which are but paraphrases of lines from the play. In his celebrated letter from the battlefield to Mrs. Sally Fairfax, the real love of his life, on September 25, 1758, he wistfully comments, "I should think our time more agreeably spent believe me, in playing a part in *Cato*, with the company you mention, and myself doubly in being the Juba to such a Marcia, as you must make." It should be noted that Marcia is "the unattainable heroine." Years later, after his decades as military leader and President he quoted the advice *Cato* gave to Portius "the post of honor is a private station" (IV, iv, 143), and during the darkest hours of the Revolution he had observed, "'Tis not for mortals to command success" (I, ii, 44). And then Patrick Henry's ringing words in Richmond in 1775 concluding "give me liberty, or give me death!" are close paraphrases of *Cato*, II, i, 25, and II, iv, 80. In fact, this one play may have had a considerable influence on the southern rhetoric developed in the national period, though certainly interest in Addison's play was not confined to the South.²⁵⁷

Popular Plays

The most popular plays presented to the public in the southern colonies before the Revolution were on the whole the same which were popular in the northern and middle colonies and in England. There were perhaps a few presentations for one or two nights of locally authored pieces, and in this period there were a few translations from the French and German which later were popular from Savannah to Baltimore. The fare was almost purely English. After *Flora* the ballad opera or partially musical production was popular, and Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* was produced again and again as well as read. Of serious plays *Cato* held a leading place even among the professionals, and Farquhar's comedies were enjoyed much more frequently than Congreve's or Steele's, though the latter two did appear. But Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* and *The Beaux' Stratagem* were perennial favorites. Witty, with lines leading toward the indecent, these plays attracted all sorts of people in Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston.

Otway's *The Orphan, or The Unhappy Marriage* was among the favorites from 1735 when it opened the season in Charleston.

The principal historian of the colonial theater, Hugh Rankin, finds Shakespeare to have been the most popular playwright of colonial America. Yet there was no known copy of any of his plays in the southern colonies at least until about 1700. The bard's American popularity coincided with his Georgian revival in Britain, and many of the productions were adaptations by such men as David Garrick. On the American and perhaps southern stage *Richard III* and *Romeo and Juliet* were the favorites, and Garrick's adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew* was often used as an afterpiece for *Romeo and Juliet*. *The Merchant of Venice* was also a southern favorite. It was the opening play in Williamsburg for Hallam's company in September 1752. And Rankin finds Lillo's *The London Merchant, or George Barnwell*, next to Shakespeare in popularity.

Though the choice of plays certainly reflects English taste, the number of times any given play was presented was decided in large part by the degree of acclaim with which the initial performance was greeted. In other words, the oft-repeated play in the colonies does reflect American taste. And despite the frequent repetition of the plays just mentioned, there were dozens of other pieces all together offering the southern theater-goer a broad variety.²⁵⁸

Dramatic Criticism

There is more critical discussion of the drama in the southeast than of music or painting. As already noted, the judgment of the 1665 commission of the peace on *The Bare and the Cubb* was a form of dramatic criticism. In 1735 the *South-Carolina Gazette* had carried a notice of a performance which may indeed be the earliest formal dramatic criticism, though it is concerned with many more things than the production. This was a performance for the Masons, and much space is spent in describing the dignity of their march or parade, the songs of the Masons on the stage and in the pit, and the recessional of the brethren. But *The Recruiting Officer*, the play, is declared to have been acted to the satisfaction of the whole audience, with "proper Prologue and Epilogue" probably directed at the Society. The prologue for *The Orphan* presented on February 7, 1735, was a defense of the dramatic art and is thus more surely theatrical criticism.

In January 1754 the "Humorist," writing in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, discusses seriously the purpose of drama and defends it on moral grounds. Another comment on the quality of the Charleston theater is in remarks of "A subscriber" in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of March 4, 1766, on the appropriateness of the tragedy *The Gamester* and the growing popularity of Nancy Hallam: "If Miss Hallam in *Cinthia*, which I presume is

the character she will perform, does not discover a Greater force of Genius, that the Audience hitherto, notwithstanding the applause she has received, have imagined her to possess, [then I am much mistaken]." A defense of the theater appeared in an essay on October 25, 1773, which traced the history of the histrionic art from ancient Greece to Corneille, Racine, Molière, and Shakespeare. The essayist discussed the differing roles of comedy and tragedy. Adverse criticism of players in general and the American Company on its last tour appeared in the *Gazette* in 1774 in a "Plain Dealer" rhyming blast directed at the governor. In these troubled latter years more adverse criticism followed, perhaps inspired partially by the fact that the cast was entirely British. At the end of the season, as already noted, the *Gazette* carried a warm commendation of manager, actors, scenery, repertory and patronage.²⁵⁹

The first formal criticism in Maryland appeared in 1760, when Jonas Green in the *Maryland Gazette* of March 6 noticed with some fanfare the opening night of the season:

Monday last [March 3] the Theatre in this City was Open'd, when the Tragedy of the Orphan, and Lethe (A Dramatic Satire) were perform'd, in the Presence of his Excellency the Governor, to a polite and numerous Audience, who all express'd a general Satisfaction. The principal Characters, both in the Play and Entertainment, were perform'd with great Justice, and the Applause which attended the whole Representation, did less Honour to the Abilities of the Actors than the Taste of their Auditors. For the Amusement and Emolument of such of our Readers as were not present, we here insert the *Prologue* and *Epilogue*, both written by a Gentleman in this Province, whose poetical works have render'd him justly Admir'd by all Encouragers of the Liberal Arts.

This prologue, already mentioned, is a prophecy of the future of America in general and of the thespian art in particular in its New World setting.

Not all Annapolis receptions of the players were so favorable. Verling's New American Company, performing in Annapolis in the spring of 1768, were the objects of an acid critique by "Clarinda," a lady who lived some miles from the capital but had frequently taken delight in the theater. The writer praised Mrs. Osborne's performance as Juliet but was less charmed by the actress as Sir Harry Wildair. But the "Violation of all Decorum" by the indecent insertions in the low comedy or farcial scenes was really outrageous. Shakespeare's and Ben Jonson's clowns should speak no more than is set down for them.

The Douglass company two or three years later drew the previously mentioned praise for Nancy Hallam as Imogene with encomiums for other actresses. Attached verses "To Miss Hallam" were written by the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, who also composed "a prologue or two." William

Eddis too penned some of the rhyming prologues. The *Annapolis Gazette* was on the whole more than tolerant of the strolling players who visited the little city.²⁶⁰

In 1761 the *Virginia Gazette* carried a recommendation by governor, Council, and nearly one hundred gentlemen of the Douglass company's histrionic ability and individual behavior which was copied by the *Newport (Rhode Island) Mercury* of August 11, 1761. Theatrical notices had appeared in the Virginia newspaper as early as 1736, but not until 1752 was there a notice-review of a performance with some critical commentary, and even then it was perfunctory. The accompanying prologue written for the Virginia audience expresses the purpose of dramatic performance, however, and deserves as do other prologues some consideration as criticism. The gentleman and lady devotees apparently reserved their opinions for private hearers, not for public readers, but there is no doubt that from 1716 through the lifetime of St. George Tucker there were many citizens of Williamsburg who enjoyed and encouraged public and private theatricals. Perhaps they did not feel the necessity as the good people of Maryland and South Carolina did of defending a favorite art on "moral" grounds.

Colonial Prologues and Epilogues

The verses with which professional and perhaps some private dramatic performances were begun or concluded form a literary genre in their own right, but undoubtedly they were also a part of the theater. Some were perhaps lifted wholly or in part from English verses accompanying well-known plays. But by far the majority, if one may judge by those printed in provincial newspapers, the *Gentleman's Magazine* in London, or other media, were written for the particular place and occasion. Authors of these couplets were frequently members of the professional acting company, as were some of those noticed above. But in Maryland men of letters such as Sterling, Boucher, and Eddis were surely among the versifiers, and probably at least a dozen other provincials including Dr. Alexander Hamilton, Adam Thomson, and Jonas Green wrote for certain productions.

In Virginia any number of planters, professional men, and officials may have composed prologues and epilogues, with William Byrd II and several Williamsburg residents as likely authors. John Singleton of the dramatic company of 1752 composed a prologue recited by his fellow actor Rigby. The Reverend Mr. Warrington himself probably wrote the verses he had his daughter speak before the performance of *Cato*.

In South Carolina, where a number of original prologues were recited and printed, authors were members of the professional troupe and local men of many attainments such as Dr. Thomas Dale. One at least of Dale's pieces was published in the London *Gentleman's Magazine*, others in the

South-Carolina Gazette. Sometimes, as in a 1743 *South-Carolina Gazette*, verses were inspired by a performance, for example, one of *Cato*, but were not written for presentation. The first known American prologue and epilogue, as already noted, appeared with Otway's *The Orphan* in Charleston in 1735.

Prologues often reflected more than time and place. One complained of the author's debts. Others complimented the Masonic Order which was supporting the players' endeavor, and occasionally some referred to politics. A 1760 Maryland prologue to *The Orphan*, for example, is strongly nationalistic: "Her *youngest Daughter* here with filial Claim, / Asserts her portion of Maternal Fame." There was wit and there was defense of the thespian art in most of them. Some were hastily composed doggerel; some were quite respectable verses.²⁶¹ But almost all of them show that here was an old art adapting itself to a new world.

CHAPTER NINE



Literature,
Principally Belles-lettres

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~~~ Satire as a literary mode—from the classical origins to the great English satirists whom the colonials knew well: Butler, Dryden, Pope, Addison—had ever and always depended more immediately on having readers than other forms of literature had done. A lyric or an epic (and some essays and novels) can wait, but the satire calls for laughter at once. Colonial satirists seem to have gotten their response. Concerning their effectiveness in the Southern colonies, about all that is certain is that the newspapers published their prose and verse regularly, and little else which pretended to be literary, and the newspapers flourished. . . .

Thus drawing on a vein of satire and irony which was familiar in England, the first generation of printing in the Southern Colonies found ways to voice its annoyances, its wit, and its confidence. Although not productive of memorable writings, that generation does help to make intelligible the plain-spoken independence of the next generation—the generation of Jefferson and Patrick Henry and George Mason, Carroll of Carrollton, Pinckneys, Rutledges. . . .

—CHARLES A. BARKER, *American Convictions: Cycles of Public Thought, 1600-1850* (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 198-199

And as there plenty grows  
Of Laurell every where  
Apollo's sacred tree,  
You it may see  
A poets browes

To crowne, that may sing there.

—MICHAEL DRAYTON, "To the Virginian Voyage"

The first lisps of American literature were heard along the sands of the Chesapeake and near the gurgling tides of the James River, at the very time when the firmament of English literature was all ablaze with the light of her full-orbed and most wonderful writers . . . who formed that incomparable group of titanic men gathered in London during the earliest years of the seventeenth century.

—M.C. TYLER, *A History of American Literature*, 1607–1765 (2 vols. in one, New York, 1895), I, 12

THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS of this work have all been concerned directly or indirectly with the southern colonists' expression or other indication of their minds or collective minds. But their writing has been considered largely, though by no means entirely, for its purposefulness or usefulness in the modern sense. It has been grouped and presented according to its aim, subject matter, and form. Promotion tracts and histories, observations of the red man, theories and laws and practice in education, sermons and religious tracts, reports and data and opinions on the many aspects of science and technology, attitudes toward and some production in the fine arts belong by nature, with the partial exception of the fine arts, to the utilitarian. But all of these, except perhaps for a few scientific reports, have their aesthetic qualities, and almost all the writing has certain aspects shared with belles lettres, or writing which has been done purely as art. For style and form often show conscious artistry, and writings of all kinds intended overall as persuasive or informative have included in or with them rhetorical passages and even commendatory or introductory verses written at least partially without "practical" motive, or employing the belletristic to carry the practical.

From Thomas Hariot of Roanoke Island in the 1580s to Rowland Rugeley of Charleston in the 1770s, the southern settlers usually consciously wrote in forms on subjects which might interest their friends and relatives in London or Bristol or Edinburgh. But as time went on these writers came usually to keep a New World reading public in mind, though sometimes the appeal to fellow colonists was not more than half-conscious. Before the seventeenth century was out, there were individuals who composed their satiric verse or prose or drama for manuscript circulation among their neighbors, and in the eighteenth century long before the Revolution William Byrd wrote at least one of his major works for private circulation among Virginians. Within the decade after Byrd's death Marylanders in Annapolis were composing mock-serious history or verse for their own delectation, and a northern Virginian was threatened with a suit for libel



by an unpopular governor who had been bitingly attacked in a series of manuscript Hudibrastic verses and dialect burlesque epistles which may have been written by a group of men largely for their own amusement. The tracts-for-the-times of the 1750s and 1760s composed throughout the colonies but at their artistic and critical best in the Chesapeake area, though often published in both colonial capitals and London and Edinburgh, were usually aimed at American readers.

The southern sermons already considered which will soon appear in print or reprint, one hopes, in considerable numbers, from Hawte Wyatt and Deuel Pead and other preachers of early Jamestown to the better-known pulpit orators of eighteenth-century Annapolis and Williamsburg and Charleston, were directed at local parochial congregations. Yet several dozen preachers survive in print and at least two in multivolumed collections in more than one edition. Of the last, James Blair avowed that he addressed his local congregation, and the reader of his down-to-earth Anglican homilies will agree that they seem peculiarly suited to the mixed society of the colony which listened to them, though at the same time one recalls that they were apparently widely read in Britain. The sermons of Samuel Davies, the other frequently published preacher, despite their appeal over a full century on both sides of the Atlantic, were clearly addressed to Virginia Presbyterians or to the colony's unchurched. They are as American as the Puritan sermons of Jonathan Edwards, and perhaps more American than the earlier preaching of Samuel Shepard and Edward Taylor. Neither Blair nor Davies nor their contemporaries Thomas Cradock and Samuel Quincy use the baroque imagery of the earlier New Englanders, but their romantic or pre-Romantic and sublime imagery compares with that of their ablest New England contemporaries and springs perhaps from similar sources. And the rolling cadences, the alliteration, the antitheses of Davies' pulpit oratory are at once part of his age and the Great Awakening and of the mind and spirit of this native-born American himself. Into the southern sermon have gone the flowers of rhetoric, the language of poetry, and in the instance of Davies as of Edward Taylor, verse itself. In a sense Taylor's verse is *sui generis*, but Davies' springs straight from the soil of the Great Awakening as that movement manifested itself in the South. It is a part of colonial homiletic writing and of a body of religious poetry which was itself a part of southern belles lettres.

The largest body of southern prose, the official legislative and executive and judicial, is of course purposeful. But as already noted, governors' addresses to Indian chiefs at treaty times are, at least as they are recorded, conscious art influenced by aboriginal forms and images in oral discourse. The charges to juries of governors or chief justices were at times philosophical essays, and the epistolary reports of officers of the Crown to the

British home government are in some instances revealing or charming examples of the rhetorical styles of the periods in which they were written. And the present-state-of-the-colony reports frequently develop into neat little histories or promotion pamphlets with belletristic features.

Of the major southern colonial histories only that of Hartwell-Blair-Chilton may in any sense be considered an official record. And it is at once the least interesting and useful and well-written of the group. The personal letter is at times a real work of art, as will be demonstrated, and from Jamestown to the threshold of the Revolution reflects changing fashions in epistolary communication, especially as these fashions are reflected in the writing manuals of each age. The last wills and testaments of many thoughtful men are frequently, especially in their preambles, little essays expressing in cadenced phrases the attitude toward living and dying of their respective authors. Fiction, captivity and travel narration, and moral allegories, in some way or to some extent purposeful, are in several respects belletristic. And the few plays by colonial authors, perhaps all written with propagandistic or at least generally satirical purpose, as has been seen in the chapter just above, are in most respects representative of belles lettres.

Verse is composed at least from Jamestown, blatantly propagandistic, purely belletristic, or sometimes a little of both. It took the forms characteristic or popular in the age in which it was written, whatever stylistic cultural lag it seems to have shown (at least to nineteenth- and twentieth-century commentators) actually being qualities as characteristic of England in the same period as of the colonies. That is, the sometimes labeled "belated" euphuism or baroque style of George Alsop and John Cotton of Queen's Creek in the 1660s and 1670s was in the same year popular in British publications, though Milton and Dryden might be suggesting and exemplifying new or different styles and forms. So in the eighteenth century Ebenezer Cook and Richard Lewis and William Byrd as poets were hardly old-fashioned. Byrd's verse was published in popular English collections of the first quarter of the century, and Lewis' was printed or reprinted repeatedly in the *Gentleman's* and other magazines as representative Augustan poetry. When the three major southern colonial Gazettes came into being in the 1720s and 1730s, they published both contemporary British verse and locally written poetry. It has been difficult, unless there are external clues or the subject is obviously colonial, to distinguish most of the New World lines from those of the Old World. Translation from the classics, paraphrases of the Psalms, news ballads, riddles, anagrams, lyrics to ladies, or verse narratives of the same kind might have been written on either side of the Atlantic. Poems on the *translatio studii* theme, or the westward transit of culture, are likely to be colonial but are not always so. Occasional verses—eulogies, elegies, nature poems,

patriotic, and moral and reflective—usually show by their content whether they originated in the colonies, and many of them did.

Two literary traditions receive special space outside the chronological-by-centuries-plus-general-genres order of most of the contents of this chapter, one because it has usually been ignored by those who have written colonial southern literature and yet it is in fact pervasive from John Smith to Richard Bland, in both prose and verse. This is the satiric, with its concomitants of dialect and humor generally. The other is the southern elegiac tradition, of which the editor of one recent popular critical anthology denies the existence and which most other critics have ignored. It begins in the seventeenth century but is most fully developed in the eighteenth in forms and imagery and theological background strikingly different from New England graveyard verse or "Handkerchiefs for Paul."

There is southern belletristic writing, and a great deal of it, like most New England composition not of high quality. Howard Mumford Jones and others have called at least the writing of Virginia in the seventeenth century a secular literature. Relatively speaking, when compared with the digested or partially digested theology in the expression of the Puritan Saints, southern writing as a whole is indeed secular. But this is all relative, for the Christian piety of Captain John Smith shines through his glowing tales of founding "a nation," and it survives or develops to the threshold of the Revolution in a Samuel Davies or a James Reid. The alleged deism of Sir John Randolph and William Stith and their immediate successors, the writers among the national founding fathers, is no further removed from orthodox Christianity than the penned discourses of the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew or lawyer John Adams of Boston.

There is such a quantity of writing which is at least an attempt at beautiful letters, and so much of artistic quality in the greater number of other examples of the literary purpose, that most of it can only be summarized or named here, at times almost in catalogue or bibliographical form. But here, it is hoped, one may see even more than in preceding chapters that there is beginning at Jamestown a southern tradition of literature as art which continues in at least certain of its colonial characteristics to its great blossoming in the twentieth century. Naturally most of it is mediocre in style and thrust, but there is much good writing, and some fine writing. One should reemphasize the suggestion already made that at least up to the American Revolution there was no cultural lag in belles lettres in the southern colonies. Through their books and newspapers the planters and merchants and professional men kept up with Pope or Thomson or the graveyard poets, with Samuel Johnson's periodicals, with British drama and fiction. Their blank verse shows the influence of Milton and Thomson,

their couplets of Pope, their essays of Addison and Steele and Johnson and even Goldsmith, their narrative of Defoe and the eighteenth-century traveler-voyagers. But far more than their British contemporaries, as belletrists they were amateurs who never dreamed that they could devote their careers to creative writing.

#### SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VERSE AND PROSE

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The considerable body of literature of the Roanoke voyages of 1584–1590 edited so ably by David B. Quinn is preeminently a gathering of documents, even though it includes the first book and the first letters written in British America. And men like Ralph Lane and Thomas Hariot are obviously conscious of their prose style, or rhetoric, as Lane indicates in his epistle of August 12, 1585, to Sir Philip Sidney when he mentions “these ylle fashioned lynes.”<sup>1</sup> But there is little or no evidence of conscious artistry in Lane’s other letters or his “Discourse” on the first colony which appeared in Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations* of 1589. Hariot’s *A briefe and true report* contains fairly graceful addresses to the “gentle Reader” and “to the Adventurers, Favorers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia” and some better hortatory rhetoric in the conclusion. Quinn includes a manuscript poem by Hariot, “Three sea mariadges,” which indicates that the first British American author could indite verses, and perhaps composed these lines on North Carolina soil. Certainly the subject matter of the poem is eminently appropriate as a preface to his little account.<sup>2</sup>

Belletristic writing in the seventeenth century in the Chesapeake colonies exists in many more forms than it did in the earlier Roanoke colony, and there are some indications that in the Carolinas well before 1700 a beginning was made in the letter as art. Several significant productions at Jamestown and St. Mary’s survive, including some verse and a good deal of satire and humor, certain journals and diaries with interesting aesthetic qualities, the beginnings of classical paraphrase and translation, a considerable number of promotional or polemical pieces genuinely rhetorical in phrase and in portions artistically descriptive, and above all the vigorous beginning of an epistolary tradition which grew and strengthened into the time of Thomas Jefferson and John Randolph of Roanoke.

What will be considered can only be that which survives, though there exist direct allusions to satires and other pieces not now known. In the seventeenth century the two early Chesapeake provinces and the two late-century Carolina settlements certainly never produced a religious literature comparable to that of New England, and there exist no journals or diaries

of the period now known which compare with those of Samuel Sewall and some of his Massachusetts neighbors. No body of southern verse is extant comparable to that reprinted in Harrison T. Meserole's recent anthology of *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry*, despite its title an almost entirely New England representation. And it is probable that, allowing for known and possible lost southern manuscript verses, there never was in quantity and quality anything equal to the work of Anne Bradstreet, Edward Taylor, and a few other seventeenth-century Puritan worthies.

But there was much more belletristic writing than even the indefatigable Moses Coit Tyler was able to uncover. Irony, humor, and satire compare favorably with any written elsewhere in British America, for George Alsop and John Cotton of Queen's Creek are at least peers of Nathaniel Ward, and the more incidental belletrists (historians, officials, voyagers), as they may be called for the moment, handle the paradoxes of humor-satire at least as well as their other New World contemporaries.

In the southern colonies the sense of place, of New World originality or difference, becomes an aesthetic quality in writing in this century with the first observers, Percy and Smith and Strachey. It is a sense of natural abundance, of potential earthly paradise commented upon in earlier chapters. Then quarrels among settlers which erupt into writing, especially about the civil wars in Virginia and Maryland, sometimes carry a style which is conscious art.

Seventeenth-century southern writing may indeed be primarily secular. It also represents more nearly than that of New England the world from which its authors came, the land of Elizabeth and the Jameses and the Charleses and, perhaps almost as much, the land of Cromwell. It is in several ways a very minor branch of the English literature of the period. But there are differences other than the sense of place mentioned above. For here south of the Susquehannah certain beliefs and theories and forms brought from the Old World began to assume new artistic shapes, among them the traditional ballad, the tall story, the regional or national dialect implemented as style (though most of this last came in the next century), even the charges of evil in red man or white neighbor.

#### THE EARLY LETTERS

Both a necessity and a comfort to the individual settler and to the provincial official was the letter, certainly the most abundantly surviving form of communication which may be frequently called belletristic. Though addressed to an individual, the letter was usually intended for the perusal of a circle of friends or colleagues. The Chesapeake colonists of this century survive most clearly in their letters, and at the end of the

period the Carolinians were beginning to express themselves in this gentlest of the arts. As noted already, the destruction of many official records of these colonies, especially those of Virginia during the burning of Richmond in 1865, previous misplacement or destruction of similar materials by the British during the Revolution, and the lack of a printing press as a formal outlet for written expression are among the reasons why manuscript epistolary communications afford the most abundant evidence of what these first southern colonists thought and did, and of the manner in which they expressed themselves.

Although Maryland is represented in the Latin Jesuit letters from 1634, secular English letters from this province before mid-century or the 1660s are hard to come by, though they certainly were written and sent back to Britain. Most of even the secular epistles were probably carefully concealed and eventually destroyed because of the intolerant times in which they were composed, when Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans were so suspicious of each other that anything documentary might be used against the individual writer or recipient. The careful phrasing and vagueness of the Jesuit letters is one evidence that even the Lord Proprietor's co-religionists felt open expression was dangerous.<sup>3</sup>

Virginia, overwhelmingly but not entirely Anglican in its first half-century of existence, apparently never allowed or was subject to the political pressure which would suppress communication, and the Virginia epistle survives in several early 1607 examples. It reveals those colonists to be as genuinely pious and even as introspective as their kinsmen who were to settle to the northeast. And a study of a large body of these letters indicates a steadily evolving Virginia character, even in instances when the author of a particular letter spent only a few years in the colony.

Subject and style vary according to the education of the writer, his reason for writing, and the portion of the century in which he lived. In external form the letters range from rather stiff dedicatory epistles intended to introduce printed discourses, through official and semiofficial correspondence of colonial administrators with the home government, to purely personal and relatively informal communications. Within any of these forms an account might be given of a voyage to the New World or the appearance of the country, given for both promotional and purely informational purposes. Political criticism of colonial or home affairs, financial and legal matters, religious exhortations to build God's kingdom (with expressions of satisfaction that the construction was well along), personal introductions of individuals, or scientific data might be presented in formal or informal epistles.

Most of the letters, even to the end of the century, were written by men and women born in Great Britain. As the decades passed, however, many

of the most interesting letters came from native-born Virginians such as Francis Yeardley. Early letters are usually between persons in the Jamestown vicinity and Great Britain, but after mid-century colonials were communicating with other colonials, usually within their own provinces, but occasionally with New Yorkers or Pennsylvanians.

The earliest of even the purely personal epistles were quite clearly composed under a strong consciousness of rhetorical rules. Though the last letters of the century reflect the greater freedom of Dryden's prose and the fact that Defoe and Addison were just around the corner, the rhetorical tradition is still alive in many of them and—in attenuated form, indeed—survives in most or all the letters written before the Revolution. Anyone who reads a considerable body of these communications and is already somewhat familiar with English literature of the century is immediately reminded of the popular English manuals for epistolarians which began to appear in the sixteenth century. These little volumes are really a part of the courtesy-book and the rhetoric-text tradition. The rules and models presented in the more original and immediately practical of them would indicate that they may have been most useful to the colonial letter writer, for what he composed echoes them in many ways.

Inventories of several colonial libraries indicate that, toward the end of the century at least, the Virginia gentleman or businessman felt that he should own one or more of these handbooks. Prominent men such as Arthur Spicer, Thomas Cocke, Thomas Walke, and Christopher Cocke possessed such useful manuals as *The Young Secretary's Guide* (c. 1687), *The English Secretorie* (orig. ed. 1586), or *The Young Clerk's Guide*, sometimes several in one library. Frankly utilitarian handbooks such as J. Hill's *The Young Secretary's Guide, or a Speedy Help to Learning* contained information even on how to compose one's will, or as a model gave a "Letter of Attorney from a Husband to a Wife upon a Voyage" or a letter from "A Wife to her Husband in Foreign Parts."<sup>4</sup> Hill's book we know many Virginians owned. And these and later manuals are to be found in southern libraries up to the Revolution.

Too much should not be made of these little guides, especially in the early years. Their subjects were the common interests of the age, and the turns of phrase its common property. The colonist who could indite a letter usually had a basic education in rhetoric and its principles entirely aside from what he may have learned from letter manuals, and from the nature of his new environment it was inevitable that he develop certain types most fully. In the next century he would add to his models not only new manuals, as those of Samuel Richardson, but the epistolary essays of the *Spectator* and *Tatler* and other journals. It should simply be remembered that southern colonists might seem to write letters spontaneously,

but that quite frequently they were consciously or subconsciously following the forms studied in their early education or in their personal libraries, or both.

Throughout the century the vast majority of letters are devoted to descriptions of the country, the progress of agriculture and industry, analyses of factors which may have led to governmental shortcomings, and the Indian problem. The official and personal letters of the reign of James I (1603-1625), particularly, describe the country and analyze the causes of failure to make rapid progress. The two subjects are of course interlocked.

Perhaps what may be the earliest extant Virginia-Jamestown letter is an epistle dedicatory sent back to England with an account of the voyage over. It was composed by Robert Tindall, "Gunner," on June 22, 1607, within two months of first settlement, and is addressed to his friend and patron Prince Henry, whose interest in the colony was a source of comfort and pride to every venturer. Presumably Tindall was not a man of much formal education. Yet his brief communication is rhetorically dignified, and it strikes the combined note of manifest destiny and piety which were motivating factors throughout the colonial era.<sup>5</sup>

Other such early dedications are in form and spirit open letters, as that addressed "to the Reader" by R[obert] Rich in his *News From Virginia* (London, 1610), a strong promotional tract. Rich in his "blunt and plaine" style cunningly urges Englishmen to plant themselves in the New World. Ralph Hamor in *A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia* (London, 1615) gives two epistles dedicatory, one to Sir Thomas Smith of the Virginia Company and the second "To the Reader," both strong come-hither appeals and both good examples of straightforward plain-style cadenced prose, embellished in the second instance by several scriptural allusions. One of William Strachey's dedicatory epistles (to the Earl of Northumberland) in his *Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612, publ. 1953) is considerably more learned in allusion and sophisticated in form. And though Howard Mumford Jones sees Captain John Smith's prose style as largely blunt and ungraceful, more recent and thorough analysts as to what portion of the great adventurer's books are of his own editing have seen a bold, rhetorical, at times dramatic style, perhaps no more strikingly manifested than in his many dedicatory letters, and Douglas Bush writes with enjoyment of the vivid and sturdy eloquence of Smith's "American" books. Smith's dedication to the Earl of Hartford in some copies of *A Map of Virginia* (1612); the separate epistles to Prince Charles, the Privy Council, and the Adventurers for New England in a *Description of New England*; and the words addressed to the Duchess



of Richmond in *The Generall Historie* are almost surely Smith's own writing. Egocentric as they are, they are graceful examples of balanced, antithetical, Elizabethan prose designed to entice men and fortunes to America. Take for example a few lines of Smith's dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Hartford:

wherein having beene discouraged for doing any more, I have writ this little: yet my hands hath been my lands this fiftene years in Europ, Asia, Afric, or America.

In the harbour of your Lo: favour, I hope I ever shall rest secure notwithstanding all weathers; lamenting others, that they fall into such miseries, as I forseeing have foretold, but could not prevent.

There were to be a host of letters with the same intent, for perhaps 90 per cent of the promotion books and pamphlets mentioned in Chapter I above were introduced by such dedications, though some not so well expressed.<sup>6</sup>

Three more personal letters of the year 1608 inaugurate other patterns and purposes long to be followed in colonial epistolary communication. On June 16 Francis Perkins addressed a member of the household of Lord Cornwallis, analyzing the character of the Council in Virginia and soliciting the assistance of his addressee in obtaining for him a place among them. On November 26 Captain Peter Wynne, a versatile young colonist, addressed a "Most noble knight" at home. Writing in an easy, loose, swinging prose, Wynne indicates that he is a man of some culture in an epistle comparing an Indian language to Welsh, and announcing that the country was so pleasant that he was "willing here to end [his] dayes."<sup>7</sup>

In October Captain John Smith addressed a letter to the Treasurer and Council for Virginia which sets a precedent for what was to become another persistent colonial trait. It gave fair warning that the colonial administrator would not then or later accept unfair or ignorant criticism from his superiors at home without answering back. In it Smith refutes point by point a series of accusations of intracolony quarreling, summarizes the shortcomings of his principal rivals in the governing body, and demonstrates the impracticability of certain schemes of exploration and gold hunting and the utter inadequacy of the supplies provided. He begins by acknowledging the Council's letter and begging that they will pardon him "if I offend you with my rude answers." The rest is the reply of a man moved by righteous anger.

Though I be no scholar, I am past the schoole-boye; and I desire but to know, what either you, and those here [his Virginia detractors] doe know, but that I have learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I have not concealed from you anything I know; but I feare some cause you to believe much more then is true.

After directing his withering fire at Newport and Ratcliffe and making several suggestions, Smith concludes: "These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia, from laying such a foundation, that ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable return: so I humbly rest." Terse, bitter, ironic, bold, Smith's has been called "Hotspur rhetoric." The good captain was certainly the master of at least two letter manual forms—the "Epistle Invective" and the "Epistle Accusatory."<sup>8</sup>

Other governors during Virginia's first decade also wrote personal as well as official letters home, among them Sir Thomas Dale, Sir Samuel Argall, and George Percy, the brother of the Earl of Northumberland. But the best-remembered epistle of this first decade was the account of a storm at sea addressed to an "excellent lady" by William Strachey, secretary of the colony. One of the widely read prose descriptions of natural phenomena in English, it is generally conceded to be the source of Shakespeare's *Tempest*. The letter was written in the colony and is in considerable part concerned with Jamestown itself.

Two other personalities of this first decade, men whose writing has been to some extent already discussed, wrote remarkable letters. One was the Reverend Alexander Whitaker, who has left in his communications our best evidence of the puritan temper which dominated the religious outlook of the colony under James I. Equally pious and far more introspective in his outpourings was that curious cavalier Master John Rolfe, father of the tobacco industry and, with his wife Pocahontas, ancestor of hundreds of thousands of today's Americans. No Puritan judge wrestling with his soul after the witchcraft trials could have probed for motive and justification more profoundly than did this Virginia planter proposing to marry an Indian maiden. Some of his mixture of motives emerge even in one sample paragraph among the eight long pages of text. This is also a fair representation of his language and prose style.

Let therefore this my well advised protestation, which here I make betweene God and my own conscience, be a sufficient witness, at the dreadful day of judgement (when the secrets of all mens hearts shall be opened) to condemne me herein, if my chieftest intent and purpose be not, to strive with all my power of body and mind, in the undertaking of so mightie a matter, no way led (so farre forth as mans weaknesse may permit) with the unbridled desire of carnall affection: but for the good of this plantation for the honour of our cuntrye, for the glory of God, for my oune salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbeleeving creature, namely Pokahuntas. To whom my heartie and best thoughts are, and have long time bin so in-

tangled, and intrahled in so intricate a laborinth that I was even aweared to unwinde my selfe thereout. But almighty God, who never faileth his, that truely invoke his holy name, hath opened the gate, and led me by the hand that I might plainly see and discerne the safe pathe wherein to treade.<sup>9</sup>

During the second decade of Jamestown history, when the affairs of the colony in London were in the hands of the Southampton-Sandys coalition, most of the extant letters were written by two "liberal" governors and two university-bred "literary" men. The voyagers, planters, burgesses, and clergymen, and even an occasional indentured servant are represented, however, among the epistolarians. Perhaps most interesting among the lesser officials was George Thorpe, formerly gentleman of His Majesty's Privy Chamber and member of Parliament, and Virginia resident deputy in charge of the lands of the proposed college at Henrico. He survives in three optimistic letters concerned with the state of the colony in the two years before the massacre. Among other things, Thorpe may be documenting the birth of American bourbon whiskey by mentioning that "wee have found a waie to make so good drinke of Indian corne as I protest I have divers times refused to drinke good strong English beare and chosen to drinke that."<sup>10</sup>

Governor Sir George Yeardley, the honest man of keen business acumen, and Governor Sir Francis Wyatt, of an erudite and poetic family and a man of philosophic mind, reveal themselves in their letters as just what history has called them. The most entertaining in content and polished in style among the epistles of this period are those of that versatile gentleman John Pory, M.A. of Cambridge, M.P. for Bridgewater, author-intelligencer-translator and experienced lesser diplomat. He arrived in Virginia in April 1619 as secretary of the Council and on July 30 became first speaker of the new General Assembly, the earliest representative legislative body of English America. He remained in Virginia until August 1622, exploring, writing, and talking, and he came back in 1624 and talked and wrote again before he returned to Britain to pursue his profession of intelligencer, or news-letter correspondent, for the great and noble.

Though something of a tosspot and a worldly intriguer, Pory in his letters from the colony shows himself a graceful proseman of charm and perception. His verbal pictures of "Earth's onlie Paradise" have been frequently quoted, but even a brief consideration of southern epistolary art would not be complete without at least one famous passage from them (already quoted at greater length in Chapter I). After acknowledging the uncouthness of this wild place where ships come in freighted more with ignorance than anything else, Pory rationalizes romantically.

At length being hardened to this custome of abstinence from curiosity, I am resolved wholly to mind my business here, and nexte after my penne, to have some good book always in store, being in solitude the best and choicest company. Besides among these Christall rivers, and odoriferous woods, I doe escape much expense, envye, contempte, vanity, and vexation of minde.<sup>11</sup>

One is reminded here of a sentence in a model letter included in Nicholas Breton's *Poste with a Pocket of Madde Letters*, a manual Pory surely knew: "Now for my health, thank God, I need no physicke, and for my Purse, it hath vent enough for letting my money grow rusty; and for my minde, to tell the truth, it is with God and thee."<sup>12</sup> Thus the Virginia legislator sits squarely in the rhetorical tradition.

During the 1622-1623 massacre period, the six extant personal letters of George Sandys, resident treasurer and poet to be considered later, are perhaps the best surviving analysis of the state of affairs. They suggest remedies, blame unsympathetic officials at home, and present a trenchant characterization of the personnel of the Virginia resident governing Council.<sup>13</sup> With those of his nephew-in-law Wyatt, Sandys' letters mark the end of the Jacobean period of Virginia history.

The beautiful rhetoric so characteristic of the age appears among those letters when certain situations call for dignity and formality; it is reduced to simpler and plainer forms where the writer is tense or angry or terror-stricken. Quiet courage, the excitement of actual or potential discovery, despair and illness and approaching death are all here, and piety as genuine and deep as that of Pilgrims or Puritans has left its unmistakable impression amid these national outpourings of mind and soul. These letters represent the heroic and pioneer age of Virginia colonization. After 1624, under the Crown and Protectorate, Virginia entered the era of settlement.

Few familiar letters, or indeed official ones, are extant from the period of Charles I and the Commonwealth. In the 1650s there are two interesting letters from Lower Norfolk, one from Francis Yeardley to his father's friend John Ferrar in Huntingdonshire describing the newly explored area of what is now eastern North Carolina. The other, to Yeardley, was written by Mrs. Susan Moseley, wife of the recent immigrant from Europe whose portraits with those of others of this family are noted in the preceding chapter. Implicit in the letter discussion is a settled and quiet country (southeastern Virginia) in striking contrast to the harried frontier described or implied in earlier epistles. The reader notices too the relative simplicity of diction—as compared with that of earlier letters—with which Mrs. Moseley arranges a trade of cattle for the jewelry she and her husband brought from the Old World.<sup>14</sup> In his epistle to Ferrar the native Virginian Yeard-

ley shows himself genuinely religious, but the puritan piety of the earlier Whitaker variety seems to have been displaced by an emotion we may call patriotism.

From the Restoration to the end of the century Virginia saw a rapidly increasing population and prosperity, the genesis and dissolution of Bacon's Rebellion, and the founding of the College of William and Mary, all of which resulted in multiplied epistolary communication. From the 1660s two Maryland personal letters survive, and from the 1670s there are a few extant letters from the Carolinas. Virginia Governors Sir William Berkeley and Lord Effingham and Acting Governor Nicholas Spencer have all left epistles showing in style and content their urbane, uxorious, or hypochondriac characters, usually with some grace. In Berkeley's case, as one might expect of a whilom man of letters, there is unusually effective prose, albeit the cruel intransigence so obvious in his character in his last years at times shows through.<sup>15</sup> From Maryland in the last generation of the century are letters of an early Presbyterian to the noted Richard Baxter in England, from Anglican John Yeo to English authorities on the deplorable state of the colony, and from Catholic Philip Calvert (chancellor of Maryland) to Colonel Henry Mease (or Meese) in London on official business. Then there are epistles from governors Protestant and Catholic concerning the insurrection of the 1680s and later and from Governor Nicholson on the Indians and education.<sup>16</sup> From Carolina Governor Joseph West and William Sayle gave accounts of their voyages and the present state of affairs, and Joseph Dalton in 1672 and N. Mathews describe the country, Mathews enclosing the plan of the city of Charleston. Other communications, as those of Thomas Newe are concerned with natural history. In subject matter several of the Carolina letters before 1700 are informative and generally interesting, but few if any are distinguished in style. This generalization applies for both the Albemarle and Ashley river settlements, that is, for both North and South Carolina.<sup>17</sup>

There appear to be more surviving Virginia letters of the century's last thirty years than of all the other colonies combined, though this may be because more have been published and most of the unpublished are recorded in accessible manuscript catalogues. One of the more voluminous of extant correspondences is that of Thomas Ludwell, for many years secretary of state, a man who wrote regularly to officials and friends in behalf of the colony. Usually devoted to such matters as the condition of the tobacco industry, he also describes a battle between the Dutch and Virginia fleets in Hampton Roads and presents the protest of the planters against the policy of sending over so many "Rogues and ill people." These,

with the exception of the sea fight, are not very lively, but when Ludwell describes natural phenomena or recounts exploration he shows a realism and dramatic sense which make pleasant, almost thrilling reading. To Lord Berkeley of Stratton, Sir William's brother, he presents in awesome detail the succession of "providences" which have put Virginia in a miserable financial condition. To Lord Arlington, secretary in the home government, he gives an entrancing account of an exploring expedition sent by Berkeley to the Blue Mountains. Here the reader of American prose may in some degree anticipate the accounts of the great western explorations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and see also the mysterious white cliffs, stark mountains, and rising fogs of Poe's *Narrative of A. Gordon Pym*.<sup>18</sup>

In a letter by Alexander Moray of 1665 is a keen analysis of the Scottish character as it was and would be in America, a remarkable self- and tribe-examination. And his yearning for the idyllic life is paralleled in several other literary documents of colonial Virginia. His own depiction of the wilderness of milk and honey and aromatic woods and birds warbling in concert is quite poetic. In the same period and to the end of the century William Byrd I was corresponding regularly with business associates and personal friends in a series of letters now being edited with those of his son and grandson.

The last and perhaps the ablest of seventeenth-century southern epistolarians was William Fitzhugh (1650/1-1701), whose more than two hundred letters to legal clients, business associates, personal friends, and blood relatives reveal how steady a development the rise into the colonial aristocracy might be, and how painless. As Fitzhugh was a practicing barrister, his communications are much concerned with legal business. But his interests were many, and he was always a conscious stylist, referring frequently to his struggles with the written word, striving for felicitous phrase and well-turned sentence, and at his best quite successful. To his friend Nicholas Hayward he wrote:

I must confess I want abilities, to polish & adorn my expressions with the Elegance & sweetness of Stile your two letters I this year receiv'd are full freighted with, yet I'll endeavour to supply that defect, with a true sincerity & arden zeal, to assure you of my most hearty affection, & real propensity which your generous worth obliges & obliging favours binds me to, & shall be always ready to court all occasion to demonstrate the same.<sup>19</sup>

In another epistle to the same correspondent Fitzhugh expresses his "Philosophical sentiments" in really elaborate rhetoric.

Through his correspondence this southern letter writer indicates that the Chesapeake settlement which followed the frontier was now grown into a confident, stable, at least moderately prosperous agrarian society. In Fitzhugh is the sense of public obligation, the love of the rural Horatian

life, the study of the classics to bring aesthetic delight or to learn the problems of practical government, the kind of loneliness that leads the country gentleman to communicate with his pen. In other words, the last of the seventeenth-century letter writers goes far toward explaining the mind and manners and mode of expression of the eighteenth-century southern epistolarians, who in some sense culminate in Thomas Jefferson or even in the urbanite South Carolinian Henry Laurens.

#### THE PERSONAL JOURNAL, AUTOBIOGRAPHY, AND WILL

Close to the letter as personal expression or revelation are the journal-diary, the autobiography, and the preamble to the last will and testament. Though the seventeenth century was in Old England the age of great diaries such as those of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn, and of the spiritual autobiography such as that of John Bunyan, and in New England the age of Samuel Sewall's diary and Puritan spiritual narrative, in the southern British colonies the personal revelation was much less frequent and distinguished. When it did occur, it was usually secular, with the exception of those Quaker journals written in and concerning experiences in the lower Atlantic provinces, and parts of the legal testaments of many kinds of people. The resident Quaker such as John Grave, who wrote devotional verse, the devout puritan-Anglican clergyman Alexander Whitaker cut off in his youth, the Jesuit fathers of Maryland, and many another Chesapeake or Carolina immigrant may have kept journals describing or explaining their physical and spiritual lives, but only a few secular diurnal records survive, with some tantalizing fragments, to indicate that in the seventeenth century the southern colonial methodically recorded the wants of his age or his personal behavior or his probing of his own conscience and consciousness. Dozens of New England autobiographies or journals for this period remain, but it is not until the eighteenth century that southern writings in these genres were preserved so carefully that a few have been brought down to us.<sup>20</sup>

Most extant southern journals or diaries of the first century do reflect directly the characteristic interests and behavior of the settlers. One of the earliest is the journal of Captain Henry Fleet of Virginia and Maryland, fur trader and sailor who may have come to the older province as early as 1621, had been captured by Indians, and may have traveled with them as far as the Great Lakes. He was the principal negotiator between the red men and Lord Baltimore's expedition when it arrived in 1634 in the *Ark* and the *Dove*. His manuscript journal beginning July 4, 1631, and now located in the Lambeth Palace Library, describes his voyage in that year from England to Virginia and to the Potomac River, then to New England and

back to the Eastern Shore, and again to the Potomac in most successful beaver trade with the Indians. Interpreters, Captain John Utie, the young musician of the preceding chapter, and the writer's captivity among the Indians all have some part in his fairly objective journal. There may have been a degree of promotional design in its composition, but as it was not published until the nineteenth century this seems doubtful. It is the narrative of a reasonably well-educated man, allegedly a cousin of Sir Francis Wyatt. It may be the rewriting for the general reader of a ship's log.<sup>21</sup> In a somewhat parallel journal Richard Burgess, master of the *Maryland Merchant*, described in the year 1699 the renowned pirate, Captain Kidd.<sup>22</sup>

Then there are scattered entries from the journal of Abigail Langley of Nansemond County, Virginia, in a Tennessee-owned (in 1946) manuscript.<sup>23</sup> And not quite a penitential autobiography is the 1680 London-printed *The Vain Prodigal Life and Tragical Penitent Death of Thomas Hellier Born at Whitechurch near Lyme in Dorset-Shire; Who for Murdering his Master, Mistress, and a Maid was Executed according to Law at Westover in Charles City in the Country of Virginia, near the Plantation called Hard Labour, where he perpetrated the said Murders. He Suffer'd on Monday the 5th of August, 1678. . . .* Perhaps written by a local clergyman from the murderer's account, this is a first-person confession, a sort of autobiography followed by a sermonlike application, "For, each Example is a Looking-glass, / In which we may behold (each man his face)." The address "to the Reader" is in couplets pointing out the obvious moral behind such a relation, or confession.

In the seventeenth century the remaining journals written in the South were by religious sectarians reflecting something of the experiences and spiritual quests and questionings of several Quakers and a Puritan, with one 1704 autobiographical narrative by the Reverend John Blair, Anglican missionary to North Carolina, and of his religious labor in that colony. John Burnyeat, George Fox, William Edmundson, and Thomas Story were all dedicated missionaries of the Society of Friends who published the accounts of their trials, travels, and tribulations in the American colonies. Though most of these men were legally based in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, it is the story of their adventures in bringing light to the Gentiles of the Chesapeake and Carolina (and New England) colonies which remains good reading. Each has left a highly interesting account of his instruction and conversion of the unchurched or of the Puritan or Anglican. George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, left his greatest impact in the southern provinces as elsewhere, though his *Journal* (London, 1694) is no more entertaining than Burnyeat's *The Truth Exalted* (London, 1691) or the later-published accounts of Edmundson and Story.<sup>24</sup> Frederick B. Tolles, distinguished Quaker historian, could be summarizing the



quality and character of the southern portions of their writings when he mentions "the sustained exaltation and historical importance of Fox's, the blunt power of William Edmundson's, . . . the learning and rich detail of Thomas Story's."<sup>25</sup> But as pointed out in Chapters V and VI, these Quaker journals are representative and revealing of the southern colonist as well as of their authors. William Edmundson's *Journal* (London, 1715) describes Quaker success in various areas of Virginia and Maryland and the Carolinas through the people's hunger for religion and a great deal of his own and his colleagues' eloquent persuasiveness or dedicated zeal. Through trackless forests and swamps, through rain and snow and darkness, these men pursued their way and wrote without pride of their "convictions" (conversions) of isolated rural colonists. Edmundson gives a succinct and convincing portrait of Sir William Berkeley, who in 1672 proved to be "very peevish and brittle" and absolutely intransigent.<sup>26</sup> A few years later Edmundson visited Virginia during Bacon's Rebellion and was pleased to find, apparently, that "only Friends stood Neuter" and that "Friends were highly commended for keeping clear."

Thomas Story's *A Journal* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1747) is indeed rich in detail. The author's direct disputations with the "hireling priests" of Puritan New England or the English Chesapeake country, his conversations with officialdom in each colony he visited, the texts of his "Quaker sermons" and letters from Church of England Virginia clergy, his account of "meetings" within a few miles of Williamsburg as well as in the wild or rural areas, his anecdotes of parish priests, traffic with Indians, and debates on baptism, and his attractive sense of humor as well as the considerable space devoted to his other adventures physical and spiritual in the southern provinces, make his large volume as genuinely American, and southern, as John Smith's.

At least one other religious leader, this one a Puritan, left written expression of his experiences in at least one southern colony. This was Elder William Pratt of Dorchester in South Carolina, a New Englander who lived in Charleston from 1696/1697 to 1701.<sup>27</sup> Despite the relative brevity of the diurnal items of the South Carolina portion of this journal, it suggests in the individual entries the interests of a Samuel Sewall or some earlier Puritans. Pure factual event, grim notations of illness and death, religious services, encounters with more or less hostile officialdom, and prayers for advice from the Almighty are qualities which demonstrate its author's devout sincerity, his courage, and his characteristic Puritan mixture of realism and high spiritual idealism.

Seventeenth-century wills are perhaps as American as voyages and journals and diary confessions. From John Rolfe's will of 1621 to that of

William Sherwood in 1697/1698 in Virginia, or from George Calvert's in 1634 to that of Colonel David Brown in 1697 in Maryland, Chesapeake colonists conscious of their mortality did more than dispose of lands and property. Almost all of them wrote within accepted limits of form and content, but the individual characters shine through more and more as the century progresses. Rolfe begins with the rolling drums of the usual rhetorical flourishes of sovereign, date, place, and state of health, and the commendation of his soul unto the Christ in whom he believes and his hope of inheriting with Him "a portion of the glorious kingdom of God, with all the holy Angells and Archangells and blessed Saints and Electe of that Eternall kingdome." Then he comes to his two small children of very tender age, whom he commits and commends to the care of his father-in-law Lieutenant William Pierce. His James City County lands he leaves to "my sonne Thomas the only child of Pocahontas and to the heyers of his body lawfully begotten." There is much more to indicate the sense of piety Rolfe had shown in other writing. His witnesses included the Reverend Richard Bucke and Lady Temperance Yeardley. As already noted, the heirs of Thomas Rolfe have been most fruitful and have multiplied at the same time that his red mother has entered our folklore. Actually the will is by no means Rolfe's best writing, but it adds another document to a great American myth, and it is expressed in both pious and rhetorical phrase.<sup>28</sup>

Historically important is the 1634 will of Benjamin Syms of Elizabeth City County, who after commending his soul to his Creator bequeaths two hundred acres of land and eight "Milch cows" and their increase for the establishment of the first free school of British America. Among the 1658, 1667, and 1687 wills of Henry, Gerrard, and Valentine Peyton of Westmoreland County, that of Gerrard has the language and phrase of the Anglican Prayer Book with perhaps a few extra biblical figures:

In the name of God, amen. I Gerrard Peyton . . . finding myself sick and weak in body, but of sound and perfect memory calling to mind the frailty of all human flesh and the decree of our Heavenly father that all mankind are once to die and descend into the grave and to sleep until the loud and dreadful trumpet shall sound and awake us all to judgment before the great tribunal judge, both of quick, and dead. . . . *First.* I give and bequeathe my immortal soul unto God my heavenly maker, who first gave it to me . . . and my body to the earth from whence it came.<sup>29</sup>

Even more liturgical in tone is the testament of Colonel John Stringer, quoted by Bishop Meade:

I bequeath my soul to God, who first gave it me, Father, Son, and Spirit, Unity in Trinity, Trinity in Unity, who hath redeemed and preserved me, in and through Jesus Christ, who died for my sins and the sins of all

people that truly and unfeignedly believe in him, for whose sake and loving-kindness I hope to obtain everlasting life; wherefore, dear Father, have mercy on my soul.

Among other bequests, he left one thousand pounds of tobacco to have the Lord's Prayer and Commandments put up in the church in the lower part of Northampton County. He also forbade all drinking and shooting at his funeral as unbecoming on such an occasion.<sup>30</sup>

Two of the more interesting wills of the end of the century came from most prominent gentlemen of the colony. In 1697/1698 the ancient sinner and owner of the Jamestown building in which the provincial governing body met, the fascinating William Sherwood, made a number of bequests to a number of people, his history and divinity books among them, all together probably a generous disposition of possessions. His contemporary, the already frequently mentioned William Fitzhugh, in April 1700, as he thought preparing for a voyage to England which he may or may not have taken, wrote out a long will disposing of great property accumulated in a brief lifetime, for he died in 1701 at fifty. His preamble has the usual liturgical sentences, and then he spells out a little more of his religion and his belief in a proper decorum at a funeral.

*Imprimis* I recommend my Soul into ye. hands of God through the mediation & Intercession of my Blessed Saviour and Redeemer hoping by the meritts of his Death and Burial to have my Sins washed away in his Blood nayled to his Cross & buried in his grave and by his meritts and Passion to obtain everlasting Life & therefore now do dispose and Bequeath such Estate as it hath pleased God in his mercy to bestow upon me, after this manner following after they have disposed my Body to decent Interment without noise feasting drink or Tumult which I not leave but injoin my Exect. or Exects. hereafter named to see decently Ex[ecuted?]<sup>31</sup>

Maryland Roman Catholic wills are not too different. In 1634 George Calvert, son of Lord Baltimore, after a fairly conventional preliminary sentence added several others reflecting his religion:

First I humbly bequeath my soul into the hands of our Creator and Lord signed by Baptisme with the Character of a Christian professing before God and all the world that I dye a true member of the Catholicke Church beseeching Almighty God to be mercifull unto mee and bring me to be partaker of his Glorie to whom be all honor Amen. Secondly I bequeath my body to the earth from whence it was taken and willingly doe accept the death thereof in satisfaction for my sinnes beseeching my sweet Redeemer Christ Jesus to offer it to some part of satisfaction mingling it in the holy Chalice of his blood of amends for my grievous transgressions hoping He will accept it in odour of sweetnesse, Amen.<sup>32</sup>

A Protestant Marylander of Somerset County in 1697 made in his will the earliest known American bequest to a European university. In a generally interesting will which includes education and freedom for two black slaves and a white indentured servant and large sums for the "civilized poor of the country," he left to the University of Glasgow £100 sterling "current money of England . . . as a memoriall and support of any of my relations to be educated therein to be payed in cash, or secured by good exchange to the visitors."<sup>33</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that former Virginia Governor Dinwiddie left another £100 to the library of the same Scottish institution three-quarters of a century later.

There are more surviving wills, usually even more conventional in phrasing. The profession of faith in varied phrases continues into the next century, though then there are several greater differentiations from the norm. All these early wills (no one of which is signed by a mark) indicate literacy, religious orthodoxy, and a desire for sobriety and dignity in the departure from this earth. Not here included are the more usual bequests of servants, slaves, personal possessions, and lands. These seventeenth-century last testaments suggest in both preamble and itemization the less formal and more sharply individualistic American wills of the decades of the eighteenth century before 1770.

#### THE EARLY BALLAD AND OCCASIONAL POEM

In all the states of the South Atlantic area which were colonies, English and Scottish traditional or popular ballads have been found and to a considerable extent recorded in the past two generations. Undoubtedly the first venturers at Jamestown brought most or at least many of them in their oral lore along with folktales and plays. Though distinguished scholars have followed the lead of Child of Harvard in collecting and printing these narrative verses, there seems to be no study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century versions or contemporary written records of their existence. The balladist will point out that archaic language and meter and refrain point to very early origins even before 1607, however, and here and there is a hint in phrase or proper name that versions of particular ballads were actually in Virginia and Maryland and the Carolinas from their first settlement. The archaic qualities just mentioned really prove little about the time these poem-verses entered any particular colony, for a settler arriving at any time up to the Revolution may have brought the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century versions with him.

Perhaps the considerably modified ballad, or ballad to fit American locale or persons, or altered simply because of the inability on the part of

past singers to understand and recreate or repeat what they heard, may be better indications of early entry into the colonies. In the eighteenth century southern poets publishing in newspaper or book a kind of literary ballad, or story in verse, would indicate that it was to be sung to the tune of "Chevy Chase" (perhaps the favorite) or "Barbara Allen" or "Sweet William," and the colonial satirist was often burlesquing the ballad style and idiom at the same time that he indicated his composition was to be sung to a particular ballad tune. The news ballad, of which some colonial examples will be discussed in a moment, was of course the conscious and relatively sophisticated offshoot of the folk ballad. One of these from Virginia was printed in London as early as 1610. To this writer, an investigation of traditional ballads in the South as to date of appearance and alteration induced by New World environment (the latter of course evident in the now-printed texts) would seem a profitable undertaking. For the traditional ballad from Britain or a ballad composed as early as the colonial period in America is an art form, even a literary form, in itself and, more significantly, has been imitated or employed with some subtlety in southern verse down to our own time.<sup>34</sup>

The ballad surviving in print from seventeenth-century southern colonial America is the news ballad, carrying a tale of tragic or happy events to Britain and usually printed there, normally but not always as propaganda or promotional literature. Of the three best-known early verses describing events in the Virginia colony, two were written by colonists and the third by a prominent member of the Virginia Company. All three turn or attempt to turn tragic events into happy surprises for the future. Two are in genuine ballad meter and rhyme, the third in pentameter couplets.

The earliest of these, published in London by its author, Richard Rich, in 1610, bearing the title *Newes from Virginia, The Lost Flocke Triumphant*, in long ballad measure and eight-line stanzas, was perhaps written at the request of Virginia Company officials to offset rumors of the death of Gates and Newport in storms at sea or in the Bermudas. The poem is discussed as propaganda in Chapter I above. It is wretched verse, but it gives an accurate account of events in 1609-1610. Two stanzas contain the well-known lines frequently quoted: "Wee hope to plant a nation, where none before hath stood / . . . To glorifie the Lord tis done, and to no other end." This versifier is otherwise generally unknown, although there are surmises as to his background.<sup>35</sup>

Christopher Brooke, university and Inns-of-Court educated lawyer and poet, M.P. for the City of York 1604-1626, was concerned enough for the Virginia enterprise and his personal friends and acquaintances involved

on American soil to indite and publish after the 1622-1623 catastrophe *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia, With particular mention of those men of note that suffered in that disaster* (London, 1622). Its avowed purpose announced in the dedication to the Virginia Company was "a humane commiseration" on that great tragedy. It is a meditative, elegiac, and news-narrative poem. After a long cogitation on God's purpose in allowing such an event, Brooke turns to the dramatis personae who performed and/or perished in Virginia. First he pays tribute to his personal friends who died there, Captain Nathaniel Powell and the erudite and virtuous and brave Captain George Thorpe, deputy for the college, with whom the poet had probably served in Parliament. Maycocke and Berkeley are also mourned, but the "Epitaph" for "noble Thorpe" inserted in the text, written in tetrameters, is perhaps the best poetry in the entire verse narrative. Brooke also pays tribute to Sir Thomas Dale, Lord de la Warr, and his fellow-poet George Sandys, "*Treasure and Treasurer*." Brooke attempts to conclude on an optimistic note in his "Apologie" and "Epilogue," the former emphasizing the likelihood of calm following the storm and the necessity to proceed, and the latter declaring that the colonists named and their fellows had begun a work which would merit eternal fame. Thus as in 1610 a versifier showed his consciousness of the significance of the Virginia venture.<sup>36</sup>

The third poem, perhaps a more orthodox news ballad than the two preceding it, appeared the year after Brooke's pamphlet-poem as a broadside with two crude woodcuts just below the title. *Good Newes from Virginia, Sent from James his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country*, to the tune of "All those that be good fellows," was printed in London in black-letter type by John Trundle.<sup>37</sup> More frequently than Rich's lines, these doggerel ballad verses have been labeled the earliest known example of printed American verse. Unlike Brooke's poem written in Britain this one is quite optimistic, admitting the massacre but telling with some relish and vivacity of the punitive measures taken by the English. One is interested, for example, in the behavior of the colony's principal man of letters, scholar-poet and traveler known all over Europe.

Stout Master *George Sands* upon a night,  
 did bravely venture forth;  
 And mong'st the savage murderers,  
 did forme a deed of worth.  
 For finding many by a fire,  
 to death their lives they pay:  
 Set fire of a Towne of theirs  
 and bravely came away.



Courtesy of The Virginia Historical Society

William Byrd II, by Sir Godfrey Kneller



Courtesy of The Virginia Historical Society

"Westover," Virginia home of William Byrd II



And then in other stanzas the anonymous gentleman names more English heroes and their deeds, as Captain Powell, Hamor, and Pountis, mentions the industries reinstated and the influx of immigrants whose very numbers terrify the red man, and notes the arrival of the governor's wife, Lady Wyatt. The concluding words are pure come-hither advertisements.

There are several later seventeenth-century ballads on Virginia subjects, and even though it is doubtful that any one of them was actually composed in British America, their subjects and treatment indicate how close Britain was to events in her oldest colony. Several are closely akin to the folk ballad, and perhaps all use what were originally folk tunes. Their dating is uncertain, for in the broadsides there is rarely any indication save in internal textual evidence. Sir Charles Firth in *An American Garland* has gathered a number of these.

*A Voyage to Virginia; Or, the Valiant Souldier's Farewell to his Love*<sup>38</sup> is one of them. After a verse prologue concerning the maid's entreaties to her lover that he not go to the New World, "To the Tune of *She's gone and left me here alone*," there are twelve eight-line stanzas to "pretty Betty," each concluding with a variant of the incremental refrain of the eighth line beginning with "*Though I must to Virginia go*" and concluding with "*Whilst he did to Virginia go*."

There is nothing of the colony in the above ballad, but *The Treppan'd Maiden: Or, The Distressed Damsel*, presumably related by a returned kidnapped indentured servant to the tune of "*Virginny, or, When that I was weary, weary, O*" is based on details of life in the Chesapeake region such as will be seen in Ebenezer Cook's *The Sot-Weed Factor*. Five years under "Master Guy" this betrayed woman declares she served, sleeping upon straw, performing the heaviest manual labor including plowing and carrying billets of wood, nursing the landholder's children, and pounding grain at the mill's mortar. All this has left her "weary, weary, weary, weary, O." The concluding stanza expresses merely the hope that the narrator will once "more land on English shore," where "I'll no more be weary, weary, weary, weary, O." Sixteen quatrains of which the second and fourth lines are repetitive refrains, up to this last stanza, have a plaintive effect.<sup>39</sup>

In merrier tone, using the old theme of the duper duped or guller gulled, *A Net for a Night Raven; or, A Trap for a Scold*, with "The Tune . . . *Let us to Virginia Go*," tells in fifteen eight-line stanzas the story of a shrewish and unfaithful wife who in attempting to get rid of her husband by persuading him to go to the colonies is herself enticed aboard ship and sold to a sea captain, who in turn makes a profit by selling her to a new husband in Virginia. These verses end with the warning and moral tag of a final stanza addressed to scolding wives.<sup>40</sup> Other ballads relating to Virginia include *The Betrayed Maiden*, quite close to the tragical folk

ballad in theme and repetitive phrases. It is the story of a young girl, a brazier's daughter, sold off to a Virginia sea captain by a mother who could not bear to see her upper-class son wed to a servant maid. The final stanzas describe his pining away to death. *The Lads of Virginia* is the lament of a former London apprentice who was lured to the hard life in the colony and who feels he is about to die there.<sup>41</sup>

Another more recently recovered ballad touching upon life in Virginia is in chapbook form, based presumably on the actual experiences of the "unhappy sufferer," James Revel. In this last instance the subject is clearly a criminal. *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation, at Virginia, in America*, in one copy printed in Dublin with no date, was probably published in the decade 1765-1775. Other versions include one of London, undated but probably (?) seventeenth century, now in the Library of Congress; another undated of London, at Harvard; another copy once owned at Belvoir in Virginia, photostat in the Virginia Historical Society; and two later London editions, of which copies are owned in America. It may be based on actual events in Virginia. But it is also part of the rogue literature Defoe and his contemporaries made so popular in the earlier half of the eighteenth century in Britain. John M. Jennings has shown that the real or supposed Revel reached Virginia between 1656 and 1671 and that possibly the original form of the ballad, perhaps only in oral tradition or manuscript until the eighteenth century, was composed between these dates.<sup>42</sup>

Homely details give the narrative verisimilitude, names are unfamiliar—to Britons—places such as Wicomico and the Rappahannock River and situations are peculiarly southern colonial, such as the mixture of white indentured and black slave servants in one plantation establishment and the daily and weekly routine of each. The examination by would-be planter-buyers became a familiar feature of later national plantation literature. Made up of six major divisions, versions of the poem's separate sections might include twelve of fifteen complete questions. The narrator's two masters, the planter who dies and the Jamestown cooper, impress the reader as real persons. The whole ballad is one of the most significant portrayals of life among the bondsmen of later seventeenth-century Virginia. Its details may be corroborated as fact in a dozen places.

The author also has a sense of proportion and of the naturally dramatic. Unlike other poets to be discussed, he shows no tendency to satire or to bitterness—though there is a good deal of indignation—or on the other hand no tendency toward sentimentality. Though the poem concludes with the narrator back in Britain, one is tempted to speculate whether at least basic portions of his verses were not composed in the colony.

Other sorts of occasional poems were written by men who had been in the Chesapeake colonies, though most of the verses were probably not written in America. Most are commendatory verses, such as those by Michael Phettiplace, William Phettiplace, and Richard Wiffin, who had served under Smith in Virginia and wrote of his renown in the preliminary section to *A Description of New England* (London, 1616). Recently discovered and reprinted for the first time since the seventeenth century are two complimentary poems signed by Smith himself and supporting the belief that he was probably the author of a better poem to be discussed below. Both were in honor of well-known writers of Jacobean England. For *An Armado or Navye . . .* (1627) by John Taylor the "Water Poet" Captain Smith composed a generally competent twelve-line poem sustaining a single figure throughout in an ironic tone. Less impressive is the sixteen-liner in honor of his friend Robert Norton, *The Gunner* (1628), a man who had written earlier similar verses complimenting Smith.<sup>43</sup> And years before he ventured to America William Strachey wrote the single set of commendatory verses for *The View of Fraunce* (London, 1604), and one of several sets of prefatory lines for Ben Jonson's quarto *Sejanus* (London, 1605), which appeared in good company with verse by Marston and Chapman. The letter is a conventional sonnet revealing nothing of the writer's personal relation to the dramatist. Strachey was also probably the "W. Stra." who signed prefatory verses "To the Cleane Contrary Wife" for a new edition in 1616 of Sir Thomas Overbury's *The Wife*. One of perhaps his best two surviving poems appears before the "Premonition" in his *Historie*. It was written as a plea to Christianize the Indians, beginning "Wild as they are, accept them, so were we / To make them civill, will our honor bee." These lines indeed may have been composed in America. So may the dedicatory verses to "the Lords of the Councell of Virginia" prefacing *For the Colony of Virginea Britannia: Lawes Divine Morall and Martiall, etc.*<sup>44</sup>

Other occasional poems refer directly to Virginia, as those by John Ferrar in the 1655 *Reformed Virginia Silkworm*, but they were not written by men who had even visited the colony. This is true, even though Ferrar's are dedicated "To the most Noble deserving Esquire Diggs; upon the arrival of his two Armenians out of *Turkey* into *Virginia*."<sup>45</sup>

The group at Jamestown in the 1620s, including Christopher Davison and perhaps his brother Francis, Sir Francis Wyatt, and George Sandys, have left known poems, and it is probable that as a Jacobean man of letters John Pory, gifted epistolarian and political writer, tried his hand at verse. Of these, no one is known to have written occasional verse while in the colony, though it is possible that Sir Francis Wyatt and his wife's uncle George Sandys did.

Wyatt at some time did write such verse, for in the Wyatt Papers of the Earl of Romney, formerly on deposit in the British Museum, are a number of manuscript poems by this two-time governor of the Virginia colony. One is a verse letter written from Francis to his brother Hawte Wyatt, composed in London before they both went to America. There is an epitaph "upon my Lady Huntington" and another "Upon the death of Sir Wm T(evis?) who died on the eighth of January 1629. But more to our purpose is "Upon the death of King James," in twenty-eight lines, which may possibly have been written by Sir Francis in the colony, for he did not return to Britain until May 1626. Later, in 1637, Sir Francis wrote a long commendatory poem, "To my honoured Kinsman Mr. *George Sandys*, on his admirable Paraphrases" prefixed to Sandys' *Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (London, 1737) along with shorter pieces by Dudley Digges, Henry King, Thomas Carew, Edmund Waller, Lord Falkland and other poets of the Great Tew circle. In pentameter couplets, Wyatt's is a competent laudatory piece.<sup>46</sup>

One other set of occasional lines, so far as is known never printed until 1966, is in praise of the colony of Virginia by John Gibbon, ancestor of the historian, who visited the Lees in 1659. In his own handwriting in his notebook on the colony are lines of doggerel faintly suggestive of ballad form.

In Virginia I did dwell  
Which nourisheth her people well  
Of flesh or fish there is no want  
All things are there abundant  
But mutton is deficient  
Yet pork for that gives supplement  
Fruits of England planted there  
Much bettered and amended are.<sup>47</sup>

Sandys himself wrote dedicatory verses (and prose) for many of his poetic volumes, most of them to the King (and earlier Prince) Charles, some to the Queen, and at least one "to the Prince," [probably the future Charles II] as well as additional laid-in lines "To his Grace of Canterbury" and to the King's sister the Queen of Bohemia. These appeared with the paraphrases and other religious poems he composed and published after his return from America and during his tenure as a member of the King's Committee on the Plantations. But Sandys did write some memorable verse in Virginia which was not at all occasional.

Thus one can see that very little news-ballad and other occasional verse was written in the southern colonies in the seventeenth century, but that a

considerable body of such poetry—if so it may be dignified—was done by persons who had spent at least several years of their lives in the Chesapeake region and *may* have composed some of their lines there. News-ballad and dedicatory and commendatory verse was popular in England at the time, and the only possible quality which is American in the poems noticed is subject matter. No occasional verses by poets resident in other southern colonies than Virginia seem to have survived at all from the first century, but surely, from the extant clues, it is evident that much more was written throughout the century than is now known. In the next period occasional verses appear in every one of the southern provinces, and frequently. They were by then a natural and familiar form of expression for any poet or poetaster.

#### THE RELIGIOUS, MEDITATIVE, AND MORAL POEM

The religious or meditative or moral poem written by southern colonists is not frequent in the seventeenth century, but there are several interesting examples. Two of the principal writers of early Jamestown, known best for their prose, wrote thoughtful verses, in effective forms, which are usually considered among their ablest expressions.

Captain John Smith's two commendatory poems just noticed are significant partly because they seem to show him capable of the better poem which appears without signature among the preliminaries of one of his later works. Students of the man and the period feel that it is surely his. This powerful poem appears immediately after the dedication and address to the reader in his last work, *Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New-England, or any where. Or, The Path-way to experience to erect a Plantation* (1631). It appears in a volume which, despite its title, is devoted to bringing Smith's readers up to date on Virginia and recommending its form of Christianity in preference to that of the Pilgrims and Puritans. The poem itself despite the universality of its theme, seems intensely personal.

##### The Sea Marke

Aloofe, aloofe; and come no near;  
the dangers do appear;  
Which if my ruine had not been  
you had not seen:  
I only lie upon this shelf  
to be a mark to all  
which in the same might fall.  
That none may perish but myself.

If in or outward you are bound,  
do not forget to sound.  
Neglect of that was cause of this,  
to steer amiss.  
The seas were calm, the wind was fair,  
that made me so secure  
that now I must endure  
All weathers be they foul or fair.  
The winter's cold, the summer's heat  
alternatively beat  
Upon my bruised sides that rue  
because too true  
That no relief can ever come.  
But why should I despair,  
being promised so fair  
That there shall be a Day of Doom.<sup>48</sup>

Smith's fellow promoter-historian William Strachey also wrote at least one poem superior in quality to his occasional pieces. Like Smith's verses, it is a meditation upon the approaching dissolution of the author. Preserved in the Ashmolean Manuscripts in the Bodleian, it is indeed "Mr. Strachie's Harke." There are again three stanzas, beginning

Harke! Twas the trump of death that blows  
My hower is come false world adewe  
That I to death untimely goe.

And after a confession of sin and penitence, the writer concludes:

Harke! at which mercy gate I knocke  
Let sobbes & sighs the same unlocke  
Prostrate I fall & begg for grace  
O doe not turne away thy face  
my cryinge sinnes beate at thy Throane  
Once bowe the heavens looke downe upon  
A wretch more overthrowne then grieve  
That beggs for mercy not for life.<sup>49</sup>

George Sandys had written religious verse many years before he came to America and continued to compose paraphrases of the Latin scriptural and other devotional poetry in England to his final years. The earliest recorded verse of this kind appeared in his 1615 *A Relation of a Journey begun Anno: Dom: 1610*, his persistently popular account of his travels in the Mediterranean countries, including Egypt and the Holy Land. When he was in Jerusalem at Easter, upon visiting the Holy Sepulchre, he was moved to "dictate this hymne to my Redeemer," a twelve-line poem beginning

Saviour of mankind, Man, Emmanuel:  
Who sin-lesse died for sinne, who vanquisht hell.  
The first fruites of the grave. Whose life did give  
Light to our darkness: in whose death we live.  
O strengthen thou my faith . . . .<sup>50</sup>

Sandys' *A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David* (London, 1636) and *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (London, 1638) as well as his *Christs Passion*, Englished from the Latin of Grotius (London, 1640) are all translations from an ancient language, Latin, but not really part of the classical tradition which Sandys represents elsewhere. They are all paraphrases, free translations into lyric or dramatic poetry strongly devout and at the same time, as in his belated publication of *A Paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon* (London, 1641), are expressed in quite sensuous imagery.

Sandys' presumed envoi, printed at the end of his *Paraphrases* in all editions from 1636, is his "Deo Opt. Max.,"<sup>51</sup> his last formal praise of the Creator who has brought him to a quiet fireside at home after years of strange and strenuous experiences in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. It contains many lines on the Virginia voyage and experience in the colony. He begins "O thou who All things of Nothing made, / Whose Hand the radiant Firmament displa'd," and after several score lines of laudation,

My gratefull Verse thy Goodness shall display,  
O thou who went'st along in all my way:  
To where the Morning with perfum'd wings  
From the high Mountains of Panchæa springs,  
To that New-found-out World, where sober Night  
Takes from the Antipodes her silent flight:

. . . . .

Thou sav'dst me from the bloody Massacres  
Of faith-less Indians; from their treacherous Wars;  
From raging Feavers, from the sultry breath  
Of tainted Aire; which cloy'd the jawes of Death.  
Preserv'd from swelling Seas; when towring Waves  
Mixt with the Clouds, and opened their deepe Graves.  
From barbarous Pirats rensom'd. . . .  
Then brought'st me Home in safety, that this Earth  
Might bury me, which fed me from my Birth:  
Blest with a heathfull age; a quiet Mind,  
Content with little . . . .

Though there were dozens, perhaps scores, of printed paraphrases of various lyric or especially poetic portions of the Scriptures during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, certainly Sandys', beginning with the first

edition of 1636, was among the most popular. But it seems more than likely that the idea was suggested to him by his Jamestown fellow-official Christopher Davison. For during the years just before arriving in Virginia in 1621, and probably during his visit back to England in 1622 and probably also during his stay in Virginia (where he died), Davison and his two brothers Francis and Walter were translating or paraphrasing the Psalms into English verse. Their work was not published until Sir Egerton Brydges edited it in 1814 under the title of *Davison's Poetical Rhapsody* (Kent, privately printed). The British Museum Harleian Manuscript 6930 indicates that Christopher was responsible, perhaps among others unsigned, for Psalms XV and CXXV.<sup>52</sup> A comparison of Sandys' and Davison's versions indicates that the former was not at all indebted literarily to the latter, but there can be little doubt that the two poets discussed their craft as Sandys labored on his classical translation and Davison on his scriptural. Davison died in Virginia about December 1623, and Sandys returned to Great Britain in 1625. With Wyatt and Thorpe and Pory they formed a remarkable intellectual group.

In the second half of the seventeenth century there were a few more religious or meditative poems actually written in the Chesapeake area. Sent back to London and printed there in 1662 was Quaker Robert Grave's ("whose outward Habitation is in Virginia") long poem *A Song of Sion*. Though about half of it is written in pentameter couplets, the inner address to the sinner is in the popular four-three ballad measure in verses in form and figures strongly suggestive of Wigglesworth's *The Day of Doom*, the Puritan best-seller of the same period. Grave's piece is better as an example of early Quaker devotion, in that sect's militant period, than as verse. It depicts a God who punishes, and urges that the "Pure Lambs of Christ, that do in pureness dwell" remind others of their sins:

Now let this be imprinted in your mind,  
In time *repent*, whilst you a time yet find  
Fear the Lord God, cease from iniquity,  
And love Christ's Light, else in your sins you die.  
The everlasting Gospel, Saints declare,  
O all mankind to hear it now prepare.

Some lines are a little better than these, but not much.

More sophisticated than Grave and possessed of a quite different philosophy of life is the whilom indentured servant and royalist George Alsop, whose *A Character of the Province of Maryland* (London, 1666) is baroque or euphuistic in both its poetry and prose and often ribald and satiric in tone. The book will be considered more generally a little later, as it



already has been from a different point of view, but here one must look at the usually brief poems embedded in the text or rounding off or concluding chapters and appended letters, which are in some instances interesting little meditations, sometimes half-mocking in tone, but not bitterly satiric or ironic as some other verses in the same work are. One is a homely bit of advice to plantation masters of bond servants:

Be just (Domestick Monarchs) unto them  
That dwell as Household Subjects in each Realm;  
Let not your Power make you be too severe,  
Where there's small faults reign in your sharp Career:  
So that the Worlds base yelping Crew  
May'st bark what I have wrote is writ untrue,  
So use your Servants, if there come no more,  
They may serve Eight, instead of serving Four.

In a letter to his father, Alsop's "melancholly Muse" forced him into more sententious phrases upon hearing of the death of the usurper Cromwell:

Poor vaunting Earth, glow'd with uncertain Pride,  
That liv'd in Pomp, yet worse than others dy'd:  
Who shall blow forth a Trumpet to thy praise?  
Or call thy sable actions shining Rayes?

Even Alsop's longest sustained bit of poetic irony, written upon the occasion of receiving a purple cap from his brother, is in part a remarkable sardonic meditation. In all the poems the moral fiber is strong. One is frequently reminded of John Donne, whom Alsop mentions in a letter of December 13, 1662.<sup>53</sup>

#### THE BEGINNINGS OF CLASSICAL PARAPHRASE AND TRANSLATION

Thus in the seventeenth century there were poets writing in English on the colonial South, usually while they were back in Great Britain, and a very few who wrote occasional and meditative-moral poems in the New World. As noted already, there was no Edward Taylor or Anne Bradstreet or even Michael Wigglesworth, at least so far as is now known. But there was a strong classical tradition from the first Jamestown period which continued throughout the colonial era. Its manifestations in education, libraries, and the fine arts have already been touched upon. Several authors represent the tradition in one way or another, but one well-known English poet renowned throughout Europe composed most of his remarkably able rendering of a major Latin poet into his own language at Jamestown. This was the George Sandys already mentioned.

Classical background is to be noticed in Smith's *Generall Historie*, into

which the author-compiler inserted dozens of poetic translations from the Latin borrowed from Martin Fotherby's 1622 *Atheomastix*<sup>54</sup> and frequent references to Greek and Roman history and literature to indicate American parallels, even in Smith's eloquent come-hither pleas. Though Smith's actual knowledge of Latin may not have gone far beyond the schoolboy's, Strachey's knowledge went deeper and perhaps wider, for he was university-educated. Strachey translates or adapts lines from Seneca, giving also the Latin, quotes a Latin sentence from a Roman history to describe the worthies of his account, appreciates a Latin epigram addressed to him by Thomas Campion, and in other ways shows his familiarity with and enjoyment of the literature in the ancient languages. The title page motto of his *Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* is taken from Horace's *Epistles*, the aim of "Ecclesiæ et Reipub" is applied to the Indians—"Wild as they are, accept them, so were we." In "A True Reportory" Strachey reflects and refers to Horace's awe of the sea and its terrors, and he finds reasons for mentioning several ancient heroes. In describing everyday American aboriginal and frontier life he is reminded of Trojan ball games, "Lacedaemonian" food, the Indian Okee as a parallel to the evil Roman god Vejovis, and the red chiefs' belief in metempsychosis as "the heathen Pythagoras held." *For the Colony: Lawes Morall and Divine* also includes Latin mottos and phrases.<sup>55</sup>

But more significant is the fact that the first piece of real literary merit produced on the Atlantic seaboard is the translation by George Sandys of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, published when the treasurer returned to Britain in 1626. Sandys, son of an Archbishop of York and brother of that founding father of both Plymouth and Jamestown Sir Edwin, had been educated at Oxford and the Inns of Court. *A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610 (1615)*, Sandys' popular Mediterranean travel account which went through nine editions in the seventeenth century, had been embellished by the author's own translation of a multitude of classical writers, especially poets, including his earliest known renditions into English of parts of the *Metamorphoses*. The list of authors translated from the Latin is formidable, ranging from an early Latin Homer to the prose of medieval church fathers and the more modern scholars Julius Caesar Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon.<sup>56</sup>

By 1621, on the eve of his departure for the New World, Sandys published a translation of the first five books of Ovid, two issues appearing in 1621 and a new edition while he was in Virginia in 1623. Though the poet apparently made some use of his fragmentary translations of the work included in his 1615 *A Relation*, in every case he modified and improved meter, rhyme, and imagery. Evidently the 1621 version was quite

popular in Britain, for Michael Drayton addressed to Sandys in America words of encouragement:

And (worthy George) by industry and use,  
Let's see what lines *Virginia* will produce:  
Goe on with Ovid, as you have begunne,  
With the first five Bookes . . . .  
Intice the Muses thither to repaire,  
Intreat them gently, trayne them to that ayre.<sup>57</sup>

On the voyage over, as Sandys wrote to a friend in England, he was able amidst the roaring of the seas to translate two more books. The other eight, during the hours "snatcht from . . . night and repose," he translated while he was in the colony, no doubt surrounded by scholarly classical works which might assist him and the great earlier Elizabethan translation of Golding. Back in Britain by late 1625, and apparently upon the request of his constant patron, now King Charles, he published in 1626 the first complete edition of his *Metamorphoses*, with its dedication containing the warning that it was "bred in the New-world, of the rudenesse whereof it cannot but participate; especially having warres and Tumults to bring it to light in stead of the Muses." Six years later, published in a large folio with engravings illustrating each book and the preliminary matter and with elaborate prose "philosophical commentaries," or glosses, at the end of each book, appeared what is still accepted as the standard edition. The 1632 version shows further polishing of the verse, the heroic couplet which led straight into the neoclassical heroic form.

But both 1626 and 1632 versions have peculiar American interest. In composing the majority of his verse in the New World on an ancient classical subject Sandys was beginning a tradition of adaptation from the Latin, a part of the classical tradition which was to continue in several forms on through the colonial period in the southern provinces, to be distinguished by William Munford's translation of Homer in the early nineteenth century, and to come well into the twentieth century in the translations from the Roman poets of William Alexander Percy and the obvious classical influences on the critical and creative writing of Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren, and John Crowe Ransom.

What Sandys completed in colonial Virginia was and is one of the major English Renaissance translations, the meter of which was to influence Dryden and Pope and a host of lesser men, and the subject matter Keats and the Romantics. The 1626 version is not American in subject as is the prose work of Strachey and Smith, though the American aborigines and the concept of an American Eden as well as the violent gales of the Atlantic

crossing are frequently suggested in individual passages. But even without these it is as American as the later translation of European literature by Bayard Taylor, Longfellow, and Bryant.

Though the revised 1632 edition was obviously done in England, in content it is even more suggestive of the southern scene. For in his prose commentaries Sandys is reminded again of the tales of the earlier voyagers regarding America which parallel some of Ovid's stories, of the Indian customs and character, of the southern frogs called Powhatan's hounds because of their constant croaking or yelping, and of tall tales of marvelous events in America. Near the end, beside an Ovidian passage describing sea-shells found on mountaintops, Sandys wrote significantly in the margin, "Such have I seene in *America*." One remembers that Sandys not only never forgot his Virginia experience but served on the first Board of Trade and Plantations and was official agent for the colony in England as late as the early 1640s, not too long before his death. As vivid and hardy and withering in his sarcasm as John Smith, he joins with the redoubtable captain and Strachey in inaugurating American scholarly and literary traditions. Good poetry and impressive scholarship did exist on the banks of the James under the London Company. And one should remember that both Sandys' Ovid and his *Paraphrases* were to be found in Virginia libraries up to the Revolution.<sup>58</sup>

Howard Mumford Jones and Louis B. Wright in our time have emphasized the southern colonist's ideal of life according to the Horatian mean, and in the colonial eighteenth-century essay or poem the same philosophy of moderation, or the middle way, is expressed again and again. Early libraries and letters (the latter such as those of William Fitzhugh) declare or stress this idea of the summum bonum. The first writers in Virginia—Smith, Strachey, and Sandys among them—and Alsop in Maryland implicitly or explicitly expressed and practiced it. The next step was to be more direct imitation of the ancients, especially in the form of satire, which was itself only exaggeration to produce moderation, or proportion, or a sense of the middle way as truth.

#### THE HUMOROUS AND SATIRICAL UP TO THE REVOLUTION

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Satire, which has existed in the civilized literature of all periods, unquestionably had its greatest vogue in modern times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Especially was this true for the literature of Britain and France. The first southern colonists were themselves part of the British

tradition; the later colonists imitated English models and, more rarely, French ones. Forms of satire are to be found in New England occasionally in religious poetry and prose, but perhaps most clearly in a Thomas Morton or a Nathaniel Ward in the seventeenth century and in newspaper writers and Benjamin Franklin in the eighteenth. But the form, or the use of it, seems never to have been as persistent or widespread as it was from Maryland and Virginia to Georgia, from Captain Smith to the early pre-Revolutionary pamphleteers and versifiers. Irony, parody, the mock-heroic, travesty, the Hudibrastic, all but the first variations of the burlesque, are to be found in every southern province possibly save North Carolina, and at the very end of the period the controversial pamphlet-essay satire is everywhere. As in Britain, satiric expression is more frequent in the eighteenth than the seventeenth century, but the earlier period certainly had strong examples.

Satire has many uses, including what has been called "putting down the mighty." But as a moral and social weapon its function in the Chesapeake area, the Carolinas, and Georgia was to point up, to sharpen the evidence that there was a great difference between truth and appearance in the New World. Some but not all of it belongs to the literature of disenchantment, the opposite of or reaction from the promotional or American-Dream writing already considered. And it was possible for a work aimed primarily, at least ostensibly, at promotion to contain within it, or to be made up in part of, elements of irony or the mock-heroic or other forms of the genre.

Southern colonial satire might be personal or public, political or social, addressed at or to an individual or special group or at the general public. From first to last it usually recognized its classical origins and often directly imitated a Latin work and more rarely a Greek one. In the eighteenth century it seems fairly obvious that some satiric models were from French and Italian literature, as in the book-length prose satire of James Reid or some of the verses of Robert Bolling of Chellowe.

Closely allied to all this satire is the quality we call humor, for satire is frequently employed to produce humor. Though there may be no such thing as pure humor, or the purely comic, there is the relatively pleasant tale, phrase, sentence, or tone designed merely to bring pleasure in the form of a smile or a laugh. Almost from the beginning, partially because of its New World subject matter, the comic *per se* (or relatively so) began to show qualities which were to grow into what Walter Blair or Constance Rourke might call American humor, or what they and others have labeled backwoods or southwestern humor. Its roots are discernible in the days of the Virginia Company, in certain sorts or degrees of irony, in tall tales of

southern monstrosities and the kindred more general tendency to exaggerate, and in the laughter that springs from discomfort.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HUMOR AND SATIRE, INCLUDING IRONY

The English-speaking peoples, perhaps equally with their neighbors the French, had before 1607 been expressing in their writing various degrees of amusement as they observed the incongruous, which often for them included the strange. When the first English reached Jamestown, they sometimes—it is difficult to tell now how frequently—saw in themselves, the aboriginals, and the New World surroundings qualities of the unusual which provoked good-humored laughter or at least a smile and quite frequently a sharp and sometimes sharp-edged depiction of what they considered the ridiculous, or the disproportionate. Then occasionally from first landfall to the Revolution, they were moved to irony and sarcasm, often to the satiric, and less often to invective in their righteous indignation (as they considered it) at the obtuseness or stubbornness or callousness of those back in Britain who should have supplied and protected them. The flashes of the comic spirit which provoked volleys of silvery laughter were there, but they were often obscured by the bitter (in varying degree) satiric comments on their world and the European officials back at home.

John Smith and others of the first groups at Jamestown record what they saw with the eyes of both good-natured humor and resentful irony. As early as *A True Relation* of 1608, Smith's amusement at certain interactions between white and red man shows through. When he describes the royal regalia bestowed upon Powhatan and the attendant aboriginal oration, his tone is humorous disparagement of the whole situation, for he did not approve of such methods of obtaining Indian friendship. In the same passage he stresses Powhatan's loud laughter and joking, with its politically sinister background, when the old chief fails to obtain the guns he asked for simply because they were made too heavy for his men to lift. A little later Smith describes a day spent with the red man "in trading, dancing, and much mirth."<sup>59</sup> In *A Map of Virginia* of 1612 he makes the straight-faced comment that he and his men found "that abundance of fish lying so thicke with their heads above the water, that for the want of nets . . . we attempted to catch them with a frying pan; but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with." There is more contempt in his humorous or sardonic comment on the folly of the elaborate political machinery set up after his departure, with the

appointing the Lord De-la-ware for Governour, with many great and stately officers, and offices under him, as doth belong to a great Kingdom,

with good summes for their extraordinary expences; also privileges for Cities; Charters for corporation, Universities, Free-schools, and Glebeland; putting all those in practice before there were either people, students, or schollers to build or use them, or provision or victuall to feed them were then there.<sup>60</sup>

In a vivid account of seizing from the natives the food necessary to avoid starvation, in the *Generall Historie* he writes with the wry irony he employed upon occasion to enhance his own heroic actions, and there is strong satire and bitter irony in the righteous indignation of Smith's already quoted letter to Company officials back home. In another place he is devastating in his comments on the insatiable seekers after gold, who dug, washed, and refined all the river bottom soil they could until "one mad fellow [a wag] desired to bee buried in the sandes, least they should by their art make gold of his bones."<sup>61</sup>

Thus the Captain suggests the tall tale, in the fish-frying pan episode and other places, and employs several forms of irony and satire in presenting men and events when the relationships between humans and action are disproportionate or discordant. Smith's humor may be for us wildly comic in places, as Jones suggests, but in most instances the situation described was not comic at all for him. He does tell us that Indians laughed and made jokes, but there is an underlying assumption that all the mirth was a sinister cover for evil designs. The scene of Powhatan's regalia being presented and of the bearing down on the old chieftain or the physical pressure necessary to make him bow low enough to receive the copper crown upon his head was meant to be amusing, but Smith never fails to point out the potential dire consequences to the English of such hollow flattery. Smith's was a real sense of humor, but on the whole from his first to his final writing it is essentially grim.

The half-educated Henry Spelman, who wrote of his boyhood among the red men of Smith's time, shows his personal sense of humor in his depiction of a battle between two tribes. He believed it was principally "Howlinge and Howbabab," and concludes with the dry "Ther was no greater slawter of nether side."<sup>62</sup> A decade later, in the Yeardley-Wyatt years of governorship, there are further evidences of some form of humor in the communications sent to London. The letter writer and reputed wit John Pory was not merely promoting colonization when he declared,

Nowe that your lordship may knowe, we are not the veriest beggers in the worlde, our Cowe-keeper here of James citty on Sundayes goes acowtered all in freshe flaming silkes and a wife of one that in England had professed the black arte not of a scholler but of a collier of Croydon, weares her rough bever hatt with a faire perle hattband, and a silken suit therto correspondent.

In a very different tone George Sandys, in all his letters about London officials' mismanagement and misunderstanding of the colony, wrote in one place sardonically, "And now least wee should growe too rich they have sent over (without anie advice from us) a Captain of a shipp, with extreame charges to the Countrey, to build a fort in the Sea (I might have said a Castle in the aire) on a shole of oister shells everie tide overflowne." This was from a man who showed a lively sense of humor elsewhere, in the prose commentaries of his 1632 *Ovid*, and in his 1615 travel book. But one other prominent adventurer of the period, Captain William Powell, was able at least in 1621, before the massacre, to portray real comedy in a tale he relates regarding Powhatan and other Indians. He tells of a visit the old emperor made to one of his subordinate tribes along the Potomac, on which occasion the young warriors appeared before him "each of them in his turne declaring what worthie exploits by their undaunted valours they had achieved against there Enemyes the Massoamackes and the wilde Beastes of their fforest, every one striving to strayne his actions highest thereby expecting the greater reward and commendation." After much boasting by his fellows, the last young warrior stepped forward and after making his bow to his sovereign said that his only accomplishment was the killing of six muskrats in a marsh that morning. To the Indians this was an utterly ridiculous and demeaning or ignoble action, as the young man well knew, for he pointed out that the young boys of the tribe did this every day. But he added that he was telling the truth and that his predecessors had been lying about their exploits: "This moved the whole assemblye to laughter, nor was the truths of his meane action either blaymed or shamed, for the Jest so took the Kinge that this fellowes poore endeavours was the most regarded and best rewarded fabula narrator."<sup>63</sup>

For the next half-century in the Virginia colony there were letters and travel accounts marked in places by humor and irony, probably the most remarkable being Henry Norwood's *A Voyage to Virginia* (c. 1650, published first in 1732). But John Hammond's *Leah and Rachel; or, the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia and Mary-Land* (London, 1656), a promotion piece discussed in Chapter I above, is the most significant work of the period representing several kinds of humor. Much of its humorous quality is wit and satire directed at Puritan elements in the Chesapeake colonies and in Britain. It is a lively piece by a man who had spent nineteen years in Virginia and two in Maryland and intended to return to the colonies as soon after his book was published as he could. A royalist and supporter of Lord Baltimore's party in Maryland, he had suffered from the Puritan groups in both the colonies in which he had resided. Since he had lived in America longest of the writers so far mentioned, his outlook is more



markedly colonial, and the butts of his satire are, like those of Samuel Butler in *Hudibras*, the Puritans who lived around him, in his case significantly the American variety. He had already participated in the Maryland Proprietary-Puritan pamphlet warfare of the 1650s when he came to write this history-description promotion piece, by which he is best remembered. His earlier *Hammond vs Heamans* (London, [1655]) is one of the most effective vitriolic partisan tracts of seventeenth-century America, and its effectiveness may have inspired him to write the milder and quite different though kindred *Leah and Rachel*.

*Leah and Rachel* is genuinely American, Moses Coit Tyler and others have thought, because of its colloquialisms and specifically American subject matter and presentation of peculiarly colonial problems and situations. The butts of Hammond's ridicule are earlier "lying" pamphleteers on the Chesapeake colony such as William Bullock (1649), the roaring tavern frequenters among the dissolute clergy from England who were compelled to depart, the London human beasts of burden too timid or stupid to attempt a better living in America, and of course the Chesapeake Puritan communities and individuals. But the satiric quality should not be overstressed, for Hammond's general tone is optimistic and good-natured.<sup>64</sup>

Seventeenth-century Maryland, and southern colonial writing for that matter, is well represented, possibly best represented, in George Alsop's *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (London, 1666), some of the serious verses from which have been noted above. Though allegedly intended like Hammond's book as promotion, its tone and impression are those of an exercise in wit and satire, in both its prose and its verse. Its language is not nearly so plain as Hammond's. In fact, Alsop's style is baroque or euphuistic, a belated example of a popular Jacobean form of writing from the earlier seventeenth century. But with the elaborate low style of Thomas Nashe of an earlier period are combined Restoration frankness about sex, and an elaborate word-play in puns, colloquialisms, and folk sayings that might have had earlier or contemporary models.

The London-born Alsop had served an apprenticeship in England and a four-years indenture in Maryland (probably as a clerk) before he returned to Great Britain and wrote ostensibly at Lord Baltimore's request this piece aimed to support the Proprietorship. Even more than Hammond, Alsop was an ardent royalist, and like Hammond he was an orthodox Anglican. Alsop was a free man by 1662 and was still in Maryland in 1663 and probably in 1664. *A Character* is certainly the most curious and delightful of all seventeenth-century promotion tracts. He called it "A Character" surely in the contemporary sense of the verbal portrait, or abstract character sketch, normally satiric (see the later William Byrd

II). The type was usual in Britain and on the Continent, but his is the sole example describing a region of colonial America. Moses Coit Tyler felt that Nathaniel Ward's *Simple Cobbler* was the only other American book of the century that could compare with it "for mirthful, grotesque, and slashing energy." But, as Lemay has pointed out, Ward's was the easier task, for he wrote relatively pure satire.

Alsop's persona begins to emerge in the first-page dedication to Lord Baltimore, develops through the prefaces and texts, and becomes finally fixed as a portrait expression in the appendix formed of personal letters. The narrator tells the reader about himself in prose and poetry, begins his main text in orthodox description of the colony, and concludes each chapter with whimsical verses, some essentially serious (as quoted above) and some not. He treats of the form of government and generalizes on the character of the people, argues the necessity for indentured labor and the attractions of indenture for the adventurous poor, discusses trade and local resources, describes neighboring Indians, and then proceeds to his collection of letters which cover the years from his setting out for America to what must have been just before his return voyage to Britain.

Ribald or scatological, colloquial and proverbial and yet learned, grotesque and burlesque, mocking and occasionally filled with invective, the little book is, one repeats, entertaining reading to this day. The Dedication to Lord Baltimore and the Epistle Dedicatory and the third of the dedications, to the "Merchant Adventurers . . . for Maryland," along with "The Preface to the Reader," establish the capricious, almost wild nature of the persona. Frequently one is reminded of the tumbling words of *Tristram Shandy* or the American nineteenth-century backwoodsman humorist Simon Suggs. "Proverbs," dredged up, altered from folklore, or invented, occur from the first page, usually presented tongue-in-cheek. Early in the dedication to the merchant adventurers he observes that "this dish of Discourse was intended for you at first but it was manners to let my Lord have the first cut, the Pye being his own." In "To the Reader" he quotes not only Latin and French proverbs—and translates them—but also a random scattering of legal terms, usually in absurd context. The introductory poem "The Author to His Book" begins with a frank and vivid sexual figure, followed by some "purgative" humor, in turn by discussion of illegitimacy (in the birth of his book), with slashing allusions to the critics who will condemn and probably bury this poor infant, "The Bastard Off-Spring of a New-born wit." He begins his text "Mary-Land is a Province situated upon the large extending bowels of *America*," and human anatomy and bodily functions are frequently the frames of reference.

Then the author plunges into double-entendres, incongruous personi-

fications, extravagantly extended figures of speech, word coinages, and the usual tricks of exaggeration and understatement. The New Englander appears for the first time as a distinct type, here usually with scatological allusion, as he was to appear many times later in southern humorous writing. Adamites, Ranters, Fifth-Monarchy men are not tolerated even in "liberal" Maryland, though Quakers are prominent.

The paragraph on female indentured servants, replete with open obscenities and leering innuendos, must have brought many a smile or snigger to the face of a contemporary reader. Then after much rambling and many satiric thrusts at men and occupations, Alsop stops in mid-sentence with "But stop (good Muse) lest I should, like the Parson of Pancras, run so far from my Text in half an hour, that a two hours trot back would hardly fetch it up." His extended description of the Indians is on the whole accurate, but the tone is mock-heroic, and he concludes the chapter on them with a Latin quotation regarding urinating and the peculiar manner of this natural act by the men in turn outdone by the females, who "stand bolt upright with their arms akimbo, performing the same action, in so confident and obscene a posture, as if they had taken their Degrees of Entrance at Venice, and commenced Bawds of Art at Legorne."

The letters of the appendix are in the same language and tone, though apparently written over a number of years, including such comments as "Herds of Deer are numerous in this province of *Mary-Land*, as Cuckolds can be in *London*, only their horns are not so well drest and tipt with silver as theirs are." Perhaps the most effective irony and bitter satire of the whole work lies in the poem on the velvet cap recently received, probably from his brother Peter Alsop. It is a devastating comment on Cromwell, the Roman Catholic Church, and Edinburgh Presbyterians, along with related institutions or matters. Elsewhere he describes the inexperienced factor or merchant-agent who comes into the colony as does the later persona of Cook's *Sot-Weed Factor*.

Thus in *A Character* is God's plenty in forms and examples of humor and satire at the same time that the work is a first-rate promotion pamphlet. The persona of Alsop's account may be called our first major comic figure, in this instance a learned Stuart madcap who makes his case for the colony in the genuine woolen costume of sober fact overlaid with cap and bells, motley, and bawdy.<sup>65</sup> He anticipates to some extent the later southern backwoods humorist, who is a sophisticated and educated man manipulating the voice and manners and language and exaggerated action of his principal persona. But Alsop is too close to his narrator, too much a part of him, to have the relative detachment culminating in the creations of A.B. Longstreet or G.W. Harris or Mark Twain or William

Faulkner. Even his immediate Maryland colonial successor Ebenezer Cook is in many respects much closer in method to the creator of *Sut Lovingood* (at least in most of his work) than to Alsop.

Though Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 in Virginia was the most serious of the many civil insurrections in the seventeenth-century colonies, there were incidents and men or other elements to a certain extent inherently comic. Only one of the several contemporary accounts employs these humorous qualities to make an entertaining story and incidentally some quite effective artistic, albeit quite uneven, writing. Already considered in several of its aspects, "The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion, 1676," believed by most scholars today to have been written by one John Cotton of Queen's Creek near Williamsburg, should at least be glanced at for some of its humor and satire.<sup>66</sup>

As in the case of Alsop's *A Character*, the Rebellion account has an ultimately quite serious purpose, to inform the reader or readers at a distance, presumably in Britain, of the facts in a chain of events which had already been well publicized in news accounts in the mother country. It remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century, though evidence that it had some circulation appears in Ebenezer Cook's use of this particular account as the basis for a burlesque poem to be noticed below.

Besides the evidence it presents of its author's considerable historiographical skill and real interest in the facts, especially the odd ones he treats, the account is interesting and even significant for its style and the data it includes, as well as the two poems, at least one of which is certainly satiric or ironic. As a critic has pointed out, the work is best understood if one realizes that Cotton proceeds on a basic narrative style with departures for the purpose of creating desired effects. In many respects, as Hubbell notes, he is as much a "belated Euphuist" as is Alsop. There is more, however, than old-fashioned balance or antithesis and alliteration. Cotton begins his final section on Ingram in Bacon's stead with tight sentence structure and pervasive irony: "The Lion had no sooner made his exitt but the Ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage. Bacon was no sooner removed by the hand of good providence, but another steps in, by the wheele of fickle fortune. The Countrey had, for some time, bin guided by a company of knaves, now it was to try how it would behave itself under a foole." This is soon followed by an extended figure of Governor Berkeley as Noah shut up in the Ark (his refuge on the Eastern Shore) with allusions to the Deluge, the olive branch, the laurel upon the brow of Major Beverley, with side glances such as that at "Hansford [colonel under Bacon who was said to have a little before] forsaken the Capitole of Mars to pay his oblations

in the Temple of Venus," implication of being captured in an embarrassing personal situation. The author's wit is often in higher forms than this, almost always impartial, though occasionally suspended or employed to admire a brave man's manner of meeting death. The technique of seizing upon some distinguishing characteristic of a man and playing upon it is employed to produce humor. Take for example the treatment of Captain Drew, the miller who was in charge of Bacon's garrison at Green Spring: "This Whisker of Whorly-Giggs, perceving (now) that there was More Water coming downe upon his Mill than the Dam would hould, thought but in time to fortify the same, least all should be bourne downe before he had taken his toule." Thus Cotton's metaphors spring readily from his subjects, and at the same time somewhat suggest some of the tropes of the seventeenth-century pulpit orators. Like Alsop, he is interested in the sexual practices of his province, in one frequently quoted tongue-in-cheek passage bemoaning the plight of the wretched prostitutes, who follow the soldiers in a desperate cause lest they die "for want of exercize."

The best-known and most frequently quoted portion of Cotton's manuscript is the two poems in memory of Bacon, one allegedly by a personal follower or servant, the other by one on Berkeley's side. If "Bacon's Epitaph, made by his Man" is to be taken as a serious elegy—and there is nothing within the verses themselves to suggest otherwise—it is perhaps the finest mourning poem of seventeenth-century America and next only to a few of Edward Taylor's as perhaps the finest poem of any kind of that period. It is difficult to see irony or satire here, and the poem deserves to be discussed with others in the elegiac tradition in the next section of this chapter. The second poem, which immediately follows the other in the text, "Upon the Death of G: B.," might be called an anti-elegy and again may be considered with serious and mock elegies below. But it is also ironic and vitriolic in its satire. Replete with elaborate figures and classical allusion, as in the pro-Bacon piece, it mocks in form and sense the preceding lines in the supposedly antiquated forms of the baroque or euphuistic, as just noted for the prose, as does Alsop.

As Hubbell and other analysts of both poems have demonstrated rather convincingly, it is probable that Cotton himself was the author of the two and that he was more interested in recording his observations of the human qualities on both sides of the conflict he had witnessed than in taking a moral stance on one side or the other. Together, the twin poems are an early American example of the writer's intellectual delight in, or fascination with, the same dualism and antithesis as may be seen in the prose portions of the work. To obtain the quality in verse, he had to create a completely ironic or satiric poem, to balance the former, possibly sincere, metrical

lament for Bacon. No two critics have ever agreed completely on the purpose of either or both poems, but all do agree that rhetorical symmetry of structure marks both, and irony at least the second of the two.<sup>67</sup>

One other attempt at literary satire before 1700 is worth noting, though its subject and object can only be guessed at. The record of the Virginia General Assembly of May 31, 1699, contains the testimony of a witness that the Reverend Mr. Samuel Gray, as Anglican parson of Middlesex County, had in his possession and circulated scandalous verses in dialogue form. Gray declared that they were put into his pocket by "some Idle Rascal or other at Towne, and that as he come from Towne he saw a Letter in the road directed to Mr. *Speaker*." Gray admitted later that he was the author of this "very Scandalous and Libellous Paper . . . very reflective upon the Government" and ultimately was pardoned by the governor and Council.

It is the event itself which is of interest. From the later records of plays found in courtyards, Byrd's mention in his diary of throwing verse lampoons into the House of Burgesses, and the "Dinwiddianae" poems (to be noted below), it is clear from this item and hints of others that there was before the end of the seventeenth century a fairly well established tradition of political and social criticism in verse, probably doggerel but not necessarily so, circulated in manuscript by hand. Thus there is some direct evidence and a good deal more indirect suggestion from reading between the lines of records of the General Assembly that satire aimed at reform, public verse and even crude drama and dialogue, was a long-established tradition in colonial Virginia, probably reaching back at latest to the closing years of the seventeenth century. One should note that Cotton claims that the two elegies on Bacon were *among* the political poems floating around the colony at the time. Judging by the political pamphleteering in Maryland in the 1650s, there was probably a similar situation this early in that colony. From the "Dinwiddianae" manuscripts of the 1750s to the political verse and prose satires of Landon Carter and Richard Hewitt and Thomas Burke and Richard Bland on one side and John Camm and possibly James Maury on the other was but a step. And the flimsy pretense of "finding" a manuscript, as that of Reverend Mr. Menzies in 1759, which cast satiric aspersions on government, looked back to Gray and Byrd and forward to the political satiric plays of Robert Munford.<sup>68</sup>

#### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HUMOR, SATIRE, AND DIALECT WRITING

The clergy in Virginia especially, and to some extent in Maryland and South Carolina, continued down to the Revolution to speak their minds through written satire as well as in the pulpit. The running fight between

Commissary Blair and Governor Nicholson produced a little body of "literature" confined largely to this subject, including letters of accusation by both principals and their individual supporters to such authorities back in Britain as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, the Privy Council, and the Lords of Trade and the Plantations. Then there was the "Conference" at Lambeth Palace in which William Byrd II played his first public role, in this instance supporting Governor Andros, then in office, against Blair. Blair's alarmed protests a little later that Nicholson and the students of the College of William and Mary had attempted to burn him and the college building is comic reading for any day. But it is the verse provoked among or in behalf of his clerical brethren, both pro and con the Commissary, which is genuinely satiric.

Some of this burlesque verse is known solely from implications in charges and countercharges in the General Assembly, Public Record Office, British Museum, and Lambeth Palace collections. One piece, "The Loyal Address of the Clergy of Virginia," printed in London in early 1702, is apparently a travesty on a March 12, 1701/2, letter from the Virginia Council to King William III, signed by Governor Nicholson, James Blair, and three other members. In the letter Blair and Nicholson were on the same side, protesting their loyalty to the sovereign in the months before the Commissary and the Governor reached the breaking point and before Blair had reversed his earlier position (this he did in 1703) that the clergy must be inducted, a reversal which naturally brought him the enmity of his clerical brethren and of their champion Nicholson. At any rate, from this letter came "The Loyal Address" with the imprint "Williamsburg. Printed by Fr. Maggot, at the sign of the *Hickery-Tree* in Queen Street, 1702" at a time when Williamsburg had no known press. The piece has been hesitantly and mistakenly ascribed to no less a poet than Jonathan Swift, who was not overfond of King William and had been disappointed in his hopes of preferment. It begins in a tone contemptuous of Virginia clergy (at one time Swift hoped for a bishopric in Virginia): "May it please you dread Sir, we the Clerks of Virginia, / Who pray for Tobacco, and Preach for a Guinea"—and continues its innuendos regarding their drunkenness, cowardice, and sycophancy, and calls the Williamsburg *Rector* (presumably Blair—though he did not obtain that position until 1710, he was already president of the College and member of the Council) the Hector "Among all the Black [robed?] Guard." In an earlier line the clergy are said to be "Under the Reverend *James Blare* our Collonel." This broadside was almost surely printed in London, and it thus reveals that Virginia politico-ecclesiastical affairs were well known at least in some circles in the mother country and that they were considered significant enough to be satirized in print.<sup>69</sup>

Though this burlesque is only barely possibly southern colonial in origin, another written in 1704, when the Nicholson-Blair quarrel was at its height, is surely Virginian. Laymen, especially vestries, on the whole were now supporting Blair (and he them), and it was probably one of them who penned the mocking *A Ballad Addres'd to the Reverend Members of the Convocation Held at Man's Ordinary at Williamsburg . . . To Defend G——r N——n, And Form an Accusation Against C—— B——*. Published in London, the printed verses give only the first and last letters of the surnames of the clergy lampooned, though someone has written in the remaining letters of each name in the copy in the Public Record Office. Later printings, presumably derived from this copy, simply give the full names without comment, somewhat misleading if one knows the satirical conventions—and perhaps laws regarding libel—of the period. All together a large group of Nicholson's friends, obviously those who had signed petitions to home authorities against Blair, are alluded to in the stanzas beginning

Bless us! What Dismal Times are these!  
 What Stars are in Conjunction!  
 When Priests turn Sycophants to please,  
 And Hair-brain'd Passion to appease;  
 Dare prostitute their Function.

Sure all the Furies must combine  
 To sway the Convocation,  
 That Seventeen Clergy-men should joyn  
 Without one word of Proof, to Sign  
 So false an Accusation.

The list begins with the then actual rector of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, who may be the one referred to in the preceding poem.

First W[heatly] heads the Reverend Tribe  
 Amongst the Chiefest Actors;  
 A Tool no Pencil can Describe,  
 Who sells his Conscience for a Bribe,  
 And slights his Benefactors.

A note suggests that Solomon *Whately* had been supported by Mr. B.H. and Mr. R.B. after having been deprived of a previous parish by the governor he was now supporting. The author goes on to assault five of the clergymen in personal terms: one is a wife-oppressor, another a "Bawling Pulpit Hector" who was also a sot and lecher, another a knave and congenitally factious person. This is better verse and more effective satire than the 1702 piece just noted. Blair's recent biographer suggests that it was probably composed by Robert Beverley the historian, who despised Gov-



ernor Nicholson and thus anyone who supported him, who may be the "Mr. R.B." mentioned in the note and was almost surely in London at the time this burlesque appeared.<sup>70</sup>

The next chronologically among Chesapeake Bay satiric writings came from the gifted pen of Marylander Ebenezer Cook, at least one of whose poetic pieces has been included in a number of colonial-period anthologies and its title borrowed in our century for a remarkable burlesque-ironic novel by a living Marylander who has made Cook himself his dubious hero. In his own time this lawyer and government tax collector was both famous and infamous as a versifier. A few of his minor poems, his elegies, are serious, though in some instances one senses irony or mockery in them. But Cook is rightly remembered for his skill in composing Hudibrastic satire on purely American subjects and his significant contributions to several forms or elements of the American humorous tradition. *The Sot-Weed Factor: or, A Voyage to Maryland* (London, 1708), *Sotweed Redivivus: Or The Planters Looking-Glass* (Annapolis, 1730), and *The Maryland Muse* with its two distinct poems (Annapolis, 1731) mark their author as the foremost American satirist of the first half of the eighteenth century and as the first user or first successful user of certain character types, language, tone, and double-purpose in humorous writing culminating in the South in certain of our nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors noted above as being in the main line of our comic tradition.

Born perhaps in England about 1667, Cook probably came to Maryland in his childhood with his father, Andrew, London merchant and tobacco (sotweed) factor. Ebenezer probably traveled frequently between Maryland and Britain in the capacity of tobacco salesman, and there is some evidence that he studied law, perhaps under Thomas Bordley, attorney-general of the province. The title of "Poet-Laureate of Maryland" affixed after Cook's name in some printings of his work may have been a title actually bestowed (through Bordley's influence?) by a colony official, but it seems more likely that it was a mock title suggested by Bordley and his friends. At any rate, another poet, the Virginian John Fox, in a long poem addressed to Bordley, asks permission to study law under that gentleman as Cook had done and declares that he will make Cook "my Poet Laureat too."<sup>71</sup>

*The Sot-Weed Factor; or, A Voyage to Maryland* is his first known poem and perhaps his best. Quite clearly the author knew from long personal experience the way of life of the tobacco factor and all the idiosyncrasies of the various segments or aspects of provincial society with which such a merchant would come in contact. The emphasis in this first version is on society, for he satirizes small farmers (or ordinary planters), great

planters, Quakers, inn-frequenters, conditions of living, the new capital at Annapolis as a wretched town, and something of government, though most political satire is reserved for later work. "Buildings, Feasts, Frolicks, Entertainments and Drunken Humours" are some of the topics suggested in his long title.

Among the significant aspects of the poem *per se* and indicative of future American literature are the treatment and character of his principal persona. For the factor who is the dupe of wily and unscrupulous Marylanders of every class is by no means Cook himself but his creation from a perhaps all-too-familiar type. Cook the poet, like A.B. Longstreet or G.W. Harris or Twain, can and does stand off from his creature who satirizes and is satirized, who portrays the crudity and cruelty and ignorance of a New World society. The factor is also, as Lemay has perceptively suggested, a means or instrument, even more than the facts themselves, for ridiculing British concepts of America. This particular satire-satirized tradition was to have its greatest examples in the colonial period in Benjamin Franklin. The old poet behind the scene here is a sophisticated gentleman, the speaker a greenhorn who is victim frequently because of his own ignorance. Exaggerations are carried to what would have been for contemporary American readers absurdity, as in the allusion that in one particular county there was actually a justice of the peace who could read and write. Englishmen almost certainly would have taken this as fact. Suggestions are made that the planters are all Presbyterians, that none but a very few were able to afford breeches, that the aborigines came to America from any one of the various places or by the means mentioned above in Chapter II, that the novice is frightened into believing a herd of cattle bawling is actually a pack of wolves. Women are slatterns, men are drunkards and/or cheats, the food is all greasy and likely to be bear meat, the Indians are totally naked and always murderous—these are among the "facts" both the narrator and his British readers probably believed but Cook's fellow provincials would have laughed away as absurd.

This is a well-organized poem in Hudibrastic couplets, beginning with the speaker's reasons for leaving England (to escape prosecution or imprisonment) in a ship "Freighted with Fools" on a voyage which took three months. Landing with his trade-goods at Piscataway inlet (near the present District of Columbia), he is met by a throng of sunburned ("tawny as a Moor") hatless, stockingless, and shoeless planters. The narrative continues in episodic fashion, with hundreds of allusions to the alleged crudities and miseries of backwoods life, including some exaggerated and vivid descriptions of foul air and fearful snakes which cause the narrator to spend the night in a tree, bitten all the while by mosquitoes and irritated by croaking frogs.

Homely grease-saturated food, red men as bare and savage as ancient Picts, folk stories of animals, ridicule of the Catholic colonists, or the mockery of justice and ignorance of a local court—most are stock references in southwestern humor. Varying degrees and forms of drunkenness, of cheating, sanctimonious rogues (here the Quakers), and of quack doctors, also are easily recognized as later characteristics of backwoods humor, and even here almost thoroughly Americanized. The poem ends as the narrator boards a ship for Europe and bestows his curse of “those Regions wast/where no Man’s Faithful, nor a Woman chaste.”

The poem may owe something in point of view to forms of “The New England Ballad” or “A West-Country Men’s Voyage to New England,” versions composed probably as early as the 1640s. This early dialect piece depicts a narrator speaking his native brogue who is duped by cheats or deceived by most of what he sees and concludes with swearing to leave the cursed place and bid “farewell to those Fowlers and Fishers.” In both poems the persona is amazed at what he sees in the New World, though in the ballad he is more obviously naive than in *The Sot-Weed Factor*. It has been suggested, however, that there is a significant difference between the poems, for the ballad is definitely anti-American or anticolonial. *The Sot-Weed Factor* really, as noted above, is a satire on the satiric disenchantments directed against promotion tracts. Cook’s poem thus reflects a quality of later American writing—our amusement and irritation at the cousins-back-home misconceptions of us.<sup>72</sup>

If Cook did receive recognition as “Poet Laureate” of Maryland sometime in the early 1720s or before, *The Sot-Weed Factor* may have been an embarrassment. He was practicing law before 1722, as John Fox’s poem to Bordley tells us. He seems to have written a revised version of the poem, with four drafts of a new preface, for a second edition, in the flyleaves of a volume of Coke’s *Institutes*, between 1720 and 1731. For in the latter year the “Third Edition” was actually published in Annapolis. Edward H. Cohen believes the date of the second edition may be further pinpointed, though the details need not concern us here. The manuscript drafts seem to appear in modified form in his *Sotweed Redivivus* of 1730, though the drafts in their original form were probably never published. At any rate, there is a change of direction in the later 1731 “Third Edition” printed version (Part II of *The Maryland Muse*) and in the 1730 *Sotweed Redivivus: Or The Planters Looking-Glass*. Meanwhile he had published his ELOGY on Thomas Bordley and the elegy on Nicholas Lowe, the latter strongly ironic if not satiric.

The *Sotweed Redivivus* has a lively prose preface, and it contains an early anti-Negro reference, “Worse Villaines . . . then Forward’s Newgate Bands.” The speaker is the earlier factor now grown old and settled in

Maryland. Twice addressed as "old Poet," he is much closer to the real Ebenezer Cook than the narrator of the earlier work. Here the narrator probes more deeply into actual events, especially the legislative enactments and letters regarding tobacco and inspection laws. The same wealthy planter who appeared in the first *The Sot-Weed Factor* appears as bedmate of the speaker, and the two discuss the ills of the province. Lemay feels that this poem shows in several ways the influence of the verse of Cook's Maryland contemporary Richard Lewis. It is, like much of Lewis' work, quite immediately topical, or applicable to current problems, though for this very reason it is not so interesting today as the earlier work. Legislative and agrarian problems in Maryland could lend themselves to satire, but Cook had not discovered the way in which they could be handled. Still, he wrote almost entirely for a local audience which probably received it with eagerness.

*The Maryland Muse*, like *Sotweed Redivivus* published in Annapolis, is in each of its two parts or two components of considerable interest. Part I, "The History of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. Done into Hudibrastic Verse, from an old MS" is Cook's longest poem, based almost surely on a copy of Cotton's account just discussed, a copy furnished Cook probably by the historian Hugh Jones. Though Cook in general follows Cotton's narrative, he seems also to have used Beverley's *History*. Beginning with a mixture of classical and Hudibrastic references, the story unfolds, perhaps twisting Cotton's "historical facts" a bit. Bacon as a comic hero is compared to Cromwell ("Noll") and "Quixot." Canto II describes Bacon's ragtag army, the siege, and the white-aprons and planters-wives episode, and gives a ludicrous description of Berkeleyite Herbert Farrell and of Bacon's lieutenants who resemble "Quixot's Sancho, Fool and Knave." Cook satirizes Captain Grantham, who wrote vaingloriously of his role as peacemaker in the rebellion, and ends with a sigh of relief—so much for hangings and killings—and with a reference to the second part of the volume. The essentially tragic nature of the Bacon material Cook was less able to handle as skillfully or with as sophisticated irony as John Cotton had done.

But "The History of Bacon's Rebellion" is more than another satire on a major colonial conflict. Robert D. Arner has argued that through the many larger historical allusions—to other revolts and rebellions in earlier European history—Cook was universalizing the meaning of his poem. The "recurrent follies of human nature" seem a second satirical focus, even though or because they distort the historical facts in the case. One should observe, however, that all major satire is of its nature double-visioned, that it attacks both the particular and the general. Since there is a known historical source for this satire, albeit already a warped one, Cook

may have felt it necessary or at least expedient to employ specific references to other conflicts to emphasize his second purpose, the universal.

In the so-called Third Edition of *The Sotweed Factor* Cook did amend a great deal. The ridicule of the Quakers is altered so that cheating Scotch-Irish planters are his targets, and an entirely new conclusion, invoking a blessing on the land and its present and future inhabitants, makes this version a relatively good-natured mock-heroic poem. It is historically and personally in contrast to the first edition, and one would like to know why the old poet watered down the bawdy slashing Hudibrastic earlier poem to a mild caricature of the Maryland microcosm.

There is no further satire by Cook. But the self-styled poet laureate of Maryland will be remembered for *The Sot-Weed Factor* in its first version. Lively and thoroughly American in its subject matter, it has qualities of caricature and mocking satire to appear again and again in later New World literature. Since most of his work survives in unique printed copies or manuscripts and few later writers until recently refer to him, it is not likely that he influenced the development of American humorous tradition. But he certainly represented it. In his own day, at least two fellow poets knew his work, John Fox of Virginia and Richard Lewis of Maryland, the latter of whom had published a quite different kind of satire before Cook's later work appeared.

Richard Lewis, educator, natural historian, poet of nature, will be considered later for his contributions to other kinds of belles-lettres writing. But his first Maryland published work is his translation into English of Edward Holdsworth's Latin satire *Muscipula: The Mouse-Trap, OR The Battle of the Cambrians and the Mice* (Annapolis, 1728). This handsome printed volume with rubricated title page is the first known belles-lettres work actually published in the southern colonies. Dedicated to Benedict Leonard Calvert, it has elaborate antiquarian notes and champions Wales and Welshmen. Thoroughly conscious of the literary theory of his time, in his preface Lewis states that the verse "is of the *Mock Heroic*, or *Burlesque* Kind, of which there are *two* Sorts." One is of ludicrous action in heroic verse, as *The Rape of the Lock*; the other in odd meters debases some great event, as *Hudibras*. Lewis goes on to defend his choice of subject and of this particular original and also defends the whole concept of the usefulness of translation. He concludes his preface by declaring his purpose of encouraging the cultivation of polite literature in Maryland. And he assures the reader that Holdsworth actually intended the work as a panegyric on the antiquity and skill in the mechanic arts of the Cambrians rather than a satire upon them. In the dedicatory poem to Calvert he defends and exhorts the American muse with an argument used by New World writers for at least a century after this work: "*To Raise the Genius*' WE no Time

can spare, / *A bare Subsistence* claims our utmost Care." This mock-epic is in itself one of the better translations of Holdsworth's popular poem. The annotations indicate that the English versifier was familiar with, and probably had access to, the works of classical antiquity and of such contemporaries as Denham, Dryden, Addison, Parnell, and Pope.

In several ways the work is significant for and in early American literature. It is in the mock-epic tradition to be employed many times in the long history of satire in America. It indirectly celebrates an American and southern minority, the Welsh. The dedication to Calvert links both British literature generally and British satire to the New World and shows the conscious need of developing belles lettres in a land still devoting its principal energies to growing. More than Sandys' Ovid translated in Virginia, it is professedly a contribution toward a New World literature.<sup>73</sup>

Before turning to mid-eighteenth-century southern colonial satire, one should glance at a few expressions in the form in other colonies of the period of Cook and Lewis in Maryland. Perhaps the earliest example of French poetry written within the bounds of the present United States is a South Carolina brief humorous burlesque poem written about 1706 by a Huguenot refugee. The poet in nine lines has the governor declaring to the officers of the combined French and Spanish fleet why he cannot surrender Charleston.<sup>74</sup> Then there are the satiric or ironic prose or poetic pieces in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of the 1732-1744 period.

These compositions show considerable variety. "The Cameleon Lover" (March 11, 1732, anonymous) in verse attacks miscegenation and those whites attracted by "the Blackness of their Charmer's Skin" and "The Cameleon's Defence" (March 18, 1732, by "Sable") may be a tongue-in-cheek reply, for its appeal for "Love" as "the Monarch Passion of the Mind" seems strongly sardonic. On April 22 of the same year appeared "Ralpho Cobble's" "Learning, that Cobweb of the Brain," a twenty-six line poem accompanied by a burlesque dialect letter. The epistle is in a simulated illiterate rustic brogue, which may be an attempt to reproduce Scotch, Scotch-Irish, or Irish dialect. The verse itself is in good English and obviously ironic. On October 19, 1734, "The Petition of some of the Province of G[eorgia], to the P[rovince] of SC[arolina] SHEWETH . . ." is a Carolina satiric metrical piece on the neighboring new colonists in Georgia, many of whom seemed at least in the writer's opinion, like the early Virginians of Smith's accounts, disinclined to work for a living. On May 17, 1735, appeared another kind of humorous, mildly satiric narrative poem with some ribald or bawdy innuendos or outright obscene language. This particular one is a "merry tale" of a grumpy gentleman who dreamed he swallowed a "merry cobbler" and had to have a vomit. It was supposedly

written by the Reverend Samuel Wesley and had already appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. It is long and somewhat tedious, and in this instance the ribald quality is minimal. On September 6, 1735, appeared fourteen lines on "A Duel of Dunghill Soldiery," perhaps by one of the Meddler's Club, of which more later. Two burlesque poems on the rhymed advertisement of a James Reid were printed on November 2, 1738, and November 20, 1752. Reid in his own verse, after mentioning various merchandise he had imported, pleads: "Have Mercy Criticks! For I am no Poet. / I've Goods to sell, and wish you all should Know it."

By 1740 the Whitefield controversy was under way in verse and prose. On May 24 of that year appeared a spirited Hudibrastic poem in the *South-Carolina Gazette* denouncing Whitefield, his "enthusiastic" supporters, and the Bethesda Orphan House. It begins "St. Anthony had but one Pig, / N'er cogg'd a Dye, nor frisked a Jig" and proceeds into a strong attack in effective verse, a long poem of 122 lines. On June 7 a reply shows how seriously the Whitefieldians took themselves, but it is moderately effective satire. There were others pro and con on June 26, July 18, July 25, and August 8 and 23. And the last shot in the metrical battle was fired in the issue of November 12, when thirty-four lines by "Homme-Rouge," "wrote when the Whitefieldian Farce was at its Height in Charles-Town," were printed. The anti-Whitefieldian verse is on the whole better rhyme than that supporting the evangelist.

Much of the mocking prose usually takes the form of letters attached to the verses submitted.<sup>75</sup> The principal satire of the earlier period, however, was in the Meddler's Club essays of 1735. This is the earlier of two interesting and significant essay series which appeared in the Charleston newspaper before the Revolution. Throughout the *Gazette's* history, the Addisonian *Spectator* essays were quoted, referred to, or imitated, as they were in British newspapers and magazines throughout the same period and later. One issue of 1732 (January 29) has a local "Publicola" chide the editor for the cruelty of his satiric expressions and quotes the *Spectator* as to the true nature (function?) of satire and censure, and other issues contain extracts or complete essays from the popular British journal which are characterized by gentle humor or mannerly satire. In 1735 the Meddler's Club contributed a series of lively essays on the Addisonian model. On August 16 appeared their introductory piece, which explained that the six personae would "meddle" only with the general business, not with the personal. They had tag names (with explanations of the meaning of each) such as Jack-would-be-Taller, Dick Haughty, Will Generous, Ralph Hippo, Tom Snigger, and Bob Careless, really parodies of the club-names in the *Spectator* group. There are discussions of such characteristically local foibles as ladies' promenading along the waterfront, suggested by Dick Haughty

but carried to punning and satiric and leering laughter by other members of the group of Carolina writers. The sexual innuendos apparently gave offense, and the series was abandoned after several printed communications denouncing the essays as having sprung from "a boozy bottle." But there continued to be mildly burlesque essays on *Spectator-Tatler* or *Rambler* models as well as on other British politically satiric models. A little local linguistic usage and direct or indirect depictions of the Charleston scene were genuinely American, good examples of the familiar essay so popular in both Britain and the other colonies long past the Revolution.<sup>76</sup>

In the same period, 1730-1744, the newspapers of both Virginia and Maryland, at least in surviving issues, contained humor and satire in varied forms, some lifted straight from British periodicals but much of local origin. And before 1745 at least one of the South's two ablest colonial satirists was composing his greatest work. The *Maryland Gazette*, founded by William Parks in 1727, in its extant numbers indicates that the satiric tradition, even not considering Cook or Lewis, was very much alive in that colony. Though the "Plain-Dealer" series begun in 1729 is not humorous or satiric in method or aim, scattered essays and poems are. One of Parks' more amusing borrowings is a story accompanying a mock-heroic scatological poem "The Tale of the T[ur]d," taken from Sheridan and Swift's Dublin newspaper the *Intelligencer* (March 11, 1728/9). Humorous but hardly satiric are the "Verses on St. Patrick's Day: Sacred to Mirth and Good-Nature" in the issue of March 17, 1729/30, signed "Somerset English," undoubtedly a local production. But what remains of Parks' *Maryland Gazette* does not indicate that he carried in quantity or quality the humorous materials to be found in the newspaper of his successor, Jonas Green, or in his own *Virginia Gazette* founded in 1736.

The Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette*, inaugurated in August 1736, began with an essay series designedly satiric, intended to inculcate morality and criticize the follies of fashion. The great influences on the "Monitor" series were the *Tatler* and *Spectator*—in general topics, devices, genres, even format. The Williamsburg writer or writers employed numbered-essay serial form as did the *Spectator*, Latin mottos, and (in a few essays) single-letter signatures. In No. 6, the earliest extant, the Monitor tells how a strange female figure entered his study and presented to him her six daughters as potential reporters for the newspaper: Miss Leer, Miss Sly, Miss Fidget, Miss Amoret, Miss Phillis, and Miss Euphemia. Each professes to be a specialist in some element of local life and society. Inherent in this introduction to the young women is the rather obvious bawdy double-entendre of the speaker, for the mother is a procuress offering sexual services. Puns, erotic metaphors, the euphemism of the Monitor's long nose (which he wishes to show Euphemia) recall *Tristram Shandy* and



the *Knickerbocker History* and even the *Satyricon* perhaps more than Addison and Steele. The "Ephesian Matron" tale from Petronius (which Byrd was to translate) is incorporated into "Monitor No. 9," believed by some critics to be the best of the series. At least two other essays also refer to the *Satyricon*.

Most of the earlier extant numbers are lighthearted satire and may have been composed by one author, but a group including numbers 10, 12, 16, 18, 20, and 21 seem to be composed in a more serious vein. They instruct the reader in music appreciation, the difference between French and Italian opera, "social discord" in relation to human nature, the evils of scandal-mongering, and the popular topic "Good Nature." Stylistic differences here from most of the more satirical pieces point to at least dual authorship, perhaps multiple authorship. Parks was himself perhaps a principal author, and several essays may have been the work of a group of William and Mary students. One would not be too surprised if it were one day discovered that certain of the better essays, such as 6 and 9, may have been the work of college faculty members or of William Byrd II, Sir John Randolph, or another of the several sophisticated Virginians of talent resident in or frequent visitors to the little capital. But early in February 1736/7 the author-authors closed shop, and the "Monitor" was no more. Perhaps they did simply run out of material, as a perceptive critic suggests, because there was a dearth of complexity in the society which was being mirrored. It seems more probable that someone, perhaps the publisher, thought the series had run long enough, or that a busy writer or writers had more important matters to occupy his or their time. If a man such as William Byrd or Randolph was an author, his interest would almost certainly have flagged after he had composed a few amusing pieces.

That the "Monitor" was in the British periodical-essay tradition does not mean that it was entirely derivative. Throughout both Great Britain and America for more than a century after the *Tatler* and *Spectator* their form and types of personae were employed in creating some delightfully original essays in language and spirit. The Monitor was urbane, well educated in the classics, and prone at times to compare provincial with British society. Irony, burlesque, and all the lighter forms of satire—invective appears to be absent—are used with some skill. Perhaps the author did discover early, however, the inappropriateness of the facets of American social life to the Anglo-European comedy of manners. When Byrd did make enduring comic art of New World materials, he had turned to new subjects—the frontier and the frontiersman and the pastoral-agrarian world of his own plantation.<sup>77</sup>

Satire in the *Virginia Gazette* by no means ended with the "Monitor." Facetious, semi-facetious, mocking, burlesquing verse and prose appear

much more than they had in Parks' *Maryland Gazette*. For example, on July 27, 1737, dated from "Hanover, July 25" and signed "J.C.J[ohn]n C-s-y" appeared a ribald mock will, sexual and scatological, including such gems as "I give to the Poor of the Parish of Martin, / Three Bushels of Wind, to be laid out in F-rt-ng." On February 10, 1737/8, one F.R. contributed lively verses against the bonds of matrimony. On October 20 in a sworn-as-true letter from a "William Thomas" of North Carolina to his Virginia father-in-law, the satire may be directed at the same Carolinians Byrd was to caricature: "As to my Transactions in *America*, I came as a Servant into *Virginia*, drubb'd my Master, ravish'd my Mistress, and ran away. I turn'd Weaver, married a wife, and soon killed her with Kindness." Then on November 24 "W.W." sent in a facetious short essay, "*Instructions how to make a perfect Quaker*," beginning "FIRST, Take a Handful of the Herb of Deceit, and a few leaves of Folly, and a little of the Rose of Vain-Glory, with some of the Blossoms of Malice. . . ." and carrying it on to a complete recipe. More serious as well as stronger satire was to accompany or take the place of such light mocking pieces in later issues.

Before turning to the major satirist of the pre-1745 period, one should note that John Lawson in *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709) contributed to the southern humorous tradition of the tall tale. In describing the tulip tree and its "prodigious Bigness" he remarks that he has been informed of one of this species so large that "a lusty man had his Bed and Household Furniture, and lived in it, till his Labour got him a more fashionable Mansion. He afterwards became a noted Man, in his Country, for Wealth and Conduct." He passes on Indian stories of huge rattlesnakes which devoured canoes full of red men, or of one which bit a locust tree as thick as a man's arm and caused the tree to die. And there was the rattlesnake put into bed with a dying man. The next morning the man was found sound and healthy and the snake dead. Lawson certainly relishes the tall tale, but usually he is careful to differentiate those he believes to be true from the superstitions and lies of the red men. Dr. Brickell's *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Dublin, [1737]), which owes most of its data to Lawson, adds a good deal of nature lore, as that whales copulate standing upright with their heads out of the water, though whether this is tongue-in-cheek reporting is not clear. Brickell also has additional stories of remarkable Indian medical cures. These, with the earlier George Alsop's and Robert Beverley's (*The History and Present State of Virginia*, 1705), as that of the Indian who brought rain for two bottles of rum, with other tales of conjuration regarded skeptically by the white narrator, helped to establish a comic as well as a supernatural folklore about the red man which was to persist in American literature.<sup>78</sup>

Perhaps the ablest of southern belletrists as we know them today was William Byrd II (1674–1744) of Westover along the James. His major works, including both his works on the history of the Dividing Line, his "Progress to the Mines" and "Journey to the Land of Eden," as well as many of his letters, "characters," diaries, and verses are comic or satiric in intent and in tone. Spending about half his allotted years in Britain and Europe, he is intellectually and literarily a son of his age, a Queen Anne wit and early exemplar of the Enlightenment. But his best writing artistically is concerned with his life in the Chesapeake country and the people he knew there.

Though some of Byrd's entirely serious writing, along with other aspects of those pieces touched with the comic, are noted elsewhere, he was first and last a satirist, ranging in his expression from the gently sardonic or ironic to moderately biting personal and social ridicule. He was by no means the isolated phenomenon or (botanically) the "sport" or deviate from the southern colonial norm he has frequently been made out to be. He kept diaries as did Landon Carter and letterbooks as did his father, William Byrd I, and William Fitzhugh, wrote character sketches personal and typical as did his contemporaries in the Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina Gazettes, and like these contemporaries composed and enjoyed the sexual or scatological innuendo. His personal interests in land and red men and tobacco and books, plants and law, remind us of the same qualities in his brothers-in-law John Custis and Robert Beverley II, his friends Sir John Randolph and Mark Catesby and Ralph Wormeley and several Harrisons, and his acquaintances John Mercer, Benjamin Waller, Alexander Spotswood, Richard Bland, William Stith, and even Commissary James Blair, among a host of other colonials. During his final two decades spent at home in Virginia he missed his English friends of Queen Anne's or Georgian London, but the correspondence he kept up with them, from officers of the Royal Society and dukes and earls to merchant factors and relatives, reveal that he felt at home, perhaps at peace, in his pastoral American environment, for he wrote of it with a humorously affectionate disparagement which pictured it as he saw it was. He continued occasionally to long for the fleshpots of Egypt, and it was perhaps this longing and his previous intimate personal acquaintances with the witty and gay society of early eighteenth-century London which enabled him to delineate his native land with so much good-natured irony.

Byrd's miscellaneous minor writings began before the seventeenth century was quite out. They included legal arguments and essays defending Governor Andros before the mature ecclesiastics at Lambeth in 1697, arguments against "Proprietary Governments," and a brief address (in 1718)

on oyer and terminer courts. He at least began a history of Virginia which possibly survives in abbreviated form at the beginning of his "History of the Dividing Line." He was responsible for the German-language promotion tract *Neu-gefundenes Eden* (1737) though he probably did not even compile this material from the work of other men. His scientific observations scattered through dozens of his letters, in one brief 1696 essay in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, and in *A Discourse Concerning the Plague* (1721), of which more in a moment. His sincere religious belief is spelled out in the "creed" written on the first several pages of his recently discovered history of Christianity (now in the Virginia Historical Society). His verse is not all satiric, as in his graceful tribute to Governor Spotswood's attempt to educate and Christianize Indian tribes, or the acrostic (presumably his) on his daughter Evelyn printed in the *Virginia Gazette*.

Among the early miscellaneous pieces are a few which show the mind of the congenital satirist at work. *A Discourse Concerning the Plague, with some Preservatives Against It, By a Lover of Mankind* (London, 1721) is ostensibly a learned treatise, larded with allusions to ancient and modern medical practices, and proposing that the government (in Britain) take specific precautions to prevent the spread of the disease. The principal antidote proposed is tobacco. Since it has already been chewed, smoked, or snuffed in every rank of society since 1665, the author notes, England has been free of the plague. Further to insure this immunity, tobacco should be worn on the person, hung in coaches and apartments, burned in dining rooms, and chewed daily. Though the *Discourse* has been taken seriously as a medicine-cum-tobacco promotion pamphlet, the mock-serious, sly, deadpan, satiric irony of Swift's *A Modest Proposal*, or some of Franklin's essays seems also to be here. It is difficult to believe that Byrd's contemporary reader could take the author seriously, but then Swift and Franklin were so taken by many.

Perhaps as early as his days at the Inns of Court, Byrd drew character sketches of his friends, his enemies, and himself. He was following a seventeenth-century tradition as well as a form popular among the Queen Anne essayists. Many of the earlier English caricaturists and perhaps as significantly Theophrastus, La Bruyère, and his own contemporaries Addison and Steele were represented in his library. He uses several of the same tag names they do for the ladies in his sketches or certain letters, and there is good evidence that these tags were in every case mere appropriate disguises for the names of real people.

His "characters" are panegyrics or sharp caricatures, though sometimes, as in "Dr. Glisterio" (Dr. Samuel Garth, poet-physician), he strikes a balance. He wrote favorably of his friends Sir Robert Southwell and the Duke of Argyle, but the majority of his analyses are satirical. Byrd does

not indulge in cruel invective, yet normally he employs irony with an edge, expressed in those beautifully balanced antitheses he was to employ even more effectively in his later writings.

By far the most interesting to the modern reader is his relatively long self-analysis "Inamorato L'Oiseaux," the essential truthfulness of which is attested in diaries and letters. After several perceptive observations on his amorousness or sexuality, his surface look of pride, his sincerity and frugality and abstinence in food or drink, his perfectionism, and his conviction that a taste for the company of ladies is necessary to prevent a scholar being a mere pedant or a philosopher a cynic, he sums up in a serious vein. Taken out of context these last observations may seem to make Byrd pompous; in context they point up the whimsical irony of his attitude. All together he shows a sophisticated introspection as indicative of his meditative cerebration as any of the self-probings of the theologically centered saints of New England.

Most of these "characters" seem to be more British than American in subject and certainly in form, though in one of them Byrd refers to his "Indian" way of expressing himself. But they were useful preliminary exercises for the remarkably perceptive, ironic portraits he was to draw in the prose of his great period, the American.

Over a period of perhaps twenty years, 1700-1719, Byrd composed light *vers de société* on the ladies who thronged to such watering places as Bath and Tunbridge Wells. The surviving lines are gallant or mocking and quite conventional. The five- and eight-line pieces embedded in his letters to "Facetia" are worth studying to determine their intention. But there can be no doubt of the bawdy intent of "Upon a Fart," a burlesque of Anne, Countess of Winchilsea's "Upon a Sigh," both included in Byrd's letter to "Bellamira."

It was not known until 1939 that Byrd was a diarist at all, when the discovery of one portion of his shorthand journal was announced. Since this 1709-1712 section, two others have been decoded and printed, and other portions may yet be discovered. As literary pieces per se Byrd's diaries have little merit, for they are but thin segments of life, not the rounded and relatively complete story represented by an autobiography or a long and continuous diary, yet they are rich in historical value, and literarily they offer excellent examples of the raw materials from which his more finished "Histories" were derived.

Byrd's sense of humor never deserts him, though in the diaries it is rarely as close to the surface as in most of his other writings. Cheating his wife at cards and quarreling with her concerning her eyebrow plucking are inherently comic situations, but Byrd's commentary is deadpan, as "got the better of her, and maintained my authority." His curious dreams, faithfully

recorded along with speculation as to their portent, were apparently taken seriously. But if one keeps in mind the age and Byrd's other writings he cannot be sure that the diarist is not smiling as he describes the figments of his subconscious.

Byrd's letters compare favorably in literary quality with those of his greatest British contemporaries, and among colonial American epistolarians he must be given very high rank. The letters are a necessary complement to and gloss upon his other writings, especially the diaries. Most of them undated, many follow the literary conventions of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. They are usually to ladies, sometimes mere frames for character sketches, sometimes playfully flirtatious, sometimes sharply satirical, mocking, semi-serious, or serious, though even in the last with sardonic overtones. The epistolary courtship of "Facetia" by "Veramour" (Byrd in his youth) is a series of pleadings interspaced with the malicious or droll gossip of the town. In his middle age the epistolary wooing of "Sabina" reveals a seriocomic situation worthy of being turned into a sentimental comedy by one of his numerous playwright friends—if Byrd himself lacked sufficient detachment to undertake it. From 1701 until just before his death, he wrote witty, informative, whimsical letters on many subjects besides love and gallantry.

In them he frequently jeers at the saints of New England, the canting hypocrites who sell Kill-Devil rum and are principal movers in the fiendish slave trade. He shows the same anti-New England quality frequently in the *Dividing Line "Histories."* To Sir Robert Walpole or to his librarian at Westover or to a penniless fellow Virginian in London, Byrd writes with graceful phrase and witty anecdote. So frequently does he write tongue-in-cheek that the unwary must read carefully. One letter contains a tale/sketch of a lady and a parson in a mail coach that might well match a Hogarthian print. The devastating irony of his letter to John Fox upon receipt of a volume of trifling verse which Fox had without permission dedicated to him is worthy of comparison with Dr. Johnson's classic reply to the Earl of Chesterfield. The playful irony of his "Most hypochondriac Sir" reply to librarian Proctor's complaint about firewood and candles is as unanswerable as his letter to Fox.

Byrd's four best-known writings, "The Secret History of the Dividing Line," "The History of the Dividing Line," "A Progress to the Mines," and "A Journey to the Land of Eden," appeared together for the first time as recently as 1966. This edition, based on the original "Westover Manuscripts," the one manuscript of "The Secret History" in the American Philosophical Society, and a few odd pages to fill lacunae, is still not an entirely textually satisfactory publication of these prose travel accounts. But the four taken together, or as a unit, form the first classic work by a

native southern American. Several early fragments or partial texts exist, including two official reports written by Byrd as leader of the Dividing Line expedition, which offer some clues as to how the author worked from his raw materials. Unfortunately what would be the most valuable of primary documents, the diary or diaries which he undoubtedly kept on the journeys and which formed the basis for the diurnal-entry format of all four works, is still missing.

Byrd probably waited several years after the expedition was over before he began writing even one of the two histories. Not until July 1736 does he mention in a known letter that he is shaping his rough notes into something more, from internal evidence "The Secret History." "The History of the Dividing Line" was probably begun about 1738, for he refers to the multitudes flocking to hear George Whitefield, who came to the South in that year and began his popular preaching in England the year before. Prior to that he had offered to let London friends see the rough journal, probably "The Secret History," which was "only the skelleton & Ground Work of what I intend, which may sometime or other to be filled out with vessels, & flesh, & have a decent skin drawn over all to keep things tight in their places and prevent their looking frightful. I have the materials ready, & want only leisure to put them together." He added a little later that he would like his friend Mark Catesby to do the "figures," or illustrations of plants and animals referred to. In other words, he intended to publish his work.<sup>79</sup>

Almost surely "The Secret History" is the earlier version and one not intended for London publication. One half as long as "The History," it omits the prefatory history of Virginia, uses tag names for the principal participants, and is much more sharply satirical, even sarcastic, than "The History." It contains provincial allusions which would have been totally lost upon a British reading public, for example, to "the Commissary" (James Blair). It may have been meant as an intermediate stage of composition, but it was also a version designed for reading aloud around a colonial fireplace, where congenial gentlemen and ladies accustomed to ribaldry enjoyed the tale of a western adventure by people they knew.

What the two histories have in common is that they are both travel accounts of the same expedition and that both possess a mock-heroic quality, though in the case of "The History" mock-epic unobtrusively merges into genuine epic. Both may be promotion pamphlets, though the propaganda quality is certainly much stronger in "The History." The basis for most of the humor in both versions is sex, as in Alsop, Cook, and even Cotton, but the sex is much more abundant and much coarser in "The Secret History" than in "The History."

Stylistic qualities in general are the same. Antithesis, analogy, witty dis-

paragement, puns, and epigrammatic statements the two histories share with Byrd's letters and character sketches. "The History" is in general more urbane, sophisticated, and polished and thus has less of an air of spontaneity. In both, the saints of New England receive a number of glancing blows, with perhaps more anti-Puritanism in "The History." Disparaging allusions to North Carolina appear in plenty in "The Secret History," chiefly in the form of caricatures of that colony's commissioners and anecdotes about its people, but such allusions are much more frequent in "The History." And more sweeping and generalized condemnation of Carolinians and other more northern colonists is employed in "The History" to accentuate Virginia as earth's only paradise—for prospective settlers.

Thus as clearly as "The Secret History" was intended as witty social satire, "The History" was at least in part a redirecting of the same materials for propaganda purposes. Yet "The History" remains essentially a work of art, the projection of a not too unusual colonial official enterprise into a travel-adventure symbolic of the frontier experience. The basic material for both histories sprang, of course, from the two-stage Dividing Line expedition authorized by the King and implemented by the governors of Virginia and North Carolina in 1728 to determine the exact location of the boundary between the two colonies. This old problem involved titles to land and squatters who evaded taxes from either colonial government. Byrd and his fellow commissioners from his own colony and North Carolina began on the Atlantic shore and reached the foothills of the mountains, or at least the Virginia portion of the party reached their agreed-upon destination.

As already noted, Byrd's friends who heard or read "The Secret History" must have found this account of the journey as entertaining as a Restoration or sentimental comedy. Byrd himself was "Steddy," his Virginia compatriots Dandridge and Fitzwilliam appear as "Meanwell" and "Firebrand," their surveyors "Orion" and "Astrolabe," and the North Carolinians Moseley as "Plausible," Lovick as "Shoebrush," and Little as "Puzzlecause." The vignettes are apt and cutting: "Puzzlecause [Harvard-educated] had degenerated from a New England preacher, for which his Godly Parents design'd him, to a very wicked, but awkward rake." The vignette becomes a full portrait as the journey continues and "Puzzlecause" shows his rabid and indiscriminate sexuality. Other Carolinians' portraits and even those of some fellow Virginians are equally unflattering. In both histories Byrd gives the first descriptions of the American poor whites who live along the border, the inhabitants of Lubberland. That they are almost all North Carolinians is declared in both accounts but emphasized in "The History," for if the work were to entice immigrants these wastrels had best be non-Virginians.



To flesh out "The History" Byrd used several devices in style and content, including added political and natural history, and commentary on events recorded in "The Secret History" without elucidation. The prose of "The Secret History" may be poignant, as the early "I often cast a longing eye towards England, & sigh'd"; or piquant, as the "Commissioners of Carolina . . . [were] much better provided for the Belly than the Business." Perhaps "The History" suffers in liveliness as the author sacrifices his terseness for more explicit explanations of Carolina uncouthness or ineptitude. But the pervasive ironic tone of "The History," which displaces the shorter work's forthright satire, makes for an equality, or balance, between the two accounts. As more than one critic has observed, the histories complement each other.

The two shorter pieces from the Westover Manuscripts, "A Journey to the Land of Eden" and "A Progress to the Mines in the Year 1732," retain the slight tinge of irony of "The History" but the characterizations are less vivid. Both histories are more conscious works of art. In the end, "The Secret History" remains a remarkably lively comic satire, extremely personal, half London wit and half New World situation. "The History" is something more, a superior work in both intention and accomplishment. Here is the southern planter of the golden age showing his native Virginia world through the eyes of European experience and education. He ornaments his picture with his learning and his knowledge of the world of man. Above all, he sees it as he should, as an actual journey which was also the symbolic progress of the American experience. As in Huck Finn's voyage down the Mississippi, the epic significance is largely implicit. But the epic quality, however shadowy, is definitely in the consciousness of the man who describes playfully (in both histories) the founding of the noble order of Ma-ooty, with wild turkey beards as cockades, a spread-winged turkey in gold suspended from a ribbon-collar about the neck, and a Latin motto signifying that through this bird these chosen ones were supported in the wilderness; and who (perhaps more seriously?) records in his last diurnal entry in "The History" his sense of the heroic or mock-heroic quality of his undertaking in the simile: "Thus ended our second expedition, in which we extended the line within the shadow of the Cherokee mountains, when we were obliged to set up our pillars, like Hercules, and return home."

Byrd wrote for a variety of reasons in a variety of forms, but he is essentially the gentle satirist. He lived in an age when the comic spirit reigned, and much of his work is marked by "an indulgent irony" which on rare occasions sharpens into somewhat disdainful but never cruel satire. Like other great planters of his own and the succeeding age, he lived by the golden mean, which meant that he wished to see the world in balance. Other Virginians employed the yardstick of the middle way without humor,

men like William Fitzhugh and Landon Carter or even Thomas Jefferson. But for the master of Westover deviations from the middle way, whether by pompous Carolina commissioners, lawless denizens of the boundary line, or by the saints of New England, were droll. For a talent nurtured in Queen Anne's London incongruities must be shaped into congruity, or order, by the mightiest of weapons, wit. His observant eye caught everything in Williamsburg or Westover or the wilderness, and he usually found it out of proportion. He was quite aware that he was laughing at himself as he laughed at things around him in Virginia. His mood and his intention sprang from his rationalism.

Like other satiric artists, he united usefulness with his wit. "The History" is at once promotion pamphlet, a New World natural history, and a comedy. Byrd was modest and, despite his satire or perhaps through it, tolerant. One could wish him less modest, both in the histories and in the diaries, in depicting or in caricaturing the now blurred figures from his London or American past. And he was a perfectionist, resolved never to let anything get from his hands to the printer's unless it was to his sense completed. Thus the charm of his best work did not become a part of American literature until generations after his death. But he did look with perceptive curiosity and sympathy at all kinds of fellow Americans. His writings show that, more than did the Massachusetts theologians, he projected the future United States, not as a city set upon a hill, but as a happy valley of plenty and a beehive of fruitful industry—despite the natural and acquired indolence of some of its inhabitants.<sup>80</sup>

Byrd and other talented Virginians contributed to the *Virginia Gazette* before its first publisher William Parks died on a voyage to England in 1750. Much of their work is yet to be identified. But the best of the southern colonial periodical literature appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* under William Hunter and Joseph Royle and later printer-editors after 1750, in the *Maryland Gazette* under Jonas Green and his family from 1746 to the late 1760s, and in the *South-Carolina Gazette* under the Timothys from the late 1730s to the Revolution. The notable group frequenting Williamsburg in the latter days of Byrd, some of whom lived on into the 1760s and early 1770s, included literarily gifted men, several of whom carried on the humorous and satiric tradition, though never quite with the urbanity and beautiful irony Byrd showed in the pieces he did *not* publish in the provincial newspaper.

Many of these printed pieces demonstrate the uses of the satiric. In the *Virginia Gazette* of March 7, 1750/1, for example, appeared a dreadful burlesque of part of Book I of Homer's *Iliad*. There were humorous poems on physicians' love of worms (March 20, 1750/1), the mock "Epitaph on

William Waugh" (to be considered below), and Miso-Ochlos' "Modern Conversation" (May 16, 1751), admittedly a poorly written burlesque. There were mock letters, burlesques of speeches, and many other forms of humorous satire, most of them taken from British periodicals.<sup>81</sup>

By July of 1751 the Reverend Samuel Davies was publishing his religious and nature and patriotic verse which brought upon him—or at least the religious poems did—the wrath and even invective and at least biting satire of several critics, almost surely Anglican clergy, of whom the chief signed himself Walter Dymocke, actually the Reverend John Robertson. Davies' *Miscellaneous Poems*, which had appeared in January 1752, was subjected between March 20 and June 12 of that year to a series of eight lengthy attacks. These are a mixture of moderately sound criticism and pure invective. Davies replied on July 3 and 10, and others wrote in support of both parties. The matter was temporarily laid to rest on August 4 with an anonymous sardonic mock-elegy on the death of Walter Dymocke. The satire in these exchanges is in prose and mock-heroic verse, with caricatures of profligate Anglicans and bigoted puritanical Presbyterians. Dymocke's second and third pieces show some real wit, but in the succeeding arguments he descends to vicious personal attacks.

Davies' replies are not actually satiric (when he wrote the mock-elegy on Dymocke), but at the last he defended himself vigorously on strong critical grounds, at the same time admitting the justice of some of Dymocke's remarks on his poetry. But he rightly accuses the Anglican of achieving his humor at the expense of the dissenters in eastern Virginia. Since he was held generally in high esteem as pulpit orator and poet by most Anglicans and Presbyterians alike, the newspaper attacks on his work at mid-century are significant as one of the rare examples of southern colonial literary criticism rather well argued on both sides, one side at least employing the mock-heroic and burlesque and invective to produce its effects.<sup>82</sup>

The poet's corner in the later issues of the *Virginia Gazette* included verse of all kinds. For example, the occasional and humorous and meditative pieces of Scot James Reid.<sup>83</sup> Reid's socio-religious satire, "The Religion of the Bible and of K[ing] W[illiam] County Compared," an able and biting attack on the pseudo-piety and morality and social arrogance of the gentry of a Virginia county, is an effective prose satire which did not appear in print at all until 1967, though parts of it have since been anthologized. Reid, apparently a tutor in the Ruffin and Claiborne families, displays wide reading and a real erudition in this book-length satire. In tone and shape it is more nearly kin to Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* than to the gentle essays of Addison and Steele or the ironic and savage tales of Swift, though it is not directly in the epistolarian

form. Reid writes in a puritan strain which has remained (see Chapters V and VI) one element of the southern inheritance and tradition. He sees in Virginia rural society just before the Revolution its worst personal human qualities, and he seems not at all concerned with its politics.

In the *Virginia Gazette* of 1768 and 1769, while he resided with the Ruffin family at Mayfield near Petersburg and then at Sweet Hall in King William (for the still extant houses see Chapter VIII above), the lonely scholar published under the pseudonym "Caledoniensis" a remarkable group of essays on moral and religious subjects and poems ranging from *vers de société* and the trivial to a Christmas hymn and a meditative piece with some satiric quality. Lines "To my Pen" (*Virginia Gazette*, September 15, 1768) are playfully sardonic. On November 3 and 10 the *Gazette* carried mock-elegies, one at least written with a degree of tenderness, on the loss of a caged bird, pet of the family at Mayfield. The second, an "Epitaph" begins

Below this turf a being lies  
Who was not saint nor sinner,  
Yet men such company do prize,  
And wish them of a larger size  
If hungry, when at dinner.

In his final poem in the newspaper, "To Ignorance," Reid displays his dislike, even indignation, at his own treatment in King William County, to which his "family" had moved before March 1769. He seems to admit that on the ballroom floor he was out of place, that he was laughed at for his shabby clothes, and that he was generally considered an eccentric. This poem is far more personal than his prose satire, though both show the sensitive and learned colonist reacting against a dominant society which he was sure misunderstood or at least failed to appreciate him. He ponders on those who deride him:

A scoff, a sneer, is loaded with such magick  
As bids defiance to all rules of logick:  
A well tim'd grin can baffle all the rules  
So much admir'd by the dull sons of schools,  
Who losing thee thus lose their greatest good . . .  
Blest IGNORANCE! who giv'st us halcyon days,  
I'll raise a monument unto thy praise.

Thus in the bitterness of self-examination and observation on the evils of the society about him Reid is another southerner closer to Faulkner or Robert Penn Warren than to his contemporary Jefferson. For he was a southern puritan, not Puritan, as were dozens of other writers of the region from Alexander Whitaker to the mid-twentieth century.

At mid-century other Virginians who did not publish in provincial or British journals expressed themselves in satire. One amusing example is the epistolary exchange of two friends, Benjamin Waller (1716–1786) and Colonel Henry Wood of Goochland (1696–1757). Waller, resident of Williamsburg, was secretary of the colony and member of the House of Burgesses, friend of the blacksmith Virginia poet Charles Hansford, and a relative of the earlier English poet Edmund Waller. In the archives of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation are odd verses and rhymed letters dated 1745 to about 1755, almost all by Wood to Waller. Most of the verse rises little above doggerel, as in Wood's letter to his "Dear Brother Bard" on Christmas Day 1752:

In Hudibrastic Stile I choose  
Myself for some short time to loose  
What tho' I get into a Maze  
'Cause, Butlor like, Milton the great  
Few Poets roughly imitate.

He goes on to warn Waller in jocular verses that when next they meet the latter must bow, for Wood has just been commissioned a "Cornel of Foot a noble Post Sir." In a postscript to this metrical epistle he sends compliments to their mutual friend William Stith and mentions Joshua, "Jemmy," and the Roman Horace. Earlier, on Candlemas Day 1745/6, in anapestic tetrameter couplets, Wood refers to the House of Burgesses and its speaker and to their mutual friends Mercer and Bray and in a postscript declares that though his verses are homespun they are at least original and their meaning is clear. On December 4, 1753, Wood wrote a long versified epistle, deriding Waller's attempts at verse and mentioning former Governor Gooch, who had made Waller an "Armiger" (official who bore a coat of arms?) and several times referring to Don Quixote. On July 9, 1754, Wood wrote in prose, after a severe illness or paralytic stroke, mentioning Waller's "poetical Epistle" dated the preceding January.

Though Waller's half of the exchange has not turned up, the Williamsburg gentleman's patronage of poets such as Charles Hansford, what is presumably his poem "Myrtilla to Damon" in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XXIX [May 1759], 228–229), and the probability that he contributed other anonymous or pseudonymous verses to the *Virginia Gazette*, not to mention his possible part in the "Dinwiddianae" poems to be discussed in a moment, mark him as a versifier yet to be investigated. The lines by Wood are sometimes quite good, and they certainly indicate the truth of a statement made earlier, that poems in manuscript were circulated freely in the colonial South, in this case as in Byrd's and others' to be mentioned, even after there were printing presses in the colonies. If "Myrtilla to

Damon" is Waller's, it is definite evidence that he was a better poet than his friend Wood.<sup>84</sup>

Perhaps the most significant of extant manuscripts (printed 1967) of Virginia satiric verses of the period are the "Dinwiddianae" group, which are accompanied by a series of dialect humorous and satiric letters. They were written in the 1750s against Governor Robert Dinwiddie, especially in relation to his unpopular "Pistole Fee" tax on land titles, his conduct of affairs of the French and Indian War, and his alleged partiality for his Scottish countrymen. The verses are in several styles and meters, often in dialect, and may be the work of several men or of one man. Almost surely they were written in northern Virginia or in Williamsburg by gentlemen from the Northern Neck. An investigation of the probable authorship by the present writer brought forth as possibilities outside the Northern Neck group the names of George Wythe and Benjamin Waller and Richard Bland and Peyton Randolph and William Stith, all eventually set aside, and from the banks of the Potomac William Fitzhugh (of Hickory Hill), Hugh West, Jr., George William Fairfax, George Mason, William Waugh, and some others suggested only by certain initials. The most probable candidate for the authorship was gifted attorney and scholar John Mercer (1704-1768) of Marlborough, known as a literary man among his contemporaries but not identified with verses surely his. Elsewhere I have spelled out the reasons for his nomination, and J.A. Leo Lemay has since found further supporting evidence.<sup>85</sup> Recently John R. Alden has pointed out to me that in his correspondence (August 19, 1756) the governor wrote to George Washington that he was going to sue Peter Hedgman "who has treated my Character in a Villainous Manner and w'th great Injustice." Alden would nominate Hedgman as the author of the group of verses. But so far neither I nor the Virginia State Library has been able to discover that Hedgman, a burgess from Lancaster County in the Northern Neck, had any literary abilities or inclinations whatsoever. And it should be noted that Dinwiddie and his government had been attacked privately and publicly by a number of persons who could not have been in the group to which the potential author(s) belonged.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, the date of Dinwiddie's letter precedes that of some of the poems.

The first few pages of the manuscript are missing, a fact which may account for the anonymity of authorship, and then follow several mutilated and almost indecipherable pages. The now-printed text begins with two items in dialect, pretended illiterate letters addressed by "Thomas Brown Coat" and "Titus O'Grewell" to Jonas Green of Annapolis and Hugh West of Virginia respectively. The quasi-dialect would seem to be an attempt by an educated man to reproduce Irish or possibly at times Scotch-Irish or even Welsh country speech. These letters are followed in order by

the "Dinwiddianaes, or Select Poems Pro Patria" in ballad measure of four lines per stanza and in literary or straightforward English. Then comes a "Dialogue" between "Robin" (Dinwiddie) and one of his chief henchmen, "Sanders," in fairly broad Scots speech, in couplets with stanzaic divisions. Page forty of the manuscript returns to quatrain commentary on "Robin" followed by a dialogue between "the Author" and someone who is addressing him. In turn comes "The Little Book," dated in 1756, referred to in the *Maryland Gazette* as by the author of a poem in that newspaper of October 13, 1757, the former being quite effective Hudibrastic verse. Dated April 30, 1757, is an additional poem, "Ad Virginia Dolentum" by the "Author of the Little Book," again in quatrains. In conclusion are three long letters in dialect even broader than in the introductory epistles and "Dinwiddianaes" poems, apparently in imitation of semiliterate Irish. The author of the last epistle, addressed to Curnell Chizzell (Colonel John Chiswell) states that he encloses writing "drapt by won in these parts, & I picked it up," the old convention already noted of preserving the anonymity of authorship.

Altogether satiric, but in tones and forms varying from moderately good-natured burlesque of the provincial servant or small planter class to devastating satire on the governor, this material is significant for a number of reasons. Held up to ridicule is the illicit distiller of whiskey, then perhaps the Freemasons, then Dinwiddie's lack of military ability as compared with that of Maryland Governor Sharpe and Massachusetts Governor Shirley, all in the preliminary letters. The "Dinwiddianaes," in two "Volumes," is formal satire beginning with an epigraph from Brown's *Essay on Satire* stating that "Bold Satyr, shakes the Tyrant, on his Throne." Dated November 4, 1754, this long piece is addressed ostensibly to Dinwiddie himself, followed by "The Remonstrance" to the tune of Chevy Chase, all loaded with references to the present wars and to parallels in men and events in earlier British and biblical and classical history. "Volume II" is prefaced by the caption "The third edition with amendments & explanatory notes" and includes the biting burlesque dialogue between Dinwiddie and his aide in broad Scots, and also includes direct references to such matters as the governor's despised Pistole Fee and other devious devices of his Excellency. The two personae are characterized in summary:

Robin, to common honesty,  
hath not the least pretence:  
While Pride & Brutishness Supply,  
In Ned the place of Sense.

An address to the author warns him that such "abominable Satyr, lampooning, scandal, & ill nature" may bring him to the hangman, the reply being

"The Little Book" proper, in perhaps the most effective of Hudibrastic verses of the lot. This is an all-out attack on Dinwiddie and the miseries he has brought upon the colony. "Ad Virginia Dolentum" is concerned with ways of "freeing the shoulder" of the provincial taxpayer. The final letters allude specifically to certain tax laws and tax collectors, both within the colony and outside.

The manuscript seems to have grown into its present form between 1754 and 1757, with perhaps more than one author, but probably reflecting the Irish background of John Mercer and many of the indentured servants in the colony, the latter simply for their dialect and as personae for the author. As a whole this collection of prose and poetry is a strong personal attack on the integrity of a southern colonial governor, or on the economic and political and military policies of that gentleman, even at times on the "Grandeess," or members of the Council, in the colony. It is also an attack on British imperial policy. There are evidences besides the reference to the author of "The Little Book" in the *Maryland Gazette* which indicate that it was known in manuscript through most of Virginia and southern Maryland. As verse, some portions are as effective as most of the English political satiric poetry of the period.

Then there is internal evidence that the author or authors knew and employed the classics and a variety of contemporary literature, including the liberal or Whig volumes by Molesworth and Hanway and others. Reference to or quotation from the Earl of Rochester's verses; *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice* and *As You Like It* and *Othello* and *Henry IV, Part I*; legal phrases; Swift, Cervantes, La Fontaine, Pope, Francis Bacon, and John Gay occur, often several times. The author or authors show themselves, as does the author of the Hogarthian satire in the *Maryland Gazette*, as capable of far more than invective, pun, or Hudibrastic thrusts. Literary men of parts wrote these prose-verse pieces. And these satires suggest the variety of purposes within the moral frame to which the forms might be put. Among other things, "Dinwiddianae" prepared the way for the first-rate political and social prose on such subjects as are here mentioned as the Pistole Fee and the slightly later Parson's Cause (Two-Penny Act) and the Stamp Act crises. This is public-service satire which some contemporaries of the author(s), such as Richard Bland and Landon Carter, and lesser men like Thomas Burke and Richard Hewitt and a dozen others, made into the verse or prose in gazette or in pamphlet which was to be the first literary product of Revolutionary America. But in its extensive and on the whole clever use of dialect it also presages the dialect humor of Brackenridge and the later southern backwoods humorists.<sup>87</sup>

Immediately after the colonial period, in the summer and fall of 1766, Robert Bolling of Chellowe, Buckingham County, Dr. Thomas Burke,



later governor of North Carolina and then resident of Hungar's Parish on the Eastern Shore, and the Reverend Richard Hewitt, minister of the aforementioned parish, all wrote poetry attacking the attempt of an old guard conservative party headed by Robinsons and Randolphs to preserve the union of the speakership of the House of Burgesses and the treasurer-ship of the colony. John Randolph, Jr., Benjamin Grymes, Landon Carter, and Archibald Cary—all but Randolph later to be patriots—represented the other side in what was at various times a backroom, publicly open, and newspaper-and-pamphlet dispute. Several pieces in the two *Virginia Gazette*s of the period were written by various of these gentlemen, with probably Carter, Burke, Bolling, and Hewitt the most prolific. Though a recent collection of Burke's poems presents several satiric verses against Landon Carter and others yet unidentified, and Lemay's edition of Bolling's poems will present other specimens from this intracolony series of political skirmishes, perhaps the most ambitious verse springing from this literary struggle was *The Contest*, appearing in pamphlet form almost certainly in these months of 1776. Professor Lemay, who has investigated the situation, finds many internal and external evidences that it was written by the Reverend Richard Hewitt. It was presented at a celebration of the repeal of the Stamp Act at Northampton Court on the Eastern Shore. Unfortunately the printed poem survives in only four pages—1, 4, 9, and 10—fortunately including both beginning and conclusion. The historian Charles Campbell in his *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1860, p. 545n) quotes fifteen lines from the extant portions. In fact, the surviving printed pages of the pamphlet have been marginally annotated with identifications by Campbell, with interrogation marks by certain names. Canto I begins

Hail, patriotick Bard! who, Song sublime,  
From Eastern to our Western Shore present!  
My gratitude to thee may I express,  
In humble verse, and not with Rhyme adorn'd?

The mock-heroic lines mention some of the participants in the paper warfare by their real names, as (Landon) Carter and (Thomas) Burke, others by their estates, as (Bolling) of Chellowe, and others under Greek satiric names, as *Metriotes* (John Randolph, Jr.). Strongly Miltonic in phrase and meter, *The Contest* is one of the group Lemay describes in his detailed essay largely concerned with the same literary-political subjects.

Equally or more interesting is Bolling's "A Key to the Virginia Gazette, 1766" (printed in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, January 1, 1767, and surviving also in a manuscript version) directly attacking Grymes, Carter, and Randolph among others, and praising Burke and Hewitt. "A

Satire on the Times," printed in the January 8 issue of this *Gazette*, continues both praise and censure, extending the names mentioned directly to George Wythe, William Byrd III, John Wayles, and several others. The satire is timely, topical, and in the tradition of earlier political and polemical verse in the colony. Bolling published his work in both the later *Gazettes*, though the Rind issues containing them are no longer extant. They appeared soon after the momentous refusal of the Grand Jury in October 1766 to "punish the Licentiousness of the Press" by declining to indict Bolling for his piece of the bailment of the homicidal Colonel John Chiswell. Perhaps if such a discussion had come ten years earlier, the "Dinwiddianae" poems and prose might have appeared in the provincial press.

Landon Carter's skill in versification has not been assessed by the editor of his journal, but there is much evidence both printed and manuscript that he wrote satiric poems as well as prose and was directly attacked in the same medium, in some instances as early as the 1750s. Among the Carter Papers at the University of Virginia are at least two sets of couplet verses attacking his political opponents, in part probably intended for manuscript circulation in campaigns of the 1760s. The "Answer" half of one he forwarded to his friend Colonel Tayloe is in rather good pentameter couplets. Others almost certainly appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* against the Bolling-Hewitt-Burke group just mentioned in the midst of their vitriolic attacks on the aristocratic master of Sabine Hall.<sup>88</sup>

Probably scores of these political satiric poems were circulated in manuscript or printed in pamphlet or newspaper as the uproars and problems of the two decades from 1755 multiplied.<sup>89</sup> Thus satire continued to flourish in Virginia on to the Revolution, though the later more distinguished examples are purely prose. The pre-Revolutionary polemical essays on the Pistole Fee and the Two-Penny Act controversies beginning in 1753 and continuing at least to 1773 involve the ablest writers of the latter decades of the colony, including William Stith, Landon Carter, and Richard Bland on one side and the Reverend John Camm and his supporters on the other. There are able political and social essays other than theirs in the *Virginia Gazette*, but perhaps no more effectively reasoned, beautifully phrased, and devastatingly ironic polemical prose was written in the America of the period than the satires of Bland and Carter, and very close to them in quality is the writing of their antagonist Camm. As noted in Chapter VI, the Two-Penny Act writing especially was an eminently appropriate climax for Virginia colonial religious or ecclesiastical satirical literature, for it fuses what had long existed in juxtaposition, the interests of church as institution and people as state.

It is from the Two-Penny-Act—Parson's Cause conflict that Patrick Henry proceeded to immortality. And it was an act for religious freedom

from political domination which was one of Jefferson's proudest boasts. *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774) is not satire per se any more than Henry's speeches or Madison's later numbers of *The Federalist*, but the indignant and reasoned argument of all three has some of its origins in the earlier colonial expressions of resentment in some variations of the satiric, especially in forceful irony.

But the story of the southern colonial satiric tradition must return to mid-eighteenth-century Maryland, for there was developed a sophisticated southern humor, usually satirical but rarely political, which is obviously art, or belles lettres. Much of the best of it has not yet appeared in print, although it is destined to create when it does so a new concept of the colonial Maryland mind. Though two men composed most of the prose and poetry, one or two dozen, or perhaps one or two score, of others contributed puns, anecdotes, mocking and ribald songs, narratives, and a variety of verses, and even composed music to be used with the songs. Its story is essentially the story of a coffeehouse club of the eighteenth-century British variety which lasted for ten or eleven years and, induced by two moving spirits, developed an elaborate and complex edifice of the mock-heroic which has yet to be fully analyzed and to be published.

The social group known as the Tuesday Club held regular weekly and later biweekly meetings from 1745 to 1756, had anniversary celebrations each year, ordered engraved silver medals or badges for its members, and over this decade carried on its program of literary and social gaiety. Its regular membership, citizens of Annapolis and its environs, was set at fifteen, the honorary membership (principally other Marylanders from more distant spots but also persons from outside the province including a London representative) was unlimited. Annapolis and other American cities and towns were "much addicted to clubbing," but this particular group was unusual in several respects. Its membership came from the upper strata of society but by no means principally from the wealthy planters and official classes. Its moving spirits were the local printer-publisher Jonas Green and the Scottish physician who had not reached the New World until 1738/9, Dr. Alexander Hamilton. The resident regular members included clergymen, attorneys, and merchants as well as some provincial minor officials and neighboring planters. Whatever their occupation, resident or honorary members formed an assembly of wits of considerable ability, "who satirized every one [and thing], and did it successfully."<sup>90</sup> Unlike many contemporary and later clubs in Maryland and other places, there was a rule ("the gelastic law") forbidding discussion of politics, though some commentators have felt that it was not adhered to or was simply part of the fun. As it is, the surviving records, kept or composed by club secretary Alexander Hamilton for each "Sederunt" or meeting, consist

first of minutes taken during or composed immediately after the sessions. Then there is another "Record Book," a revised and expanded "Record of the Tuesday Club" with portrait drawings of individual members and other sketches of the group together and an appendix of music prepared by the Reverend Thomas Bacon for the favorite songs of the club, an elaborate unified production indicating by its references to past and future meetings that it was deliberately organized. Later Hamilton composed the "History of the Tuesday Club," again carefully planned, and perhaps written in two versions, the second of which is a highly allusive mock-heroic work using facetious names for the members and following to some extent the alleged original plan of facetiously recapitulating the long literary history of Britain. In doing the last, Hamilton burlesques in one section (Chapter I of Book II of the "History") Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and in describing the literary battles of colonial Maryland he employs the method of Pope's *Dunciad*. Lemay sees Fielding's *Tom Jones* as contributing more than any other single work to the structure and style of the "History."

As he developed the "History," Hamilton made several changes from the earlier manuscripts, all together reminding one of Byrd's method as he worked toward the final version of the "History of the Dividing Line." Hamilton provides a background and pedigree for the club (compare Byrd's introductory chapter on the history of Virginia) and a good deal on the whole club concept in Scotland, not England, and in America. For it should be noted that several of the original members of the Tuesday Club were Scottish-born and that several later members were also, and that Hamilton compares the Annapolis Club to an Edinburgh one, not to the London clubs of Dryden or Addison or Dr. Johnson. Byrd's facetious tag names are in his earlier "Secret History"; Hamilton's appear in his final version, with himself as "Loquacious Scribble, M.D."; Anthony Bacon, former Maryland and at the time British overseas representative as "Comely Coppernose"; the latter's brother Thomas the musician as "Signior Lardini"; Hamilton's brother-in-law Walter Dulany, "Slyboots Pleasant"; Colonel William Fitzhugh, former Virginian, "Col. Comico Butman"; learned cleric John Gordon, "Rev. Smoothum Sly"; Jonas Green, in view of his favorite punch, "Jonathan Grog"; Witham Marshe, the Indian expert, "Prattle Motely, Esq."; and so on for resident and honorary members and for visitors, such as Benjamin Franklin, "Electro Vitrifrico."

"The History" is an elaborate work of literary satire including representations of many forms of humor and burlesque, irony and mock-epic, in addition to the "imitations" of Burton and Pope mentioned above. One mock-elegy on the perpetual (because he was wealthy and willing to entertain) president Cole, "Lugubris Cantus," is avowedly modeled on Spenser, though in it Milton is silently burlesqued or travestied. As noted

in the preceding chapter, one "aside" is a mock play, and the portrait drawings of members, of anniversary parades or celebrations, of mock-duels and brawling, are in the eighteenth-century tradition of Hogarthian caricature. To become a real part of American literature, the "History" must be edited and published. When it is, there will be another major work in the satiric tradition worthy to stand beside William Byrd's best.

The Tuesday Club was perhaps the ancestor of such later Maryland groups as the Forensic Club and the Homony Club, the latter including among its leading members Jonathan Boucher, the learned and articulate Anglican loyalist parson. These and other social groups contemporary with the Tuesday were like it devoted to wit, humor, and the burlesque, and perhaps at least two of them have left surviving minutes written in part in the satiric tradition, though apparently not of the literary quality of the Tuesday "History" or even its "Record." Perhaps all the others were in some sense political forums, but at least on the surface the Tuesday Club's members discussed anything but the governmental problems of their time. The club died with Hamilton in 1756, though by then others of its leading spirits had moved away from Annapolis. It had combined burlesque of forms sacred to British tradition, perhaps Scriblerian, with a supposedly barbaric American outlook which was in reality derisive of Old World attitudes and even literature. There was probably here too something of Scottish and Irish resentment of English intellectual dominance, a resentment perhaps expressed only semiconsciously. But from Sterling and the Dulanys to the Gordons and Hamiltons, Scots and Irish points of view simply had to be felt—as indeed they were in other sections of the South, notably in South Carolina.

In some of his versions of the club history, Hamilton incorporated verbatim or "improved" songs, narrative verses, short anecdotes, puns and conundrums and orations, all mocking, by other members, especially Jonas Green. But Green, Hamilton, and their contemporaries within and without the Tuesday Club were prolific writers and composed a great deal more than is to be found in this most ambitious work of the period. Bacon, Sterling, Cradock, Chase, the Dulanys, Dr. Adam Thomson, and several others wrote for the Annapolis *Gazette* of Green and for Philadelphia journals, or composed or compiled books published in the colony or in Britain. Though many of these writings are nonsatiric and will be noted later, several do belong here in this consideration of the southern humorous and satiric tradition.

It was really when Jonas Green began publishing the second *Maryland Gazette* that the final and golden age of Annapolis and Maryland colonial intellectual life began. He had probably already asked Dr. Alexander Hamilton to aid with literary materials for his periodical. Almost at once

Hamilton provoked a literary war of burlesque essays and some verse with two Baltimore poets, the parsons Thomas Cradock and Thomas Chase. The "Annapolis Wits" versus the "Baltimore Bards" was an early feature of Green's paper. As we shall see, Hamilton himself contributed much besides the mimic warfare papers, and almost all of what he did was touched by or embodied the witty and the ironic.

Jonas Green (1712-1767), who had come from Massachusetts to Maryland before or by 1738, was a master printer responsible for perhaps the handsomest of American books before the Revolution as well as scores of sermons and pamphlets and several other real books. He was also a versifier and became official poet laureate of the Tuesday Club. In his newspaper he published locally authored essays on natural history, all sorts of poems and translations, sermons, medical essays, political essays, and literary criticism which made his *Maryland Gazette* a major vehicle for significant southern colonial writing. Besides Tuesday Clubbers, who were frequent contributors, there were others such as the venerable historian Hugh Jones.

Green's own scattered pieces show his irrepressible instinct and ability in punning. His first major poetic effort for the Tuesday Club did not come until May 16, 1749, his "Anniversary Ode." Beginning with a "Recitative," the verses proceed with mock praise of President Charles Cole. The lines were read by Green himself, and were followed by the "Chorus" (a song by the resident club musician William Thornton) to a tune improvised by an honorary member, Samuel Hart. Green had been given the title "P.P.P.P."—"purveyor, punster, punchmaker general, printer, and poet," though in 1748 he asked that it be changed to "P.L.M.C." for "Poetica Laureatus, Magister Ceremonium." He also had most probably a considerable share in the "Conjoint Muses" of the Club, as the "Lugubris Cantus" (of January 15, 1750/1) and "Carmen Dolorosum" (February 20, 1752/3). His longest poem is a facetious account of an attempt to rob Charles Cole on the night of July 3, 1751:

Dictate some gloomy muse, my verse  
While I the Tragic scene rehearse,  
The tragic Scene, that had almost,  
Transformed his Lordship to a ghost.

The subsequent lines are mock-heroic in the farcical tradition, concluding that if it had not been for Cole's servant John, the president would have been murdered and thereby "all" (the future lavish dinners supplied by Cole) lost. Though the members voted against including this travesty in the minutes, in his later versions secretary Hamilton took it upon himself to spread it on the record.

Green was probably the author of a burlesque essay and a humorous letter printed in 1751. His anniversary odes continued through the years at least through 1754, along with "A Mournful Episode" and a "Lamentation" and other burlesque verses. He may have been the author of a delightful occasional piece in the *Maryland Gazette* of August 22, 1754, "Memorandum for a Seine-Hauling, in Severn River, near a delightful Spring at the foot of Constitution Hill" in the manner of Matthew Prior, though there is some evidence pointing to member William Thornton as the author. Typical of Green was the poem he read on September 24, 1754, "A Tragical and Heroic Episode on the Club Tobacco Box, Pyrated by the Chancellor." In 1758 he published a punning, humorous essay, "Properties of a Gardiner," which appears to be his own. In the Stamp Act controversy he employed his punning satire against the act and seems to have sided with the popular party.

As Lemay has suggested, Green and his friend Hamilton, along with their fellows and even more than the earlier Cook, display in their burlesques of serious genres an ultrasophistication not perhaps to be expected in the supposedly backward colonies. Green mocks the forms and ideals of contemporary English society and employs local and frequently peculiarly American subjects, and at the same time often produces the belly laughs which were to be the hallmark reactions to later American humor.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1712-1756), as noted recorder-satirist and poet of the Tuesday Club, son of a distinguished professor at the University of Edinburgh and an M.D. of that Scottish university, was the brother of Dr. John Hamilton, who had settled in Calvert County by 1722. Dr. Alexander Hamilton arrived in Maryland early in 1739 and soon had a lucrative practice, but he was plagued from the beginning by the disease which eventually killed him, probably tuberculosis. In his first year in Maryland he was writing nostalgically back to another brother Gavin about Edinburgh social life, including the Whin-bush Club. By 1743 his health was so poor he planned to leave the New World, but for various reasons stayed on. In 1744, in an attempt to recover his health, he decided to make a summer excursion to the northern colonies, a journey which resulted in one of the most entertaining and well written of colonial travel accounts, his *Itinerarium*, which has been printed twice in this century. Though not basically a satire, the irony and wit, the burlesque exaggeration and incorporated tall tale, give it an important place in the American humorous tradition.<sup>91</sup>

Hamilton kept a diary on the long trip to New England, describing with amusement men and manners and architecture and anecdotes he observed or heard as he rode along. Everywhere he was amused and often bemused by what he saw and by what people took him to be. Usually

quietly descriptive, the *Itinerarium* also indicates its author's ear for dialect (Negro, Scottish, or Dutch) and his interest in folk sayings and rustic provincial dialogue. One of his earlier episodes, a stop at Treadway's Inn in Cecil County, Maryland, shows that he was as able at description of country colonial folk as Madame Knight showed herself to be in her account of travels in New England. His book is largely a series of vignettes of individuals and of character types, drawn more obviously from living models than are those of William Byrd in his sketches. Quakers, Irishmen, Moravians, Dutchmen, New England Yankees, and representatives of "occupations" such as would-be gentlemen, tavern keepers, and bullies are among the subjects of his pen. Like the later Washington Irving, he saw people and incidents in terms of line and color, and he could sketch them in crayons or delineate them verbally. His was probably the second earliest recorded use of the term *buckskin* to denote a provincial frontiersman (a few years later Landon Carter often signed himself *A Buckskin* in the newspapers). His literary allusions are frequent, from Rabelais and Montaigne and Cervantes to Shakespeare and Fielding. Only two years after the publication of *Joseph Andrews*, he passed judgment on the novel, and it is perceptive criticism.

In Philadelphia, New York, and Boston he was the guest of convivial clubs, for he seems to have had entrees everywhere he went. Like all true satirists, he tested for congruity. In Philadelphia he "observed severall comickall, grotesque phizzes in the inn . . . which would have afforded variety of hints for a painter of Hogarth's turn" (p. 18). Music and the pictorial arts he noted frequently and conversed with painters and composers and recorded his judgment of their creations or on performances of their works. Like Byrd on the Dividing Line expedition, Hamilton en route through the rural area is a gentleman among boors, and like the Virginian he views and depicts primitive living—food, beds, houses—with distaste, and describes people and manners of life ironically. Medical facilities and practice he observes with interest. The reminders of the New Light Presbyterians and other evangelicals he treats with sharp satire, probably partly because of his own Presbyterian background and the fact that he was now a practicing Anglican. And he recounts a number of humorous and by no means original anecdotes, really American versions of timeless tales of quacks, personal family feuds, and what has been called a colonial version of a snipe hunt—of a fox and a gullible bumpkin. A delightful book is this travel-diary narrative, not at all a promotion tract. It is one of our few examples of a complete sense of the droll qualities of colonial life.

The "History of the Tuesday Club" and the earlier "Record" are better work than the *Itinerarium*, though the mock-histories and the travel ac-



count together are his finest writing. But he did compose other things, including the medical defense of Dr. Adam Thomson mentioned above and a great deal of still not specifically identified writing in Annapolis and Philadelphia periodicals and probably in the *Gentleman's* and *Scot's Magazines*. Lemay has definitely identified as Hamilton's a number of humorous and satiric verses and essays printed in colonial newspapers. In the *Maryland Gazette* of January 7, 1746, the physician satirized in a prose essay the rustic manners, inquisitiveness, and democratic tendencies of Americans (he had touched on all these in other forms in the *Itinerarium*), in all three anticipating the earlier nineteenth-century educated native humorists and foreign visitors such as Sir Augustus John Foster (1804-1812), when peculiarly Yankee inquisitiveness elicited sharp resentment and replies.<sup>92</sup>

Published in the *Maryland Gazette* of June 29, 1748, is perhaps the colony's ablest belletristic essay, a critical survey of Maryland writers and writing which had appeared in that periodical. Signed is the pseudonym of the seventeenth-century Spanish author Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas. Here Hamilton evaluates all the local prose and verse, political and more purely artistic, which had appeared during Green's editorship. He seems to have read a complete file of the journal, perhaps the still-preserved copy of Green himself. There are echoes of Lucianic satire or its English derivatives of the preceding century, the dialogue genre of question and answer, and a mock-Dantesque tour through hell guided by the Maryland Virgil, Jonas Green. Green is depicted as a congenial and humorous companion, but several aspersions are cast on his foibles. The frame of the essay is the dream-vision such as Addison had used in the *Spectator* and many other authors before and after Hamilton have employed. Beginning with the customary epistolary address to "Mr. Green," the writer tells of his falling asleep while going through a bundle of old Maryland papers.

He "wakes" to find himself in a great hall crowded with poets, politicians, and philosophers, all busy in disputing, reciting, composing, or dispatching "pacquets" to editor Green. Virgil-Green explains to the narrator or persona who "these odd Fellows [are], and what they are about." Green, or rather Hamilton, strikes off each likeness concisely but vividly and perceptively. Among those judged with perceptive fairness, as far as we now know their work, is the Reverend James Sterling, called the major poet of the province and a "romantic" (apparently an early use of the term in its later sense). Though Hamilton may have been unduly impressed by Sterling's poems and plays published in Dublin and London long before, at that time, possibly excepting Green or Hamilton, Sterling was indeed probably the ablest poet of Maryland. The narrator suggests that Sterling be "crowned *Poet Laureate of Maryland*."

There follows an appreciation of the verses of Hamilton's old school-

fellow and medical colleague Dr. Adam Thomson, incidentally identifying several poems in the *Gazette* as Thomson's. Hamilton mentions "Juba," whose best-known piece on the ladies has in our time been reprinted in at least two anthologies; ridicules the ecclesiastical-political prose of "Philanthropos" (the Reverend Jacob Henderson); calls Ignotus a puny "*Translator*" (today the piece's author is usually thought to have been the James Sterling praised earlier); judges other pseudonymous pieces probably written by one of the "Baltimore Bards," the Reverends Thomas Chase and Thomas Cradock; and notes many other political and moral pieces of less consequence. In the course of the tour, the narrator is presented a little ticket depicting "a Monkey riding a winged Ass, and in the offskip, *Mount Parnassus reversed*, with its *double Top wrapt in a thick black Cloud*." This is the badge which makes him a member of the brotherhood of authors. Finally appears grave and stately *Public Opinion*, who sneers at all Green's authors, "who have nothing but the Money [they pay to be published] to recommend them."

This essay is not so light and relatively spontaneous as Hamilton's "History" or his *Itinerarium*, but it has some significance as early criticism and as humor, for it is good-natured comedy throughout. It was by no means the last of the physician's shorter pieces, for there survive several serious poems and brief essays. Though he is perhaps the earliest American to appreciate New World scenery in prose, he will in the end be remembered for his contributions in the humorous and satiric forms of his day to the depiction of the social and intellectual life of the Chesapeake colonies—once all of his work can be got into print. For like some earlier writers including Cook, he in several respects worked out his American identity by treating ironically and humorously both Americans and British ideas of Americans. The *Itinerarium* represents close observation and an empathy with his fellow colonials even outside his own province. The *Gazette* pieces and the unpublished Tuesday Club manuscripts would have been for his contemporary fellow Scots and Englishmen uncomfortably mocking reminders of what they then were or their literary history had been in the past. In pun, anecdote, burlesque song or society, the peculiarly American twist is here. Hamilton would not and could not have composed his records and histories if he had not come to the colonies.

Outside the Tuesday Club circle, or on its outskirts, were a few other men with a gift for verse, humor, and satire. Henry Callister (c. 1716—after 1765), Eastern Shore tobacco factor and musician and friend of the Reverend Thomas Bacon mentioned in the preceding chapter, was among other things a versifier and epistolarian. His letters afford abundant evidence of the whimsical nature of this sensitive man. There is, for instance, an amusing notice of his in the *Maryland Gazette* (February 10, 1757) requesting

that friends who had borrowed books please return them—and he lists the titles.

Believed to be his is a rather wistful manuscript poem containing scathing remarks about his businesslike “master” (and actually close friend), Robert Morris, and his own hatred of commerce. This is in effect a brooding satire directed against commerce and the business world by a man who would have preferred a life of contemplation.<sup>93</sup> There is humor in places, and Callister’s letters show that he could be a merry man, a conclusion supported by a Hudibrastic 1752 epistolary poem from “Charles Payne” (Thomas Bacon) to Callister, “A Letter Originally wrote Three Thousand years ago, By that Famous Laughing Sage & Philosopher Democritus to a Friend at Aulis . . .,” purportedly translated in the reign of Charles II and now adapted to the present age. Its tone is set in the first lines:

Charles to Henry, Sendeth greeting,  
Dear Sir/And so forth is fitting,  
I wish we had a Merry Meeting.  
I’ve sent your Miss Clarissa Harlot,  
(Pox take me for a Blundering Varlet!  
Harlow, I mean, in Seven Books  
Of Pyeous Use for Pastry Cooks.

And the poem wanders on for four foolscap sheets, with learned prose notes at the bottom of each page, and specific references to fruit trees and pruning, to fiddles or composers such as Purcell, to flutes and Cicero, to local families of prominence such as Goldsborough and Tilghman, to medicine and physicians. In the notes are learned and quasi-learned allusions, including a lengthy passage in Greek.

Signior Lardini handled his satiric couplets almost as capably as his violin and his often-printed sermons. Local gossip and the two men’s common interests are followed by what may be the principal point of the poem—certainly its sharpest satire—on one Doctor K-llm-n (Dr. Killman?) who intends to reorganize or reduce the laws according to medical theory and practice. The ridicule of false learning and the style are firmly in the Scriblerian tradition of the time. When one recalls that Bacon was the next year to begin his own compilation of the laws of Maryland, one becomes aware that the ridicule in this work sprang from the author’s own special interests.<sup>94</sup> This is the first “public” intimation that he was planning the legal work.

Then there was the poet, physician, and pamphleteer Dr. Adam Thomson, close friend of Dr. Hamilton, who wrote under the pseudonyms Philo-Musaeus and Town Side. Though much of his verse probably remains un-

identified, he was engaged in one battle of the wits which elicited from him an amusing dialect burlesque, part of an exchange carried on for several months in the 1740s with John Webb, editor of America's first (Philadelphia) magazine, who was in 1747 living in Maryland. Employing in part a quasi-Irish dialect, Thomson answered an essay signed "A Planter" in the *Maryland Gazette* of June 23 and 30 of 1747 in a letter and a poem in the issue of July 28. The introductory letter concerns the tobacco inspection law. The poem, "TEAGUE turn'd Planter," ridicules where the letter debates:

My Honey dear, now by my Shoul, (excuse familiar Banter)  
It was a wild Conceit you took, to write, and sign—*A Planter*  
Too true it is, subscribing plain, wou'd been a sad Betrayinge;  
But then, alas! a Lion's skin will n'er conceal—a Braying.

The remaining more than two-score lines are an even more direct attack referring to Webb's magazine, the House of Burgesses, and the "Eastern Shore Factor" (Callister). But in verse at least Town Side is far less effective than Bacon, Callister, or Hamilton.

On July 7, 1747, appeared a humorous letter in pseudo-Negro dialect from "Toby Chew" at Herring Bay "from de grate House" to his master then in London. The cover letter points out the sincerity of the piece and alleges that it is being published with the permission of the addressee. Spelling and reference are hilarious, and the linguist should find it an interesting early experiment in writing in what is still recognizable as dialectal English.

A more ambitious Eastern Shore or Baltimore satirist than Callister or his friend Bacon, at least as far as is now evident, was the Reverend Thomas Cradock (1718-1770), a versatile pulpit orator and man of letters who, like Hamilton, is still represented largely in manuscript. Born in Bedfordshire, he had close connections with the Duke of Bedford, who it is said planned to see that Cradock and his younger brother John were elevated to the episcopate after they were educated at Cambridge. John did become a bishop, in fact died as Archbishop of Dublin. Thomas, according to tradition, had to be shipped off to America because of a romantic involvement with a lady of the duke's family. There are indications that the peer hoped to see him the first American bishop, as others in Virginia and Maryland had come quite close to being. At any rate, Thomas Cradock migrated to Maryland in 1742 and soon became rector of St. Thomas' Parish near Baltimore. He was well known for his sermons on a variety of subjects, and Jonas Green published in a separate pamphlet *Two Sermons with a Preface* (1747), one of which, "Innocent Mirth Not Inconsistent with Religion," represents the moral moderate hedonistic philosophy of living

of the Chesapeake Bay planters. In 1756 Green printed Cradock's *A New Version of the Psalms of David*, and in the *Maryland Gazette* appeared other poems by the clergyman, such as elegies.

Among his manuscript remains mentioned by Ethan Allen were all sorts of verses, including "the Culprit, Smectymnus or the Centinel, (a Satire)." And recently, along with approximately a hundred manuscript sermons, there have come into the possession of the Maryland Diocesan Library, housed in the Maryland Historical Society, a number of interesting poems. One of them shows his acquaintance with the verse of his Maryland predecessor Richard Lewis, and in a group of related poems Cradock is in the satiric tradition of Ebenezer Cook, for he employs many of the same provincial subjects. The title "Maryland Eclogues In Imitation of Virgil's By Jonathan Spritly, Esqr. Formerly a Worthy Member of the Assembly Revis'd & Corrected by his Friend Sly Boots" may suggest multiple authorship, perhaps partly by members of the Tuesday Club, of which Cradock was an honorary or nonresident affiliate, but the few students of Maryland colonial literature who have seen this verse are inclined to believe the collection is by Cradock alone.<sup>95</sup>

Despite the number of geographic and family allusions to southern Maryland in the "Eclogues," the fondness for imitation of classical verse, the sharp criticism of other clergy, and the fact that the verse is in Cradock's hand are among the indications that it is his work. The ninth eclogue's reference to the 1744 treaty negotiations with the Iroquois (see Chapter II above), in which Cradock acted as chaplain for the Maryland commissioners, also helps to date the work as well as suggest authorship. The piece seems to have been prepared for publication for a non-Maryland audience if the elaborate notes to the entire series explaining people and things obvious to a Marylander are any indication of the expected reading public.

There are a few pastoral scenes descriptive of a Maryland clergyman living "By this purling Rill, / These shady Locusts, and that pleasant Hill." But most of the eclogues are travesties of Virgil's *Bucolics*, contrasting rustic and Arcadian Rome with the crudities of Maryland rural life. In place of Virgil's shepherds are indentured servants herding swine in Chesapeake forests. The first eclogue, "Split-Text," satirizes a corrupt Virginia clergyman, "Crape," turned out of his living and coming to the happy home and situation of Split-Text. A dialogue ensues in which Crape bewails his fate:

Beneath the Shade of these wide-spreading Trees,  
Dear Split-Text. You can smoke your chunk at Ease;  
I hapless Wretch! must bid such joys Adieu;  
Strip of my Credit, & my Income [too?].

In his reply Split-Text denigrates his fellow clergy:

For we resemble those at Home no more,  
(Than holy Pope at Rome does Scarlet whore!)  
Than Saints of Modern Days do Saints of yore.

The second eclogue concerns the love of a black slave, Pompey, for a fellow slave, Daphne, really an attack on the miscegenation practiced by the planter-owner who has had Daphne as "Partner of his Bed," and the allegation that white mistresses often invite male slaves to their beds. There is a great deal of American coloring here, of "Sambo" and his banjo, of pigs thriving on acorns, of beautiful Maryland rivers, of lovely fawns found in the woods, of Negro garden plots. Eclogue 3 concerns a singing contest between two convicts (indentured servants) who steal pigs, kill trees, see their fellow criminals hanged, and engage in commerce with sluts, including the overseer's wife. Eclogue 4 is on the clergy as men who, often failing to make a living at anything else, fly to the church and take holy orders. This one begins with an address to Maryland river deities, "Ye *Severn* Nymphs attempt a nobler song," an all-out attack. It contains a genuine tribute to Maryland poet Richard Lewis as mentioned just above, though at the same time in a note Lewis is accused with other fine gentlemen of laughing at religion.

Eclogue 5 considers the evils of alcohol and drunkenness among the provincials, with a dialogue between Love-Rum and Ever-Drunk, with some detail spent on poor old Toss-Pot and his death. The sixth eclogue is concerned with the progress or spread of infidelity in the colony, an interesting commentary on the development of deism in the region. The seventh eclogue, a note at the end tells us, is omitted, perhaps because "our poet" died before he completed his design. But the eighth is here, the story of Jemima, forsaken by her love, who goes to an old midwife-witch in hope of getting charms to bring him back. The ninth eclogue brings up the problem of the Indians and their lands, when two red men meet and bewail their loss. It is a sympathetic portrayal, and a strong satirical attack on white greed. Incidentally it gives much detail of social life in the colony, especially along its western extremity. Cradock, who had observed the treaty-robberies firsthand, knew what he was talking about. The tenth eclogue is admittedly the story of a friend of the poet, a young man Worthy, whose betrothed married another while he was on a voyage to England. Included are some pastoral lines such as "Begin his gen'rous Passion let us sing, / While warbling Mock-Birds usher in the Spring" and further attacks on stupid or unscrupulous persons such as alcoholic *Saygrace*, and a mock lament by the voyager that he had ever fallen in love—he should have found a "Convict-Girl" or "Black Bess" to serve

his "Turn." The bereft lover decides to remove to the frontier, where he will mark trees with the story of his fond love: "Meanwhile, *Scotch-Irish* shall my socials be / Wild as they are, quite good enough for me." And a note states, "Great numbers of these Gentry [live] in the back parts of the Provinces and 'tis hard to say whether the Indians or they are the greater savages."

Travesties of Virgil though these eclogues may be, they are in their subjects obviously concerned with major problems of the Chesapeake society, problems on which Cradock already had preached. And they augment our knowledge of southern colonial society in several ways. One must agree with Skaggs that there is no double satire here as there probably is in Cook and Alsop and some of Cradock's contemporaries, for the poet is too earnest to be satirizing British ideas of America. He means to show the weaknesses of his province and like Pope or Brown thereby correct them. The poet's warmer side, showing his genuine affection for the natural world and even provincial society around him, appears more elaborately in his sermons and other poems, published and unpublished. But here he romanticizes the wronged noble savage, shows the English-stock provincial's mixture of admiration and disdain for the aggressive Scotch-Irish who were our great frontiersmen, depicts Negro slaves who were happy and docile though aware of their social disadvantages (Pompey and Sambo and the banjo were to become stock elements of later American humorous literature), and even makes some feeble attempt (Eclogue 3) to have his personae (convict servants) speak in character, or in a semiliterate English dialect. The couplets vary in quality, though the imagery of American nature is several times handled with imagination and sensitivity. Cradock is not the poetic satirist even his contemporaries Jonas Green and Dr. Hamilton are, but he is in the main tradition of performing the function of "guardian of the public weal" at the same time that he is portraying America.

The other Chesapeake satirist, connected with Maryland just before the Revolution and earlier with Virginia, was clergyman Loyalist Jonathan Boucher (1738-1804), who had been a leader of the Homony Club, a successor to the Tuesday Club, in the years just before the Revolution. In his later *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist* (Boston, 1925) he notes that he composed some verses for theatrical prologues in Annapolis, and there are probably other verses of his in the *Maryland* and *Virginia Gazette*s. He wrote much else, but here one is interested in "Absence, a Pastoral: drawn from the life, from the manners, customs, and phraseology of planters (or to speak more pastorally, of the rural swains) inhabiting the Banks of the Potomac in Maryland."

In his last years in England Boucher was making a glossary of provincial

and archaic words, and the poem just mentioned he may have written then. But its subject and substance—the American Indian-derived words, the Americanized rustic slang and dialect, even the very situation of the simple planters described—would argue that at least in first draft the poem was composed while he was still in Maryland. Resurrected and printed in Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Glossary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (1833), it is a significant contribution to early American dialect and is especially interesting as satire on the colonial southern rustic. The poem appears with dialect words italicized and Boucher's notes explaining their meaning. For example,

Strolling, last *fall*, by yon *pacosen* side,  
Coil'd in a heap, a rattle-snake I spied:  
Was it for me a *rompus* then to make?

The bumpkin *Billsey* proceeds to lament the absence of his beloved *Mollsey*. In one passage enumerating American dishes he somewhat anticipates Barlow's *Hasty-Pudding*:

For breakfast, *mush* and *th' top o' milk's* a treat  
Or *bonny clabber* with *molasses* sweet:  
At dinner, let me that best *buck-skin* dish,  
Broth made of bacon, cream, and eke *cat-fish*  
With *toss'em boys*, and *belly bacon* see  
*Cushie*, and *dough-boys*, and small *homony*:

And he concludes with a reminder that this is a comic pastoral, with the unletter'd shepherd introducing the reader to the American language.<sup>96</sup>

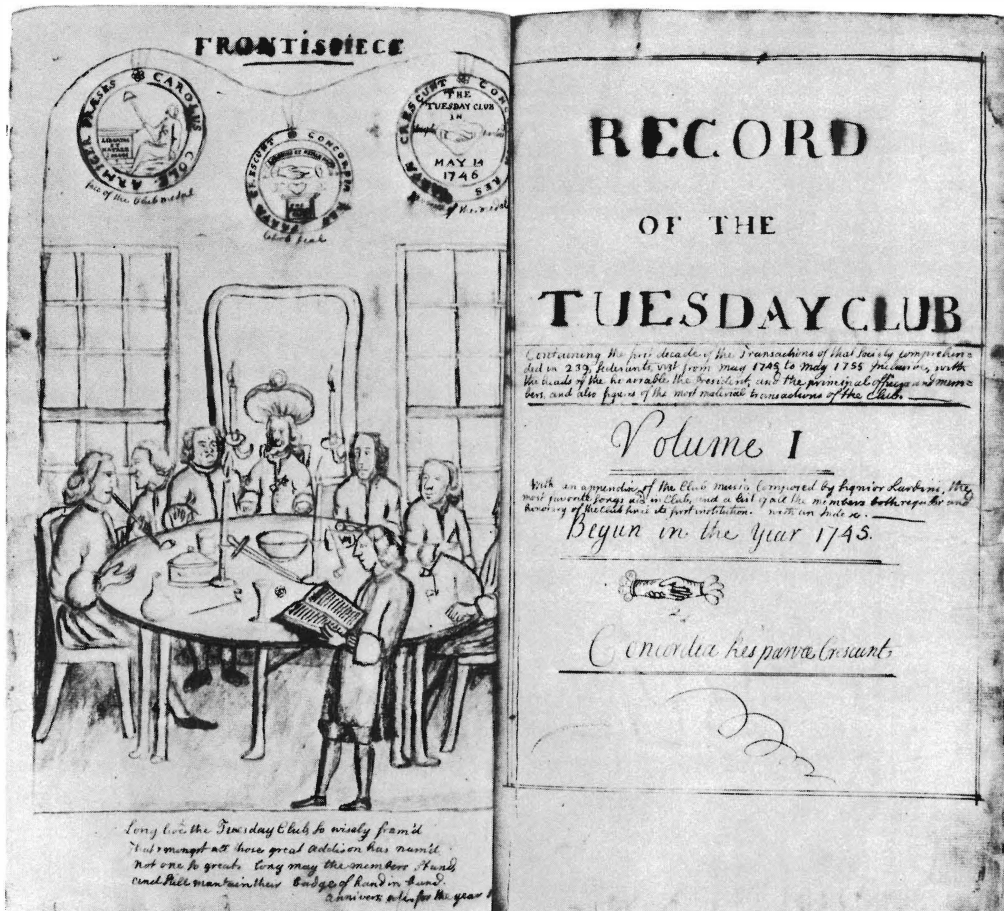
Mid-century South Carolina continued to produce verse imitative of the British in form, including all the variations of the satiric. Epigrams after Latin models, with references to Charleston ladies and the headdresses and costumes of the period, are in spirit one of the lightest of these forms. Along with them went the penchant for pastoral trappings such as has just been shown in Maryland verses. The mock-heroic, sometimes inspired by local gossip, continued. In the Stamp Act period Philo-Patriæ, political satirist, composed "On Liberty-Tree." Actually better poetry is to be found in the mock-heroic verses "The Paper Mill," by a Joseph Dumbleton (fl. 1740–1750), who published in both Virginia and South Carolina and was probably a native of Gloucestershire. "Inscribed to Mr. Parks," the lines appeared first in the *Virginia Gazette* of July 1744. Celebrating the printer's establishment of his own paper manufactory, the poem is replete with double entendres and exalted phrases and puns. Partially it is a plea for linen rags.





Courtesy of The Virginia Historical Society

William Fitzhugh (1651-1701), lawyer and planter, of Bedford, Virginia



Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

Frontispiece (a meeting of the club with Cole in the chair) and title page,  
Tuesday Club Record Book by Dr. Alexander Hamilton

Ye *Brave*, whose Deeds shall Vie with Time,  
Whilst Mill can turn, or poet rhyme,  
Your tatters hoard for future Quires;  
So Need demands, so *Parks* desires.

. . . . .

Nice *Delia's* Smock, which, neat and whole,  
No Man durst finger for his Soul;  
Turn'd to *Gazette* now all the Town,  
Make take it up, or smooth it down.

In the *South-Carolina Gazette* of March 20, 1740, Dumbleton printed a lively burlesque on drinking, entitled "A Rhapsody on Rum."

Great Spirit hail!—confusion's angry Sire,  
And like thy Parent *Bacchus*, born of fire:  
The Gaol's Decoy; the greedy Merchant's Lure;  
Disease of Money, but Reflection's Cure.

We owe, Great DRAM! the trembling Hand to thee,  
The headstrong Purpose; and the feeble Knee.

Though Dumbleton published at least two serious poems during the 1740s, he is certainly best remembered for these two mock-heroic pieces, which were reprinted elsewhere in America, and in Britain at least one was in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XIX [Sept., 1749], 424). In somewhat the same spirit as these satiric verses is "The Northern Miracle. A Tale," a Rabelaisian narrative poem of the fabliau type popular in the age. Though it appeared in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of January 8, 1750, it had an English setting.<sup>97</sup>

The essays of "Humourist," printed in the *South-Carolina Gazette* in 1753–1754, are probably the ablest belletristic writing in that periodical in the colonial period. The author was a humorist in the older sense and with grace and delicacy composed serious moral essays and light prose satire, as well as a little *vers de société*. He devotes a great proportion of his space to the art of letters and gives his own definition of literary criticism. Here he should be remembered as a good-natured but perceptive light satirist.

A number of later South Carolina pieces are not concerned essentially with politics and may be taken as a continuation of the earlier satiric tradition. One is "A Description of Charles Town in 1769" by a Captain Martin of the British navy. Its first lines set the tone:

Black & white all mix'd together,  
Inconstant, strange, unhealthful Weather  
Burning heat & chilling cold  
Dangerous both to young & old.<sup>98</sup>

Rowland Rugeley (c. 1735?-1776), perhaps a secretary to a colonial governor, had published a number of poems in periodicals and at least one collection, *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations from La Fontaine and Others* (Cambridge and London, 1763), before he came to South Carolina about 1765. The earlier poems, often facetious, quizzical, or humorous in some other way, were published in the *Universal Magazine* and the *London Magazine* and are datelined from St. Ives. They differ not at all in form or quality from verses of the same period (1759-1765) appearing in the southern American gazettes. For example, "A Rebus," printed in the *London Magazine* (XXIX [Sept., 1760], 487-488) might have been lifted from Charleston newspapers.

A vehicle by love employ'd,  
A sage curiosity destroy'd,  
A word which beaux and belles oft [use]  
A pest which merit still pursues.<sup>99</sup>

Typical titles are "The City Mouse and the Country Mouse," "Friar Philip's Geese: A Tale from La Fontaine," and "The Ephesian Matron. A Tale from La Fontaine." Though there are almost surely other yet unidentified later poems by him in Anglo-American periodicals, he was certainly known in Charleston for the anonymously published *The Story of Æneas and Dido Burlesqued: From the Fourth Book of the Æneid of Virgil*, published in the South Carolina city by Robert Wells in 1774. On the title page below the title appears "*Vive la Bagatelle*," and in that suggested spirit the poet obviously meant to be taken.<sup>100</sup> The preface begins in a jocular and mocking tone, with numerous references to the classics including Cato, and to Pope, Scarron, and Voltaire, with the avowed aim "To make you laugh, Ye Goose." The opening lines are pure mock-epic:

Æneas finished here his ditty  
Of old King Priam and his city;  
The Tyrians, at a tale so deep,  
And wond'rous moving, fell-asleep.  
Not so the Queen—with mouth wide op'd,  
She swallow'd every word that drop'd;

Bawdy, lusty, replete with descriptions of heroes, queens, and gods in English terms, this is essentially the tale à-la-Fontaine extended, and perhaps the most mocking and sexual long poem of colonial America. That it was published in Charleston on the threshold of the Revolution reflects at least something of the tastes of that city, though as far as local allusions are concerned it might have been written in Britain.

One remarkable bit of satire emerges from early Georgia, in this in-

stance prose. In the past there have been some misleading statements regarding this book, clearly by critics who did not read past the "Dedication" and from that portion conclude that the whole thing is a satire on the Trustees' government of Georgia. *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America, From the First Settlement thereof. . . . Together with . . . A Dedication to His Excellency General Oglethorpe* was composed by a group of malcontents among the planters of the youngest province. Three of them—Dr. Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Anderson, and David Douglas—signed their names followed by "and others" on the title page of the book published by Peter Timothy in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1741. The origins of the book are complex, ultimately deriving from the conflicting military and utopian aims of the colony's backers in Great Britain. The *Narrative* is only one item in a two-sided series, though for its delineation of colonial problems and superior literary prose it is valuable. The later frequent southern lack of awe for great names or constituted authority is represented in the dedication, which is devastatingly satiric regarding Oglethorpe and the "laws" of the Trustees. Disillusionment is the key—the potential paradise is but a mismanaged or uncontrolled wilderness, and the fact that the inhabitants are not allowed to import rum or Negroes and do not own their land in fee simple has resulted in an inability to compete economically with neighboring provinces. Irony and invective are the obvious qualities of this protest against overseas government and against the character and ability of one usually considered the epitome of benevolence and efficiency and a principal founder of British America. The authors are forthright probably because they believed themselves beyond the reach of punishment. Their dedication to Oglethorpe is one of the most effectively written satiric passages before the immediate pre-Revolutionary period. It presents the old case of the difference between what things are and what they ought to be.<sup>101</sup>

Southern colonial satire—from Smith's *Generall Historie* to the pamphlets and verses and plays of Richard Bland and Thomas Burke and Robert Munford—was a literary means of pure amusement, of safeguarding public and provincial morality, and of presenting political fact and theory in entertaining garb. It included the exaggerated tall tale and the use of rustic or illiterate dialects, of the ribald and the cruel, which were to survive in the writing of the region through Sut Lovingood and Mark Twain to Robert Penn Warren and William Faulkner. The southerner frequently sought to bring congruity out of incongruity, order out of chaos, liberty out of tyranny, not by prayer or doctrinal sermons, but by showing how droll disproportion really is.

THE SOUTHERN ELEGIAIC TRADITION

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The editor of the first fairly comprehensive anthology of colonial American verse, a book published within the past decade, states that the southern provinces "developed no elegiac tradition."<sup>102</sup> He clearly had not read much even of easily available southern printed poetry, not to mention some remarkable manuscript pieces not really difficult to obtain, for they are all in public repositories. But even if he had, from his definitions and examples of the New England funeral elegy, one would agree that the southeast produced "no *such* elegiac tradition" as did the saints of Massachusetts and Connecticut. For strongly biblical in phrase, lugubrious in tone, crabbed in figure and meter, at least as intricate and paradoxically styled as the so-called Puritan sermon, the epitaph or elegy composed east of the Hudson rarely was to be found, and then only among a few Presbyterians, south of the Susquehannah. That is, such a poem as Samuel Torrey's "Epitaph . . . Upon the Death of Mr William Tompson" had almost no place in southern writing:

Here lies his corps, who, while he drew his breath,  
He lived the lively portrature of Death,  
A walking tomb, a living sepulcher,  
In which blak meloncholy did interr  
A blessed soule, which god & nature have  
By Death deliver'd from yt livinge grave.<sup>103</sup>

The "communal" Puritan elegies, as Silverman characterizes those written before 1720, have no real counterpart in the South. But the mourning poem transformed to burlesque or satire, as Joseph Green's *A Mournful Lamentation* (broadside) of 1750, does have its parallel in the regions from Maryland to Georgia. In the seventeenth century, when the Puritan elegy was in its heyday, one recalls that in the South there were no presses which might have printed any sort of belles lettres. Yet a few surviving tombstone epitaphs and the two "elegies" on Nathaniel Bacon in this period hint that there were many more verses *written* of these kinds. In fact, as has already been noted, the author of the two on Bacon asserts that they were only a pair among many on that particular subject written in the one year 1676.

The truth is that a strong funeral elegiac tradition persists in the colonial South, a double-edged tradition well anticipated or represented by the two poems on Bacon. There are scores of examples of eighteenth-century mourning poems in the South, gravestone or printed epitaphs and full-

length classical and pastoral elegies in the tradition going back to Theocritus but modeled immediately on contemporary English neoclassical poems of the genre. This tradition began with or before the Renaissance in Great Britain. And there are the opposite, a number of mock-elegies belonging in one sense to the satiric tradition but taking their form from the traditional Anglican, not Puritan, form of mourning poem. A large volume containing them has been ready for publication for some time, but new and interesting examples have continued to turn up so regularly that it has been delayed.

As already noted, the southern colonies were on the whole peopled by religious or moderately pious individuals, believers in an orthodox form of Christianity which they never allowed to tyrannize, though it might regulate, their lives. Curiously, of all the forms of literary expression employed by southern writers, the elegiac shows perhaps least the influence of their religion in their conceptions of grief and death. Many of the more elaborate and ambitious poems published by colonial elegists in the *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *South-Carolina Gazettes*, or in British magazines, were strictly pastoral, some not containing one word indicating the relation of death to Christian eschatology or to the Trinity. There is nothing strange about this, for funeral elegies similarly devoid of biblical sentiment or reference were being composed in Britain at the same time. But perhaps more than in the mother country, the southern colonist looked at death with Stoic resignation or Socratic philosophic acceptance (as exemplified in a verse-drama among Cradock's manuscripts) or simply with classic dignity. In his will a dying man might declare his personal creed, but his friends who composed mourning lines for him ignored his Christian faith and posed him among the ancient pagan heroes who died with composure and made only vague allusions to their deities.

Examples of the elegiac form in the seventeenth century really should begin with two poems composed by men associated with early Virginia, though neither was written in the colony. "Mr Strachie's Harke," composed by the Virginia historian about 1620 when he was back in England, is a moving and orthodox Christian plea for God's mercy, a sort of self-elegy.<sup>104</sup> More genuinely elegiac is the "Epitaph" on George Thorpe incorporated into Christopher Brooke's *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia* (London, 1622), a brief piece which sets at least the tone, antithesis, and couplet form employed in southern colonial elegies over a considerable period. Thorpe, director-custodian of the Henrico College enterprise, is mentioned elsewhere for his Christian piety. Here the emphasis is on other things:

Here lyes inclos'd the Corpes of Him  
Who had for every dying Lim  
A living Vertue; could extract  
From Theory, and put in Act  
Wisdome, Humane, and Things divine;  
And by the levell of that Lyne  
Drew all his life, and squared his Deeds;  
Who as he sow'd, shall reape those seeds,  
To his increase a thousand fold;  
Whose noble Name is here enroll  
With other Captaines of this Land,  
Slaine by many a bloody hand.  
Heroic Thorpe sleepe in thy Urne,  
Whilst making Hearts in Incense burne  
Of Love to thee, and to thy Fame,  
Thy Valor, Vertue, and thy Name.<sup>105</sup>

Frequent are the simple epitaphs actually carved on tombstones. Fairly characteristic is a "tribute" of 1650 to Mrs. Alice Miles Jordan of Surry County in Virginia:

Reader, her dust is here enclosed  
Who was of witt & grace composed.  
Her life was virtuous during breath—  
but highly glorious in her death.<sup>106</sup>

More dramatic and implicitly Christian is the Maryland epitaph on Dr. Richard Tilghman's huge slab:

Always remember  
The 5th of November  
But do not forgett  
Death will have no lett  
Consider thy end  
And thy time well spend  
& so shall thou have  
A crown in thy grave

or the lines to Henrietta Maria Lloyd, who died in 1697 at the age of fifty:

Shee who now takes her rest within this tomb,  
Had Rachells face and Leas fruitful womb,  
Abigails wisdom, Lydeas faithful heart,  
With Martha's care and Mary's better part.<sup>107</sup>

The two elegies on Nathaniel Bacon included in John Cotton's manuscript history of the Rebellion are discussed above. The first, as already



noticed, is presumably serious, an elaborate baroque and classical tribute to the departed hero. The second, clearly satirical and taking a hostile attitude towards its subject, here the antihero, is also replete with classical allusions and figures of speech from legal phraseology. Neither poem has a single reference to Christianity or hope of afterlife in a Christian heaven. But the poet in the first has produced moving verse in stately couplets:

In a word  
Mars and Minerva hath in him Concurd  
For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike,  
As Cato's did, may admiration strike  
In to his foes; while they confess with all  
It was there guilt stil'd him a Criminall.  
Onely this differance doth from truth proceed:  
They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed,  
While none shall dare his Obsequies to sing  
In disarv'd measures, untill time shall bring  
Truth Crown'd with freedom, and from danger free  
To sound his praises to posterity.<sup>108</sup>

By the beginning of the eighteenth century in Britain, and developing into broader or more general forms or applications as the century progressed, was the graveyard elegy, often with mortuary detail, occasionally with satiric lines, and by Robert Blair and Edward Young, among other poets, broadened into various sorts of lamentations on mankind in general or on some selected segment of human kind rather than on the individual. Though the elegy with general application does develop, these latter meditative "graveyard-school" verses appear seldom in the southern colonies. Not until the national period does the *sentimental* tribute become frequent.

Though the New England funeral elegy was not highly regarded anywhere until well into the twentieth century, several recent critics have given it—especially that of the seventeenth century—high place in the colonial writing of the Northeast. This growing esteem for the examples of the form reached some sort of climax in Kenneth Silverman's critical study and representation of such verses, a whole section of his colonial verse anthology. He and Robert Henson have seen in it a definite tradition from the earlier seventeenth century to at least 1720, when the communal elegy representing a whole township's or province's grief was replaced by a less reverent satiric lamentation on men or things. Probably the best of the orthodox Puritan mourning verse is Urian Oakes' *An Elegie upon the Death of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard* (Cambridge, Mass., 1677). High-flown rhetoric, mortuary detail, biblical references, a listing of the virtues of the deceased, even Harvard College's groans, are incorporated

into six-line stanzas of considerable dignity. There is one reference to Apollo, none to the pastoral figures or themes, and much to the Old Testament and "Israel's Singers." Oakes spoke for the whole New England world, or so he felt.<sup>109</sup> And his lengthy poem is really, as are other Puritan laments, a versified sermon.

As the New England elegy gradually disappeared as a popular form of expression, the southern elegy got well under way. One repeats that in form it frequently followed the contemporary English neoclassical lament, and yet it continued to exemplify qualities to be seen in one or both of the Bacon epitaphs. The heroic couplet continued to be used in the eighteenth century, of course, becoming more and more popular. The southern elegiac expression also was at times in blank verse, in octosyllabic couplets, or the ode form (supposedly that of Pindar). Like Cotton's two poems most southern elegies eschew the mortuary details prevalent in Puritan poems in England and America. The southern colonials used biblical allusions at times as did the New Englanders, but these are far outnumbered and outweighed by the classical, usually pastoral. The Cotton poems and later southern laments show variety and internal shift in tone: the New England elegies vary little within. Perhaps a most significant difference between examples of this genre in the two regions is the much greater number of ironic or satiric elegies in the southern provinces.

The South's earliest newspaper, in eighteenth-century Maryland, contained some of the earliest elegies of the second colonial era, though such poems were written in this province before 1727, and others were contemporaneous with the gazettes but not printed in them. The first to appear in Parks' *Maryland Gazette*, December 24, 1728, is Ebenezer Cook's curiously ironic and brief "An Elegy [on] the Death of the Honourable Nicholas Lowe, Esq."<sup>110</sup> It begins by addresses to the ladies, one of whom, some critics believe the poet was saying, Lowe had wronged by not marrying (that this is fact, they point out, is obvious in the final lines of the main body of the poem). He begins

What means this Mourning, Ladies, has death led.  
Your Brother Captive to his Earthly Bed?  
Is Love to Nature's chilly Womb returned,  
[Who ca]jutiously the fatal Summons shun'd?

The lines continue with some mortuary detail, with no reference to God or Christ but to "Victorious Death" and some legal phraseology (Cook may have studied or worked in law with Lowe) and conclude with "[It ca]n be said, his Character to blast, / [He liv]'d and dy'd a Batchelor at last." The afterpiece, an "Epitaph," does mention Jehovah and heaven and continues the legal imagery, here with *Habeas Corpus*.

Two years before, and before he began his gazette, William Parks printed in broadside a more sympathetic and conventional poem, *An Elogy on the Death of Thomas Bordley, Esq; late Commissary and Attorney-General, in the Province of Maryland . . . by Ebenezer Cook, Poet-Laureat, of Maryland*. The forty-nine-line lament of twenty-three decasyllabic couplets and one triplet has the distinction of being the first belles-lettres work known to have been published in Maryland.<sup>111</sup> This pastoral is seriously laudatory and consoling to Bordley's wife, concluding with a semi-detached epitaph referring to Bordley's legal profession.

Cook may have published another elegy, "On the Death of the Honourable William Lock, Esq., one of his Lordship's Provincial Justices," in a now lost issue of the *Maryland Gazette*, but the poem survives only in a manuscript letter in the Library of Congress. Thirty-two lines of decasyllabic couplets continue in the classical-pastoral tradition without a trace of Christian eschatology or mortuary detail, and with many legal phrases in both elegy and concluding "Epitaph."<sup>112</sup> One other poem, "In Memory of the Honourable Benedict Calvert," presumably by Cook, exists in a manuscript folio notebook in the United States Naval Academy Library. It is sympathetic but includes some rather gruesome mortuary detail of Calvert's body being devoured by fish (he died at sea). Entirely classical in allusion, it eulogizes the public character of a popular and able provincial official.<sup>113</sup>

In the same notebook is a longer elegy "To the Memory of His Excellency Benedict Leonard Calvert; Late Governour of the Province of Maryland" signed by Richard Lewis, the only signed poem in the book. It is introduced by a long Latin quotation from Pliny the Younger's letter to Pompeius Saturnus concerning a friend who died aboard ship. Writing in the form of an epistle, Lewis traces Calvert's early years, including his stay at Oxford, his sacred and profane reading and general learning, his visits to the Mediterranean countries as an able antiquarian, his pleasure in describing to the poet the glories of Greece and Rome, his graciousness as a host, his benefactions to Maryland education. Not one word of Christian faith appears, but even Calvert's social manner is described:

When Gaily dress'd, to Grace the Publick Ball,  
He to soft Music mov'd around the Hall;  
His artfull Step, his Unaffected Air,  
His Easy Grandeur, Charm'd the Circling Fair;  
Each Dancer his Superior Skill Confess'd,  
And Pleasure Glow'd in each Spectator's Breast.<sup>114</sup>

It is a far cry from these lines to any to be found in the New England elegies.

But back to the *Maryland Gazette*, which on October 20 published "An Elegy on the Death of Miss Elizabeth Young, late of Calvert County, Gentlewoman, by a Welwisher." The forty-eight heroic-couplet lines list the qualities the writer sees in the young girl, qualities perhaps more ideal than actual. This, and the elegy on Miss Peggy Hill, are strikingly like Benjamin Tompson's "The Amiable virgin memorized—Elizabeth Tompson . . ." (1702) in insistence on Christian piety and virtue. One principal difference, however, is that the southern poem begins in the pastoral-classical tradition:

MELPOMENE, assist my mournful Theme  
Direct my Numbers and inspire my Flame,  
With mournful *Cypress* let my *Muse* be crown'd.

But later lines share similar words and sentiment with the Puritan poem: "Here's *One* who's fall'n by thy pow'rful Hand / Who fram'd her Life t'obey God's great Command."<sup>115</sup>

The anonymous Maryland poem on Peggy Hill is equally personal and lacks any pastoral allusions. On the other hand, only one reference to God and nothing of Christian doctrine appear in the forty-seven decasyllabic lines. Thomas Cradock's best-known elegy "A POEM Sacred to the Memory of Miss Margaret Lawson, Miss Dorothy Lawson, and Miss Elizabeth Read," which appeared in the *Gazette* of March 22, 1753, is more interesting, for it has classical dream-vision structure mingled with some orthodox Protestant religious concepts. One does not learn from the lines what occasioned the deaths of so many youthful ones (perhaps smallpox?), but there are suggestions, in the inserted speeches, of Christian immortality, with the conclusion that the subjects' parents shall see them again in "Heaven's due time . . . [on] yon immortal Shores."

Richard Lewis published in the *Gazette* of March 15, 1734, a long and ambitious "Elegy on the much lamented Death of the Honourable Charles Calvert, Esq; formerly Governor in Chief of the Province of Maryland; and at the Time of his Dicease, Commissary-General, Judge of the Admiralty, Surveyor-General of the *Western* Shore, and President of the Council. Who departed this life, February 2, 1733-4." The 221 lines are in a heightened or formal diction somewhat in contrast to that of the verses in memory of Benedict Leonard Calvert. The symbolic yew tree, premature death, Calvert's military prowess, his restoration of Maryland to prosperity, the lament of the "Genius of Maryland" and the reminder that the province contains "within [her] pregnant Womb / Heroes unborn, and Empires yet to come," are conventional and yet peculiarly colonial. The language and rhythms flow with dignity and solemn effect, the meter with more spondees than are usual in Lewis'

verse, creating a slow movement and genuinely elegiac tone. Among the southern laments of the eighteenth century, this is one which compares favorably with Urian Oakes' or the best other Puritan elegies,<sup>116</sup> or for that matter with any other elegies of colonial America.

At least two elegiac pieces written in Maryland and published without signature may be attributed to James Sterling on the basis of the "Kent in Maryland" dateline and the style as well as the annotated ascription in the Library of Congress copy of the journal containing the first. This earlier, "Epitaph on the Late Lord Howe," appeared in the Philadelphia *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle* for August 1758 (pp. 550-552) and was reprinted in the *Maryland Gazette* and the *New York Gazette*. The twenty-two lines have the majestic tread of a funeral march: "Patriots and chiefs! Britannia's mighty Dead, / Whose wisdom counsel'd, and whose valour bled."<sup>117</sup> Equally patriotic and dignified is Sterling's "Panegyric Verses on the Death of General Wolfe," published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 13, 1760 by the "author of the Epitaph on Lord Howe." It was reprinted in the *New York Gazette* and the *Boston Gazette* in the same year. Sterling has Amherst address the conquering British army in an imaginative recreation of the latter's speech on learning of Wolfe's death. This is a public occasional poem more of triumph than of grief, celebrating the fact that a new world on which the sun never set was "to GEORGE's Empire won."<sup>118</sup>

Then there is the revised version by Sterling of "A Pastoral," originally written as an elegiac tribute to Pope in 1744, and in the new version published in the *American Magazine* for May 1758. It is in two parts, the first an early statement of nationalism or the *translatio studii* theme, recalling Berkeley's "Verses on the Prospect of Planting the Arts and Learning in America," and the second part a rather conventional pastoral elegy lamenting the death of Alexis, or Alexander Pope. Part Two consists of a mournful dialogue between the shepherds Palæmon and Moeris, with references to Colin, lines from Pope's own second pastoral in imitation of Virgil's ninth, and allusion to Pope's great translation of Homer. The elegy itself also represents the *translatio* theme, for with the death of Pope the muses have left Britain for America.<sup>119</sup>

There are other epitaphs and brief elegies of serious import in Maryland newspapers and manuscript archives, but the principal remaining verse in the elegiac form is burlesque or satire. One allied piece is Dr. Adam Thomson's "Verses occasioned by Mr. Colley Cibber's Epitaph on Mr. Pope," which appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* of November 8, 1745, signed "Philo-Musus." This is a vigorous but not especially graceful attack on Cibber's mock-epitaph, which is printed with it.<sup>120</sup> Despite its invective, it is not as effective as such Tuesday Club pieces as "Lugubris Cantus"

(*Maryland Gazette*, January 16, 1751), a mock-lament for the illness of President Cole "In imitation of Spencer, Author of *The Fairy Queen*." The stanza has only eight lines instead of nine, but the conscious use of archaisms such as "eke" and "'lake' and 'wail a Day!'" gives it a quasi-Spenserian effect. This was the only one published of the almost three dozen original poems in extant documents of the club. In the Dulany Papers for 1753 in the Maryland Historical Society is another mock-elegy, perhaps by Jonas Green or Hamilton or by the club writing together. "Carmen Dolorosum Composed by the ancient and honourable Tuesday Club at Sederunt 194, February 20th . . .," is a poem which perhaps gives some indication of why others were not printed. Spitefully or viciously attacked are members of the club and other Annapolitan worthies, the latter of whom would certainly have been offended. There Jonas is said to have brought out a priapus of stone, because it like other portions of the members' anatomies had so petrified in extreme anguish at Cole's gout. The obscenity here suggests that such verse might amuse a convivial gathering but not a public reading from cold type.

The *South-Carolina Gazette*, the southern colonies' second oldest newspaper, was like its Maryland contemporary the vehicle for a number of elegies and a few mock-elegies. Hennig Cohen discovered more than two decades ago that elegiac poems comprised the largest single category of the impressive body of verse published in that periodical. Though satiric and other poems of good quality appeared during the first year of the *Gazette* (1732), the first elegy of consequence was printed in June 17, 1745, "Verses, written extempore by a Native of this Place on the Death of the great and celebrated Alexander Pope, Esq.," by "Philagathus."

Pope's prestige in eighteenth-century America, especially in the South, was enormous, as analyses of library inventories and verses in praise or imitation of his work indicate.<sup>121</sup> "Philagathus" wrote at least two later poems published in the Charleston newspaper. He may have been the physician Dr. James Kirkpatrick (or Killpatrick) mentioned in Chapter VII above and for other belletristic writing in the present chapter below, who had earlier published two poems on Pope, according to his own statement, and was to compose several more on his idolized mentor.<sup>122</sup> Dr. Kirkpatrick was not, however, a native.

Though there is no narrative or dialogue, the poem is in the classical tradition, with more references to "*sacred Laurel*" than to "Angelick Bards." The introductory lines are conventional enough:

And is POPE gone?—Then mourn ye *Britons!* mourn—  
Your Pride and Boast! *Apollo's* darling Son.  
The Muses weep for Thee, immortal Bard!  
Thou'rt gone! and with Thee all their Glory's fled.

In 1747 an anonymous contributor sent to the *South-Carolina Gazette* "An Elegy, on the much lamented Death of the Rev. Mr. Robert Betham, who died May 31st, 1747, Aged 32 Years." The thirty lines were published in the issue of June 15 in a format unusual in the South, for the printed title of the elegy is flanked by symbolic cuts of the kind popular in broad-side elegies of both New and Old England. To the left of the title is a skull and crossbones, to the right an hourglass, yet the lines themselves contain no mortuary detail. And despite the fact that it mourns an Anglican clergyman, the poem has at least as much pagan pastoral detail of flocks and shepherds as of glorious saints.

On August 31 of the same year was printed a thirty-one-line elegy "On the Death of the Rev. Mr. Kennedy," concerning the minister of the Scots meetinghouse, by "Omasius." The author, and probably the subject, were participants in the Great Awakening, and the verse reflects the piety and fervor of that movement. It is a good elegy, however, vivid in imagery and moving in feeling. It portrays an active clergyman of the Presbyterian New Light persuasion, but it employs basically the imagery of the pastoral elegy, concluding

But think, that once we'll tread the dismal shore,  
When Love and Joy must ne'er be dreamt on more.  
Adieu the muse, adieu the country plain,  
Adieu each nymph, and each enchanting strain.

In the same issue "Philagathus" had published (or at least sent in for someone) "Lines occasioned by the Death of that worthy Young Gentleman, Mr. *John Ball*." The lines are quite unlike those on Kennedy, for this piece is entirely in the classical tradition. It celebrates the young scion of a prominent family, cut off at twenty-one years of age, in the eulogistic clichés characteristic of "the unfulfilled renown" sort of tribute.

Then in September 7 appeared another longer and less fervid poem on Kennedy. Warning that life is short and death and judgment must follow, it depicts Kennedy as the ideal minister of a middle way between the formal Anglicans and the "enthusiasts." That not all New Light Presbyterians admired Whitefield is evident here. The author, I——, is mindful of the classical tradition of the elegy, for he compares Kennedy's departure with the departures of Cicero, Æneas, and Cato.

In 1748 at least two competent elegies appeared in the *Gazette*, the first by C.W.F. (Charles Walter Fortesque, teacher of the classics?) which appeared on May 11. "On the much lamented Death of Benjamin Godin" is a eulogistic thirty-two-line piece lamenting the death of a prominent South Carolina merchant. Orthodox, pious, and patriotic, "No sour enthusiastic whims, possess . . . his peaceful breast." On September 12

anonymous "Lines on the Death of William N. Hill" was apparently an adaptation of Sir Francis Fane's "On the Penitent Death of the Earl of Rochester," though here is depicted an ideal young Christian. Here seraphs and numpfs and rocks and plains all echo the lament for the young Charlestonian.<sup>123</sup>

In 1751 two versions of "To the Memory of my much lov'd Friend Mrs. Hannah Dale, (Relict of Doctor Dale), who died the 9th of April 1751, aged 29 years, by H—— S——, a Lady of her Acquaintance" were printed on May 6 and with corrections and revisions by the author again on May 13. "H.S." apparently considered herself a serious poetess, and what she produced is a conventional elegy from its first lines:

Apollo's Sons when e'er the Wealthy die,  
In fawning Verse chant out their Obsequy;  
Praise them for Virtues which they ne'er possess'd  
Tho' greatly wicked, yet pronounce them bless'd  
——— Shall I be mute when so much Merit calls?

Classical in form and language throughout, this poem's nearest approach to Christian terms is "Angel-like." On September 23 of that year there was an anonymously composed "Pastoral Elegy on a Young Gentleman lately deceased." Like some of the works of James Sterling in Maryland this is a traditional lament in dialogue, with the shepherds Alexis and Strephon meeting "To sing a solemn dirge at Damon's hearse." Despite the idyllic landscape and situation depicted, this poem—like Sterling's—uses a local American setting, "*Port-Royal* plains!" referring to the historic South Carolina settlement, where "in your field's, entombed, does Damon lie." Despite its classical trappings, this elegy seems peculiarly American, more so than most New England funeral pieces.

On October 3 the *Gazette* carried an "Epitaph" on the same youth, in this instance a definitely Christian poem. In its fourteen-line form, despite its couplets, it much resembles the English sonnet. It picks up as an opening phrase "Port Royal plains" and continues to use classical terms, such as the silver urns of the *Pleiads* and "Sol's bright influence," but it concludes with a didactic couplet.

Published in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of September 12, 1754, and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 31 is M.S.'s "To the Memory of Lieut. Peter Mercier, Esq. Who fell in the late Battle near Ohio River in Virginia, July 3, 1754." The thirty-seven-line heroic-couplet lament and eulogy could be applied to almost any fallen military hero, though there is here superior felicity of expression and perhaps depth of thought. Beginning "Too fond of what the martial harvests yield," it is localized by reference to "Ohio's sons," to Georgia's and Virginia's laments for Mercier's



passing, and to his participation in a campaign "To vindicate the British int'r[est] wrong'd." It is an early example of the southern martial elegy raised to greater dignity and grace and perceptivity by Henry Timrod and Allen Tate.

Localized also is "An Elegy *On the much Lamented Loss of Col. HYRNE's Lady,*" published anonymously in the issue of December 16, 1756. "Fair Carolina" has lost one of her jewels. Two years later the anonymous "On the Death of a Young Child" is 110 lines of mixed Christian sentiment and classical allusion, with much more orthodox religious terminology than any previous poem so far observed. It is interesting that the poet rather adroitly, as Wages has observed, skirts the question of infant damnation.<sup>124</sup>

Though southern poets such as Samuel Davies voice their obligations to the form and the classic poet, the so-called Pindaric ode, which was enormously popular in Britain in mid- and later-eighteenth-century writing, was rare in colonial America. But on August 9, 1760, the *Gazette* carried "A PINDARIC ODE on the Death of Captain Manly Williams," by Anglicanus. It is in reality a pseudo-Pindaric which English and colonials alike employed. This example is perhaps the only one to appear in the southern gazettes, despite Davies' advocacy and exemplification of use of the form elsewhere. The subject of this poem had been killed in a skirmish with the Cherokees on June 27, 1760. The poem is introduced by a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*. The invocation to "Goddess of numbers, and of thought supreme!" is followed by strictly secular allusions to frontier warfare and to Britain's glory in her martial sons. Though all the figures are conventional, this dignified poem should be remembered as another early example of southern pride in military prowess, or in militancy itself.

Even more conventional is the military elegy published on November 1, 1760, "To the Memory of Capt. John Seabury Commander of a Troop of Rangers in the Service of the Province who died at Amelia Township, October 24, 1760," signed "N.A." The brave and virtuous youth had been "Untimely crop'd on Carolina's shores / By fell disease, and autumns tainted breath. . . ." It was reprinted in the *New York Gazette* of December 4, where the subject is identified as "late of New-London, in Connecticut;" but the poem is datelined "Charles-Town, (in South Carolina) Nov. 1." The thirty-one lines primarily of couplets form one of the better and most dignified of secular elegies.<sup>125</sup>

Then there is Edward Kimber's (1719-1769) "On the Death of Mrs. Alice K——r, who dy'd in childbed, October 24, 1742," published in the *London Magazine* for January 1744. Kimber, son of the magazine's editor, had made an extended stay and tour in the colonies, particularly from Virginia to Georgia, sending home from each port verse or prose inspired by what he saw. His accounts of Georgia and a British expedition to St.

Augustine have been reprinted and discussed several times within the past century.<sup>126</sup> His novels on American subjects were to become quite popular. But here he is in the classical elegiac tradition, with slight reference to Christianity, but including a description of sympathetic nature. It may have been sent back from South Carolina or Georgia.

There are also the British-originated elegiac borrowings in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, as indicative of tastes if not of talent as the locally composed pieces. "A Soliloquy Written in a Country Church-Yard," appearing on July 21, 1759, a long poem of 111 lines, is a Theophrastian series of character sketches as well as a pastoral elegy. Many qualities of the sentimental and graveyard schools are here—the clock at midnight, the gloomy yew trees, the tomb of Myra (compare Poe's "Ulalume") and considerable morbid mortuary detail such as the Gothic writers employed. At the same time it has the pastoral terms and conventions. On February 7, 1761, was printed "Stanzas Occasioned by the Death of His late most Sacred Majesty" in thirteen quatrains by William Woty. These verses are inferior to much native poetry in the *Gazette* and were probably printed for their timeliness.

A final elegiac example from the Charleston newspaper is a thirty-five-line mock "Epitaph." It plays with the ancient idea of the four humors or liquids in man's physiology. Fourteen of the lines begin with "Here lies":

Here lies a tongue that whining talk'd,  
Here lies two feet that feebly walk'd;  
Here lies the midriff and the breast,  
With loads of indigestion prest.

Perhaps the work of a British physician, these lines anticipate the macabre humor of an Edgar Allan Poe.<sup>127</sup>

The last elegy to be considered from colonial South Carolina has not been printed. It consists of three pages of "Elegiac Verses" written by Dr. George Milligen-Johnston, a touching tribute to a child of his who died at three and a half. It is conventional in form yet warmly personal. And it is replete with references growing out of the physician's occupation as a military surgeon. Symptoms, anatomy, pulse, the course of the disease:

When death at first besieg'd this little fort,  
The feeble outworks were the Tyrants sport  
Angina made the first attack in form  
Paripneumonia took it soon by storm.<sup>128</sup>

The principal student of the southern colonial elegy and the present writer have separately found less original or native mourning verse in the *Virginia Gazette* before 1764 than in the Maryland and South Carolina newspapers, but some of the pieces that do survive in the Williamsburg

journal have some significance for several reasons. In Virginia, as in Maryland, is a body of still unpublished or recently published verse which never got into the *Gazette*. In addition, curious and often genuinely poetic epitaphs from official and unofficial county and personal records or from gravestones continue to emerge and enlarge and enrich the body of Virginia colonial poetry. And then there is an impressive number of elegies borrowed from British journals or books which at least reflect the taste of southern colonial readers.

Probably the earliest surviving eighteenth-century formal Virginia elegy appears in the Philadelphia *American Weekly Mercury* of September 14, 1732, presumably reprinted from a lost issue of Parks' *Maryland Gazette*. Perhaps written by William and Mary professor and later president William Dawson, it is a pastoral tribute to the most powerful and wealthy Virginian of his generation. This is "A Poem, Sacret to the Memory of the Honourable Robert Carter, Esq; Late President of His Majesty's Council, in the Colony of Virginia. Who departed this life on Friday the 4th of August, 1732, in the 69th year of his Age." The colloquy or dialogue is between Lycidas and Philenus. Beginning with the avowed desire to produce both a pleasing and an instructive song, the shepherds state that "Great Carter's dead" and then proceed to analyze his virtues.

His Smiles proceeded from his human thoughts  
His Frowns not bent on Persons, but on Faults.  
His just Acquests his well-pois'd Soul maintain'd  
Above all Fraud, nor by Ambition stain'd.  
His generous Heart with Malice could not swell,  
And knew no Pride but that of doing well.

Readers of Carter's letters may or may not agree fully with this praise, but it never grows too fulsome. The poem is one of the better colonial elegies, worthy to compare with the best of the Maryland poems in the same pastoral tradition. Despite vague references to "blest Spirits," this is another essentially secular classical elegy, concentrating on the portrait of a great man worthy to be compared with ancient Graeco-Roman heroes.<sup>129</sup>

Equally as prominent as Carter in the same period, though for somewhat different reasons, was Sir John Randolph, the learned jurist who died in 1737. On April 8, 1737, in both Latin and English, an elegy containing (in the English version) twenty-eight heroic couplets and two triplets was printed in the *Virginia Gazette*. Though it has been attributed to Commissary James Blair, who is known to have composed Latin verses at least for other occasions, Sir John's reputation as a deist or agnostic may have prevented the ecclesiastical dignitary from employing his pen upon this subject. It is probably by some less elevated member of the William and

Mary faculty, though at least a dozen men in and around Williamsburg might have written it. Not one reference to Christian myth or doctrine occurs in the poem, which in phrase is classical and pastoral. Randolph's public and private career and interests are referred to, as well as "His mournful consort." His work for the college and for the city as well as his principal political office is mentioned:

Our wretched Seminary wails to find  
A Loss so great, as its departed Friend  
The Orphan City for its Parent grieves;  
His Death the Public of its Weal bereaves.  
The speechless Chair does fitly bemoan  
Th' August ASSEMBLY's Speaker, and its own.

In the Williamsburg newspaper of December 9, 1737, appeared "An Acrostick upon Miss Evelyn Byrd, lately deceased," usually attributed to the subject's father, William Byrd II, whose other known verse suggests that he was capable of composing these lines. This is a restrained and graceful tribute to a young woman who died aged twenty-eight. Two years later, on September 21, 1739, "An Epitaph" on another young woman, Miss Molly Thacker, was published in the *Gazette*. Angels and "the Heavenly Choir" are referred to, with the suggestion also found in other southern elegies that the reader should emulate the subject's character. A week later, September 28, 1739, an eighty-two line elegy on the same young lady was printed. It is an extended lament listing Molly's virtues, with the specific exhortation to readers to emulate these qualities of her character. Though there are references to her "strugling Coughs" and patient endurance of pain, most of the poem is devoted to the neoclassical clichés characteristic of the eighteenth-century funeral elegy. It is vaguely pastoral, and contains one reference to her "Christian" traits. Both these Thacker poems were published anonymously.

Several other Virginia-authored elegies on Virginia subjects were printed in places other than the *Gazette* in this period. The Philadelphia *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* in May 1741 published a twenty-line anonymous occasional poem "to Benjamin Needler, Esq." It is unusual in that it is written in ballad measure of five quatrains. Again anonymous, it contains no Christian references but employs conventional and general terms in lamenting this former secretary of the Virginia General Assembly. Other prominent persons were mourned in verse in the *London Magazine*, the verses by the Edward Kimber who had spent some time in the colony or by some colonial he had known in America. The first, in the issue of May 1750 is "A Monody, as a Tribute to the Memory of a most tender Mother, the Hon. Mrs. Hannah Lee, late excellent Wife of

the Hon. Thomas Lee, Esq.; President of his Majesty's Council, and Commander in Chief in Virginia," possibly written by her son Philip Ludwell Lee, who had been educated at the Inner Temple. Not one word of Christian reference appears, but the classical yew and cypress, Philomela's song, and nymphs and swains are mentioned along with "America's extended plains." Conventional and moderately competent, it is inferior to "An Elegiack Monody: Upon hearing of the Death of the Hon. Thomas Lee . . . by an Acquaintance lately come over from thence" which appeared in the same journal in January 1752. This latter is almost surely by Kimber. The nineteen couplets mourn and extol in characteristic neoclassic fashion, without Christian reference, this patriot whose "publick loss" all Virginia will share.<sup>130</sup>

Another President of the Council, Colonel Digges, had a son Edward, who in 1744 had carved on the black marble slab over his father's grave an elaborate epitaph-elegy. It stresses the deceased's personal philosophy of the Horatian golden mean, a characteristic of earlier Virginia gentlemen emphasized by Louis B. Wright and Howard M. Jones.

Digges, ever to extremes untaught to bend;  
Enjoying life, yet mindful of his end.  
In thee the world one happy meeting saw  
Of sprightly humour and religious awe  
Cheerful, not wild; facetious, yet not mad;  
Though grave, not sour; though serious, never sad.

Sixteen more lines continue to emphasize the subject's steady and moderate character in one of the better epitaphs which have been recorded.<sup>131</sup> Another gravestone epitaph in memory of a sea captain, Virginia-born John Booth, aged thirty-four when he died in 1748, is entirely nautical in its imagery.

Whil'st on this variant stage he rov'd  
From Port to port on Ship board drove.  
Sometimes the wished-for haven reached,  
But twice his bark was stranded on the beach.  
No other coffin but the ship, the Sea his grave  
But god the merciful and just,  
Has brought him to the haven safe in dust

. . . . .

His sails unfurled his voyage tis o'er  
His anchors gone he's safe on shore.<sup>132</sup>

This brings one chronologically to Samuel Davies, Presbyterian parson-poet of distinction. The Davies-Dymocke controversy already alluded to seems to have been responsible for two mock-elegies or epitaphs which ap-

peared in the *Virginia Gazette* of 1752. Both may have been written by Davies himself, though the first is in tone and language quite different from anything surely attributed to the poet elsewhere. The "Epitaph on William Waugh" appeared on May 22, prefaced by a note from publisher William Hunter concerning this "Melancholy News of the joyful Transition of William Waugh thro' the Valley of the Shadow of Death." The verses, Hunter declares, were written by Waugh himself (well known as a writer of Hudibrastics). It is definitely in the satiric tradition:

HERE lie I fix'd in Earth full low  
Your late Itinerant Willy Waugh:  
No more to rove and, as I pass you,  
Observe your Tricks and *hudibras* you.

An "Elegy upon Walter Dymocke" was printed on August 14 and seems more likely as a product of Davies' pen or that of his publisher-relative Holt, who was associated with Hunter in printing the *Virginia Gazette*.

O Walter! Thou for great Atchievements born!  
To [sneer?] at sacred Things with pious Scorn,  
To *laugh* at Truths, the hardiest Ghost in Hell  
In their dread Energy with Trembling feel.  
Gifted with *pious* Zeal, with *Grace* endow'd  
To hinder a Dissenter to do good:  
(Whose Poems could not help offending thee,  
While guilty of the *Crime of Piety*).

This long poem continues with references to Pindar, Willy Waugh, and Dymocke himself and concludes with a direct personal attack beginning "So have I seen a *Pole-Cat* long prevail / O'er Men and Dogs with his *all-conquering Tail*."

Then one should turn to Davies' serious verse. His lyrics, occasional poems, and hymns will be considered later. But he also composed mournful verses varying from short epitaphs to elaborate neoclassical elegies, some of which are included in his *Miscellaneous Poems, Chiefly on Divine Subjects* published by Hunter in Williamsburg in 1752. One dated December 5, 1750, "A Clergyman's Reflections on hearing of the Death of one of his pious Parishioners," is as much in the meditative as the elegiac tradition, in six stanzas of six lines each. Stanza III is characteristic:

Thus while I'm dreaming life away,  
Or Books and Study fill the Day,  
My Flock is dying one by one;  
Convey'd beyond my warning Voice,  
To endless Pains, or endless Joys,  
For ever happy, or undone!

Quite characteristic are the particular lines of his other poems and the prose of his diary in the pondering over who is predestined to death eternal and who to salvation.<sup>133</sup>

Longer and more ambitious is a poem dated June 9, 1751, "On hearing of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Blair's desperate Illness by common Fame, and Letters from Correspondents in Pennsylvania." This meditative poem anticipates the approaching dissolution of his old friend and mentor but includes a prayer that Blair may recover. The mortuary details, of deathbed and grave, place this poem much nearer the Puritan funeral elegy than any that one meets earlier in the southern colonies. The 165-plus lines of dignified couplets are clustered in stanzas of varying length.

Soon afterward Davies received definite news of Blair's death on July 5, 1751, and probably immediately sat down to compose "Elegiac Verses on the lamented Death of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Blair," though he did not include it in his *Miscellaneous Poems*, which may already have been in press. The "Elegiac Verses" in its 318 lines enumerates its subject's earthly accomplishments and depicts his triumphant entrance into heaven. In language and tone it is a mixture of the classical and the biblical. For example,

Hark! a long doleful *Eccho* round me groans,  
Heard by deaf Rocks, and felt by senseless Stones.  
The sympathizing Hills of *Zion* toss,  
The mournful *Eccho*, and lament the loss.

Davies goes on to picture Blair in his study, as a student of science and philosophy, as a pulpit orator scourging and comforting sinners, altogether the glory of his profession. Milton's "Lycidas," the eighteenth-century Pindaric ode and couplet, and Davies' own deep personal feeling supply some of the elements of this stately elegy. Its sincerity so outweighs its poetic clichés that it produces a deep impression.<sup>134</sup>

On Tuesday, November 13, 1753, Davies wrote in his diary that his "worthy Friend Mrs. Dushane" had asked him to write an epitaph for the tombstone of her recently deceased sister. Though he had neither the time nor the energy, he notes, he composed three epitaphs from which the lady might choose. The first is representative:

Does Beauty spread her Charms? Does Wealth o'erflow?  
Does Health Bloom fresh, or youthful Vigour glow?  
Are all Earth's Blessings in Profusion pour'd?  
And all these Sweets with no Affliction sour'd.  
Ah! trust not these, to guard from early Death  
All these adorn'd the precious Dust beneath.<sup>135</sup>

Robert Bolling of Chellowe (1738-1775), whose poems are now being edited primarily from original manuscripts, in his short life published a

number of verses in both British and American periodicals. In the *Imperial Magazine*, usually under the pseudonym of "Prometheus," appeared several of his pieces, among them, in the July 1762 issue, "An Epitaph on a Lady," beginning perhaps in irony or mockery, "Here lie, beneath this heap of stones / What once were lov'd Amanda's bones." In the September 1764 *London Magazine* Bolling published "Madrigal, attributed to Abbe Chaulieu, imitated, in Memory of Mrs. M. Bolling," a six-line tribute to his wife Mary Burton Bolling.<sup>136</sup> Close kin in elegiac spirit to these is the prose piece "A Pathetic Soliloquy, Written by Robert Bolling, Esquire, of Virginia, in the Year 1764." This is a melancholy meditation on "Lavinia," to whom the first-person narrator had been married. The description of the lost loved one (probably his wife just noticed) is startlingly like those of the departed ladies of Poe—Ligeia, Madeline Usher, Morella, and a dozen others. The conclusion of the piece is a series of almost morbid lamentations in vocative form and language.<sup>137</sup>

In Rind's *Virginia Gazette* of May 16 [or 26?], 1766, were nineteen lines "On the Death of the Hon. John Robinson, Esq." and on January 1, 1767, an "Epitaph on Thomas Banks, alias Williams, the ostler, the singing boy, the pirate, the fiddler, the schoolmaster, the clerk of Jefferson's church, in Chesterfield, and finally an honest man." Beginning with two Latin lines from Ovid, the alternating rhyme goes on thus:

Here lies a wight, whose heart was great,  
Whose soul ambitious wish'd to fly,  
Beyond the bounds prescrib'd by fate—  
In him 'twas prudence, *sure*, to die.

Probably by a Virginian is "To the Manes of Captain Spotswood, whose Bones were lately found near Fort Duquesne now Pittsburg," which appeared in B. Martin's *Miscellaneous Correspondence* (London, 1764, III, 81). This concerns the able son of the former governor.

Courageous youth, were now thine honour'd sire  
To breathe again, and rouze his wonted fire;  
Nor *French*, nor *Shawnoe* durst his rage provoke,  
From great Potomac's springs to *Roanoke*.

Twenty more lines extol the brave young man who died for his country by "fair Ohio's blushing waves."<sup>138</sup>

As in Maryland and South Carolina, Virginia literary tastes are indicated by the elegies printed in the local newspaper from outside sources. Some are concerned with departed royalty, as "An Epitaph on her late Majesty [Queen Caroline]" (May 19, 1738) and "On the Death of His late Serene Highness the Prince of Orange" (*Virginia Gazette*, February 13, 1752). But there were epitaphs on less exalted persons, as that "on



the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Sheridan" (January 26, 1738), friend of Jonathan Swift and grandfather of Richard Brinsley Sheridan; and on the highwayman William Smith, executed at Tyburn in 1750 (January 31, 1751); and the mock-lament, "Prince Punch's Dying Speech, calculated for a Friendly Society of worldly Gentlemen, who met on Tuesday Night at Jonah Coffee House in Canterbury" (January 14, 1737).

Thus the funeral poem or elegy was a characteristic mode of literary expression in the colonial South, especially in the eighteenth century. Classical and frequently pastoral in form or imagery, rarely biblical in reference, it thus sprang from English origins quite different from those of most of the earlier New England elegies. It could be mocking entirely or simply ironic in part, but it was rarely sentimental and rarely grim. Its composers took death, as they took life, in stride.

### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PROSE

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Despite the fact that the "Poet's Corner" was an established feature of eighteenth-century southern colonial periodicals, the most distinguished and abundant form of literary expression of the region and period is in prose, including a variety of essays, some of them already commented upon. Also there were examples of the epistolary tradition following and developed from the seventeenth-century models in a number of directions, a few diaries and journals possessing both historical and intrinsic interest, and several additional interesting wills.

Tracts and pamphlets ranged from the promotional and religious and scientific discussed in preceding chapters to the economic and political and philosophical, most of them paralleling in subject matter the periodical essays. There were a few narratives, including voyages and travels and captivities as well as allegories, and at least one or two erstwhile dwellers in the Chesapeake region tried their hand at novel writing. Some legal-philosophical-political and some literary criticism appeared, usually in periodicals but occasionally in the prefaces to other works such as collections of verse. Aesthetic criticism of the fine arts has been commented upon briefly in the preceding chapter.

Gubernatorial and legislative speeches and proclamations occupy much of the space in southern newspapers, and southern expression of this kind was copied in middle-colony and New England journals, even in British magazines such as the *Gentleman's* and *Scot's*. A separate study should be made of the debates and speeches of colonial legislators spread on the manuscript record but not printed usually until this century. They will merely be touched upon here and in the next chapter, but their rhetoric

and organization give them some title to be considered with more purely belletristic writing. The South no more than New England produced its best prose in the purely belletristic essay.

PERSONAL RECORDS: LETTERS, DIARIES, JOURNALS, AND WILLS

Among the subjects the eighteenth-century southern colonial wrote about most easily were himself and the society of which he was a part. As in the seventeenth century, if he had a good formal education or was a fairly wide reader, he was conscious that there were traditions in letter writing and in voyage and memoir writing which included certain rhetorical conventions. But even within a genre-tradition he had new and fresh models to follow, such as several celebrated late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century travel accounts or memoirs and new manuals and new editions of old manuals of letter writing, as well as the epistolary-essay forms of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* and *Guardian* and several popular translations of French epistolarians.<sup>139</sup>

The southern letter writers continued from where they had left off in 1700, writing to friends in Great Britain and in the colonies on somewhat the same subjects they had before, but with perhaps greater consciousness of the letter as an art form. Even the religious and scientific and business letters, which constituted most of them, were, like William Fitzhugh's, composed with constant awareness that in such communications there were rhetorical rules to be observed.

Most of the major minds or prominent characters of the Chesapeake colonies survive in several letters, usually addressed to persons in England or Scotland. The governors of Virginia have left bodies of official and personal letters. In the instances of Spotswood and Dinwiddie, their official papers, principally letters, were edited and printed late in the nineteenth century. Though there exists an interesting series of personal letters from Sir William Gooch to his brother the Bishop of Norwich, their publication has been delayed because the scholar working on them hopes to find more, including some replies. Also extant are three volumes of Gooch's miscellaneous official letters. Scattered here and there in the journals indexed by Earl G. Swem forty years ago are a number of single letters, some personal, from these and other Virginia viceroys, and a greater number still unpublished in the repositories within the United States and the British Isles. Letters of Francis Nicholson have been individually printed in a number of places, letters both official and highly personal. There is little or nothing by Botetourt or Fauquier now in print, though both were articulate men. In Maryland there are a number of epistles by the Proprietors or their governors, usually kinsmen, though no collective edition exists. Governor

Horatio Sharpe, a somewhat intellectual man of taste, left a number of interesting and very rhetorical communications which have been gathered together in several volumes of the *Archives of Maryland*. Epistles by all these officials to archbishops and bishops or to Commissary Bray are scattered among the printed documents of the Anglican church in the colonies. Other letters addressed to the Lords of Trade and the Plantations, to members of the Privy Council, or to resident colonial officials of lesser rank also exist, sometimes in printed collections but often only by title and abstract in the *British Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and the West Indies* mentioned frequently in preceding chapters. Usually the governors wrote clearly and—on personal matters—with engaging warmth and sometimes graceful rhetoric. This latter quality is especially true for the known epistles of Sir William Gooch and, at his best, of Alexander Spotswood. On the other hand, Nicholson and Dinwiddie and Spotswood could be most irascible or biting in their comments.

The considerable body of letters written by Maryland and Virginia churchmen has been taken up directly and indirectly in the chapters above on religion. Commissaries and ministers of parishes and S.P.G. missionaries (in some colonies the latter two ecclesiasts were one and the same) wrote many of the most informative and spontaneous of these, some of them quite impressive in their unstudied style. So far only a few of Samuel Davies' letters are known, but as one might expect from an able poet and master pulpit rhetorician, they are beautifully composed, whether written to a brother-in-law or to Anglican civil authorities.<sup>140</sup>

Naturally more letterbooks or collections of loose letters from the eighteenth than from the seventeenth century survive in Virginia. From 1743 to his death in 1760 Joseph Ball, for example, transplanted Virginian residing in Great Britain, kept up a steady correspondence with American friends and relatives, including Joseph Chinn, Ellen Chichester, Benjamin Waller, and Elizabeth Washington. He wrote about his books he wanted sent from the colony, the care to be taken of his plantation and mansion house and livestock, the rebuilding of the Williamsburg Capitol after the 1747 fire, a fine print of a horse, and the Parson's Cause dispute. The replies are equally interesting, and the style of his epistles is lively. This letterbook is in all a detailed account of economic and political and social life.<sup>141</sup>

The letters of horticulturist John Custis, now like Ball's in the Library of Congress, include some 136 copies or drafts, fourteen of which were written to the English Quaker botanist Peter Collinson. Scattered Custis letters are also in various Virginia repositories, letters that show him much engaged in business as well as in his favorite avocation of gardening. But this educated, intelligent, eccentric man also reveals much of his own character and of his society in all of them. They include communications

to Robert Cary, William Byrd II, Micajah Perry, Sir John Randolph, and to various persons in England and Scotland and other parts of America. He discusses family matters at some length with Byrd, who tried to be jocular with him, perhaps with some success. What Custis reveals is a sensitive and artistic mind intensely interested in nature and in painting and drawing.<sup>142</sup> Two straws in the wind may indicate a genuine sense of humor—his order of 1717 for "Comickall diverting prints to hang in the passage of my house" and the grim irony of his specified tombstone inscription designed to show how he felt about his one venture into matrimony.

Robert "King" Carter's (1663–1732) letterbook, if the collection may be so designated, is principally business correspondence of 1720–1727, with a few letters to his son John, then at the Inns of Court, and to his friends and associates such as Thomas Lee and Lord Fairfax or to Lieutenant-Governor Spotswood. Frequently he is brief and pointed, usually primarily utilitarian even when addressing son John. His rhetoric is straightforward, perhaps unconsciously reflecting his knowledge of the rules. For example,

Dear Son John:

What I wrote to you t'other day about my children [in England] was the result of my first thoughts. A fit of the gout, which now I'm under, brings me to a cooler temper. Besides the little man [Will Dawkins] (and such are very commonly of a waspish disposition) may upon a review of his letter condemn himself for the style of it. When you come to show him my other letter he will no doubt produce my answer, and, if he shows any uneasiness about my orders and confessions of his folly, I am not for having you put them in execution. . . . But, if his pride be so overgrown that he treats you with no better manners than he has done me, pursue my first orders and then deliver Mr. Evans's letter.<sup>143</sup>

In *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock*, Moncure D. Conway gives dozens of eighteenth-century letters written by Carter's neighbors on all manner of subjects, though principally political. One is from a young clergyman, John Thompson, attempting to persuade the young widow of much older recently deceased former governor Spotswood to marry him. Thompson argues well in a long epistle citing the station held by the priesthood since biblical times. It is a beautifully organized and worded letter. He won the lady. Fitzhughs later than founder William also expressed themselves well, among them the immigrant's namesake William of Rousby Hall.<sup>144</sup>

Virginians who gave epistolary advice to sons pursuing their education in Britain included later Tory Richard Corbin (1714–1790), who wrote on August 21, 1758:

I observe by your last letter that you are to Continue at Cambridge till July Next, after two years stay at the Temple, I shall hope for you[r] return to you[r] own Country but this will depend upon Incidents that may arise in the mean time. . . . When you are settled in the Temple, you will have a full View of the basic sense of Life, and be surrounded by Many and Various Temptations. Then will be the time to put Your Virtue to the trial.<sup>145</sup>

And the father spells out some things about love affairs and dueling. In nearby Fredericksburg Charles Dick (1715–1783) sent to the Royal Society of Arts a significant commentary on his fellow Americans which echoes almost identical comments by the first John Clayton in the seventeenth century and Hugh Jones in his *History* in 1724. Dick wrote on June 22, 1762: "The Americans in general are not a very industrious people, they live easy and consequently pretty lazy, not caring to go out of the way they have been brought up in . . . or at least the Appearance of it; They are not much given to reading which consequently must hinder the importation of Books." And, like Clayton almost a century before, he goes on to explain how he had attempted to persuade southern colonists to fertilize their lands.<sup>146</sup> Then in 1756 a highly literate indentured servant wrote of the colonists as not so industrious or so religious as the English, very fond of pageantry and "Grandeur," extravagant financially, and yet of good morals. One would like to know more of this man and the family with whom he served his bond.<sup>147</sup>

The epistles of William Byrd II, including the facetious and sardonic communications noted in discussion of his satire above, usually are highly conscious art. Besides the tongue-in-cheek or biting jeering pieces, there are letters to his particular friends Lords Orrery and Egmont and Sir Charles Wager, or Sir Hans Sloane, which are composed with as much deliberate art as the mocking letters. For Byrd could be philosophical and wistful, informative and courtly, in graceful images. This letter of 1726, portraying himself in the role of pater familias, pastoral variety, is fairly typical, including its biblical imagery:

I have a large Family of my own, and my Doors are open to Every Body, yet I have no Bills to pay, and half-a-Crown will rest undisturbed in my Pocket for many Moons together. Like one of the Patriarchs, I have my Flock and my Herds, my Bond-men and Bond-women, and every Soart of Trade amongst my own Servants, so that I live in a kind of Independence on every one but Providence. . . .

Thus my Lord we are happy in our Canaans if we could but forget the Onions and Fleshpots of Egypt.<sup>148</sup>

Especially in his letters he liked to exercise the repartee of his time: "I love to have the Ball tost directly to me & I catch it before it reaches the ground."

The turn of phrase is always graceful. He looked at himself and his fellow men with a certain equanimity, sometimes tinged with the cynical or the serene: "We play the Fool . . . 50 or 60 years, what Prodigys then should we grow up to in double that time? And why should the figure of our constitutions be lengthened out when the odds are great, we should make a bad use of them." This was in 1739. Twenty years earlier he had been in a less disillusioned mood when he wrote: "God almighty is ever contriving our happiness, and does many things for good which appear to our short sight to be terrible misfortunes. By the time the last act of the play comes on, we grow convinced of our mistake, and look back with pleasure on those scenes which first appeared unfortunate."<sup>149</sup>

Country gentlemen such as Henry Wood of Goochland, and his correspondent Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg, wrote sprightly letters in both prose and verse, with and without satiric implications. Lees and Randolphs, nurtured in the articulate, wrote in the decades before the Revolution scores of letters, some of them designedly exercises in expression. Princeton-educated tutor Philip Fithian interlards his journal with letters to male college friends, to young ladies, to older gentlemen. One of his more revealing was addressed to John Peck, another Princetonian who was to succeed him as teacher in the Nomini Hall family of Carters and would eventually marry into that family. Fithian's is a long letter of hints and advice, advice based on his own experience among the Northern Neck planter aristocracy. The New Jersey youth of Presbyterian background, Fithian warns, will find himself in a southern Anglican society well worth observing:

You come here, it is true, with an intention to teach, but you ought likewise to have an inclination to learn. At any rate I solemnly injoin it upon you, that you will never suffer the spirit of a Pedagogue to attend you without the walls of your little Seminary. In all promiscuous Company be as silent & attentive as Decency will allow you, for you have nothing to communicate which such company, will hear with pleasure, but you may learn many things which, in after life, will do you singular service.— In regard to Company in general, if you think it worth the while to attend to my example, I can easily instruct you in the manner of my Conduct in this respect. I commonly attend Church; and often, at the request of Gentlemen, after Service according to the custom, dine abroad on Sunday. . . . The last direction I shall venture to mention on this head, is, that you abstain totally from Women. What I would have you understand from this, is, that by a train of faultless conduct in the whole course of your tutorship, you make every Lady within the Sphere of your acquaintance, who is between twelve & forty years of age, so much pleased with your person, & so fully satisfied as to your abilities in the capacity of—a Teacher.<sup>150</sup>

Peck lived on not only to marry but to become a Virginian. Fithian died as a chaplain in the Revolutionary army; but for more than a year after the letter to Peck he continued to endite sprightly, charming letters to this southern plantation family which had entered his heart too. To intellectual Councilor Carter or to the younger daughters, Fithian found something tactful and graceful and appropriate to say, catering to the interests of each correspondent. As he admitted, he learned as much in the South as he had been able to impart there.

Letters from Maryland were concerned with many of the same problems as those of Virginia, though those relating to church government dug perhaps more deeply into the American-bishop problem than did the Virginia epistles. There was an occasional dialect letter in a newspaper; there were scientific and philosophical addresses to newspaper editors or to British botanists. Several of the Dulanys wrote effectively, including Daniel Senior and Junior, Lloyd, and Walter, both in private and in the public presses of Annapolis and Philadelphia. The same may be said of the Bordleys—the two Stephens, Thomas, and John Beale.<sup>151</sup> And the three volumes of Governor Horatio Sharpe's letters in the Archives of Maryland are rich in many things.

Perhaps the most interesting letter writers were the contemporaries and friends the Reverend Thomas Bacon, Henry Callister, and Dr. Alexander Hamilton, and the slightly later parson Jonathan Boucher, the Loyalist. Bacon, already referred to in previous chapters for his sermons, charity school, and musical abilities, was an indefatigable epistolarian. The Maryland Diocesan Library includes several of his letters to his good friend and fellow-musician Henry Callister, on concerts, methods of teaching music to children, reading matter, and social engagements. In the Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library are some of his letters to church officials in England and to his brother, the wealthy industrialist Anthony Bacon, fellow member of the Tuesday Club. To Anthony he wrote strongly against the pretensions of Marylander Johnson, who was on his way back to London to take holy orders. Bacon declares him to have been a drunken and uneducated schoolmaster who could not even construe a passage of Virgil and certainly should not be considered for the ministry.

A 1750 letter to the secretary of the S.P.G. acknowledging receipt of useful books presents a vivid picture of the state of the Anglican church in the province and something of Bacon's own conservatism. One portion of a paragraph is revealing enough.

Tindal's Christianity & c. is got into most houses where any body reads: but his confused obscurity and the wont of learning among the generality of our readers, make him of little more service to the cause, than to possess them with a conceit that there is something very deep in him

against revelation, tho' they don't understand him. So that few of our real or would be infidels are able to support even a show of argument. They appear most formidable in the way of ridicule as best suited to their capacities and most taking with the vulgar, in which they receive their main strength from the Independent Whig, a book every where to be met with. But this with Lord Shaftesbury's politer way of banter unassisted by the irregularities of the clergy would be of little force. Here indeed they seem to triumph, and the misbehavior of some weak and (I wish I could not say) scandalous brethren lies open to the eyes and understanding of the meanest and most illiterate [and] furnishes the evil minded among them with a plausible objection to the truth of Christianity drawn from the open practice of its professed defenders, makes others careless about the knowledge and means of religion . . . and leaves some simple and well meaning people a prey to the emissaries of the church of Rome or to the enthusiasm of *new-light* or other itinerant preachers.<sup>152</sup>

Henry Callister, tobacco factor and musician of the Eastern Shore also mentioned in preceding chapters, left perhaps the most valuable of all colonial Maryland manuscripts as social history. From 1741 to 1746 this sensitive and moody man kept friends and relatives in England and America informed on a variety of topics, from music to natural history to local trade to his miscellaneous reading. Unlike those of his good friend Bacon, his religious beliefs were extremely liberal, at least for his time, though not really atheistic. He seems to have shared with Sir John Randolph a sort of Christian deism.

Callister lived for many years at Oxford, a prosperous port of call for transatlantic merchantmen. The flood tide of the town's prosperity was probably during his residence there. When Robert Morris, father of the Signer and financier of the same name, was dying, his friend and employee Callister read Plato to him. The Tobacco Law, the French and Indian War, and provincial fauna and flora are among the subjects with which he was concerned. A fair sample of his style is in a letter of May 4, 1746:

Our Parliament [the General Assembly] had a sitting lately. They did no business but to grant 100£ sterling to be given to the Indians to engage'em on our side against the French, who 'tis said to have been tampering with them. The meanness of the present bribe or subsidy whatever it may be termed, is matter of ridicule to our neighboring colonies. The Pennsylvanians say it is intended to furnish the Indians with Jewsharps; and the Virginians call it a present of an Indian Tomhawk: but as the Governor more seriously expresses it in his speech at the breaking up of the Assembly, they have put the Province to 600£ expences to give 100£ to the Indians, and desires them to consider the absurdity of it at their next meeting.<sup>153</sup>



Among the Dulany Papers (Hamilton married a daughter of that family) there is Dr. Alexander Hamilton's letterbook for 1739–(1744?), made up to a considerable extent of his epistles to friends and relatives in Scotland. As one might expect from his other writings, they are both lively and informative. In 1739 he asks "D.B." in Scotland to "remember me to all the members of the Whin-bush Club, especially to the Right honourable the Lord Provost and other magistrates of that ancient and honourable society," reminding today's reader immediately of his own Tuesday Club. To a brother in Edinburgh he wrote of the effect of the Jamestown weed on a child, to another relative he remarks (October 20, 1743) that at the request of many persons he is standing for political office, and to yet another Scot he comments that he is not at all surprised to hear of Whitefield's effect on weak minds. Hamilton's brother-in-law, the Reverend David Smith, wrote in 1739, "Yours of the 29th April was very acceptable. . . . Alas! how much scotch drollery is now transplanted to American soil: I shall be glad to know by your letters from time to time how it thrives in a warmer climate." In a 1744 comment to this same David Smith, Hamilton urges the latter not to allow sermon composition to clog his mind, for

I cannot help thinking you have a poetical turn, since all people of a lively fancy are much delighted with these ruinous objects (rugged old rocks and pendant stones and small rivulets) and venerable traces of antiquity whether of art or nature. I shall imagine myself now near your Ruinous Tower, that stands within view of your house, sitting by a brook side, surrounded with thickets and Romantic objects and thus could break out, addressing myself to Philosophy, under the notion of a Goddess.<sup>154</sup>

And the Annapolis physician incorporates into the letter a serious poem "To Philosophy, a Hymn," warning his correspondent that no one is to know its author if the recipient thinks it is bad. Here is the pre-Romantic side of Hamilton's literary and intellectual interests, somewhat in contrast to the Tuesday Club materials but paralleling the interest in describing romantic scenery shown in his *Itinerarium*, of which a little more below.

The Reverend Jonathan Boucher came to Virginia as a schoolmaster, returned to Britain for holy orders, and then served parishes in both Virginia and Maryland before being "forced" to flee from the colonies in 1775 because of his militant loyalism. Elsewhere his sermons, discourses, poems, and autobiography have been or will be noticed. Here one should observe that he was an inveterate, dogmatic, and argumentative correspondent. Some of his letters survive in Virginia and Maryland repositories, others at Oxford and among the Fulham Papers at Lambeth and perhaps elsewhere in Britain. One scholar is now gathering them all together for

the purpose of publication. Certainly, along with the *Reminiscences* and the *Discourses*, they form the most voluminous record of Loyalist thinking in the southern colonies. They are also well-written documents revealing much on church, education, and social life.

Among those letters already published is a 1759 communication to an English cleric, the Reverend Mr. James of St. Bees, Cumberland, from Port Royal on the Rappahannock River in Virginia, and to James' wife:

'Tis true, whether from ye Climate, or their Manner of Education, being early introduc'd into Company, & soon commencing ripe, they are of a livelier, readier wit than we in Engl'd, in a general way, may boast of. . . . They live and dress well, all without any Labour & almost with'd any Concern of their own. . . . I assure you, Mr. James, the common Planter's Daughters here go every Day in finer Cloaths than I have seen content you for a Summer's Sunday. . . . they tell me I may see in Virginia more brilliant Assemblies than I ever e'd in the North of Engl'd, and except Royal ones perhaps in any part of it.

Twelve days later he describes a clergyman, Isaac Giberne, a man frequently mentioned in the Landon Carter diary, who may have influenced Boucher in becoming an Anglican minister. Boucher's verbal portrait is by no means entirely favorable, as it is not in his later *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist*. One playful yet earnest letter addressed to the Reverend Henry Addison of Maryland, announcing Boucher's intention of marrying Addison's niece, is long, philosophical, poetic, and full of learned allusions perhaps designed to impress his future relative. He may be a little coy, but he carries the witty image of the lady as an attractive bit of real estate throughout the long epistle, beginning

Dear Sir,

Ashamed and weary of this unproductive and unprofitable course of life, I resolve to turn planter. There is in your neighborhood a charming little plantation, unoccupied by anybody, which I think would exactly suit my purpose. As to buying it, that is out of the question; it is not venal, nor to be disposed of to the highest bidder; nor, if it were, have I wealth enough to buy it. If it were to be sold for what it is worth, the wealth of the Indies could not purchase it. I should indeed like to have it seiz'd in tail, which as I am sure I should never be disposed to part with it, might answer my purposes as well as a fee-simple. However, I shall think myself quite happy to get it on a lease for lives.<sup>155</sup>

In North Carolina there were well-expressed letters beginning in 1709 with those of John Lawson to James Petiver on natural history, the many sent back by missionaries and now in the archives of the S.P.G., Baron von Graffenreid's account of the expedition among the Indians ending in Lawson's tragic death, and Major Christopher Gale's version of the same

1750

Tuesday Club



*Alexander Hamilton armiger  
societatis vulgo Tuesday Club, nuncupator, secretarius  
et orator, nec non ejusdem, socius veteranus et longo-staticus.*

*Notor. ab archaia, conortij capite scribam,  
Qui tua verba, volo, stylo perenni arach  
neq. non facta tua, placido sermone perorah  
Nedra, quem lingua, vincero posse putat*

Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

Dr. Alexander Hamilton, self-portrait from the Tuesday Club Papers



Courtesy of the late Colonel George O. Sandys

George Sandys (1578–1644) in 1632, from the portrait at  
Graythwaite Hall, North Lancashire

event.<sup>156</sup> In 1729 Governor Everard wrote a perceptive letter to the Bishop of London describing the religious situation and why it was so, incidentally documenting William Byrd's comment in his "Histories" that Commissioner John Lovick had worked his way up from valet or "footboy." Governor Burrington in 1732 in introducing a physician desiring to take holy orders gives a similar picture of the church in that colony. Other governors including Gabriel Johnston and Arthur Dobbs wrote frequently to various persons in church or government.<sup>157</sup>

Dobbs, a writer of considerable ability in several areas including trade, navigation, exploration, and religion, has left epistles now in the Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace, the Belfast Public Record Office, and other repositories, many or most revealing of the man and of his colony at the close of the French and Indian War.<sup>158</sup> In North Carolina the one-time surveyor-general of Ireland, whose pamphlets were said to rival in brilliance Dean Swift's, was carrying out the last of his countless public functions, for he was to die in office in the colony. His letters are among the few surviving from that province which are comparable in graceful rhetoric and significant content to the work of the best epistolarians of the Chesapeake or Charleston regions, though his speeches and tracts possess more attractive belletristic qualities than do these epistles.

South Carolina, in its men of science and medicine, its governors and lesser officials, its several distinguished clergy and lawyers and planters, and in its learned ladies, had in the eighteenth century a remarkable group of letter-writers. Dozens of these people over long periods kept up correspondence with friends, relatives, and business associates abroad. The communications of Mark Catesby and Dr. Alexander Garden and a score of nearly as able scientists have been commented upon. Governors such as James Glen and William Henry Lyttelton and Lieutenant-Governor William Bull, Senior, educated and articulate men, wrote well. Among the most valuable letters of the clergy are those of Commissary Gideon Johnston and Dr. Francis LeJau to their ecclesiastical superiors in London, letters which have been edited and published in this century and quoted liberally in preceding chapters.<sup>159</sup> The polemical published letters of the Anglican Reverend Alexander Garden and his Whitefieldian opponents, including the Reverend Josiah Smith, the Peter Manigault letters from England to relatives in Carolina, Charles Woodmason's "Regulator Documents," the Reverend Richard Hill letterbook of 1743, as well as a number of single letters from young women have some significance and frequently a great deal of charm. These writers had much to say, and they were conscious of the forms in which they should express themselves.<sup>160</sup>

And then there are at least four epistolarians whose communications have survived in quantity in letterbooks or loose papers, all recently

printed or in process of being printed. These writers are the charming Eliza Lucas Pinckney, the merchant-politician Christopher Gadsden, the jurist-merchant Robert Pringle, and the planter-merchant-statesman Henry Laurens.<sup>161</sup> Though the three men were in the colonial period especially and primarily concerned with business, they indicate in effective language a number of intellectual interests.

Eliza Lucas Pinckney (c. 1722-1793) appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography* along with her distinguished sons Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney. As a letter-writer she is far more attractive and informative than her sons, the two more public figures. As far as is known, only her letters between 1739 and 1762 are in existence, these in a letterbook. From the first letter to her father to the last to British friends she displays a rare and independent spirit. She turns off one suitor with the assurance she has chosen the single life, though within a few years she marries widower Colonel Charles Pinckney, to whom she was devoted. Her letters to father, brothers, women friends in England and America, are vivid pictures of the golden age of Charleston and of an attractive and strong feminine character. Her letterbook does not include information on the most important event of her life, her marriage, but it does give minute details of plantation life before that event and her busy years after her husband's death. She has been quoted earlier as to gardens and architecture and education and her ideas on indigo culture. She educated herself and tells how she did it, and she was very careful in choosing British schools for her children. In her early writing she shows an inquisitive mind and a knack for saying what she thinks may interest her reader. Her 1741 letter to the first Mrs. Pinckney, for example, contains reflections on her reading and on her *personal identity*, which despite Mr. Locke seemed to change as she moved from town to country. To her future husband she frequently wrote in a philosophic vein, mingling with her serious reflections the latest chit-chat concerning her neighbors on the Ashley River. In her many letters to a Miss Bartlett she also mixes the philosophical and scientific with information on ladies' cap patterns and social gossip. Her remarkable reading is referred to throughout her letters. Her comments on *Pamela*, for example, are quite perceptive.

Like gentlemen and ladies elsewhere in the South, she believed firmly in the golden mean.

That there is any real hurt in a pack of Cards or going a suet [sweet] figure around the room, etc., no body I believe are obsurd enough to think, but tis the use we make of them. The danger arises from the too frequent indulging our selves in them which tends to effaminate the mind as it takes it of pleasures of a superior and more exalted Nature as well as waists our time; and may at length give it a disrelish for them.

For where these airy pleasures have taken intire possession of the mind the rational faculties are more and more unactive and, without doubt, for want of use will degenerate into downright dulness so that 'tis not playing a game at Cards or going to a ball now and then to relax the mind—but the immoderate love of them is sinful.<sup>162</sup>

If she seems here a bit prudish or almost puritan, she is merely displaying qualities or attitudes of mind characteristic of the southern planter class from the mid-seventeenth century. The epistles written from England 1753–1757 indicate the way of life for a southern colonial in London a full generation after William Byrd's last sojourn there. Travel, friends from Carolina and among the British gentry and nobility, her children and their education, and anecdotes of people make up much of this section. The last letters, of 1758–1762, are from Carolina, most of them after Colonel Pinckney died within a few weeks of their return to America. Her letter of August 1758 to her sons in school at Camberwell, breaking the news of their father's death, indicates profound grief, a strong religious faith, and a depth of affection for the two boys. Her letters on the same subject to others, including her mother, show much the same qualities, and in addition a fervid tribute to her late husband: "I did not know a Virtue he did not possess. This pleases while it pains and may be called the Luxury of grief."<sup>163</sup> Epistles to friends in Britain, including Dr. Kirkpatrick, are full of her grief but far from morbid. But her letters to her sons, crowded with sound advice and reflections on many things, such as the English public schools of Westminster and Warrington, are the best of those emanations from a remarkable mind.

The recently published handsome two-volume edition of *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle . . . 1737–1745* has brought alive one of the prominent merchants of colonial South Carolina who was for a decade a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. His letterbook, or copybook, is said to be the earliest full description of Charleston's trade. It antedates the Laurens papers and his own years on the bench. Pringle arrived in Charleston in 1725, a Scot born in the county of Edinburgh. Though called a merchant, he was actually, like Callister in Maryland, a factor, in his case for a number of English and American firms.

Though this is preeminently a business correspondence, Pringle expresses his opinions on local happenings, as on the Indian frontier, and on international events. His denigration of North Carolinians parallels that of William Byrd II, though for somewhat different reasons. Criticism of Oglethorpe's expedition against St. Augustine fills a number of letters. As amateur gardener and active agriculturist, he encouraged Eliza Pinckney's experiments with indigo. Like most busy men, he wrote tersely, and many of these letters are quite brief. But all of Carolina colonial life is here, and

his acquaintance through the world indicates how cosmopolitan in its culture the little city was, and how prosperous if not opulent. One of the significant characteristics of this correspondence is that a great portion of it is addressed to merchants or planters all along the Atlantic coast of America from Boston to Savannah and the West Indies. Those who have seen little communication among the colonies up to the very threshold of the Revolution have only to look here to learn otherwise.<sup>164</sup>

Christopher Gadsden (1724-1805), like Pringle and Laurens, married into one of the first families of Charleston, though his success as merchant and political figure seems to have been the result of his own exertions. From 1760 to 1761, writing letters to the newspapers under the pseudonym "Philopatris," Gadsden made himself popular with local people and anathema to the Crown supporters, for he wrote defending the conduct of the provincial militia in a campaign against the Cherokees. As a member of the Commons House of Assembly, he became a "patriot" leader, a leader of the "mechanics," continually pleading for resistance to British tyranny. A constant supporter of independence, he had his quarrels with other Revolutionary leaders in South Carolina. But he always wanted "liberty with order," and consequently later as party lines developed he became an ardent Federalist. He was a believer in "mixed government," which maintained a balance between the wealthy and the needy, between aristocrats and democrats.

Though his most famous letters are the political arguments published from 1763 on, he also wrote effective and significant personal epistles to his friends and business colleagues earlier and elsewhere, letters which were also often strongly political and often showed a genuine comprehension of the movements of his time and the character of his own province. He wrote for public or private perusal letters to Charles Woodmason, William Henry Drayton, John Swift of Philadelphia, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, Thomas and William Bradford of Philadelphia, and a number of other notables in colonies to the north, including Major General Charles Lee. Among his Carolina personal correspondents (besides Woodmason and Drayton) were Colonel William Moultrie, John Lewis Gervais, Governor John Rutledge, and Thomas Heyward the Signer. One of the more interesting groups of letters are those of 1782 to General Francis Marion. Among his last communications was an 1801 letter to John Adams. Gadsden's was a correspondence in its surviving examples confined essentially to business and public affairs, primarily the latter, but its style and tone are as individual as much private communication. It will remain a part of the major literature of the Revolutionary era.

The Papers of Henry Laurens are more abundant and richer in their variety than Gadsden's. Though Laurens was, like Gadsden, of the wealthy



planter class, except for their common interest in independence (which Laurens arrived at late) they were frequently on opposite sides politically, as their letters in the *South-Carolina Gazette* indicate. Laurens (1724–1792) was merchant, lieutenant-colonel in the French and Indian War, and thereafter a “conservative revolutionary.” Ties with Britain might well have made him a Tory, but instead he served in the First Provincial Congress, was President of the South Carolina Council of Safety, and in 1776 helped to write the state’s first constitution. Though in his earlier years he owned and traded hundreds of slaves, he seems to have been the first man of prominence in the lower South to declare his abhorrence of the slave institution.<sup>165</sup> In 1777 he was elected President of the Continental Congress. Captured while on a diplomatic mission to the Netherlands in 1780, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London for almost fifteen months. Later he was exchanged for Lord Cornwallis.

Laurens’ voluminous papers include a considerable amount of private correspondence, which is sometimes partially business communication. His letters, as their editors aver, are not only historically of the highest importance but are good reading in themselves—“clear, concise, forceful.” And they are much more: they show how he laid the basis for a fortune and then entered public life, how his personal interests turned from trade to agriculture, how the Cherokee War affected participants and observers or civilian traders, and the nature of his friendships with such naturalists as John Bartram. To one good friend, the Moravian clergyman John Ettwein, he often wrote with warmth.

I know too well how much an att[a]chment to the business of this World is apt to wipe out of our memories subjects of lesser importance. Besides this, Charity instructs me to make excuses for the delay of expected Letters from my friends. Accidents may happen to them on the Road & in a hundred other ways they may be detain’d or miscarri’d. Therefore I will not yet suppose that my Brother Merchant Mr. Vangamern has neglected his promise of writing to me & particularly upon two Subjects. One if I remember right was the Plan of Wachovia with the Towns of Bethabara & Bethany accurately marked thereon. The other, a Letter recommending one of the Bretheren in Pensilvania who is curious in Workmanship & cou’d supply or procure for me a Neat Chamber Organ.<sup>166</sup>

In Georgia James Oglethorpe, clergymen-missionaries such as John Wesley and Benjamin Ingham, and others among the colonists of the first decade wrote letters back to Britain. By far the most interesting and significant, though not the best composed, are those in *Henry Newman’s Salzburger Letterbooks*, a large volume of letters in English, Latin, and French kept by the S.P.C.K. of the epistles of Henry Newman, Samuel

Urlspurger, and others interested in the Salzburger colonization in Georgia.<sup>167</sup> They are supplemented by the *Urlspurger Tracts* now being translated and published by the same press. Founding fathers such as Oglethorpe, Bolzius, and Gronau are mentioned, and much-publicized Chief Tomochichi, Anglican missionaries Samuel Quincy and John and Charles Wesley, and the German and Portuguese Jews are among the individuals commented upon, and naturally there is much about missionary or religious activity among red men and white. But there are also anxious and vehement letters between the Trustees in England and their Georgia representatives such as Habersham and Martin. Habersham, friend of Whitefield and a leader in the colony down to the threshold of the Revolution, has left a considerable body of letters, including some fastidious specifications to his tailor for clothing. While some Georgians patriotically were wearing homespun, in one letter he ordered his silk vests and dress coats from London as usual, probably not amusing to him but very much so to us. He was also one of the first to use the word "cracker" in referring to the pinelanders and poorer classes generally.<sup>168</sup>

Though the best portraits of many early national-period Americans survive in their letters, this is rarely true for the colonial southern leaders. Too frequently most of their letters have disappeared, especially personal and family epistles, and the public and published documents reveal relatively little about them personally. But if one could gather in printed volumes letters grouped chronologically colony by colony, he certainly would produce a much clearer idea of the mental as well as social character of those people than we now possess. Fortunately too there are some exceptions to mediocrity of individual letters, for the epistles of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, William Byrd II, and Eliza Lucas Pinckney, and some dozen others of the eighteenth century compare with the better British correspondence of the period. But what these epistolarians really show is that the time was ripe for the great letter-writers of the southern Revolutionary generation, as the editions now under way indicate, the rich variety and quantity of the communications of Jefferson, Madison, Carroll of Carrollton, even Henry Laurens as he continues into the new day.

Journals, diaries, and autobiographies were certainly kept or composed in the southern colonies, though relatively few of them survive—many more, however, than are mentioned in recent bibliographies of the genre.<sup>169</sup> As in Britain and the northern colonies, in the South records of this kind were kept for a variety of reasons, from the most materialistic diary (really bookkeeping) to spiritual autobiography. Sometimes the diurnal entry feature has been absorbed into a continuous narrative, usually by rewriting. But with the letters they reveal a great deal about

southern daily life and thinking, and some possess intrinsic literary merit.

As early as 1705-1706 an unknown traveler from Plymouth in England to Maryland kept a record of his voyage and of the Maryland scene. In the colony he describes governor and Council, Indians, and fauna and flora. He boasts, "I have killed a turkie my selfe that has wheyed 43 Pounds out of the feathers and his Gutts out," and he caught partridges simply by shutting the tobacco-barn door. He recounts tales of bear killing and of snakes and one of the effects (on an Eastern Shore innkeeper) of eating a rattlesnake. This is in journal form and apparently was not published until 1907.<sup>170</sup>

The popular *Life and Adventures of Bampfylde Moore-Carew, Commonly Called the King of the Beggars* is much concerned with Maryland, where he was an indentured servant in Talbot County. This is travel account and promotion pamphlet and journal all in one, as are several others, though the promotion quality seems minimal here. Factual and anecdotal, the vagrant's account includes long descriptions of individuals, of the Indians, of agriculture including corn and tobacco culture, and of the natural produce of the country. He even goes into the Pocahontas-Rolfe story and tells of Whitefield in Philadelphia. The style is mock-heroic, and the book actually belongs with the rogue literature so frequent in the earlier eighteenth century.<sup>171</sup>

Edward Kimber (1719-1769), who traveled and wrote in and about the southern colonies in novels, poems, and journals, is best remembered for the last, for in them he gave valuable detailed accounts of various provinces from Maryland to Georgia. Edward was the son of the Reverend Isaac Kimber, editor of the *London Magazine* from 1732 to 1755. Of Edward's two journals, *A Relation or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine in Florida* (London, 1744) is an account of Oglethorpe's unsuccessful expedition, and "Itinerant Observations in America," originally published serially in the *London Magazine* in 1745-1746, concerns the several colonies he "visited."

Although his style is flamboyant and journalistic, Kimber had a sense of the dramatic aspects of life in the colonies and managed to capture them frequently in these journals. The Maryland portion of the second, beginning with a voyage from New York to Sinepuxent, reminds one both of Colonel Norwood's seventeenth-century narrative of his voyage to the Chesapeake and of the manner and content of Poe's *Narrative of A. Gordon Pym*. Shipwreck, storm, inadequate food, a cargo of Negroes, all conclude in a safe landing, though several of the narrator's cabin mates had died during the hardships of the voyage. Everywhere as he journeys on land Kimber makes pungent observations on wretched slaves and the slave trade, the opulent planters, and the beautiful countryside.

He inveighs against "Slavery, thou worst and greatest of Evils!" and he intersperses his prose with verse, sometimes his own, but including several lines by Maryland poet Richard Lewis. He found the older colonial gentlemen much more agreeable companions than the younger, for the former appeared to share Kimber's interest in learning and education. He concludes this section with the observation, "An universal Mirth and Glee reigns in Maryland, amongst all Ranks of People, and at set Times, nothing but Jollity and Feasting goes forward."

Kimber actually began the published "Itinerant Observations" with a description of Georgia, and much of our knowledge of the appearance of that new colony in the 1740s comes from his account. Plantations, crops, tabby-material in building, the island and lower-Georgia settlements are described as he proceeds in his travels. Whitefield's Orphan House and the city of Savannah are depicted and commented upon with shrewd discernment. After the Georgia tour he moved up the coast to Beaufort, South Carolina. Then followed in the *London Magazine* the Maryland section, his longest.

He continued into Virginia, where he found the two Eastern Shore counties with more frequent plantations and better roads than he had seen in Maryland, and many signs of greater wealth. He says inhabitants of the western shore call the Eastern Shoremen *Buckskins*, "which is, all over Virginia, as great a Reproach, as in England, to call a man *Oaf*, or *Clown*, or *Lubberkin*." Yet Kimber found the people of the peninsula kind and hospitable.

After an almost fatal mishap, the traveler reached the western shore and burst into rhapsody over the richness and beauty of the country. Landing at Yorktown, he describes that village before proceeding to Williamsburg, which capital did not impress him. All together he gives the Virginia Tidewater scant attention, but hurries on to a ship which is bound for Frederica in Georgia and takes the reader back to the first published installment noticed above, which was on the new colony.

Kimber's two journals have been worked over so that whatever daily-entry quality they may originally have had is now a rather smooth narrative. Apparently from his first landing in Maryland, he established empathy with southern colonials, even enough to have known and quoted a Maryland poet's work. He saw the Chesapeake country and Georgia as a potential Arcadia, and he may have preferred Georgia because it had begun with a prohibition against slavery, which he had detested from the beginning.<sup>172</sup>

Certainly the most urbane and delightful of Maryland colonial travel journals is the *Itinerarium* of Dr. Alexander Hamilton discussed to some extent under "Satire" above. This was in form an orthodox journal, with

the dated daily entries wherever he visited between Annapolis and Boston.<sup>173</sup> He like Kimber used the term *buckskin*, in his case for a southern frontiersman or backwoodsman. Vignettes of individuals, scenes of regional society, and perceptive commentary on the state of religion and the fine arts are, like the irony and caricature and other features already mentioned, all a part of this work.

Highly personal and autobiographical was "The Recantation and Confession of William Marshall alias Johnson, made before his Excellency and the Council," a rattling good narrative of a common man's life of wandering, his capture by Indians, and fear of being punished as a deserter.<sup>174</sup> This memoir stands in contrast and style and erudition with Jonathan Boucher's *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789*, an autobiography of the Loyalist clergyman who wrote before, during, and after the Revolution on persons and events and the social and political actions of which he had been a part.<sup>175</sup> The work remained in manuscript except for a few brief excerpts until half a century ago. Today it stands as one of the classic literary documents giving a royalist's view of life in America and as a description of his treatment by provincial southern patriots.

There appear to be more personal records of several varieties surviving from eighteenth-century colonial Virginia than from Maryland, and in periodical or book most of the literarily or historically significant ones have been published within the past century. Several which cannot here be considered have been cited or quoted in earlier chapters. The journal of John Barnwell's journey into Indian country was printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, V and VI. *The Journal of John Fontaine, 1710-1719* was re-edited quite recently (Charlottesville, 1972). Others remain in manuscript. The various journals or field books kept in 1728, the rough drafts or skeletons for William Byrd's "Histories" of the Dividing Line, repose in the London Public Record Office or the British Museum.<sup>176</sup> Though they are not nearly so entertaining or even informative as the fleshed-out versions, they are highly interesting as documentary evidence contributing to our understanding of how Byrd's creative mind worked. These remain unpublished except for some abstracts. Then there is the William Black diary, kept by Witham Marshe's opposite number at the 1744 Pennsylvania Indian treaty conference, of which some selections have been printed.<sup>177</sup>

In the same period is the 1746-1751 diary of the Reverend Robert Rose (1696?-1751), who traveled over much of the colony and mentions his reading and friends such as William Fitzhugh and Mrs. Spotswood and Colonel William Beverley as well as Colonel Chiswell. He seems to have come over in some official capacity with Spotswood,

perhaps as chaplain, and he knew and comments upon many of the prominent of his time.<sup>178</sup> Often referred to, his journal remains largely unpublished. About the same period John Blair (1687-1771) of Williamsburg was noting in his diary many of the well-known Virginians and what they were doing during the year 1751. He also comments on meteorology, his own social activity, slaves, politics, and the college. He kept his recorded notes in a copy of the *Virginia Almanac* of the year.<sup>179</sup> Another brief but long-famous memoir is *The Journal of Major George Washington* . . . (Williamsburg, 1754), a straightforward record of the young officer's errand on behalf of Governor Dinwiddie to the Commandant of the French on the Ohio. It moves swiftly, includes elaborate Indian speeches and some of the European replies, and gives a vivid account of the hardships of the journey back to Williamsburg. There are also the four volumes of his general diaries 1748-1799 published in 1925.<sup>180</sup>

William Byrd's diaries and the complete or nearly complete forms of his "Histories" and "Journey to the Land of Eden" and "A Progress to the Mines" are of course the most literarily and historically valuable of southern colonial memoirs. The four "public" works—the two "Histories" and "A Progress" and "Journey"—have already been commented upon for their social and belletristic significance. The diaries, discovered within the past half-century and written in an eighteenth-century shorthand, have been noticed briefly above primarily for their humorous quality, but the extant sections for 1709-1712, 1717-1721, and 1739-1741 are somewhat more than comic.

The range of political and social and personal life covered is rich and varied, offering us the most nearly complete picture of the life of the largescale planter of the golden age. One learns about gardens, houses, servants, dances, the author's reading and diet and exercise. Though Byrd reveals very little of his inmost thoughts or indication of an introspective mind, he comes nearer to lowering his guard in his essay on himself and in a few of his letters than anywhere else. But as a colorful portrayal of the surfaces of daily life these writings are perhaps more detailed than Sewall's or possibly any other such writing in colonial America.

Alongside them must stand in quality, though of a very different kind, the diary kept by the Reverend Samuel Davies for 1753-1755, including his journey from Virginia to Princeton to Great Britain and back again. The devout Calvinist begins not with facts of mundane matter but of his deity: "Gratitude to the God of my Mercies constrains me to own Myself the favourite Child of Divine Providence." Then he turns to his problem—whether to undertake the voyage in search of funds for the infant College of New-Jersey (Princeton). From the first page the Presbyterian searches himself for motives and for a conviction of his duty.

As his diurnal entries develop, so do his journey and his continued soul-searching. Convinced of his own sinful nature, he resolves to better it, with God's aid, and on this theme he is impelled to write again and again.

There is factual material, as the evidence of his successful preaching, of his meeting the great dissenters and other champions of the Great Awakening in this country and in England and Scotland. Once out of curiosity, in the city of "New Castle," where he knew he would not be known, he went to see a play, ironically enough *The Careless Husband*, the very piece Bolling and Bland claimed was co-authored by William Byrd II. His only comment is "But the Entertainment was short of my Expectation." Fears and even religious doubt assailed him as he observed the trend toward deism of the British dissenters. Then for a time he feared that his ship would be wrecked in the tremendous storm on the voyage home. But the poet in him was strong, and he could thank God in meter when the little vessel came safely through the towering waves into calm seas. Then he observes sadly that the sailors, who spent their lives in a realm of wonders and saw many dangers and deliverances, were generally thoughtless, vicious, and impenitent. This dissenting southern colonial thus concludes with an observation on man's depravity.<sup>181</sup>

Two other brief personal records at the end of the colonial period in Virginia should be noted. One of 1758-1759 is a diary of William Richardson, a Presbyterian missionary to the Cherokee Indians sent out by Davies and his presbytery, which despite its brevity enlarges our knowledge of missionary activity among the red men and the part such men as Davies played in it. Richardson had a difficult time with drunken Indians and in trying to get any natives to listen to him. Quite unlike the clergyman's journal is that of John Mercer of Marlborough, who kept a daily entry book, largely of his business and legal profession, from 1740 to 1748. It includes notes on plants and planting and on flowers for his garden, and among other things the names of some other interesting contemporaries who appear elsewhere in these pages.<sup>182</sup>

The last and most voluminous Virginia memoir, and in several respects most valuable as general and intellectual history, even perhaps as literature, is the great two-volume diary of Landon Carter, recently edited by Jack P. Greene. Moody, intelligent, irascible, somewhat paranoid, Carter was perhaps, according to his editor and others, the most prolific author in his colony during the fifteen or twenty years before the Revolution, although what must be a considerable body of political essays has not yet been fully identified in the newspapers. Like his friend Richard Bland a master of satire and irony and polemical prose and verse, Carter in his huge diary presents the record of a society, of a great family, and above all of an easily

irritated but devout gentleman so deeply committed to moderation that the excesses of a son and some others around him produced a bitterness which shows through his comments even on apparently unrelated subjects. Two personal beliefs are kindred to his bitterness or produced it, his conclusion after long observation and experience that all earthly things are imperfect, and the conviction that he had never been given his due as a leader in the movement toward independence.

Carter's journal indicates how he labored to improve his crops and his system of agriculture, to employ his slaves and servants properly, to educate children of all classes, to eradicate agricultural pests and waste. He believed in theory to explain practice, but he was at heart an empiricist. Though he was ardent in the American cause, he always feared independence and republicanism and was committed to the "mixed form" of government already noted. In the end, resigned to being ignored in his efforts for the public good, he rationalized on the inward satisfaction he might attain. He thirsted for praise, not riches or comfortable life, partly because he already had the latter.

Thus the major Chesapeake colonial diary, and perhaps what will be declared finally the major southern colonial private journal, was kept by a patrician or colonial aristocrat who was as introspective as any of his Presbyterian and Puritan contemporaries and even predecessors. The lifelong tendency toward withdrawal grew upon him with age. And though these qualities are not those most obviously southern, they were present in other men as well as Landon Carter.<sup>183</sup> For some, southerners through the centuries have come to feel, by way of consolation or rationalization or deliberate conviction, that the post of honor was a private station. This is no New England spiritual autobiography, but it is spiritual and it is autobiography.

North Carolina is perhaps best represented among journals by those of that colony's commissioners of the Dividing Line, really a number of letters, proposals, and records of the proceedings. These have been printed but seem to be in need of the re-editing they will receive in the new edition of the colony's documents. Naturally the accounts do not quite agree with Byrd's, but for historical reasons and for an understanding of Byrd's final versions as literature, they are of some significance.<sup>184</sup>

Advertised in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of November 20, 1740, was *The Journal of a Voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to England, MDCCXL* by William Seward, gentleman companion in travel with the Reverend George Whitefield. It was offered for sale by printer Timothy himself. A *Continuation* was advertised on January 8, 1741, and on January 29 *A Journal of a Voyage from London to Gibraltar* by Whitefield, scarcely an American item save for its author's connections, was advertised in the same newspaper. There are also for South Carolina



fragments of what were probably extensive journals or diaries as well as some single-journey records. The 1708 "Diary of a Journey from South Carolina to the Indian Country" kept by Captain John Evans is principally notations of distances, but in it are a few accounts of conversations with the red men, and similar journals such as that of Colonel George Chicken are noticed in Chapters I and II above. Then there is the more formal diary of the Reverend Oliver Hart (1743-1780) of Charleston, who records some examples of wonder-working providence "relative to or noticed by an unworthy traveler to the New Jerusalem." This journal covers most of the author's life, his journeyings from his native Pennsylvania to South Carolina, storms and conversions, relationships with other dissenting clergy, and other matters of life in Charleston.<sup>185</sup>

*A New Voyage to Georgia. By a Young Gentleman . . .* (2d ed., London, 1737) includes a poem to Oglethorpe on his arrival in Britain from Georgia. The journal gives an account of the author's disembarkation in Charleston in 1733, a description of Savannah, the manufacturing of silk and wine, and a separate "Curious Account of the Indians." Perhaps useful as a promotion pamphlet, it is most interesting as a view of the settlements in their earliest period. Stylistically it is not noteworthy, nor is Francis Moore's *A Voyage to Georgia begun in the Year 1735* (Savannah, 1840).<sup>186</sup> Moore's is a detailed relation of the voyage and the religious conduct and affiliations of the settlers who accompanied him. The numerous "purely" promotional tracts were in most instances based on similar journals or on letters and official memoranda sent back to the mother country. *The Journal of William Stephens, 1741-1745* (ed. E.M. Coulter) is the continuation of a memoir published by the Trustees of Georgia to promote colonization or emigration. The 1737-1740 journal, originally appearing in 1742, has been reprinted in A.D. Candler, *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, and Supplement to IV (2 vols., Savannah, 1906, 1908). In the continuation there is information on the treatment of dissenters, on church services and preaching, on individuals such as clergymen Gronau, Bolzius, and Whitefield, and on James Habersham. Stephens (1671-1753), educated at Winchester and King's College, Cambridge, had been M.P. for twenty years and a colonel of militia before he went to South Carolina and later Georgia. In 1741 he became resident secretary in Georgia for the Trustees, a post he held until 1750. His journal, though overloaded with trivia, is accurate as well as detailed. One vignette illustrates style and content:

Mr. William Aglionby, a Freeholder in this town (Savannah), died this morning and was buried in the Evening. His Character was better forgot, than remember'd to his Infamy: But it may not be improper with regard to the Colony, to touch upon it briefly. He was of a good Family, and had

the appearance of some Education; but as he had a little Smattering of the Law, he made use of that Talent, in being a great Adviser among divers of our late Malcontents [Tailfer et al.]; most of whom had forsaken him, seeing their Error. He was far from making any Improvements, that he discouraged others from it; and in most Matters of Controversy, took Part against the Civil Magistrates: He lived and died at a Publick (though unlicensed) House, where he dictated to a few that frequented it, and was a stirrer up of ill Blood: And he was a great Devotee to Rum, it is said, that using it to Excess brought a flux upon, which after all Endeavors to the contrary, at length carried him off; wherein the Colony (I conceive) sustained no Loss. During his Sickness, Mr. Whitfield was divers Time to attend him, offering to do his Duty in Prayer, & c. but he refused any such assistance; and upon several Questions put to him properly at such a Season, he denied any Mediator, and died a confirmed Deist.<sup>187</sup>

The preambles, or testaments, of last wills as in the seventeenth century continued to be moving and sometimes graceful expressions of personal conviction and philosophy of life. Robert "King" Carter's will (he died in 1732) is in its enormous detailed itemization an excellent picture of the planter aristocrat's way of living, and his comment upon the education of his sons in England and Virginia is a significant expression of his ideas on the subject.<sup>188</sup> Perhaps the most gracefully expressed and intrinsically interesting of all southern colonial preambles is that of Sir John Randolph, who defends himself eloquently against the charges of atheism and his deistic belief "in its first expression, before it had turned away from the Christian religion." It has already been quoted at some length.<sup>189</sup>

Two other Virginia wills of historic and some slight artistic value are those of Alexander Spotswood (April 19, 1740) and John Custis (November 14, 1749). In Spotswood's case the variety of his possessions and the books, maps, and mathematical instruments he left to William and Mary College are perhaps of more interest than preamble and style. The same may be said of the Custis will, which bequeaths such intriguing items as the portrait of "my said negro boy John." Both men expressed themselves well, but our interest in their last wills is primarily in the items listed.<sup>190</sup>

North Carolina wills of some interest include that of Dividing Line commissioner Edward Moseley, written on June 9, 1748. Besides the books he itemizes, one notes the one-time Christ's Hospital student's recommendation to his wife "that one of my sons, as shall be thought best Qualified for it, be bred to the Law, it being highly necessary in so large a Family" and to this son he left all his own law books, more than two hundred volumes. Most stately are the opening words of Governor Arthur Dobbs' will, written August 31, 1763:

In the name of the Almighty God Amen, I, Arthur Dobbs, of Brunswick in New Hanover, Governor and Captain General of the Province of North Carolina, in America, injoying a moderate state of health and having by the blessing of the infinitely perfect and good God the Father Almighty, a perfect and sound mind and memory, to make this my last will and testament in manner following:

First, I recommend my soul to the Almighty Triune God, Jehovah Elohim and his only Begotten son, Jesus Christ my God and only Saviour and Redeemer and to His Holy Spirit Blessed forever; and my Body to the Earth to be decently and privately interred, in an assured and full hope of a Glorious and happy Resurrection with the Just, at the first Resurrection and a Blessed immortality in the Heavenly Kingdom of Christ the Messiah untill he shall deliver up his Mediatorial Kingdom to God his Father when he shall be all in all his Creatures.<sup>191</sup>

A significant South Carolina will mentioned in Chapter III above is that of James Child of St. John's Parish, Berkeley County, who left property and funds for a school, schoolmaster, and hoped-for university. Though Child signed himself "yeoman," his estate was greater than that of most planters who called themselves "gentlemen." Equally interesting for its educational provisions and because of the historical importance of the testator is the will of "Francis Nicholson, Esq. of South Carolina in America, now residing in St. George's, Hanover Square" in London, and dated March 4, 1726/27. This former governor of Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina and one of the more northern colonies left specific directions as to where he was to be buried within the Chapel of St. George and what should be engraved upon his tombstone, that the funeral was to be performed immediately after sunrise on the morning following his decease, and that only the clergyman, the reader and clerk, and six bearers were to attend while the whole funeral service was read. Nicholson made further allowances or bequests for the church and college in Virginia, mourning rings for several S.P.G. missionaries and schoolmasters in America, and personal bequests to various notables in Britain and South Carolina. Landgrave Abel Ketelby of his last governorship was to be his overseer and trustee. Such was the final word of this remarkable man declared by at least one shrewd contemporary as fit to be a bishop as well as a governor.<sup>192</sup>

There are undoubtedly in southern archives hundreds and perhaps thousands of these wills which reveal in their authors' own words their attitudes toward many things in this world and the next. Some are literarily, even more intellectually, interesting. Almost the same may be said for the even more expressive diaries, journals, autobiographies, and letters still emerging from forgotten archives, dark attics, and scattered descendants. For

one reason or another most of these as well as the manuscript items already known should be published, for only thus may intellectual historians have sufficient primary materials for a relatively complete picture or portrait of the southern mind.

ESSAYS AND TRACTS, INCLUDING PAMPHLETS

More frequently printed than the personal record in the eighteenth century was the prose essay or tract, usually in provincial gazettes but more often as time went by in separate form by local printers. A few pieces were published in the *Scot's* and *Gentleman's* and *London Magazines*, and several were printed as pamphlets in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh. The subjects were varied, and the moral, religious, satiric, scientific, and educational have for the most part already been considered. Even the sentimental or philosophical or aesthetic (especially the critical) have already been touched upon, though some of their belletristic qualities may need more emphasis.

The eighteenth century inherited a rich essay tradition from the seventeenth and further enriched it during its first quarter and immediately thereafter with the *Tatler* and *Spectator* and *Guardian* series. Later came the essays of Johnson and Bolingbroke and Goldsmith. And then before the time the southern colonial gazettes were well launched there were other British models to draw upon for liberal philosophies or religious discussions, as the works of Trenchard and Gordon noticed above and below such as the *Independent Whig* (1720-1721) and *Cato's Letters* (collected ed., 4 vols., 1724) or Ambrose Philips' *Free-Thinker* (1718-1721). And there was, of course, Jonathan Swift.

Though some recent critics have demonstrated the indebtedness of certain essay series or individual pieces in southern periodicals to various British essays or essay series in Great Britain or even in France, it is evident that from the first issues of the southern gazettes the principal models were the *Tatler* and *Spectator* papers. In these last Steele and Addison had gathered together the varied elements of the essay already existing and formed of them an amalgam which was to endure as the popular form for more than a century. They merged Bacon's epigrams and *sententiae*, Overbury's and Earle's and La Bruyère's character writing, Nicholas Breton's sort of epistolary writing such as was found in the manuals already mentioned, and some of the intimacy and amusing quality of Cowley and Temple and Montaigne. This was the vehicle which carried most of the criticism, usable philosophy, contemplation, or vignette which might entertain or stimulate the average reader.<sup>193</sup> It is true that some more learned and sophisticated southern essayists, men such as Byrd and Hamilton, are

at times more like Theophrastus or Overbury or La Bruyère than like their British contemporaries, but they did their own amalgamating and produced an essay not too unlike the *Tatler-Spectator* pieces.

*Essay Series in Periodicals*

Taking their cue from British prose pieces and from the interests and writing abilities of their constituencies, the principal southern newspapers carried from their earliest years essay series on a number of subjects. Since many were satiric in part or in whole, one element of their character has been discussed above. But in the first extant issues of the oldest southern colonial periodical, William Parks' *Maryland Gazette*, there are the "Plain-Dealer" essays, apparently the fourth such group chronologically in American literature, which are generally serious in tone. Though all but two were borrowed straight from British periodicals such as the *Free-Thinker* and displayed the deistic tendencies of the issues in that journal, they are indicative of Chesapeake-region tastes, for they ran for ten numbers.<sup>194</sup> Later in his *Virginia Gazette* Parks declares that the *Guardian*, *Tatler*, and *Spectator* are inexhaustible mines from which morality and learning and wit can be drawn, and he proceeds to draw from them and some other periodicals for the "good sense" of the subject and tone of his essays of the Maryland group. The rationalistic note persists through the series, as does the avowed borrowing from various authors. Franklin and others had shown that deism was outspoken before 1727 in America, though it is as impossible to "prove" Parks a deist in these papers as to "prove" Henry Callister or Sir John Randolph showing anything more liberal in their views than the Christian rationalism of Randolph displayed in his will and in his contemporary reputation.<sup>194</sup>

Presumably the first issue of Parks' *Virginia Gazette* in 1736 contained the initial number of a new essay series, the "Monitor," since the earliest extant issue, number six, features "The Monitor No. 6" on the first page, though thereafter two weeks sometimes elapse between numbers, and there are longer gaps before the final No. 22 appeared. Designed to inculcate morality and satirize the follies of fashion, this series has already been considered as part of the satiric tradition of the colonial South. Its several sources and forms of wit and satire have been indicated, and the question of its single or multiple authorship must remain unsettled. The essays do differ considerably in form but have a unity of tone, argues one critic, which would permit either sort of origin. Another critic concludes that they are probably the work of a group of students at William and Mary. If the latter be true, the authors almost surely received some critical advice from their professors. The essays may seem too rough or naïve to have been entirely the work of Oxford-educated faculty members, but they show

a lively inventiveness and almost urbane wit which makes adolescent authorship doubtful. The public clearly enjoyed these essays, incidentally, especially the mock debates between the Monitor and his severe critic Zoilus.<sup>195</sup>

Not all the "Monitor" pieces are satiric. No. 10 is on "Musick and Harmony," No. 11 on the press as an auxiliary of the pulpit. Later ones do seem to become increasingly tongue-in-cheek or bitinglly ironic. At any rate, they seem to be the most original group of essays in the first thirty years of the *Virginia Gazette's* history.<sup>196</sup>

In a sense the Davies-Dymocke literary controversy of 1752 is also an essay series, but it has been discussed frequently in several earlier contexts, such as the satiric. It is beneath the surface, at least in part, a serious discussion of critical standards and literary tastes. Dymocke is usually sound in his taste but so bent on humiliating that he takes lines or images unfairly out of context. Davies is conscious of his own weaknesses and freely admits them but replies sharply where Dymocke is unfair. All together the exchange represents educated men debating aesthetic principles, fairly or unfairly, in the columns of this little newspaper in a southern colony.

Perhaps the most intriguing and even best-written of Virginia essay series is the 1756-1757 "Centinel" group, of which only No. X now survives in a known issue of the *Gazette*, that of September 3, 1756. Fortunately numbers I, II(?), III, IX, XI, XVI, XVII, XVIII, and XIX were reprinted in issues of the *New York Gazette* (six), the *Maryland Gazette* (one or two), the *New Hampshire Gazette* (two), the *Boston Evening Post* (four), and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (one). No. X, which Worthington C. Ford saw as an attack on George Washington, has been discussed in at least one critical essay, and J.A. Leo Lemay, who once believed he had evidence pointing to the Reverend James Maury as author of this and at least some others in the series, has on reconsideration and some new evidence come to the conclusion that the Centinel papers were written not by the Anglican parson, but by the Presbyterian Samuel Davies.<sup>197</sup> Prose rhetoric and poetic imagery have some resemblance to Davies', and Lemay finds that in Centinel No. XIX, extant in the *Boston Evening Post* of April 11, 1757, references to and quotations from a "Manuscript Sermon" can be positively identified as the sermon Davies preached at Henrico January 1, 1757. Both X and XIX are apparently attacks on the soldiers fighting against the French. Lemay analyzes the group of essays as a whole for reasoning, argument, language, and imagery, and above all rhetorical style. He concludes that Davies was at least the principal, if not the sole, author of the series. This writer is not entirely convinced, for a number of educated men might have seen

Davies' sermon, and the rhetorical similarities might be almost as much like Maury's as Davies', though the Huguenot cleric is not here proposed as the author.<sup>198</sup> But one may judge for himself, after reading Lemay's essay ascribing authorship.

As to the stylistic value of these essays, critics differ widely. Some think the best-known, No. X, both shallow and badly organized, with a superficial display of learning. Almost all the pieces include poetic quotation, a great deal of historical and classical allusion, and an insistence that the present struggle with the French must be considered as a vital conflict in which the fate of the British empire and the Protestant religion will be determined. Beginning with the first essay, there is a rousing call to colonials to realize their danger and to form a militia army to fight the Gallic papists beyond the mountains. Some essays are highly critical of the conduct of affairs by some of the present officers of the provincial forces and even perhaps by Governor Dinwiddie. Ford saw the sensitive George Washington as personally so offended by No. X and perhaps others that he considered resigning his commission, and Douglas Freeman in his *George Washington* outlines in some detail the effect of these essays, especially of No. X, on the colonel and his subordinates. Some officers wrote a furious letter insisting that the governor himself must have known of and might have consented to this one if not all of the essays.

There are several intriguing features of the "Centinel" group. The author suggests cultivating the southern Indians for the British side, the Cherokees especially. The author or authors knew a great deal about recent French and British history and was possibly more concerned with combatting Popery than with saving lives along the frontier. Yet in general the essays were such eloquent exhortations to concerted action that editors in other colonies (especially to the north) felt they were as pertinent to their situations as to Virginia's. Many items were copied by one gazette from another, but with the possible exception of legislative and gubernatorial addresses, the "Centinel" seems to have been read by more colonial Americans before 1764 than any other prose periodical material originally published in British North America. The various essays occupied most of the front page of all these gazettes, from New Hampshire to Boston to Connecticut to New York to Philadelphia to Annapolis, though one *Maryland Gazette* containing two essays placed the second unnumbered one on an inside page, from necessity. They were certainly among the most rhetorically effective of the prose polemics in the years before the Parsons' Cause and Stamp Act controversies.<sup>199</sup>

In the *South-Carolina Gazette* the best-known early essay series was the "Meddler's Club" pieces of 1735. Humorous and mildly satiric, they owe much to the *Tatler-Spectator* tradition. They were meant to be

sprightly and to mock men's manners, not to force enlistments or produce a change in government. But these essays hardly equal in skill, urbanity, or wit those of the colonial who wrote in 1753-1754 under the pseudonym "The Humourist." In his first essay of November 26, 1753, datelined from "my chambers in the Air," he begins by describing himself as "a Man of a peculiar odd way of Thinking." Launching into a "Retrospect into past Times," he mentions with approval Sidney's *Arcadia*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and the eroticism of Restoration literature. His own time, he declares, is overflowing with "Novel writing without Reason, and Lies without meaning." In the next issue he describes himself as possessing a small body and a great soul. He shows many interests, from literature through morality.

"Humourist" is a perceptive and sophisticated literary observer. In his essays he compares the ancients and the moderns, the character of contemporary criticism, and the vogue of the folk ballad, the pastoral, and the satire. Though mildly satiric at times, he shows himself a fair-minded critic without real prejudices, and a learned and graceful penman. He supplemented his prose with some rather decent verse. By mid-1754 he announced that he was now such an invalid that he found it necessary to retire, and so ends the series. His definition of the critic is interesting if not unusual: "an Abstract of every Thing . . . always giving his Opinions, as the true Standard whereby to direct the Judgment and inform the Understanding of Mankind . . . [and] by Nature cruel." The last quality the "Humourist" did not display. On the whole, his is the ablest belletristic series to appear from a southern writer in the colonial period.<sup>200</sup>

#### *Single Familiar Essays*

William Parks and Jonas Green in Maryland, Parks and William Hunter and Joseph Royle in Virginia, and Lewis and Elizabeth and Peter Timothy in South Carolina all used the British periodical essays of their century as models, sometimes thinly disguising them and presenting them to the public as original. They also published a considerable number with proper acknowledgment of sources. Then there were prose pieces similar to the British in form but very different in subject matter and vocabulary, even sometimes in style, which set them apart as American.

As suggested in the preceding section of this chapter, in diction and even content the influence of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* is pervasive through the whole colonial era well into the nineteenth century. For political purposes in both Chesapeake provinces and in South Carolina Trenchard and Gordon's separate essays from *Cato's Letters* and the *Independent Whig* were reprinted. Though as noticed in Chapter IV above these appeared



in book form in many library inventories, they were never as frequently listed as the *Tatler* and *Spectator* collections. One of *Cato's Letters* on freedom of speech appeared in the *South-Carolina Gazette* as early as 1736 and the same one twelve years later, with several other pieces from this source between and after 1736-1748. In fact, so many of these Whig essays were reprinted that Peter Timothy felt forced to declare that despite them he was not a Republican "unless Virtue and Truth be Republican." Abridged and whole selections were borrowed from the *Grubstreet Journal*, the *Universal Magazine*, the *Reflector*, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *London Magazine*, and essays were taken from the *Chinese Spy*, the *Guardian*, the *Bee*, the *North Briton*, and other serials or collections.<sup>201</sup> But in the *South-Carolina Gazette* as one might expect the essays most quoted, referred to, or presented as a whole were Addison and Steele's two series.

The *Maryland Gazette* borrowed from most of the same periodicals, and from the *General Magazine*, the *Westminster Journal*, the Dublin Society's publications, the *Remembrancer*, the *Traveller's Magazine*, the *Rambler*, and a dozen others. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Westminster Journal*, and the *Universal Magazine* were favorite sources from which to borrow essays for Jonas Green's *Gazette* and as already pointed out, many of William Parks' earlier "Plain-Dealer" pieces were straight from the British *Free-Thinker*.

A study of the *Virginia Gazette* 1736-1766 reveals that Samuel Johnson's *Rambler* was the single most important source for borrowed essays in that newspaper, furnishing twenty-five. Next in frequency were borrowings from the *Gentleman's* and *London Magazines* and the *London Gazetteer*, with a number of others not too often used by the other southern newspapers. Altogether about 42 percent of the essays for these thirty years are reprints, a figure one could guess would hold for the Annapolis and Charleston newspapers. The aim of the *Rambler* was "to inculcate wisdom or piety," and its popularity may thus be in part explained, though in part also by the fact that these were much more nearly contemporary than the Addison and Steele prose pieces. The first *Rambler* appeared in 1750. The first to be reprinted in the *Virginia Gazette* was No. 67, on April 25, 1751. Half a year or more later No. 65 and others appeared. On through 1752 still others were carried, thus all within a year and a half. Their subjects and forms reveal a good deal about colonial tastes and what models were easily available for locally authored essays. The first printed was a dream-allegory about the role of hope in the life of man, the next an Eastern fable, and the third a disquisition on "complacency" with one's lot in life. Then there were more Eastern fables and moral essays on the advantages of mediocrity, the folly of desiring great wealth, the advisability of spending

time wisely, sloth, the wisdom of old age, vanity, good taste, and near the end an allegorical account of a voyage on the "Ocean of Life."<sup>202</sup> All these subjects are echoed in one form or another in locally written essays in all three of these southern newspapers. From other British journals came essays on melancholy, health in relation to climate, too great luxury, friends and enemies, immoderate drinking, some scientific and biographical and historical pieces, a few famous trials, the Freemasons, the wall paintings discovered at Herculaneum, and a number of political pieces including the French question in America (the last worth comparing with the "Centinel" essays).<sup>203</sup>

Original essays, except for the partially original "Plain-Dealer" series, were slow in getting into the *Maryland Gazette* of William Parks, 1728-1734. The "Plain-Dealer" pieces are present from the first extant issue of December 10, 1728 (No. LXV). By February 4, 1729, there were local economic-political essays such as Henry Darnall's "A Letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland," the beginning of an exchange of opinion carried in successive issues. However utilitarian in content these were, their authors were highly conscious of rhetorical devices or form. On April 1, 1729, Walter Hoxton asked his readers to "pass over any errors or incorrectness in the Stile," as this was his first appearance in print, and he was a sailor rather than a scholar anyway. The tobacco trade and tobacco law dispute went on and on, interspersed with occasional essays on paper currency, numbers of gubernatorial speeches from neighboring colonies, and a rather superficial essay on the gods helping those who help themselves. The genuinely familiar essay was thus conspicuous by its absence.

This is not at all true for Jonas Green's *Maryland Gazette* from January 17, 1745, to the end of the period, though the quality and variety and frequency of the familiar essay varies from decade to decade. Like his predecessor, Green printed a number of tobacco-inspection-law pieces, but he began by soliciting contributions from his "Learned Correspondents," whose "ingenious Productions" he would like to publish. The earliest belletristic essay appeared on June 7, 1745, on the usefulness of history, by Phil-Eleutheros. In the same issue Green informed his public that he could not publish indiscriminately. For several issues thereafter he reprinted from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Craftsman*, and the Dublin Society. By 1746 his friends of the Tuesday Club were as individuals supplying him with a variety of prose and verse. In 1746 and 1747 appeared essays "On Taste" by Euphranor, "On Flattery," and "On Curiosity." On December 16, 1746, "Publius Agricola" had printed an essay on "Industry" beginning with a quotation from Thomson's *The Seasons* and pleading with his fellow provincials of all classes in this infant country to apply themselves, for without industry "no state can maintain its liberty." The

writer continued in the December 23 issue with further reflections on the same topic. On February 17, 1748, appeared a serious essay on the use of ridicule as a remedy for pride. Beginning with a quotation from Horace, the favorite Roman poet of the moral essayists, it declares, "Ridicule is an universal Ingredient in Conversation . . . the Salt and Seasoning of Life." On February 24 Philo-Musaeus (Dr. Adam Thomson) prefaces one of his poems with a Horation quotation and a prose discussion of the uses of satire. On June 29 was printed Hamilton's dream-vision critical essay on the belles-lettres writers of Maryland, already considered as an interesting example of satire. The August 2, 1749, "Reflections on Immoderate Drinking" may or may not be of provincial origin.

In the January 24, 1750, issue "Nic. Turntype" traces the history of printing, especially English, from Caxton's press in a "Chapel" of Westminster Abbey. This semi-serious piece is addressed to printer Green and begins with a quotation from Virgil. Quite different is "A. Buckskin's" (Landon Carter's?) "reflections" in response to a French author's observations on the American colonies. Both oratorical and rhetorical, it urges resistance to aggression.<sup>204</sup> Another strongly written and in part politically motivated piece from Alexandria, Virginia, signed "G.J." seems a strong attack on the Church of England and the Reverend Mr. Brogden. There are replies and counter-replies. In form a letter-essay, the first Alexandria piece appeared on February 26, 1756, and is of interest here only for its straightforward prose and reference to Henry Fielding.

Probably some of the earliest eighteenth-century Virginia single essays were never published at all, for there is a manuscript collection written as class exercises by students of the Dawsons and perhaps by others who were professors at William and Mary. Surviving are fragments of a discourse "Of Polite Learning," an address to the House of Burgesses on "Public Education" (this one perhaps by a faculty member?), "To Mæcenæ" (on the various pursuits of man), and a number of pieces in Latin. Among the writers were Samuel Clayton, Edward Taylor, Mann Page, Philip Grymes, Joseph Hornsby, Thomas Munford, and others whose names are still familiar in Virginia.<sup>205</sup>

In earlier issues of the *Virginia Gazette* are the provincially authored essays on specific and timely subjects, such as creditors who seize possessions, the opening of other people's mail at the post office, opposition to a plan to move the capitol from Williamsburg, a proposal for opening a Virginia bank, and a discussion of possible indigo cultivation in Virginia, all these between 1737 and 1755. The medical and other scientific essays have been noted in Chapter VII. There are a few original biographical sketches of rogues and noblemen and one on Louis XIV. A belles-lettres form, the dream-allegory, was used for arguing an economic subject—of

eliminating middle men in the tobacco trade and selling straight to French agents stationed in the colonies (this was before the "French menace").<sup>206</sup> Later essays on tobacco laws became more satiric.

Marriage was a frequent subject for moralizing from as early as May 20, 1737, when "Philo-Gunaicus" contributed "unpolish'd Thoughts" on woman's part in the connubial relationship. Two weeks later Andromache" presented a feminine reaction to the arguments of the previous piece. There were in 1738 comparisons of the married and the single state. Another favorite topic (it was also present in Maryland and South Carolina prose pieces) was "the good life," fairly dull but significant as presenting the Horation or golden mean as ideal. "On Good Nature" was a related topic, as was "Pride." Character traits, especially weaknesses, were a favorite subject. Gambling, brutal cockfights, and swearing were inveighed against. Related to these in topics are many of the "Monitor" series noted above.

Literary criticism is present not only in the "Monitor" group and the Dymocke-Davies controversy but in several separate essays. On February 7, 1751, an anonymous writer laments the fact that too much contemporary verse encourages vice rather than virtue. An untitled discussion of "humor" appeared on June 18, 1752, signed "C," actually a definition of the term. The author offers examples of "practical Jests" but points out that far more important is "that tragical Humour . . . which, tho' it may tend to raise Laughter in some, may however be said to have its Foundation in Tears." His illustrations are from classical writers.

There are other essays presumably by Virginians on other themes. "Of Spectres and Apparitions" raises the question of the existence of ghosts. Another piece traces the changing meaning of the term "A Gentleman." A third is a verbal appreciation "*Of the Beauty and Usefulness of the AURORA*." One piece attempts to account for the formation of dew (not very scientific) and one signed "R.W." considers the theory of revivification. "The Benefits of the PRESS to the People" will prove more interesting to today's readers. In sum, the essays show a literate, urbane, even talented group of contributors who as one might expect reflected the manners and mores of their society in its more conventional relationships. One wishes for discussions of the Indians, life on the frontier, more dialect-rustic imitations which might give more definite indication of the Americanness of these people. The social and intellectual gap between them and the mother country was widening, but evidences of the growing breach, except for the political essays already mentioned, were *so far* to be found more in official speeches and legislative acts and a few separate pamphlets than in their newspapers. But by the end of the colonial period the unsigned political polemics of Bland, Carter, Camm, and perhaps a dozen

others would have assured any Englishman that their authors were not produced in his native country, though a few were born there and a few more were educated in part in Britain.

There were other Virginia belletristic essayists who may or may not have contributed to the Williamsburg newspapers. An elaborately aphoristic sentimental essay of 1764, "A Pathetic Soliloquy," by Robert Bolling of Chellowe still reposes in manuscript in the Library of Congress.<sup>207</sup> Two pieces by gifted Sir William Gooch, printed in now-rare pamphlets, are definitely utilitarian in aim but are also moral or meditative pieces, the one on a legal question, the other concerned with the economics of the colony. In his 1730 *A Charge to the Grand Jury. At a General Court, held in the Capitol of the City of Williamsburg*. . . printed by Parks, the governor begins in the manner of a meditative essayist. Two years later, during a heated controversy over tobacco sale and cultivation, Gooch as "a sincere Lover of Virginia" had Parks print *A Dialogue between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoco, Planters, both Men of good Understanding, and Justice Love-Country, who can speak for himself, recommended To the Reading of the Planters*. It is a defense of the Tobacco Law passed in May 1730, a spirited, lively, good-tempered dialogue between the small growers of the two principal kinds of sowed on the one hand and an able, patriotic justice of the peace on the other. The justice argues that laws are never made to oppress people, and if they turn out so they may be amended. It is a well-informed, rational argument which one suspects was aimed to bring over a majority of the "poor planters" who had opposed the act. Rhetorically and linguistically beautifully expressed, its style in its colloquialisms is easy and natural. Even the justice's final sententious speech, a defense of colonial governmental procedure and a bit of advice to the small farmer, is in clear, homely but dignified language.<sup>208</sup>

Though the modern editor of *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America* (1701) . . . with *Two Memoranda by William Byrd* was inclined to believe in 1945 that William Byrd II or his brother-in-law Robert Beverley the historian had at least a hand in this essay-pamphlet, it has more recently been argued rather convincingly to be the work of Ralph Wormeley, secretary of Virginia and president of the Council and at the time of composition the foremost gentleman besides the governor in the colony, or it may have been by Benjamin Harrison III.<sup>209</sup> Its original title page described it as "By an American" who lets it be known he is a Virginian.

Though William Byrd II's briefer prose is by no means confined to the purely belletristic, he probably composed more graceful essays artistically motivated in subject and style than any other Virginian of the eighteenth century. As his manuscripts continue to float up from unknown or forgot-

ten sources, his reputation has steadily grown rather than diminished. Most of his essays, from character sketch to religious creed, have at least been noticed along with his satiric work. He was probably writing them before 1700, and certainly during the first decade of the eighteenth century in both England and America. The language of preciousness and elaborate compliment in some of his serious "characters" of the ladies is in the British tradition of his time as much as his early occasional verse is. Many are outlined in epistolary form, but those that are letters differ little in language and subject from those without formal salutation or conclusion. Then there is among Byrd's charming familiar essays "A Translation of that difficult Passage of Plynny concerning the nightingale in the 10th Book of His Natural History," so free and brief that it may be considered an original creation.<sup>210</sup>

North Carolina, which did not have a newspaper until mid-century, is represented in print or manuscript by very few essays, though as earlier chapters have indicated men of intellect and education were residing in the colony from the beginning of the century. Among the few extant issues of the *North Carolina Gazette* in the period 1751-1763 is "The Temple of Hymen. A Vision" (November 15, 1751), a prose allegory perhaps borrowed from a British journal. On March 6 (1752?) appeared "Reflections on unhappy Marriages" (from internal evidence) more likely to have been of local origin. Governor Arthur Dobbs, perhaps the most literary of this province's early governors, undoubtedly wrote some of his voluminous meditative essays on religion, trade, and exploration during his life in Carolina. His "Proclamation for a Fast" appeared in the *North Carolina Gazette* of April 15, 1757, and others of his official speeches and proclamations were printed in various provincial and British periodicals. But most of his writing, including "An Account of North Carolina," has been printed for the first time within the past century in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, and long discourses such as the "Essay upon the Grand Plan of Providence" remain as yet in manuscript.<sup>211</sup> The best contemporarily published essays from this colony appeared as separate tracts between 1740 and 1770, most of them politico-economic, but including Hermon Husband's *Some Remarks on Religion* (Philadelphia, 1761), a remarkable introspective and autobiographical essay.

South Carolina essays or pamphlets on religion, education, science, and art, as well as the two periodical series of the "Meddler" and the "Humourist," have already been noted. There were many more single pieces, most of them in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, some in British periodicals, and a few as yet unprinted. Those published in the Charleston newspaper, like the essays in the other southern journals, are strongly Addisonian or Johnsonian in form and subject with the occasional intrusion of a topic of vital

local interest which sometimes owed as much to Trenchard and Gordon as to the greater prose penmen in both form and subject.

From the first extant issue of the *Gazette*, January 8, 1732, there is editorial encouragement of those who will write in verse or prose for the newspaper. Perhaps the earliest periodical familiar essay is from "Publicola" of Goose Creek on the nature of censure and satire, written in letter form, in the issue of January 29, 1732. On February 12 "Lucretia" contributed on vice, and on February 26 came "ZX's" piece on "Slander and Slanders." All these were intermingled with outright borrowings from the *Spectator*, soon followed in 1735 by the "Meddler" pieces strongly indebted to the same British series. From Crowfield, dated January 15, 1732, and signed "F.S.," came a moral-educational essay urging promotion of "a Disposition to lay Foundations for a good Literature," this one published on April 29. The author declares himself a native of Carolina.

In subsequent issues follow essays, sometimes original and sometimes borrowed, on the old subjects of "Love and Marriage," "Beauty and Women," "Government of the Tongue," "Pride," "Death and Immortality," "Anger, Envy, and Malice," and "Moderation." On June 9, 1733, in a probably local piece someone discussed the ideal of the middle way. Carolinian John Lloyd on July 7, 1733, had his essay on "Nonsense" printed, a disquisition on high and low satire or wit. He makes specific references to local persons, as Chief Justice R. Wright. Recognizable in the same years are the excerpted writings of Trenchard, Gordon, Goldsmith, Johnson, Wilkes, and selections from the British periodicals named earlier in the text or bibliography of this chapter.

The "series" on business ethics contributed by "Philander" in 1736 combines the practical with philosophic speculation—they could be included in the series groups above, but each has a special point which would allow consideration as individual pieces. In 1747 in "Discourse on Taste and Education" an anonymous learned author urged increased emphasis on the study of languages and mathematics, another mixture (though not necessarily so of itself) of the utilitarian and the philosophic. Perhaps most notable among the nonbelles-lettres pieces carried in the newspaper were the religious polemics growing out of the Whitefield controversy and the thoughtful comments on agricultural method.

The ablest known essayist of the period before 1764 in South Carolina was the learned jurist Chief Justice Nicholas Trott (1662/3–1739/40). Able compiler and editor of the laws of South Carolina (1736) and of "the British Plantations in America" (1721), he had also in 1721 published *Clavis Linguae Sanctae* (a lexicon of the Psalms). But it is one group of legal-philosophical essays written, as was at least one of Gooch's, as charges to the Grand Jury of the Province, which show Trott's remarkable

ability as articulate scholar, jurist, and thinker. Although at least some of these have been referred to in previous chapters, they are so definitely superior as philosophic essays that they should be mentioned here. The "Eight Charges Delivered . . . in the Years 1703. 1704. 1705. 1706. 1707." in a beautiful manuscript in the Charleston Library Society is now being edited for publication. In separate "charges" Trott examines the nature and origin of law, its necessity and usefulness, the happiness of living under law, the obligation to obey civil laws, the nature and obligation of oaths, the grand juror's oath, and the excellency and reasonableness of the laws of England, and concludes with an exhortation to enforce these laws against all offenders. One of its most interesting features is the vindication of the belief in witches, part of an extensive charge on witchcraft law, discussed primarily in Chapter X. Jefferson's friend Dr. Thomas Cooper, himself a juridical scholar, was two generations later to call Trott's discussion "undoubtedly the most learned and elaborate defence of the existence of witchcraft as a crime, that I have had the opportunity of perusing." Trott's sentencing speeches for other crimes indicate even more clearly his literary gift of lucid, learned, and lively prose. Here is the early-eighteenth-century juridical mind at its philosophical and communicative best. Trott, like the later Dobbs of North Carolina, demonstrates that the most perceptive of southern minds could be at the same time deeply religious as well as rational and political or juridical.<sup>212</sup>

#### *Literary or Aesthetic Criticism*

All specifically literary criticism of the colonial South was written in the eighteenth century, and in one place or another it has already been noticed. Dramatic criticism has been considered briefly—for there is little of it—earlier. But perhaps it would be well at this point to bring together or recall some of the scattered examples of aesthetic theory composed or printed in the southern colonies before 1764. Again it all comes from Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina.

In discussions of Maryland it has been pointed out that long before he came to that province Alexander Malcolm had published in Britain a treatise on music which was a standard work for the English-speaking world of the time. His Tuesday Club sobriquet of "Philo-Dogmaticus" possibly suggests that he was also a general aesthetic critic. Dr. Alexander Hamilton in his "History" of the Tuesday Club, his *Itinerarium*, and his dream-essay in the *Maryland Gazette* of June 29, 1748, discussed above was (in surviving or known literary evidence) the most persistent and perceptive of this group of amateur critics, though Jonas Green may have been just as acute. And there is implicit aesthetic criticism in such satire



as the piece on the mock-death of Philo-Musaeus in the August 31, 1748, *Gazette*<sup>213</sup> and in some of the reprintings from British periodicals.

Though in South Carolina there is from the first known issue of the *Gazette* some literary evaluation, and a good deal more in later scattered essays, it is the "Humourist" of 1753-1754 who devotes himself quite frequently to critical theory and taste in literature. Condemning poetasters and satirizing pastoral writers, he is most severe on modern critics who pass judgment in areas in which they are not competent. He finds the "true Nature of Criticism" as "not the Art of finding Fault [but] the determined Resolution of a Reader neither to deprecate nor dignify by partial Representation."<sup>214</sup>

The *Virginia Gazette* includes a considerable amount of aesthetic criticism, from the "Monitor" series of 1737 and the Davies-Dymocke exchange of 1752. The latter group is immediately preceded on February 7, 1750/1751, by a letter-essay complaining of the "Prostitution of Poetry to mean and vicious Purposes" and insisting that it be returned to its "ancient and natural Use; the Promotion of Piety and Virtue, and the Suppression of Vice and Immorality." The author illustrates good didactic poetry by presenting a poem in imitation of Pope sent him by a friend. The verses were by Davies and were included in his published *Miscellaneous Poems* within the next year.<sup>215</sup> "Zoilus" and others long before had discussed similar topics in replying to the "Monitor."<sup>216</sup>

The writers of the moral essays are naturally and frequently concerned with various aspects of literary criticism. William Byrd in his scathing letter to John Fox and throughout his miscellaneous writing is passing judgment on the verse and prose of his contemporaries. Though the principal overt critics of literature—Dr. Alexander Hamilton, Samuel Davies, "Dymocke," and "Humourist"—are sound enough, not one of them analyzes the forms of literature to the extent or with the profundity of Cotton Mather and some of his New England contemporaries. Within the next decade or two from the mid-fifties southerners, even in the midst of war, began to show considerably greater interest in the function and form of belles lettres, but even then they were for the most part content to follow without question British literary models.

#### FICTION AND ALLEGORY AND OTHER NARRATIVE

The southern periodical writing of the eighteenth century before 1764 contains only a small proportion of prose narrative in any form, though a few other separately printed tales were composed or related by colonials. The allegory, with its burden of morality and of ornate imagery and elab-

orate form, was familiar in baroque or belated Renaissance versions to literate southerners in the seventeenth century, and in the altered neo-classical shapes from Addison and Steele's time it was to be found in colonial southern libraries.

A number of allegories, often of the dream-vision variety, were borrowed by provincial periodicals straight from British journals. As variants of the moral essay they attracted several sorts of readers. Dr. Hamilton used the form for his criticism of *Maryland Gazette* authors already noted, and at about the same time, on November 15, 1751, the *North Carolina Gazette* carried "The Temple of Hymen. A Vision," also previously referred to. The *Virginia Gazette* of April 28, 1738, brought out the dream allegory probably by J.J. Huber of Annapolis on the selling of tobacco, and the issue of April 4, 1751, in "Religion and Infidelity. A Dream" treats allegorically such qualities as Prejudice, Ignorance, Discord, and Curiosity.

The *South-Carolina Gazette* of December 30, 1732, carried another popular sort of tale, beginning with a motto from Ovid, "Omnia Vincit Amor." It tells of Florio, married to Candida, who meets Sylvia, and of the generosity of both wife and mistress. It reminds one somewhat of William Byrd's favorite story from Petronius of the Ephesian Matron, which Byrd translated freely into English with much relish. In the *South-Carolina Gazette* of February 12, 1750, is a tale of "Generosity and Treachery display'd, said to be the real Story of a young Gentleman, with the fictitious name of Ardelio." Perhaps not original, it indicates the interest of the age in the erotic tale, which in separate and somewhat longer form was widely advertised.

A renewed interest in the story of Alexander Selkirk, one of Defoe's major sources for *Robinson Crusoe*, had arisen at mid-century when a later voyager visited the island and allegedly found the goats still living. On February 14, 1750/1751, the *Virginia Gazette* printed with recent additions the "Relation of one Mr. Alexander Selkirk, a Scotsman." It occupies part of page one and two columns of page two. Another erotic-moral tale was sent in by a subscriber to the Williamsburg newspaper and printed on August 16. On September 26 was published what another reader sent in, a criminal autobiography of the sort best known in the narratives of Defoe and Smollett.

Though no eighteenth-century novel seems actually to have been written in the southern colonies, several were produced by persons who lived or had lived in the region, and in most instances the subject matter of the tales is directly related to a particular colony. The earliest of these fictionists was Arthur Blackamore, professor of the humanities and head of the grammar school at William and Mary, who in 1717 had to be dismissed

for alcoholism. Back in London seeking admittance to holy orders, Blackmore composed at least two short novels, one of which has been considered significant enough in the development of that form to have been recently included with other narratives in a collection entitled *Four before Richardson* as an anticipation of the novel of character before *Pamela*. *Luck at Last or the Happy Unfortunate* (London, 1723) was dedicated to "Mr. David Bray, Merchant, of Virginia," and refers to Bray's father and mother and the fact that the latter is the model for the noble Lady Gratiana of the story. The character named is in several respects an anticipation of the lovely plantation mistress of the fiction of a century or more later, and the sentimental hero who marries her daughter Silvia fits quite well the recorded physical and moral character of David Bray (1699-1731) himself. The modern editor of this piece insists on its "pervasive sense of realism" achieved through the detailed description of servants and coaches and billiard tables and bowling greens Blackmore may have seen in Williamsburg or when he visited William Byrd II at Westover.

A little earlier, Blackmore had published a trilogy entitled *The Perfidious Brethren, or, The Religious Triumvirate. Display'd in Three Ecclesiastical Novels . . .* (London, 1720), dedicated in a long letter to the author's former protector and constant friend Governor Spotswood of Virginia. The wording reflects the Spotswood-Commissary Blair controversy, and in the third exemplum "The Cloven-Foot, or the Anabaptist Display'd," Blackmore sets his story in the renowned city of Augusta near a famous college. The villain of the piece, Whiskero, may possibly be a caricature of the author's old enemy James Blair. In his letters Blackmore hints that he returned to Britain with certain writings already partially completed which might cause a stir in Virginia. If it could be proved that any one of the little novels was written in Williamsburg, one would be able to move back the date of the so-called first American novel by half a century,<sup>217</sup> for these two novels are closer to Virginia in authorship and perhaps in depiction of its society than are the Virginia settings and characters in DeFoe's *Moll Flanders*.

A Georgian, Thomas Stephens, rebellious and to some extent scapegrace son of the Trustees' William Stephens who wrote so much officially of that colony, had by 1759 published in London a first and second edition of *The Castle Builders, or, the History of William Stephens, of the Isle of Wight, Esq; late deceased, A Political Novel . . .* The younger Stephens had sided with Tailfer and other dissident planters in their protests and accusations against the Trustees. The novel, dedicated to "Mrs. Susannah and Mrs. Ann Stephens," thanks them for giving him access to their late uncle's papers which have been the basis for their narrative. *The Castle*

*Builders* is in form biographical, beginning with the protagonist's education at Winchester School and the Temple, his misfortunes in England and Scotland, and his voyage to Charleston, South Carolina, and then to Georgia. "Mr. Oglethorpe, with his Mirmidons," and Whitefield and "his crews" and the Orphan House are among the things or people attacked as the narrative progresses. Much of Georgia history is here, including gardens and planting. In the second edition an appendix discusses reviews of the first edition and attempts to answer them.<sup>218</sup>

Thomas Atwood Digges (1741-1821), a Catholic and a native of Maryland, was the author of *The Adventures of Alonso* (London, 1775), frequently called the first American novel. Though it is dated a decade after the period of this study, it is still by a colonial southern colonist of a notable Chesapeake planter family which had branches in both Virginia and Maryland. Only recently has the authorship been established. Digges was a descendant of the Edward Digges mentioned earlier and had gone to Lisbon in Portugal for business reasons some time before 1775, and Portugal is mentioned in the subtitle of the book. Up to a certain point the novel is political and economic propaganda, but it is distinctly narrative fiction in form. The story begins in London, goes on to Brazil and Panama and the West Indies and back to Portugal. The title page ascription, "By a Native of *Maryland*, for some years resident in *Lisbon*," seems to suggest possible American as well as Iberian setting or theme. In any event, the novel belongs to the pre-Revolutionary South. It lies outside its author's considerable patriotic or political activity.<sup>219</sup>

One lively narrative has recently been printed from the original manuscript in the Maryland archives, "The Recantation and Confession of William Marshall alias Johnson, before his Excellency and the Council." It describes a common man's life of wandering and his capture by Indians and what the red men required him to do. There are suggestions in the colonial records that several such autobiographical narratives were recited to officials or judges in the various southern provinces, though only a few have so far been printed.<sup>220</sup>

These varied tales, together with the book advertisements in the provincial gazettes and the inventories noted in Chapter IV, show that southern colonials read a variety of fiction and of autobiographical narrative and wrote a little of it themselves. One recalls that only a few southern Indian captivity narratives were printed in a period when in the Northeast especially they were favorite reading for all sorts of reasons. During and after the Revolution the southern provincial read more and more fiction, but it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that he wrote many novels or recorded many actual captivities.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VERSE:  
INFLUENCES AND TYPES

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Although Moses Coit Tyler virtually ignores eighteenth-century southern verse except for that of Ebenezer Cook, a good deal of poetry or rhyme was composed, some of it fairly good. As suggested in the discussions of the satiric and elegiac above, it followed current British forms and to a lesser extent British subject matter. In the early years of the century, in fact all the way through to 1764 and beyond, there were produced and usually printed pindarics, imitations or paraphrases of Horace, Virgilian eclogues or georgics, amatory lyric verses and songs and laments, ballads and fabliaux, and normally within these frameworks some meditative nature poetry. Very little of the metaphysical remains, but at least a few poets such as Samuel Davies show Herbert's influence. It was in the colonies as in Britain an Augustan age, and the classics creep in everywhere. Unable to adapt classical prosody, the versifiers sometimes attempted as jokes (witness the Tuesday Club) imitations of Spenser and what they believed to be the ribaldries of Chaucer. Butler's hudibrastics, as already noticed, were everywhere in satiric verse, and the poets borrowed other octosyllabic lines from "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." Their blank verse indicates Miltonic more than Elizabethan models.

The pastoral, used in both the satiric and the elegiac, might be employed in eclogue form, as in Thomas Cradock's satiric "Maryland Eclogues," and along with it went the dream-vision, as popular in verse as in prose. There were songs, epigrams, riddles, paraphrases, and general light verse imitative of what was being printed in Britain. Though there was no great religious or devotional poetry, there were a number of moving hymns and other devout lyrics by such men as John Wesley, James Reid, and Samuel Davies which remind us that this was the great age of English hymn writing, the age of the Wesleys, Toplady, Cowper, Watts, and Doddridge.

Anticipations of the romantic moods, subjects, and diction are here as they are in the Britain of the time, in the meditative or rapturous visions of nature, the kindred sublime, the melancholy graveyard verses. Pope is not only imitated by the colonial poets and poetasters but directly addressed, or after his death conventionally mourned in meter.

The diction is normally the artificial, characteristic of the English poetry of the period. But as the decades succeed one another the return to the past for language as well as form or subject and the close personal relationship of poet and subject often produce a far from stilted imagery. The colloquial

and the dialectal figure or phrase or dialogue is fairly frequent. In rhymes there is little innovation.

To get a general idea of the quantity and subjects of southern verse in this period one should begin by going through J.A. Leo Lemay's *A Calendar of American Poetry in the Colonial Newspapers and Magazines and in the Major English Magazines through 1763* (Worcester, Mass., 1972), where he cites hundreds of separate poems, nearly all of colonial composition. But there are in addition a number of southern pieces or collections of verses published separately in book or pamphlet or broadside form in this country or in Britain, and a considerable group recently printed for the first time or still remaining in manuscript.

#### THE MARYLAND POETS

By the time the first issues of Parks' *Maryland Gazette* appeared in 1727 the colony had already, in George Alsop and Ebenezer Cook, produced two poets who had been published in London, and in its first years both Cook and his contemporary Richard Lewis were composing good verse, some of it printed in other places than the newspaper. Lewis at least by 1731-1733 was reprinted from the *Gazette* in Pennsylvania, New York, and London. As already noted, he and Cook were first known for their satires and elegies, but Lewis was to enlarge his interests and become in technique and subject matter the principal neoclassical poet of his colony and perhaps of all America in the period before 1764.<sup>221</sup>

Little more need be said of Ebenezer Cook, for he has been considered in his two major poetic roles, but Richard Lewis is far more significant for other kinds of poetry than his satire *Muscipula* or his elegies on the Calverts. Lewis (1700?-1734), schoolmaster in Annapolis, formerly instructor or student at Eton and perhaps student at Balliol College, Oxford, was in Maryland probably before 1719, working hard to promote a colonial system of education and sending to the Royal Society reports of his scientific observations. The *Muscipula*, his first known published poem (Annapolis, 1727), indicates that he was competent in his use of the heroic couplet and was already varying his prosody with triplets and alexandrines and other departures from the strict form. In 1729 there was published in the *American Weekly Mercury* an anonymous poem of forty-three lines developing the *translatio mundi* or *studii* idea of Bishop Berkeley made practically popular in his "Verses on the Prospect of Planting the Arts and Sciences in America," though the idea itself is as old as western settlement. Its motif and diction cause Lemay to assign it to Lewis' hand. Perhaps more certainly Lewis' is the anonymous undated poem on the launching of the *Maryland-Merchant* at Annapolis, verses published in the *Maryland Ga-*

zette of December 30, 1729, and reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 13 following. This is a rather impressive history of shipbuilding culminating, naturally, here in the New World. The ship itself is described, and the major Maryland river deities gather to hear Chesapeake, their monarch: "Fair Severn first appeared to grace his Court / Patuxent next did to his King resort," and so on with Chester, Patapsco, Sassafras, and "Susquehana." Then Chesapeake advises Maryland planters how to supervise the selling of their tobacco in England.

What has been called with good reason the most effective neoclassical poem of colonial America is "A Journey from *Patapsco* to *Annapolis*, April 4, 1730," which probably appeared first in a Maryland newspaper in 1730 and certainly in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 21, 1731. This is a journey poem which is meditative and pastoral, and at times almost dazzling in its nature imagery. Lewis sent a copy to botanist Peter Collinson, and it soon found its way into English magazines in 1732 and 1733, appearing at least five times, including once in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and twice in the *Weekly Register*. Evidently it was as much appreciated in Britain as any other colonial poem of the period.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* prose introduction (probably taken from a lost issue of the *Maryland Gazette*) calls the poem "an agreeable Description of Spring in these Parts of *America*," with the comment "The religious Turn given the whole, is suitable to the ancient Use and first Design of Verse." Then follows a Latin quotation from Virgil's *Georgics*. The first lines of the poem are conventional and British enough, though quite soon New World topography and flora become part of the narration.

At length the wintry horrors disappear;  
And APRIL views with smiles the infant year;  
The grateful earth from frosty chains unbound  
Pours out its vernal treasures all around. . . .  
In this soft season, e'er the dawn of day,  
I mount my horse, and lonely take my way,  
From woody hills that shade Patapsco's head . . .  
Down to Annapolis, on that smooth stream  
Which took from fair Anne-Arundel its name.

This is not Chaucer's road to Canterbury the persona is following, but the poet produces a series of fine descriptive images of the natural world through which his traveler wanders, with sunlight filtered through the pines, mist rising from a salt marsh, the domestic animals rousing with the break of day. The sylvan beauties of the landscape kindle poetic flames in praise of the Creator. Then comes the first extensive description of American wildflowers in our poetry—*Pacone*, *Crowfoot*, "*Cinque-foil*, with

the dazzling Dye / Of flaming Yelloe, wounds the tender Eye," all of them alongside the enclosures of "the grassy wheat" of cultivation. This is followed by scenes of rural life, the farmer and his orchards, and thereafter images of hummingbirds in brilliant colors and the fascinating mockingbirds. After taking refuge from a storm, the traveler continues his ride through the Maryland spring woods of dogwood, maple, redbud, and more flowers and birds. All this brings him to meditation which includes a vision of the course of man's life, and thoughts on the comforts of eighteenth-century existence, comforts such as reading at leisure or wandering with a congenial friend. Such musings bring him to his climax, awestruck admiration of the "Tremendous God!" who has created all this and this persona's concomitant fear of his own mortality and some speculation whether he possesses a "*never-dying* Soul."

The organization is in terms of the journey and of the time-scheme of one day from earliest dawn to twilight. There are obviously several levels of meaning, and his imagery and deftly varying feet result in interesting and even beautiful metrical effects. As Beverley and Byrd present the hummingbird in prose, Lewis brings him into the more glorious world of poetry, where he continues, along with the mockingbird, as America's major contribution to bird lore in verse. Lewis could not rhapsodize either bird into a Keatsian nightingale or a Shelleyan skylark, but his American successor Emily Dickinson could bring "the living rainbow" as both thing of beauty and imaginative symbol into the major poetry in our language.<sup>222</sup> Lewis shows that he owes something to Addison, Gay, Pope, Milton, perhaps Chaucer, and certainly James Thomson's *Seasons*, and one must agree with Lemay that he probably knew Beverley's *History*. But the poem has remarkable life in its own right.

Probably by Lewis is the poem "Food for Criticks," which may have appeared first in the *Maryland Gazette* but survives in one version in the *New England Weekly Journal* of June 28, 1731, and in another varying form in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 17, 1732. In each of these two instances, this nature and descriptive piece seems to have been altered or adapted to make it appear the work of a local poet. Lemay argues well that the awkwardnesses in these two versions are the result of the substitution of local names, and that in imagery, classical references, meter, seasonal distinction, and other aspects of nature poetry it is clearly Lewis'. There are echoes of Denham's *Cooper's Hill* and Addison's *Campaign*, as well as of Virgil, but the author asserts the superiority of American nature over European as the matter of poetry.

Hither ye bards for inspiration come,  
Let ev'ry other fount but this be dumb.



Which way so'er your airy genius leads,  
Receive your model from these vocal shades.  
Wou'd you in homely pastoral excel,  
Take patterns from the merry piping quail,  
Observe the bluebird for a roundelay,  
The chatt'ring pie, or ever babling jay.

Pindar, satyr, Phoebus, nor the water nymphs can rival these things, the versifier avers. It has been argued that this is the earliest as well as the best nature poem of colonial America. Certainly there are some fine lines, poetically much superior to those just quoted.<sup>223</sup>

*A Rhapsody* (Annapolis, 1732) was printed as a folio sheet on March 1, 1732, and subsequently in the *Maryland Gazette* of February 9, 1732/33, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* of July 1734 (IV, 385). This is a serious pastoral, with the meditative shepherd walking through the forest toward the Chesapeake. The soliloquy with which he begins proclaims the hope for an American literature inspired by and equal to the magnificent scenery, the "topographical fallacy" to be proclaimed by many later poets. Extended similes here are sometimes powerful. Several suggest that the poet had recently been reading Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Though Lewis' name is not attached to these verses, internal evidence has convinced Wegelin, Sherburn, and Lemay that they are his work.<sup>224</sup>

One manuscript occasional poem and another printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 21, 1732, may be Lewis', and the manuscript elegy on Benedict Leonard Calvert falls in this period. But among Lewis' most notable verse is his signed *Carmen Seculare, for the Year M, DCC, XXXI. . . To the Right Honourable Charles . . . Lord Baron of Baltimore* (Annapolis, 1732), originally a folio pamphlet but reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (III [April-May, 1733], 209-210, 264) as the work of the author of "a Journey from *Patapsko* to *Annapolis*." *Carmen Seculare* was written for the festivities on Lord Baltimore's arrival in 1732 to celebrate the colony's first century. Welcome to the Proprietor, long passages of praise of Maryland's fruit, corn, flowers, and animals, even planters' hospitality (which Edward Kimber may have echoed in his *Itinerant Observations*) are elements of the poem. There are lines of praise for Calvert's religious position and the resultant liberty to be enjoyed in Maryland. There are a chronological survey of Maryland history, strikingly accurate, and a number of suggestions for solving the colony's economic problems, especially regarding tobacco. In conclusion, Lewis prophesies more glorious times when some "nobler *Bard* must sing those golden Days," anticipating the long line of less modest would-be composers of the American epic. Well organized, the poem is perhaps most effective in its

description of the luxuriant countryside, somewhat suggestive of the earlier Herrick and the later Keats in their sensuous presentation of natural beauty in fecundity.

Lewis' final poem may be his 1734 elegy on former Governor Charles Calvert already mentioned, preceded by verses celebrating St. David's Day, a poem of 125 lines signed "Philo Cambrensis" and published in the Philadelphia *American Weekly Mercury* for March 1733/34. The latter shows an interest in the old story of Prince Madoc as the first explorer of North America and considerable general interest in early Welsh history. Classical allusion, variations in couplet form, and other features suggest that it is Lewis'. After this date there is no more evidence that he wrote, and there is proof that he died intestate in late March 1734, leaving a wife and son. His death did not go unnoticed, for W. Byfield, "late of New Castle upon Tine," published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 5, 1734, a lament on his passing. Conventional and mediocre verse, the mourning lines at least show that he was highly regarded as a man of letters.

Recent criticism has given Lewis greater reputation as a meditative poet than as an elegist or satirist. Eugene L. Huddleston, in a survey of slightly later American topographical verse (in *AL*, XXXVIII [1966], 310 ff.) points out that claims for Freneau as our first nature poet must be reassessed, for Lewis appears a better nature poet than Freneau, perhaps the best before Bryant. Incidentally, Lewis' work also renders absurd the assertions made by a recent anthologist of colonial poetry that no southern poet showed an interest in or affection for the natural world around him. Lewis impressed not only contemporary colonials of Pennsylvania and Maryland but English writers such as Edward Kimber, who quoted from his "A Journey" and may have adapted some of his poetic nature imagery for his own prose. The editors of British journals reprinted several of the Marylander's poems. As the story of colonial American writing is unfolding he is beginning to take his place among the significant versifiers not simply of his colony or region but of all early British America.

The mid-eighteenth century in Maryland verse is the age of the Tuesday Club burlesques and other satires and of the miscellaneous more serious verse Jonas Green was printing in his *Maryland Gazette*, which journal he revived in 1745. Green had become public printer for the province in 1738, and gradually there gathered about him in Annapolis, and through his acquaintance in Baltimore and Oxford and other smaller towns, a remarkable group of intellectuals who enjoyed writing. As they can now be identified, his personal prose and poetic pieces, especially the latter, seem all to be in the witty or satiric tradition. Green's predecessor Parks is not known for poetic authorship at all, though his earlier newspaper car-

ried a fair amount of miscellaneous verse, including some of Lewis' and Cook's and a piece by a "John Smith" of Cecil County on longitude and the Seagood-Blackamore poem from Virginia.<sup>225</sup>

In Green's paper were a number of more or less conventional verses on ladies, love, and marriage. On May 18, 1748, James Sterling's "An Epithalamium on the late Marriage of the Honourable BENEDICT CALVERT, Esq.; with the agreeable young lady, of your City, his Kinswoman." The opening lines ostensibly celebrate Maryland's spring, but "feather'd Warblers charm th' enchanted Grove" and other such imagery indicate how conventionally English that poem is. Fourteen lines precede Sterling's first use of a local name, the river Severn, and most of the verses are crowded with classical allusion including mythology, the obvious pastoral trappings, and the grandiose image. Notes by the author explain what he considered too learned for most of his readers. Severn, Annapolis, Marylandia, and "Chesapeak" are almost the only American names or references in a poem which might as well have been written in England or Ireland. But it is datelined "Kent County," and it remains as one of the few really formal epithalamia written and published in eighteenth-century America, all together not a bad poem.

The first verse appearing in Green's *Gazette*, however, was the unidentified "Juba's" forty-five line "To the Ladies of Maryland" in the issue of June 14, 1745. In one sense it may be the beginning of the southern tradition of the chivalric lyrics to ladies, but as might be expected in the age in which it appeared, it is a mockingly "moral" bit of instruction which praises and criticizes at once. On January 4, 1759, "Cynthio" was represented by fifty-eight lines of good verse, "A Batchelor's address, or, Proposal to the Maidens." The tone is light, though hardly mocking:

Ye *Maids*, whom Nature meant for *Mothers*,  
Some fair, some brown, and browner others,  
From Fifteen up to Five and Twenty,  
(Of those above there's always plenty)  
She who these Virtues shall inherit,  
A Batchelor wou'd strive to merit.

With these poems to or regarding ladies might be noted the "Extempore" versified advice Henry Callister gave his young friend Henry Hollyday on June 27, 1748:

My dear, my good & generous Friend  
You do not need to apprehend  
That Clôe has discarded you  
For any other Youth in view.  
If you are serious, so am I,

I'd have you once again to try,  
I've reason that I can't disclose  
For thinking you the Man she chose:  
As to that foolish secret Lye  
We'll find the truth on't bye & bye.<sup>226</sup>

Among miscellaneous verses Green printed only a few of several patriotic pieces of the period 1752-1760. One printed elsewhere was James Sterling's *An Epistle to the Hon. Arthur Dobbs, Esq.: in Europe from a Clergyman in America* (Dublin and London, 1752), a major poem of the era possessing special interest because of Dobbs' later governorship in North Carolina. In his prose "Advertisement" Sterling states that he wrote it two years before, after the return of the two Dobbs ships from their attempt to discover the Northwest Passage. The ships' objective brought to the poet's mind the potential of a great British empire in America. Referring to himself as a "tuneful Savage" living in the "uncultured Paradise" of America, the quondam Irish playwright reveals himself as far more American in his identity than he did in the "Epithalamium." The topography and fertility of his Chesapeake province are principal topics, and the rivers Chester and Susquehannah, Niagara Falls, the Appalachian Mountains, and his own "green Arcadia" are genuinely of the New World. In an imagined speech of Dobbs' praising the red men, the poet places the Indians in the pastoral tradition as representing a stage in mankind's development and declares that they were happy before the white man reached America. But the influence of Thomson and the new school of sensibility are also evident in this poem on an American subject.

Sterling goes on to describe a whale splashing waves over Dobbs' ship and the ice and cold of Labrador. Then after predicting a future triumphant journey for Dobbs, the poet breaks off or interrupts to present his idea of creation and later compliments various British notables and noblemen of the time. Though it is not so genuinely natural as Lewis' best work, in its own time the *Monthly Review* called it a good "mixture of the heroic, the philosophical, the descriptive, and the ethic."<sup>227</sup> Its incipient Americanism in the Indian section and its vision of the future glory of America make it historically important though not intrinsically good art.

The Reverend Thomas Bacon's son John, a young lieutenant in the militia who was killed in action before 1756, is believed to have been the author of "A Recruiting Song for the Maryland Independent Company (By an Officer of the Company)," printed in the *Maryland Gazette* of September 19, 1754, and in the *Scot's Magazine* (XVIII [March 1755], 139-140). Eleven stanzas together with varying choruses make this a good rollicking drinking song nicely representative of the patriotic spirit

engendered among many colonists during the French and Indian War. A typical stanza is

Shall We to British Blood lay Claim,  
And not support the *British* Name?  
Shall *Marlb'rough's* Battles be forgot,  
And Slav'ry prove our willing Lot?

And the chorus begins with a resounding "No!"

Another Maryland patriotic poem, probably by Sterling, appeared in the *American Magazine* (I [April 1758], 332-335), which in 124 lines apparently compliments an unnamed American. References are made to political corruption in the colonies and at home. Specially are named several "genuine" British patriots, not American, for they best exemplified for the poet the model public officials. A better poem is Sterling's majestic elegiac "Epitaph on the Late Lord Howe," which appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, the *New Hampshire Gazette*, and the *Boston Post Boy* after its initial printing in the *American Magazine* for September 1758 (I, 604-605). It has been discussed above as representative of the southern elegiac tradition. Another patriotic piece apparently by the same author, "Verses Occasioned by the Success of the British Arms in the Year 1759," appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* of January 3, 1760. It is an unusual poem, primarily a depiction of the American farmer's agricultural routine and of the progress of American civilization anticipating to some extent Crèvecoeur's "Andrew the Hebridean" in *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782). Fortunately eschewing the formal diction Sterling frequently uses, it pictures "The Planter there amidst his swarthy Slaves" and the felling of trees and clearing of ground in another example of the new sort of pastoral life to be obtained in America.<sup>228</sup> The section describing growing corn (maize) suggests strongly Sidney Lanier's poem more than a century later devoted entirely to "Corn." Overall, the poem is another example of the *translatio studii* theme, for America is taking up where Europe has left off.

Occasional verse is perhaps best represented in the *Maryland Gazette* by two pieces apparently by Sterling, the "Prologue" and "Epilogue" for the *Orphan* published in the issue of March 6, 1760, "by a Gentleman of This Province, whose poetical Works have rendered him justly Admir'd by all Encouragers of the Liberal Arts." The first of these two carries the *translatio studii* or *mundi* theme of the future glory of America as it shows all culture moving westward to the New World. The "Epilogue" is more concerned with the moral of the play, with reference to its effect on planters of Indian corn with puns on cuckoldom as "Crops of Horn."

Purely religious verse is rarer in eighteenth-century Maryland than in most other southern colonies, though Lewis' *A Rhapsody* and Alexander Hamilton's "To Philosophy, a Hymn" are meditations on a perhaps pantheistic concept of the universe. The Reverend Thomas Cradock did publish his *A New Version of the Psalms*, first printed in London in 1754 and then in Annapolis in slightly differing form in 1756. This is an attempt to put the Latin verse of George Buchanan (1506–1582) into English. The American version seems to have been successful in at least some respects, for the list of subscribers, headed by the name of Governor Horatio Sharpe, reads like a who's who of colonial Maryland and parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania.<sup>229</sup> Since it is an eighteenth-century rendition of Renaissance Latin, it represents at least two southern traditions, the classical and the religious. Not at all bad iambic pentameter couplet in meter, it lacks the flow and imaginative imagery of George Sandys' paraphrases of a century before.

Cradock was probably the author of a religious poem published in the *American Magazine* of September 1758 (I, 605–607), "To Thyrsis," an eighty-three line poem which is a kind of sermon in verse. Among Cradock's manuscript remains are other religious verses, probably the best of which is his "Hymn for Christmas," worth comparing with James Reid's "Ode" on the same subject and with some of Davies' hymns. Cradock also wrote "Hymn for Whitsunday," "Sacramental Hymn," and "On Viewing the Grave of [his son] Arthur Cradock." Near the end of his life, he composed the serenely meditative five-stanza hymn he called "Resignation."<sup>230</sup> When all Cradock's devotional or religious verse is collected and printed, he should stand with John Wesley and Samuel Davies as a major colonial hymnologist.

There are a few Maryland verses on aspects of science, including agriculture, but no one of them seems especially significant of anything save the interests of the day. In 1728 in Dublin before he came to America James Sterling had brought out a poem on the art of printing which he enlarged and revised in Maryland and published in the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle* (I [March 1758], 281–290) under the title of "A Poem. On the Inventions of Letters and the Art of Printing: Address to Mr. Richardson in London."<sup>231</sup> It is easily the most distinguished poem appearing in that periodical, most critics who know the journal agree. Richardson, Cadmus, and other historical or mythological contributors to the advancement of the art are addressed or referred to, and Sterling lists the great achievements in scholarship, religious education, and science which have been made possible through the press. A series of learned notes refers to many printers. The poem is organized around two themes: the invention of letters and the rise of printing. The revised version is one of

its author's best works and one of the best of colonial neoclassical poems.

The 1729 verses of "John Smith" on determining longitude have been mentioned. Another poem possibly from Sterling's Irish period is *A Friend in Need is a Friend in Deed, or, A Project, at this Critical Junction, to gain the Nation a hundred thousand Pounds per Annum from the Dutch: by an Irish Whale Fishery, Inscrib'd to Arthur Dobbs, Esq.* (Dublin 1737). At least it is on a subject which was to become popular in the colonies, and it is dedicated to a future southern governor. Compared with South Carolina and Virginia, however, Maryland and its poets were little interested in following the eighteenth-century fashion of celebrating or discussing scientific problems or technology in verse.

Sterling contributed to the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle* two Latin poems, one commending the soldiers participating in the Canadian campaign, the other commending the Latin verse of John Beveridge of Philadelphia which appeared in the same magazine. In the journal's final issue, for October 1758, was printed "The 22d Ode of the first Book of Horace imitated; and inscrib'd to the Lady of his late Excellency SAMUEL OGLE, Esquire," anonymous but datelined from "Kent in Maryland," undoubtedly composed by Sterling. The "christian hero" is defined in stanza one and then depicted for his bravery against "the French sword and Indian Knife," and the second stanza takes him through Appalachian rocks, Canadian forests, and bleak Ontario. Stanza three presents the narrator in meditation in Ogle's gardens when a huge buffalo suddenly rushes upon him, a creature such as the Ohio country or Virginia's woods never saw. But the narrator-hero, protected by his virtue, strikes such awe into the beast that it turns and flees. The eight-line iambic tetrameter stanza does not seem entirely appropriate for the somewhat awkwardly expressed progression in the poem. If William Byrd II had written this, or Ebenezer Cook, one might suspect tongue-in-cheek relation or irony or mock-heroic of some variety, but here there seem to be no clues suggesting humorous intent. The piece is of some interest for the domesticated buffalo inference, and for its patriotic assertions and suggestions that the rugged grandeur of western American nature might contribute to sublime effects.<sup>232</sup>

In the verse of eighteenth-century Maryland are a number of printed pieces on the *translatio studii* theme, showing a high consciousness of the future of this part of the New World as it took up the torch of civilization inferentially now merely sputtering in Europe. The province's poetry included classical adaptation and imitation, and the meditative-moral usually involved in the contemplation of the more beautiful or grander aspects of American nature. Sensibility and sublimity were already there, as they were in Britain. Most of these qualities were present also in the poetry composed in other colonies, but the sophisticated high seriousness of Richard

Lewis and the patriotic equally sophisticated awareness of the potential of the Chesapeake wilderness-paradise of James Sterling are hardly paralleled in the verse of the other southern colonies of mid-century. When one remembers with these two Cradock and Bacon, Hamilton and Green, and lesser poetasters such as Adam Thomson and Thomas Brerewood, Jr., and dozens of other versifiers such as "Juba," he realizes that Maryland between 1700 and 1764 had an unusually large number of educated men who enjoyed writing in meter and who produced metrical literature which is in subject matter and imagery and humor often peculiarly American.

#### THE VIRGINIA POETS

The poetic satire and the elegy in Virginia before the Revolution were on the whole inferior in quality to those of Maryland, but in other forms of poetry of the eighteenth century the more southern colony was represented by a wider variety, some of it good but little really superior verse. From Governor Francis Nicholson at the very beginning of the century to 1766, when the first era of the *Virginia Gazette* concluded, there were Virginians who turned to metrical composition to express love and gallantry, patriotism, religion, the interesting occasion, and other subjects close to their hearts or representative of the favorite literary forms of their era. Some of their lines remain in manuscript, others were first printed only recently, but a number were printed within the century of their composition.

Virginia had no one to match Richard Lewis as neoclassical bard, but the later Robert Bolling of Chellowe, definitely pre-Romantic in his tastes, may show when his work has been collected and published that he is worthy of attention as a sensitive and imaginative poet. Virginia also had college professors such as William Dawson and Goronwy Owen who wrote with grace and verve, and other lyricists in Byrd, Kimber (who wrote in other colonies as well), and several pseudonymous contributors to the *Gazette* such as the recently discovered James Reid. Samuel Davies, called the Virginia Pindar, produced better than respectable verse even when he was not composing hymns or other devout meditations. Charles Hansford's poems are both patriotic and religious. There is plenty of evidence that prominent public figures such as Richard Bland, Landon Carter, Thomas Burke, Benjamin Waller, John Mercer, Godfrey Pole, Arthur Blackamore and George Seagood, as well as the lesser-known Scottish Reverend John Lowe and Dr. Mark Bannerman and the Reverend Richard Hewitt experimented with meter, though as noted their best-known or even sole surviving poems are most often satiric.

There seems to be no record in Virginia of a group of organized poetasters such as the Annapolis Tuesday Club, but in the last two decades of the



life of William Byrd II, who died in 1744, there centered in Williamsburg in public times two or three dozen professional men who were interested in the drama and in rhyming, among other things. And in the twenty-odd years after Byrd's death there continued to gather upon occasion in the little capital men, and a few women, who continued to express themselves in verse. These people normally resided in many different places from the banks of the Potomac to the North Carolina border counties or to the lower Eastern Shore, or west at least as far as Goochland and Albemarle.

The lyric to ladies was the most persistent and obviously popular poem of eighteenth-century Virginia. At the very dawn of the period, in 1700 or 1701, no less a person than William and Mary College's planner and promoter, Governor Francis Nicholson, was pouring out his feeling in verse addressed to Lucy Burwell, an aristocratic young lady who would have none of him. Within the past generation some of his effusions have been printed from the manuscripts in the archives of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Along with the poetry went ardent letters from the middle-aged suitor to the sixteen-year-old fair one. One poetic plea is sufficient to indicate his ability:

Hasten to Lucy young and fair.  
Fly to her soft Engaging air.  
Say to her vertuous Self so rare  
Wast not yor youth in Coy disdain  
Think not yor beauties Pleasing reign  
By wayes of Rigor to Maintain.  
For thoh to Queens we homage owe  
And to the Goddesses with incense goe  
'Tis for the Blessings they Bestow  
Neither do they require that we  
Should to their Courts and Altars flee  
But for our own felicity  
Thus if before it bee too late  
You bless me wth yr Married State  
In love you them will imitate  
And I to you shall Constant prove  
With Sacred Pledges of true Love  
Which Age nor time shall ever move.<sup>233</sup>

The *carpe diem* motif, though as old as the lyric form itself, here suggests the verse of the century in which Nicholson was born rather than that in which he was ending. At about the same time, lines of a native Virginian writing in England, William Byrd II, are far less serious, almost *vers de société*, celebrating the ladies promenading at Tunbridge in 1700 in much the same manner he later in 1719 used in paying witty and graceful tribute to various of the noble fair in *Tunbrighalia: or Tunbridge Miscellanies*.

These are signed, or some of them are, by "Mr. Burrard," whose identity with the master of Westover has been held in some doubt by certain critics, though Dolmetsch's recent researches have shown them to be his. Byrd's turn-of-the-century pieces are in alternately rhyming quatrains, his 1719 verse in the couplets so dear to the eighteenth-century rhymster. Yet all his poetry is in tone, imagery, and form much closer to late seventeenth-century English verse than to that most popular after the first decade or quarter of the new century. "On the Dutchess of Montagu" is characteristic:

In vain *Prometheus* had contriv'd the Plan  
Had Heav'n refus'd to animate the Man:  
So Fancy forms, . . . but Life must you inspire;  
For strong's the Force of your diffusive Fire.  
Oh! wert thou added to the heavenly Three,  
And Paris once again was to decree;  
In vain to him the Goddesses would sue,  
The prize in Justice would be due to you.

What may have been one of Byrd's contributions to *The Careless Husband*, allegedly written by him and two British noblemen and not by Colley Cibber, is the four-quatrain "A Song," beginning

Sabina with an Angel's face  
By Love ordain'd for Joy,  
Seems of the Syren's cruel Race,  
To Charm and then destroy.<sup>234</sup>

And recently printed from a manuscript among the St. George Tucker Papers at Williamsburg is a poem, "By the first Col. Byrd [i.e., William II] and communicated by David Mead Esq.r." This is "An humble address to Cupid," which concerns the poet's love for "Lucinda" when he has reached "serious years." In a sense antithetical to mature Nicholson's pleas, it is a graceful piece of seventeen lines.<sup>235</sup>

Probably a frequent anonymous or pseudonymous contributor to the *Virginia Gazette* and certainly occasionally printed or reprinted in British periodicals was William Dawson (1704-1752), professor and then president of the College of William and Mary. M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, and D.D. by diploma, he married the sister of historian William Stith. Soon after the *Virginia Gazette* began, there appeared in the issue of October 22, 1736, an advertisement of *Poems on Several Occasions By a Gentleman of Virginia*, the first volume of verse known to have been published in the colony (though subscriptions had been solicited for an earlier *Virginia Miscellany . . . By Several Gentlemen of this Colony* in 1731 in the *American Weekly Mercury* of Philadelphia). The *Poems on Several*

*Occasions* was reprinted from George Washington's copy in 1930, though several more years passed before the work was identified as Dawson's.

Dawson's little volume contains quite conventional pieces, in both subject and form. They are indeed occasional poems, including "Hymn to the Morning," to a friend in London, "An Anacreontique" (2), "Fable" (2), epigrams, "An Epistle, To—Esq.," and "On the Corruptions of the Stage." Besides these, there are lyrics "To Sylvia" (4), a "Song" (or toast) to Clôe and Sylvia. The poems to ladies are in the favorite decasyllabic couplet form in most instances, though one is made up of four six-line stanzas, the first four lines of which are in octosyllabics. "To Sylvia, On Approach of Winter" has the familiar *carpe diem* motif:

Come, my Silvia, come away;  
Youth and Beauty will not stay;  
Let's enjoy the present now.

Most are in the neoclassical pastoral form or framework, and in many there are references to life at Oxford. The poems were probably largely products of Dawson's university years in England, because of both the references to "our Oxford" in several places and the failure to cite persons or fauna or flora or topography of America. Also in the preface the author refers to them as the "casual Productions of Youth." Philomela, Jove, "Progne," and other references to classical myth, along with direct references to Milton, Pope, Shakespeare, Rowe, and other writers, are characteristics of the little volume. The Bodleian Library, Locke, Aristotle, the Oxford Colleges are principal subjects, not the glories of a Virginia spring or autumn.

The "Dawson Papers" in the Library of Congress are a miscellaneous collection of letters and sermons of William and his brother Thomas, the latter also affiliated with the Virginia college. The so-called "William and Mary Miscellany," also in the Library of Congress, contains both Latin and English verse probably composed as exercises under William Dawson's direction or some perhaps even his own early experimental pieces. Lemay believes that several poems of the years between the volume and Dawson's death, printed in the *Virginia Gazette* and reprinted elsewhere (as were individual poems from the little volume), may also be Dawson's. These include the elegies on Sir John Randolph and other lyrics. Graceful and competent, all the verses assigned to Dawson suggest a metrist of some ability who had more important things than verse-making to occupy most of his time.<sup>236</sup> They are literally transplanted English verse, but they have significance as indicative of colonial taste and colonial abilities.

From the first extant issues of 1736, at least, the *Virginia Gazette* through

1766 brought out 141 specimens of verse, 90 of them printed by Parks, 50 by Hunter, and 1 by Joseph Royle. Almost all (135) appear in the extant issues of the years between 1736 and 1756. Three more appeared in 1740, the additional three in 1757, 1759, and 1762. Perhaps about one-third of the poems published from 1736 to 1766 are now available, but they are sufficient to show a great deal about the provincial taste and ability. A good deal is original, as suggested by the datelines and by letters printed to introduce and accompany the verse. In some instances it is difficult to determine whether a piece is native or not, as "The Lady's Complaint" sent in to Parks by a subscriber who did not remember having seen it in print. It appeared in the October 22, 1736, issue, in which the advertisement of *Poems on Several Occasions* was run and in which the "Monitor No. X," on appreciation of music, was printed. The *South-Carolina Gazette* reprinted the "Complaint" on August 15, 1743, where it is signed "E.R."

On December 10 in the *Virginia Gazette* "To a Lady, On a Screen of Her Working" was printed, a charming poem full of flower and color imagery and signed in its "reprint" in the *London Magazine* of the same month as by "W——m D-ws-n." It is definitely superior to most of the poems in Dawson's collection and probably represents his greater maturity at the time of composition. On April 29, 1737, "On modern Courtship" by "Amintor" was published in the newspaper, along with the author's avowal that this was its first time in print. Conventionally pastoral, with Chloe and Damon as shepherds, it also carries the carpe diem theme present in most love lyrics. The issue of June 3, 1737, contained "Verses occasioned by a young Lady's singing to a Spinnet," signed "By a young Gentleman of Virginia," a piece reprinted on August 26. If this is Dawson's, it is somewhat inferior to the poem of December 10 but is of some interest as indicative of musical activity and appreciation. "J.R." signs a piece on a rejected proposal of marriage on February 17, 1738, and for May 5, "W.B." sent in a brief love lyric "by . . . a Youth of the Frontiers" entitled "The Discovery," not a bad poem, which some believe might actually have been written by the aging William Byrd II, who felt a little ashamed to acknowledge the trifle. The transmitter of verse to all the colonial newspapers was indeed often its author, whatever he pretended. "Amintor" wrote twelve lines of translation from Ovid's *Art of Love* for the *Gazette* of December 12, 1740, though it survives only in the reprint in the *General Magazine* of Philadelphia in its January 1741 (I, 57) issue. Incidentally, in the same number of the *General Magazine* is a ten-line epithalamium celebrating the marriage of William Gooch, Jr. (d. 1744), to Eleanor Bowles, a poem also reprinted from the *Virginia Gazette*.

Just a little earlier, in the *Gazette* issue of September 13, 1739, was a poem sent in by "H.P." but claimed to be the work of a friend, in which

a lover is consoled for the loss of Bella (or Arabella) and advised to court Myra instead. Missing issues of the *Virginia Gazette* between 1740 and 1745 cause us to look elsewhere for reprints, as the two in the *General Magazine* just noticed. In this journal for April (I, 278-279) is a Virginia poem by "A.B." on the war of the sexes beginning "Flavia complains of dull restraint."

Journalist, chronicler, novelist, and poet Edward Kimber, already mentioned several times as residing for a considerable period in Virginia and other southern colonies, in February 1744 in his father's *London Magazine* (XIII, 95-97) published in 195 lines "The Vindication. An Heroic Epistle in Answer to one received from her June 2, 1743. On the Banks of the Al——a. To Miss Susanna Maria T——, of W—— in C——," which may well have been written in Carolina and originally published in a missing *Virginia Gazette*. In March in the same journal Kimber presented "Fidenia: Or, the Explanation," a song about a "beautiful Negro Girl," to be sung to the tune of "Love's Goddess is a Myrtle Grove & c." In succeeding issues, young Kimber published a number of American-written and/or -inspired poems, including some to Suzanna Lunn (Kimber?). Though Kimber is perhaps not to be identified residentially any more with Virginia than with the other southern colonies, in the total body of his prose and verse Virginia and Virginians are scenes and subjects many times.

On February 14, 1751, the *Virginia Gazette* printed ninety-two lines on "Love and Honour" by "a Gentleman of Virginia" who may or may not be William Dawson. Probably a Dr. Thomas Thornton was the "T.T." who published an epigram to the ladies on March 7, 1751, and also on March 7 "The Moon is a Woman. Translated," dated from York [town] March 4. On March 14 "Daphne. To Dr. T.T. occasioned by his Epigram on the Ladies, supposed to be written after a Dissappointment" kept up the little game. A pseudonymous poetaster printed "Love without Sight" on April 25, 1751, and "Chloe's Choice. A new Song." on January 2, 1752.

In the last years of the colonial period and indeed up to the Revolution most Virginia verse on love and gallantry survives in British periodicals. Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg, the aforementioned epistolarian in verse, had published in May 1759 in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XXIX, 228-229) his "Myrtilla to Damon," the manuscript of which exists in the Waller Papers of Colonial Williamsburg.<sup>237</sup> This is one of the most graceful lyrics written by a Virginian of the mid-century period.

The Virginia lyric poet who contributed frequently to the *London Imperial Magazine*, *London Magazine*, and *Universal Magazine* and probably anonymously to the *Virginia Gazette* between 1761 and 1765 was Robert Bolling of Chellowe, in Buckingham County, mentioned above for his

elegies. Educated in British schools in Yorkshire and perhaps at the College of William and Mary, he was the most prolific poet of pre-Revolutionary Virginia.<sup>238</sup> He may also have been the best. Bolling had acquired a considerable and perhaps thorough knowledge of French and Italian and Latin and possibly Greek during his school years, and his verses show the influence of not only the British poets of his time, but of several Italian and French authors such as Molière and Metastasio, the latter of whom was born a generation before Bolling but outlived the colonial American. Undoubtedly Bolling could have read these and other French and Italian poets in translation, but there survive from the Virginian's hand several pieces in Italian and French, and in his manuscripts he quotes Italian lines a number of times. One Italian piece by him was published in the *Columbian Magazine*, Volume II. He published under various pseudonyms, as "Prometheus," and under his own name or initials.

The *Imperial Magazine* began in 1760 and lasted through three volumes.<sup>239</sup> Bolling's first appearance, signed "Prometheus," seems to be "A Song" published in April and June 1761 (II, 215 and 325), in four quatrains beginning

Oh! wou'dst those know what secret charm  
Will thy Myrtille's hate disarm;  
Leave all those little trifling arts,  
Which only please more trifling hearts.<sup>240</sup>

In August in this journal "Prometheus" was represented by translations: "On Matrimony, From the French of *M. de Voltaire*" and "Daphne's Speech to SYLVIA, in Tasso's *Aminta*, translated and humbly [inscribed?] to M.E.R. of [Corvilla?]," each translation introduced by a quotation from the author in his own language. With the latter are four lines of "Sylvia's Answer," also by "Prometheus."<sup>241</sup> In October (II, 552-553) Bolling published a sixty-line "Complaint" beginning "O Melancholy, pensive maid," a poem he attributes to himself in the Huntington Library manuscript. In 1762 his first pieces in the July journal are witty or satiric, followed by "*To a TURTLE DOVE*," introduced by three Latin lines from Ovid and addressed to Delia,<sup>242</sup> followed in turn by an ironic epitaph and another ironic piece. In August appears one of his better lyrics, "O, if I cou'd! imitated from the Italian, and very humbly inscribed to Miss Randolph, of Chatsworth," twenty-six lines signed "Prometheus." On the same page is "To Miss PATTY DANGERFIELD. Imitated from Aristo," introduced by two Italian lines, and then "To an amiable young Lady, on her determination to live single," identified by Bolling as "Miss Betty Randolph." "Prometheus" continues to contribute poems on ladies, enigmas, and other subjects through the September 1762 issue. Others of Italian and French inspiration

as well as conventional eighteenth-century English lyrics and other forms were, one learns from his manuscripts, published in now-lost issues of the *Virginia Gazette* of this period.<sup>243</sup>

In the *London Magazine* and *Universal Magazine* especially, Bolling continued to print his lyrics to the fair sex. In the January 1764 number of the former, for example, he published once over his own name, once over "Prometheus," and over "R.B." "Time's Address to the Ladies. This Imitation of Tasso, is most humbly inscribed to Miss E. Randolph, of James River, in Virginia" was in 1790 reprinted in the Philadelphia *American Museum* (VII, Appendix, 80). It is a classic example of the *carpe diem* motif. "To My Wife" in the same issue is signed "R.B.," and "The Choice" is written above "Prometheus." In the February issue of the *London Magazine* "Prometheus" wrote for "Miss A. Miller of V." and for Stella a piece on "The Flamers," besides a poem "To my Flute." In the same month in the *Universal Magazine* appeared "A Canzonet of Chiabura imitated," dated from Virginia and signed Robert Bolling, jun., and verses "To Miss Nancy Blair of Virginia, this imitation of Horace . . .," signed "Prometheus." The Italian-inspired verses continue in this journal and the *Virginia Gazette* at least through 1765. The last sure poetic glimpse in print of "R.B." is his twelve-line "Madrigal. On the Death of an Infant," apparently his own child E[lizabeth?] Bolling being his subject. This appeared in the Williamsburg Purdie and Dixon *Gazette*, January 1, 1767. Political verses almost surely his appeared in the next several numbers of the *Virginia Gazette*.

The principal eighteenth-century recognition of Bolling's ability came after his death in an essay in the *Columbian Magazine* (II, [April 1788], 211-213) signed "Observer." The writer declares that America has already produced a few real artists and that he wishes to consider them. First he takes Bolling, lineal descendant of Pocahontas, "one of the greatest poetical geniuses that ever existed," a fact that he has discovered by visiting Bolling's widow and Colonel Theodorick Bland and reading in the manuscript volumes his verse in Latin, French, Italian, and English, specifically comparing him with Metastasio. "Observer's" other neglected poet is from Boston, evidence that he is not a parochial critic. After his discussion of Bolling he gives in Italian a twelve-line character of "Messer Roberto Bolling" by the poet himself. Friend and Yorkshire schoolmate of Theodorick Bland, Richard Henry Lee, and Robert Munford, Bolling was of the gifted generation of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. These three British-educated young men did not, except for Lee, live so long or go so far as the two future Presidents, but they made their contributions to the southern mind at the same time that they were representative of it. Bolling's poetic gift and facility was an unusual one which will, one repeats,

not become fully evident until his collected writings are published. The depth, variety, and mastery of technique he possessed may thus become evident.<sup>244</sup> He demonstrates also even more than does Richard Lewis that American poetry might be read in Britain as well as in the provinces in which it was created.

But a word or two more on the lyrics to ladies. Even the misanthropic and devout James Reid, the "Caledoniensis" whose satirical prose and verse have been noticed above, wrote some of these occasional pieces. Two at least were composed in neoclassical vein on love. The first, "The Sports of Cupid: or, The Fever and Ague of Lovers," is the conventional Damon-Celia affair followed by "A Play upon the Words FIRE, ICE, SNOW," concerning the haughty Julia. These are in the *Virginia Gazette* of November 17, 1768. There is perhaps a little whimsy in the still conventionally formed "A Billet Doux in the modern taste," of sixty-eight lines, beginning

Dear Madam, let this letter tell  
The dictates of my mind;  
And let thine eye propitious be,  
And to its author kind.  
Let his chaste wishes warm thy soul,  
And turn thy lovely mind  
Upon thy amorous swain that he  
His wish'd for prize may find.

. . . . .

And whilst my heart before thee lies,  
Both fervent and sincere,  
Listen whilst I do yield it up  
With this laconick prayer:  
Dear Madam, hear a dying swain,  
Redeem me from the grave;  
And while I live I shall remain  
Your very humble slave.

Another Virginian who was Scottish born made a name for himself as a lyric poet and ballad writer before leaving his native country. This was John Lowe (1750-1798). A little late for the colonial period, he breathed the spirit of the verse which was to flower in Burns and Scott. His sentimental "Mary's Dream" is the best known of his ballad verses. One version of the first stanza is typical enough:

The moon had climb'd the highest hill,  
Which rises o'er the source of Dee,  
And from the eastern summit shed  
Her silver light on tower and tree:  
When Mary laid her down to sleep,  
Her thoughts on Sandy far at sea;



When soft and low a voice was heard,  
Saying, Mary, weep no more for me.<sup>245</sup>

A poem to his beloved left at home was written five years after he had arrived in Virginia. Meanwhile he had conducted an academy at Fredericksburg and then taken holy orders. He forgot the Scottish lass and fell in love with a beautiful Virginia lady who refused him, though eventually he married her sister. His wife proved intemperate and unfaithful, and he himself died an alcoholic at forty-eight. He was buried in the churchyard near Fredericksburg "under the shade of two palm trees," his biographer in Cromek's book alleges! His "Morning Poems" and "Lowe's Lines" were probably written in Britain but were read and remembered also in America. He is one of the symbols of the trend away from the neoclassical toward the sentimental and pathetic.

Lowe was a Scottish Anglican in Virginia, Samuel Davies a Welsh-descended Presbyterian there. Something of Davies as satirist, critic, elegist, and hymn writer have been discussed, but little or nothing of his few love poems, his meditative and devotional and nature pieces. It is to be noted that this devout man is also the southern colonial poet who wrote with the greatest intensity about the conjugal bond, expressing in several poems the warm sexuality of his relationship to his beloved wife. In one poem, "Whom have I in Heaven but Thee?" a meditative piece on the glory of God's universe, he pauses to pay tribute to Jean Holt Davies:

When *Chara*, the Companion of my Life,  
The chastest, mildest, tenderest, kindest Wife;  
The Honour and the Beauty of her Sex;  
Whom every Grace and every Virtue decks:  
When she blooms on my Sight in all her Charms,  
And Every correspondent Passion warms;  
I farther look; and thro' this radiant Glass  
Gaze on the brighter Beauties of thy Face.<sup>246</sup>

"Conjugal Love and Happiness" admits the "active Fires" of his love and the consequent bliss, and then he adds: "But hence! far hence! ye wild lascivious Fires: / To Purer Themes the modest Muse aspires." But more than a hundred lines later he adds:

*Chara*, beneath thy Influence I felt  
The charming Flame; my Soul was taught to melt  
In Extasies unknown, and soon began  
To put the Stoic off, and soften into Man.

Thy yielding Bosom soon began to glow  
With the same Flame thy Charms taught me to know.<sup>247</sup>

The poem continues more than another hundred lines and includes a somewhat morbid meditation on what "Chara" will do when he predeceases her—if he does. In his diary during the voyage to England he includes fourteen lines coming "spontaneously" to him as he thought of his wife and home.<sup>248</sup>

All his adult life at least this evangelical dissenting clergyman who died at thirty-eight wrote poems, most of them religious and many to match particular sermons, but others meditations, appreciations of nature and human knowledge (science), and patriotic. Educated at one of the log colleges, he was exceptionally well read, and because of his references to Socrates, Plutarch, Virgil, Tacitus, Juvenal, and a dozen other ancients, he has been called the "Classical Champion of Religious Freedom." To the Greeks and Romans he added the Church Fathers. Among later seventeenth- and contemporary eighteenth-century authors he refers to voyagers, essayists, preachers, poets, historians, and philosophers, most notably Milton, Baxter, Pope, Young, Addison, and his own friend Jonathan Edwards. In *Charity and Truth United . . . Six Letters to the Rev. Mr. William Stith, A.M.*, Davies gives his own poetic translations from Juvenal, Horace, and Cleanthes, but more often, in his verse as well as his prose, he restrains himself at the moment he seems about to plunge into a series of learned allusions and is content with plain paraphrase or turns aside from the erudite to the hortatory and sublime. It is in the Calvinist sublimity, a fusion of his Christian doctrine and belief with the means of expressing it employed by such divines as Edwards and himself, that Davies is most effective.

In the age of Burke, Alison, Blair, and other forerunners of the full-blown Romantics, this American colonial Calvinist wrote and spoke in terms of the sublime, giving it a special place and definition or interpretation. He saw God's wrath as power, infinity in time and space, magnificence in the Almighty, awe in the rugged majesty of the Christian concept, as the qualities he must stress. Stylistic felicity was important to him but never as much as clarity calculated to reach deep into the hearts of humanity. He scorned what he called Enthusiasm, and returned to the Renaissance idea of the language of divine inspiration in sacred poetry. The rhetorical cadences of the King James Bible or the Song of Solomon as paraphrased by George Sandys, and an older concept of the function or duty of religious verse, are closer to his practice than are the neoclassical rationalists or the sort of liberalism of some contemporaries. In common with certain other writers of his own age and earlier and later, this Calvinist believed that awe could produce sublime emotion, a kind of tranquillity tinged with terror, which might reach the souls of men.

Thus Davies' poetry is sublime in aim and imagery and theme. Much of its form is derived from the hymns of Watts and Doddridge, from Milton,

Pope, the Bible, the classics, and what his age called the Pindaric ode. He knew and applied Baxter's treatise on meditation, *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* (London, 1650), which argues for unceasing self-examination, as much of a Presbyterian as a Puritan heritage. The few poems which may not be classed as meditations (including elegies) are the generally descriptive and patriotic series growing out of the French and Indian War, though even these, in their use of fear and awe and death, show the qualities of the sublime of a more secular nature and application.

Davies' ninety-odd known poems, including those in his *Miscellaneous Poems* (Williamsburg, 1752) have recently been collected in one volume. The elegiac pieces, more reflective than most southern poems in this genre, are discussed above. The odes on peace and science are still contemplative, though not at all in the melancholy tone of most others. But the sublimity-fear produced by great storms is reflected in the two or three he wrote at sea.

As in his sermons, so in his verse Davies is neither happy Calvinist nor gloomy depicter of final doom, neither an Edward Taylor nor a Michael Wigglesworth. He veers between the two extremes, relatively simple in his diction, especially in his hymns. In his diary he observes how music and harmony affected him emotionally and even intellectually. His later "Odes" were set to music by a Princeton graduate (see Chapter VIII), and for his earlier hymns he always carefully indicated a familiar tune.

In his preface to the *Miscellaneous Poems* the poet conventionally and modestly speaks of his "fortuitous" compositions. He slightly misquotes "that antiquated Wit, Herbert," in observing that "A Verse may hit him whom a Sermon flies, / And turn Delight into a Sacrifice." He admits he occasionally imitates Milton and Pindar, and suggestions of Pope's *Messiah*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, and Thomson's *The Seasons* appear in certain images and meters. He frequently uses the couplet, usually preferring the octosyllabic to the decasyllabic. His imagery, as suggested, bears close resemblance to the Solomonic passages of the English Old Testament. As one critic has remarked, there is remarkably little fire and brimstone in any of his verses, even when his theme is the future life.

"The Invisible World" is somewhat suggestive of George Herbert. Thomson and other pre-Romantic poets may be echoed in the storm poems, but Nature's thunderous majesty clearly fascinated Davies personally. Whether of wind or rain of a Virginia summer day or mountainous waves of the winter Atlantic, storms were the Creator's grandest symbols of sublimity.

And now above and all around  
Majestic Thunders roll with murm'ring Sound,  
Convulse the Air, and rock the Ground.

Now rumbling in the dark aerial Hall,  
Till scattering far away  
The horrid Murmurings decay,  
And die away and fall.

These lines are from a 1751 "A Description of a Storm" published in the *Virginia Gazette* (July 4, 1751) as well as in *Miscellaneous Poems*. His later lines on "The War of the Elements" jotted in his diary depict an even more stupendous Nature of lightning flashes and thick gloom and horrors of the dark, "the Wreck of Worlds . . . / the blended Roar of Thunder, Winds and Waves / In Tumult," with a new image as each tremendous wave struck his ship.<sup>249</sup>

His hymns were usually composed, like so many of Edward Taylor's poems, to accompany sermons, especially those homilies preparing Davies' flock for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. That they were effective is borne out by the fact that they were printed by several religious denominations as "Communion Hymns" down to the end of the last century. These and his other meditative verse were written in a southern colony touched by the Great Awakening by a deeply devout and artistically gifted man who was also learned. His one volume of verse, his pamphlet sermons with hymns attached, were bought, and read, by stout Anglicans as well as Presbyterians, as the *Virginia Gazette* bookstore account books and the copies in many libraries testify, and the poems were copied in newspapers and early magazines from South Carolina to New Hampshire. Several were printed in British magazines, some with versions of his individual sermons. The controversy as to the artistic merits of the completed poems carried on in the *Virginia Gazette* indicates the local interest in the man and his work.

One may never call his verse great poetry and by no means all of it good poetry, but it was the rhymed representation of a significant American movement, the Great Awakening. And with all due allowance for the *Bay Psalm Book* and Michael Wigglesworth and a number of New England fugitive religious poets, it was Samuel Davies who brought the muse of sacred poetry before the American public.

One might say John Wesley's 1737 Charleston volume was Davies' precursor and some scattered individual religious verses his southern colonial successors. The blacksmith-lay reader Anglican poet Charles Hansford (1685-1761), the Anglican schoolmaster-parson Goronwy Owen (1723-1769) who wrote largely in his native Welsh even in Virginia, and the Scottish (possibly Presbyterian) James Reid (fl. 1768-1769) all composed verses which might be designated as religious in theme.

Owen, who held the mastership of the grammar school at William and Mary and a parish in rural Virginia, was a most significant Welsh bard

who composed some of his poems in the colony and died there. He has been remembered by a sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and by an interesting publication at the College of William and Mary on the two hundredth anniversary of his death, the latter really a lecture by an eminent Welsh scholar on Owens' significance as a literary figure. One could hardly suggest that Owen's poems had the least influence in Virginia or that anyone ever read them, though there were Welshmen in the colony who could have done so, as his letters tell us. It is worth noting that one of the most influential of all Welsh poets (on the literature in his native tongue) lived for a time and composed in a southern province and that he frequently wrote on religious subjects. His best-known poem, for example, is on the Last Judgment, a paraphrase of Scripture imitative of both earlier Welsh and earlier English verse. According to John Gwilym Jones, who has written on Owen, the colonial had some of the same sources as Davies, notably Pope's *Messiah*. Some of his commemorative or elegiac poems written in Virginia, as he learned in his rural parish a couple of years before his death, were being printed in Wales or in London.<sup>250</sup>

Blacksmith Charles Hansford, personal friend of Benjamin Waller, assumed the role of the simple and uneducated rhymster, though in reality he was a very learned man. His reading was wide, his poetic subjects frequently religious and patriotic, almost always the meditations of a man who must have lived, at least in mind, much to himself. His manuscript poems, discovered a short time before they were first published in 1961, begin with "Of Body and Soul," in decasyllabic couplets in which he muses on the duality of man, the physical and the spiritual, for 195 lines of not very profound but commonsense rational philosophy. "Some Reflections on My Past Life and the Numberless Mercies Receiv'd from My Maker" is clearly autobiographical, beginning with his mother's devout advice in his early youth and continuing in its 415 lines of couplets to meditate upon God's providence, on his uneventful life, the meaning of the death of his children, and his hope in a gracious God. "Barzillai," based on 2 Samuel 19:32, is some 582 lines of paraphrase, reminiscences, historical allusions, and rumination on the parallel between his own situation and that of the Gileadite. Two digressions are perhaps clues to his previous life, one an account of the northern whale fishery and its antithesis, the hard life of sailors in the tropics. As his editors admit, he may have been a sailor, though there seem to be possible literary sources for these sections.

More valuable historically is Hansford's fourth poem, "My Country's Worth," a patriotic, even chauvinistic, piece, which indicates how well he knew the society, topography, geography, and individuals of his native province. Virginia rivers, the great bay of Chesapeake, Williamsburg, Virginia's leading families, Governor Dinwiddie (complimented), merchan-

dising, gambling, horse racing, slavery, and much else are his themes. His vigorous arguments against slavery include references to ancient history, and his list of those he considered the colony's leading families is significant. There is no suggestion that he felt his own family had lost prestige because of his ancestor's prominent part in Bacon's Rebellion, but there is a deep-seated pride in the people and the land.

Here in Virginia everyone will grant  
That we enjoy what other people want.  
Climate alone is not the only favor:  
Lands to produce, streams to transport, our labor.

Then he goes into descriptions of the rivers of his sylvan Venice. Quite aware of his shortcomings in prosody and imagery, he must have appreciated with great humility the versified encomiums of Benjamin Waller, Richard Hewitt, and John Dixon, at least two of whom were more facile and sophisticated than he.<sup>251</sup>

Moral Scottish-born James Reid, who in his prose "The Religion of the Bible and K[ing] W[illiam] County Compared" satirized the materialism and worldliness of fellow colonials, qualities especially evident when they attended church, did compose some verse which is perhaps at times playfully ironic but not really satiric. Writing for the *Virginia Gazette* in 1768 and 1769, he alternated serious moral and religious essays with a variety of verse, including tender mock-elegies noted above on the death of a pet bird, a revealing poem "To my Pen," and some playful love lyrics in the neoclassical style already noted. On December 1, 1768, still using his pen name "Caledoniensis," Reid addressed "A Billet Doux in the modern taste," a half-mocking plea to the lady of his choice. Besides the revealing "To Ignorance" discussed above, perhaps Reid's most graceful poem is religious, his "Ode on Christmas Day" in six-line stanzas.

Arise, my muse, with warmth divine  
No subject mean I am to sing  
Arise without delay,  
In lofty strains teach me t'unfold  
That heavenly beauty shown of old  
Upon first Christmas day.

This he continues through twelve quite dignified and moving stanzas.

Generally Reid, like Davies, represents a literary tradition which has persisted in the South and finally flowered in the twentieth century in that region's pervasive attempt to explore the individual in relation to his immediate society, his cosmos, and his God. When one considers all his verse and prose, it is evident, as already suggested, that Reid is closer in temperament to Faulkner or Robert Penn Warren than to Jefferson in his sense

of evil and human depravity. For he is a southern puritan, not Puritan, as was also Alexander Whitaker in the first generation of southern colonists and as are dozens of the area's writers in the twentieth century. He expressed himself in the accepted forms of his neoclassical age—the periodical essay, the long prose satire, and the religious, occasional, and satiric poem.<sup>252</sup>

Besides these amatory lyrics and religious and meditative poems several other varieties are represented in eighteenth-century Virginia, especially in the *Gazette*. Patriotic verse had been composed sporadically since the seventeenth century. Davies, for example, probably wrote the lines appearing in the *Scot's Magazine* (XVII [October 1735], 488), "Verses on Gen. Braddock's Defeat," which was reprinted several times in American newspapers.<sup>253</sup> Richard Bland's "An Epistle to Landon Carter," urging the latter to stand for the House of Burgesses, is certainly a patriotic poem.<sup>254</sup> Dozens appeared after 1763, a few of which have been mentioned in connection with poets who also wrote before that date. Only one interesting piece, "The Stamp Act Repeal" by Dr. Thomas Burke written for a celebration of this event at Northampton County courthouse on the Eastern Shore, can here be noticed. Part of it was edited by Richard Walser quite recently, but the whole poem appears in Frank Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York, 1855) along with many other later controversial southern poems of the decade before the Declaration of Independence. A few earlier narratives and ballads from the 1740s appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* or *London Magazine* or *General Magazine*, from the scatological to the 1751 "A New Ballad on the British Herring Fishery," none of particular intrinsic or historical interest. Occasional poems include prologues and epilogues for plays (see Chapter VIII) and a variety of songs by Edward Kimber published in the *London Magazine* in the 1740s concerning episodes in his colonial tour, and a few others of some significance.

Perhaps the most interesting historically, and not bad in form, is the "Expeditio Ultramontana," the celebration of Spotswood's western expedition translated from the Latin of Arthur Blackamore by his old Oxonian friend the Reverend George Seagood and published in the *Maryland Gazette* of June 24, 1729 (before there was a *Virginia Gazette*). Topographical as well as occasional, its couplets carry descriptions of the countryside through which the expedition journeyed. The form is roughly epic, announcing the heroic nature of the event and following the protagonist, Spotswood, to and from his destination across the mountains, comparing him in the last couplet with Hercules, who "Had made two Mountains, Pillars of his Praise." The Latin poem must have for some years been circulated in Virginia, for published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*

for March 1836 (II, 258) was a fragment of another translation by Eastern Shore colonial official Godfrey Pole, and from the records it appears that Pole's complete translation had been sent to the Virginia Historical Society in that year. The original Latin poem had been one of the two "tributes" paid by the College of William and Mary to the governor as quitrent for lands granted by the Crown to the College. Printed only thirteen years after the event it celebrates, the Blackamore-Seagood poem may be one reason for the glamor since surrounding the history of the expedition.<sup>255</sup>

Then about 1730 Dr. Mark Bannerman of Middlesex County in Virginia sent to his friend Allan Ramsay a few graceful little lines complimenting the Scottish poet for his "lays." Ramsay printed the Virginia verses in *Tea-Table Miscellany* (London, 1730, 12th ed. 1760).<sup>256</sup>

Nor only do your lays o'er Britain flow,  
Round all the globe your happy sonnets go.  
Here thy soft verse made to a Scottish air,  
Are often sung by our Virginia fair.

John Markland (fl. 1723-1734), apparently an attorney and former Cambridge University student, published two occasional poems of some interest during his years in Virginia. He seems to have been the author of several things before he left Britain, including a collection *Cytheria: or New Poems upon Love and Intrigue* (London, 1723) composed principally of his own work, *Three New Poems* (London, 1721) by himself and others, and *An Ode on the Happy Birth of the Young Princess* (London, 1723). He was a versifier of some ability, the contemporary of the playwright Dr. Henry Potter and the Reverend William Dawson in the 1730s in the Williamsburg neighborhood. Markland's *Typographia. An Ode, on Printing, Inscrib'd to the Honourable William Gooch, Esq. . .* was the first known poem printed by William Parks in Virginia, in 1730, long before he began the *Virginia Gazette*. Occasioned by the setting up of the printing press in Williamsburg, this is an ambitious ode of the neoclassical tradition in twelve parts, mentioning the classics, especially Pindar, and Addison and Dryden and Oxford and Cambridge. It includes tributes to the King, really thanks for having sent Gooch as his viceroy, and to Parks and his press, along with a declaration of what they will mean to the colony. The most sententious verse is perhaps in part XII, beginning

Happy the *Art*, by which we learn  
The Gloss of Errors to detect,  
The Vice of Habits to correct,  
And sacred Truths, from Falshood to discern!



and concluding, anticlimactically, "Arts flourish, Peace shall crown the Plains, / Where GOOCH administers, AUGUSTUS reigns." Three years later, Markland felt called upon to pay a tribute in verse to Lord Baltimore, who was in Williamsburg on his return journey to Britain after a visit to his Proprietary. The poem appeared in the *American Weekly Mercury* of August 9, 1733, dedicated "To the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Baron of Baltimore . . ." It is less ambitious and shorter than *Typographia*, but it is a graceful and diplomatic gesture to a visiting dignitary and of course incidental tribute to King George.

Virginia, proudly fond of such a GUEST,  
Perceives a Joy too full to be exprest;  
Pleas'd that Occasion such a Witness brings,  
Of our Obedience to the best of KINGS.<sup>257</sup>

It should also be recalled that a poem on "The Art of Printing" probably by Robert Bolling was in the *London Magazine* of September 1764 (XXXIII, 478); it contains only eighteen lines.

Virginia nature poems may in a sense go back to the late seventeenth-century verses on the silkworm, and they include the several on storms and other natural phenomena by Davies. There is nothing from this colony equal to Lewis' best. But in his *Juvenile Poems* (London?, 1759-1760), British traveler Andrew Burnaby published eight on Virginia or Maryland nature, including "At a Place called the Wilderness, above the Falls of Rappahannoc" and "At the Apalachian Mountains, or Blue Ridge, Above the River Shenando." Written by a Virginian resident in London and patriotic, narrative, and descriptive all in one is John Fox's *The Public Spirit; A Poem* ([London?], 1718), with a preface tribute to former governor Nicholson which is continued into the verses. Typical are these somewhat nostalgic lines:

There lyes, remote from Britain, far away,  
A Country bord'ring on the Western Sea;  
Large are its Limits, and of wide Extent,  
No slender Part of the vast Continent;  
And from the Virgin Queen, it bears a Name,  
Which merits an Eternity of Fame.<sup>258</sup>

#### CAROLINA AND GEORGIA POETS

Verse is scarce in early North Carolina for a number of reasons. Its relatively small population in the colonial period, the fact that the *North-Carolina Gazette* did not get under way until 1751 and that for this period

only a few issues survive, and that there is no known volume of verse from the colony published in Britain before 1764 are among the reasons for or evidences of the scarcity. The earliest poem known is that datelined from North Carolina May 18, 1737, and published in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of June 11, 1737. It is appropriately a poem on liberty, a piece imitated or commented upon on July 25 in the *New York Weekly Journal*. The allusions in this southern poem are really too vague for any positive identification.

As blustering Winds disturb the calmest Sea  
And all the Waters rave and mutiny:  
The Billows loudly of the Wrong complain  
And make an Insurrection in the Main,  
The watery Troops insult the lofty Clouds  
And heave themselves in huge rebellious Crowds;  
Tho' the tumultous rage our Wonder draws  
The Water's not to blame, the Wind's the Cause;  
The Inclination's all to Calms and Peace:  
The Cause remov'd, the Grievance is redrest  
And Nature glides the willing Waves to rest.  
So Tyrants drive the People to Extreame,  
And they that still stand out, it still inflames;  
But when the End's obtain'd, they always shew  
The *honest Reasons of the Thing They do*,  
When Power's reduc'd the Motions always cease,  
All tends to Settlements, and all to Peace.

The Moravians, who had established themselves in the communities of Betharaba and Bethania in their great Wachovia Tract, welcomed in November 1755 their first group of married couples. The setting for the poem—for music written for the occasion—is recorded in their official journal of November 4. After the blowing of trumpets and amidst an evening Lovefeast, they opened the services by singing the verses written for this moment, two stanzas in German of eight lines each: "Willkommen in Wachovia / gesegnete Geschwester!" The composer remains anonymous, but he was surely one of the clergymen who wrote music as well as they did lyrics. It is not bad religious verse in the original or in translation.

A third colonial poem is the hymn of thanksgiving composed by the versatile Governor Arthur Dobbs mentioned above, ordered to be sung to the tune of "the 100 Psalm" in all churches (probably Anglican only) of the colony to celebrate the "end" of troubles with the Cherokees and French. It was enclosed in a letter of October 31, 1759, to William Pitt the elder, secretary of state, a letter which includes a statement of the necessity

for expulsion of the French from this continent, anticipating Jefferson's motives and rationale half a century later for the Louisiana Purchase. Twelve quatrains in octosyllabics, devout in tone, reflect Dobbs' personal piety. The first and third stanzas are representative:

To God, our God's Almighty Name  
Let Britons all their Voice raise,  
And publish by the Mouth of fame  
In Songs of Joy our Savior's Praise.

Then Christ our God commenced his Reign,  
And o'er our Councils did preside,  
Did o'er our Fleets and Armies deign  
To rule, and all their Actions guide.<sup>259</sup>

About the same time Dobbs was composing in North Carolina, Philadelphia poet Thomas Godfrey (1736-1763) moved to Wilmington in the colony for business reasons and was to die and be buried there. Among his *Juvenile Poems on Various Subjects. With the Prince of Parthia, A Tragedy* (Philadelphia, 1765) are several poems written in North Carolina. Characteristic of his work in this period is a six-stanza piece about Masonborough's grove, in which nymphs and swains are to gambol in its "sylvan shade." Myra, Chloe, Cynthia are among the pastoral or mythological ladies whose presence is noticed. He wrote other verse about the coastal country, all of it conventional. His most ambitious southern poem was on "The glorious success of his majesty's arms at Quebec," 194 lines in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of November 17 and 24 and December 22, 1759, and reprinted all in one issue July 12, 1760.<sup>260</sup>

Walser mentions a Scot in the Cape Fear region who in 1774 composed a Gaelic lullaby ("Duanag Altrium") which about parallels in time Goronwy Owen's Welsh verse. Walser also mentions a schoolmaster, Rednap Howell, who during the War of the Regulation composed a number of ballads satirizing British officialdom in the colony. In the *South-Carolina Gazette* of May 3, 1760, the Reverend Michael Smith (mentioned in Chapter VI for a printed sermon) published 165 patriotic lines "On the Reduction of Guadaloupe." Technically satisfactory are the couplets beginning "Long had Despair approach'd Britannia's Shore, / And things the Face of Dissolution Wore."<sup>261</sup>

The *North-Carolina Gazette*, of which the earliest extant issue is number 15 of November 15, 1751, carried during the colonial period very little verse, if one may judge generally by the few surviving issues. "Hymn to the Supreme," perhaps a borrowed poem (of eighty-eight lines) printed on July 7, 1753, is conventionally devout:

How every [wa]y unworthy of thy l[ove];  
Great God, is erring man? plum'd with vain thought  
Of self approving science proud he deems  
Himself, poor worm, sufficient; yet how blind,  
How lost, how impotent are all thy ways?

There is little else in the way of verse save the later lines of Governor Thomas Burke, who continued to endite poetry other than satire after he moved from the Eastern Shore of Virginia to North Carolina, where in the early 1770s he settled in Orange County near Hillsborough. In the Virginia years he had written "Hymn to Spring By a Physician," lyrics to ladies, "Benevolence," "Pastoral at *Leckleigh*," as well as the polemical poems in the same dispute which occupied his friend Robert Bolling and others. But in North Carolina he wrote "Colin and Chloe," which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in April and May 1778, he mixed the pastoral theme with the contemporary political in many of the remainders of his extant pieces, and he did a few more purely love lyrics, as "Delia."<sup>262</sup>

Although by no means all of South Carolina colonial poetry was printed in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, almost no known verse precedes in date that newspaper's founding in 1732. David Ramsay in his *History of South Carolina from Its First Settlement* . . . did print a humorous and burlesque French poem written about 1706 during Queen Anne's War by one of the Charleston garrison who was probably a Huguenot refugee, perhaps the earliest example of French poetry written by an "American" in an American setting on an American subject. And in 1712 a former rector of St. Philip's, Edward Marston, apparently then back in Britain, addressed a little volume to the Duke of Beaufort, Palatine of South Carolina, including a sixteen-line poem on ecclesiastical patronage, probably written in the province. This concludes the known verse before 1732.<sup>263</sup>

Like the poems of the Chesapeake colonies, those of the Charleston area were imitative of British forms but frequently on local subjects. Latin translations and invitations, lyrics to ladies, the satires and elegies already noted, a few ballad and narrative pieces, patriotic and eulogistic and commendatory verses, moral and reflective and religious pieces including hymns, and a few depictions of nature or science or technology including agriculture are among them.

The classical imitations are at times academic exercises, but more often serious or playful experiments by mature gentlemen and a few ladies. Frequently they are satiric, in the tradition of Martial or Juvenal, though their more obvious classical affinity is in the pastoral names bestowed upon lovers, such as Damon and Florella, one of whom may be addressing the other.

But the poems of gallantry, serious or satiric, are not all classical or pastoral in origin. "A Riddle" in the January 22, 1732, issue, by "a Fair Correspondent," was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and replied to by another lady. It is concerned with "the Power of Letters." Lucretia, despite her Roman name, in the issue of February 12, 1732, paraphrases in sixty-two lines the description of a harlot in the Proverbs 7, replying to Honestus in an earlier number. On February 19 "Secretus" combines the pastoral setting and imagery with American subject matter, beginning with celebration of South Carolina's beauties:

From Courts remote, and Europe's pompous Scenes,  
With Pleasure view what Nature's Care ordains.  
Here, various Flow'rs their blooming Beauties spread,  
The happy Swain, here seeks the Lawrel's Shade;  
Where, Nymphs unpractic'd in the Guiles of Art.  
Are form'd to warm the coldest Briton's Heart.

Quite un-European is a poem mentioned under satire above, "The CAMELEON LOVER" with its defense or mock defense of amours "With the *dark* Beauties of the *Sable* Race" and "Sable's" submission of "Cameleon's Defence," a quite feeble apologia.<sup>264</sup> On March 25, 1732, "Dorinda" in twelve lines datelined Santee, March 7, 1731, praises the knowledge and wisdom of "Belinda," who had written on February 25. Here in the first year of the *Gazette* what appear to be female contributors dominate the poetry column, for these battles or loves of the sexes signed with female names are the principal poetic subject.

Perhaps not of local origin is the unsigned "The Milk-Maid," eighty-two lines recounting the old tale of the buxom lass counting her chickens before they were hatched. On April 20, 1734, fifty-seven lines "To a Young Lady" again may be borrowed, as may be the poems on the ladies and sensibility on April 27, though "On an old Lover of a young Lady" on May 18, 1734, seems locally authored and locally set. On June 15 "a young Person" addressed "Flavia" in twenty-nine lines, which the lady herself sent to the *Gazette* with a letter to editor Timothy saying this first endeavor by a young person should be printed.

Two facetious poems on Orpheus and Eurydice, one by a bachelor and the other by a married man, appeared on December 1, 1737, as an "explication of the fable." During the 1740s and the Whitefieldian furor there was very little decent light lyric verse, original or borrowed, which found space in the periodical, though in the issues of August 22 and November 21, 1743, there were some amusing "gallant" exchanges. On March 4, 1751, "The Maid's Soliloquy," by "a Lady of this Province," proves to be a rather interesting effusion of thirty lines beginning

It must be so— Milton, thou reas'nst well.  
Else why this pleasing Hope, this fond Desire,  
This longing after something unpossess'd?  
Or whence this secret, Dread and inward Horror  
Of dying unespous'd? . . .

"A.B.," who wrote "To Miss M—C—" in the May 6, 1751, number, was probably of local origin. His thirty-two lines are conventional overtures in praise of the fair one. The "Humourist" on December 24, 1753, was more cynical when he began his "Song" with "A woman means Yes whenever she says NO," in the depiction of Damon and his fair one. "On Miss Dolly S—," twenty-eight lines of March 11, 1756, is a typical love lyric in seven four-line stanzas, as is "Verses to a Lady" by "W.B.," in six-line stanzas:

Accept, my Dear  
Advice sincere  
Nor let these lines offend;  
For what doth move  
Me here, is Love  
And such to you I send.

Probably the most ambitious or pretentious South Carolina love poetry was *The Nonpareil: Humbly Inscribed to the Honourable Miss Townsend*, published with a separate title page but bound with *The Sea-Piece* (to be noted later) in London in 1750. The 168 lines of *The Nonpareil* were written by Dr. James Kirkpatrick (earlier Kilpatrick, c. 1700–1770), who had contributed several poems on Pope and perhaps on other subjects to the *South-Carolina Gazette* before he returned to Britain and continued as a prolific writer on medicine, especially the smallpox. In the present poem his subject is ostensibly the Painted Warbler, a gorgeously colored bird of Carolina and Florida, which he compares to "Townshend," presenting in decasyllabic couplets a detailed comparison of the bird with other birds and flowers. Kirkpatrick almost surely knew the great naturalist he refers to in one couplet: "*Catesby* the Term of painted Finch conferr'd, / And *Carolinians* call'd him Rainbow-bird." He goes on to say that the fair lady owns a living bird which is fed by her and remains "A chearful Captive," with the obvious implications. His final address is to the lady:

Then, while th' officious Warbler You regard,  
Pardon, accomplish'd Nymph, a ruder Bard;  
Whose rustic Lays, that wrong his glitt'ring Theme,  
Rush worthless to thy Sight, and snatch thy Name.<sup>265</sup>

From not later than 1735 to the end of the period and after there were patriotic verses supporting British arms. "For the Honour of Old England" was printed on September 13, 1735, an unsigned poem in rhymed alternate lines. A fourteen-line piece on the dictates of common sense and law, really political, was published July 17, 1736. More probably locally authored is "Demetrius" twenty-one lines of an acrostic on Frankland, Payne, and Mitchell in the January 14, 1745, number, celebrating a victory. "The Highlanders Pedigree," May 19, 1746, following hard upon the last Jacobite rebellion, declares that the Scots are descendants of Cain, rather severe in view of the number of these people settled everywhere in the Carolinas. Locally written, said to have been by "a lad but 12," is the twelve-line "The Duke's *Birth and Victory*" sent in by a Williamite (as opposed to a Jacobite) and published April 20, 1747. It concludes:

Then may all the true sons of Freedom  
For ever brave WILLIAM remember,  
Fight, drink, and sing, for great GEORGE our King,  
And a F—rt for a Popish Pretender.

This poem contains veiled references to a local merchant who was secretly a Jacobite.

Thirty-two lines and a four-line refrain, written extempore by a volunteer in the army after he had read another "Song" published in an earlier *South-Carolina Gazette*, appeared on November 3, 1759. More elaborate are the 194 lines, probably by Thomas Godfrey noticed above while he was on a business trip in Charleston, celebrating the victory at Quebec. This is good verse, reprinted not only in the *South-Carolina Gazette* but also in the *New York Gazette*.

Kindred verses, eulogies of individuals and commendatory poems, are also fairly frequent in the *Charleston Gazette*. James Kirkpatrick may have been the author of "To the Reverend and Learned Doct Neal, on his excellent Sermon preached at Charlestown, on Sunday, the 26th of May, 1734," thirty-five lines signed "Philanthropos." Lemay assigns the poem to Kirkpatrick on the grounds that it mentions Pope (see verses below) and has a religious bent, of course by no means certain clues. The Reverend Lawrence O'Neill, the subject of the poem, had just emigrated to America. Dated from Cooper River in South Carolina September 20, 1753, is a poem in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of February 1754 (XXIV, 88) "To Benjamin Franklin Esq; of Philadelphia, on his Experiments and Discoveries in Electricity" signed "C.W.," almost surely Charles Woodmason, merchant and later Anglican missionary whose prose is noticed in preceding chapters.<sup>266</sup> A poem in the *Scot's Magazine* of January 1755 (XVII, 43) honoring the new governor of South Carolina, William Lyttelton, is

dated Bewdley, January 15, 1755, and is hardly by a Carolina resident, but six lines in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of June 5, 1756, dated from "Charlestown" June 3, and praising Governor Lyttelton, are certainly colonial in origin.

The best of the South Carolina commendatory and occasional poems are probably the various prologues and epilogues for plays by Dr. Thomas Dale mentioned in the preceding chapter. Dr. Dale was probably "Dismal Doggerel," who wrote the sixteen lines celebrating St. George's Day published in the *Gazette* of March 4, 1732. A hundred lines addressed to General Oglethorpe on his settling the colony of Georgia, written by "a Muse from India's savage Plain," are easy couplets complimenting the man and his colony that appeared in the February 10, 1733, number of the *Gazette*. This is one of several poems written in England and America on Oglethorpe and his enterprise.

A different sort of occasional poem was printed in the February 8, 1735, issue—"To the Horn-Book"—at the conclusion of an essay. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1736 was a series of exchanges, as "Miss—of 16, To a sprightly beautiful Boy, in his third Year" (September, VI, 545) signed "Carolina," and in the February, April, and October issues of the *Gentleman's* is an exchange between "Carolina" and other persons. "Carolina's" relation to the American colony, if any, is not clear. The 1742-1743 issues of the *Gazette* carry a number of occasional poems, perhaps all borrowed, for Lemay has not included them in his *Calendar*. But the satirist Joseph Dumbleton on March 20, 1749, had in the *Gazette* both his "Rhapsody on Rum" and his more conventional "Ode for St. Patric's Day. Humbly inscrib'd to the President and Members of the Irish Society," a remarkable poem mixing pagan and Christian elements. "Philagathus," who earlier signed himself "a Native of this Place," published October 7, 1751, "Distress and Deliverance, Sept. 16, 1751," forty lines on the near-wreck of the ship *Great Britain*.

"S.J." proposed "An Algebraic Question" in twelve lines of the September 17, 1753, issue of the *South-Carolina Gazette*, and one hundred lines "to the Printer" answer the "Widow's Letter" on May 3. "Ode Written on New-Year's Day" in the January 6, 1761, number would seem to be of local origin because of its early date of publication. Its first stanza (of four) is characteristic:

*The setting Year* in Shades of Night,  
Has hid its head from Mortal's Sight,  
And like a Dream is fled;  
Past Joys or Grievs, whose Pow'rs controul  
And drive with rapid Sway the Soul,  
Are mingled with the Dead.



In the same issue, "On the New Year" in eight four-line stanzas contains an allusion to "Mr. Hutchinson's Philosophy." Finally "Ode to the Morning" by "J" on February 7, 1761, is a dignified, entirely conventional religious lyric.

Though it contains much prose on religious controversy, the *Gazette* published relatively few purely religious verses in the period. Concerned with belief and the virtue of charity are the lines in the March 11, 1732, number, which insist that "To *Her* the Pow'rs of Harmony belong." A local poem signed "A.B." and dated April 1, 1751, in the April 8, 1751, issue, contains eighty-four lines of devotional verse. This is an Easter piece describing the events of Passion Week.

Shine thou bright Sun, with a distinguish'd Ray  
And help to celebrate this Solemn Day;  
Put all thy Glory forth:— Behold thy GOD  
As now descending from his blest Abode;  
A CHRIST, a *Saviour*, on Mankind bestow'd.

Here one should recall that two volumes of hymns (note Chapters VI and VIII above) were published in South Carolina, those of John Wesley in 1737 and Jonathan Badger in 1752, and also that commendatory verses by South Carolinians were published in book or pamphlet form in Britain. Dr. Kirkpatrick brought out in London in 1737, for example, *An Epistle to Alexander Pope, Esq; from South Carolina*, eighteen pages of one of the best of southern colonial poems and certainly one of the better tributes to Pope while he was alive. Kirkpatrick begins with avowed consciousness that he is a colonial:

From warmer Lands, ally'd to latest Fame,  
In gracious CAROLINE'S immortal Name;  
Part of that Sylvan World *Columbus* found,  
Where GEORGE should be rever'd, and You renown'd;  
Has Heav'n—taught Bard! and hearing, spare the Lyre,  
Your real worth, your real Wrongs, inspire.

And he laments or explains later that "A prattling Girl and smiling Boys" and his practice of another "Art of *Phoebus*" (medicine) detain him in the New World when he longs to be near the great bard. He also alludes to Pope's great reputation through all the colonies and the world, proclaiming him "the first of Poets, best of Men."<sup>267</sup> Later, according to Kirkpatrick himself, he composed another poem on Pope before he left America, and published in London in 1744, 1745, and 1749 Latin elegies on the departed bard. He is probably not the author of the *Gazette* "Verses" on Pope's death signed "Philagathus" in the issue of June 17, 1745, for as indicated

above that author claimed to be a native of Carolina, and Kirkpatrick was not.<sup>268</sup>

The *Gazette* between 1740 and 1755 carried a few narrative and ballad pieces. The only original narrative poem of any length is Joseph Dumbleton's "The Northern Miracle," a Rabelaisian tale in a rural setting in Northumberland. A friar and a tongue-in-cheek miracle are the elements of this piece published January 8, 1750. Probably not of local origin is "Insulted Poverty: Or, the Case is Altered. A Tale," March 27, 1745, nor is the briefer ballad "The Countryman's Lamentation" of September 30, 1745, probably colonial. And though "On Vice-Admiral Vernon's taking Porto Bello," to "the Tune of —Sally" (June 14, 1740), was a ballad reflecting a strong South Carolina interest in the War of Jenkins' Ear, there is no evidence that it was a local contribution. If "A Black Joak Blazing, or, The secret History of Caesar & Dianna, A Poem Humbly inscribed to Miss Bold-Joak" which was advertised to be printed in the December 5, 1741, issue, had appeared there would have been another locally authored ballad, obviously satirical, published in the colony.

Perhaps the most ambitious of South Carolina narrative verses was *The Sea-Piece: A Narrative, philosophical and Descriptive POEM. In Five Cantos*, published in London by James Kirkpatrick, M.D., in 1750. In 1749 the physician had published separately Canto II and evidently received sufficient encouragement to bring out the whole, with a fulsome and lengthy dedicatory epistle to Commodore George Townshend, who had brought Kirkpatrick and his family back to England. The dedication of twenty-five pages is followed by a preface of twenty-three, and although both these prose passages are in general effect quite tedious, they tell the reader a good deal about the author, including his classical learning, the object of the poem, and his critical theory regarding such verse.

*The Sea-Piece* was received and read in Great Britain and in the colonies in its time and in fact is one of the principal eighteenth-century efforts by a colonial to produce a major poem, though its composition was perhaps largely in Britain. It is a topographical poem of the subspecies seapiece, as its title indicates, and as its author indicates in his prose comments that it represents a modern attempt in an ancient form. In the dedication he declares that aboard the *Tartar* from Carolina he received from his patron an instruction in "maritime Images and Observations" which greatly enriched his verses. Among other digressions in this dedication, the physician-poet mentions and quotes Addison's *Cato*, Pope's *Iliad*, and his own *Nonpareil* mentioned above.

In his preface the writer finds it difficult accurately to classify his poem as nautical, didactic, or representing precisely any one of the descriptive terms he employs in the title. He confesses that he had composed a shorter

version half the present length years before, presumably in South Carolina, and was incited to enlarge and complete it by the incidents of his return voyage from America in a ship of war commanded by Townshend. He had found it surprising that no major poem on the subject had been produced by a nation of excellent poets and of sea adventurers. He had seen the "Nautics" and piscatory eclogues of Parthenius in Latin verse only after he had concluded this piece and declares he is no more to be accused of plagiarism than Milton was in *Paradise Lost*, and he goes on in a digression on Milton's use of Homer and Virgil and the whole question of parallel themes and forms in the literature in various languages. Shakespeare, Sophocles, Horace, Democritus, Persius, Henley, Pope, and a galaxy of physicians ancient and modern are cited on nature and human nature. He considers himself—with Doctors Ratcliff, Sydenham, and West—as a medical practitioner who could also be a man of letters, and he concludes with a "sportingly translated" passage from Horace:

The God of Verse and medic skill  
Oft plies the Muses harmless Quill,  
Not still intent to write and kill.

There is more in the preface, such as a defense of his digressions and of the lack of a real plot, and the supplication that the sublimity of the sea as an aspect of nature has been an impelling factor in his production. Though the earlier eighteenth century had appreciated the sea views of the painter and engraver, Kirkpatrick seems to have been right in declaring that poets had not felt the grandeur of this aspect of nature. One critic in the *Monthly Review* (II [1750], 257, 258) had been unable to classify the poem and objected to its overuse of cant terms, in both of which Kirkpatrick had anticipated him in this preface.<sup>269</sup>

Canto I begins in the tradition of heroic verse and epic theme, with suggestions of Miltonic or Popean imagery in the first lines of the "Invocation." The movement or narrative begins with his sailing west from Scotland and Ireland, somewhat feebly anticipating Coleridge's indication of direction and ship movement in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, concluding the canto with a farewell to the Old World. Canto II, that originally published separately, begins with a declaration of his novel and sublime theme, linking it with the work of an earlier poet who wrote of the first southern settlement.

Drayton, sweet ancient Bard, his Albion sung  
With their own Praise her echoing Vallies rung;  
His bounding Muse o'er ev'ry Mountain rode,  
And ev'ry River warbl'd where he flow'd.  
The fost'ring Sea, that secretly sustains

The ceaseless Verdure o'er *Britannia's* Plains;  
That props her Mountains, rincing thro' their Ores,  
And spouts each Stream that curls within her Shores;  
That warms the cold Degrees in which she lies,  
Clasps her whole Form, and every Foe defies,  
That boundless Realm I seize, to Verse unknown,  
And each Imperial Billow's all my own.

See the round Waters, wide from ev'ry Land,  
How vastly uniform! how simply grand!

Thus he puts out to sea, referring to Descartes for an explanation of the relation of the sea and the Earth itself. Newton is invoked in another speculation, and the poet begins to employ a varied group of nautical terms as he describes sail and storm. By the end of the canto the ship has passed the Azores and is approaching tropic seas.

Canto III begins with a hackneyed figure of Life as a voyage, followed by thoughts of the great voyagers including Columbus, Drake, and Raleigh, and by accounts of sharks and whales and flying fish, all mixed with allusions to Mars and Minerva and the Muses. Canto IV continues description and digresses into speculations on zoology and meteorology and other sciences. A white tropical bird with yellow beak elicits a description marred by trite imagery. The narrator dreams of the New World he is about to reach:

... the vast Continent COLUMBUS found;  
Where Wonder-loving Fancy hears and sees  
Fair flow'ring Birds, and sweetly vocal Trees;  
Pearls, that depend from clear, transparent Vines,  
And Amber Rocks, that spout delicious Wines.

Canto V opens with reflections on the enjoyments of life ashore after a lengthy voyage, with apostrophes to Poetry, allusions to Addison's *Cato*, and a tale of his ship's capture by pirates, who would not harm the young poet. The Gulf Stream, the arrival at the port of Charleston and the rivers Ashley and Cooper, are noted in lines which bring the reader to the last pious and didactic verses in overworn figures: "Thus when the final Voyage, Life, is o'er / And the last ^orm reveals the dreary Shore." The immediate goal, Charleston and South Carolina, has been reached.

Kirkpatrick's topographical poem, weighted with clichés and digressions and overdone religious adoration, is actually not as good verse as the *Nonpareil* bound with it or the *Epistle to Alexander Pope* of many years before. One would like to have seen the Carolina version, almost surely composed during his early days in the colony from notes made at sea. In his preface he readily admits that the "digressions"—and they are not

embellishments in any favorable sense—were added after he returned to the mother country. Kirkpatrick's instinct was right—there was inherent in the majesty of the sea a real heroic poem. But he was able neither to find a genuine plot nor to provide striking images. He reaches out after the sublime, but he comes nowhere nearly as close to capturing it as his Virginia contemporary Davies does in far more modest forms.

The Charles Woodmason noticed above also contributed a topographical poem on South Carolina, far more interesting to the American reader today than Kirkpatrick's for its specific allusions to Carolinians and the weather, manufactures, and shortcomings of the colony. It is also better verse than *The Sea-Piece*. Santee, Savannah, Peedee, Stono—some of the rivers—and Cherokees and clergy and some gentlemen of large estates are named. This poem, entitled "C.W. in Carolina to E.J. in Gosport" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, XXIII [1753], 337, 338) includes competent presentation of the *translatio studii* theme in the lines

Swift fly the years when sciences retire,  
From frigid climes to equinoctial fire;  
When *Raphael's* tints, and *Titian's* stroke shall faint,  
As fair *America* shall deign to paint.  
Here from the mingled strength of shade and light,  
A new creation shall arise to sight,  
And sculpture here in full perfection shine,  
Dug, for her hand, our *Apalachian* mine.

Two months before in the same journal "C.W." had published an imitation of Horace, Book I, Ode iv, in good couplets, in content another representation of Carolina nature here combined with gallantry for Carolina ladies.<sup>270</sup>

Moral and reflective poems, usually brief, were fairly frequent in the *South-Carolina Gazette*. On June 29, 1734, "a fair Correspondent" sent in two poems, "The Progress of Life" and "The Virgin's Prayer." The final stanzas of the former are pleasantly expressed:

Then every Care's a driving Harm,  
That helps to bear us down,  
Which fading Smiles no more can charm,  
But every Tear's a Winter's Storm,  
And every Look a Frown.  
  
Till with succeeding Ills oppress,  
For Joys we hope to find,  
By Age so ruffled and undrest,  
We gladly sink us down to Rest  
And leave the Cheat behind.

Dated from Charleston was a brief meditation on the ebb and flow of fortune in the July 16, 1787, issue, followed on July 30 with "On a Good Conscience." On July 6, 1738, "Philomusus" had printed five stanzas on contentment. "The Golden Age" is considered in forty lines on May 26, 1746. And perhaps borrowed is "Life. An Ode" in the February 8, 1748, issue:

Life! the dear precious boon.  
Soon we lose, alas! how soon!  
Fleeting vision, falsely gay!  
Grasp'd in vain, it fades away,  
Mixing with surrounding shades;  
Lovely vision! how it fades!  
Let the *Muse*, in *Fancy's* glass,  
Catch the phantoms as they pass.

There were also poems on scientific subjects, such as the three of 1760 that concern the smallpox. Two excerpts from a poem entitled "Indico," which was to be printed by subscription, were printed in the August 25, 1757, and December 1, 1758, *Gazettes*, though evidence that the whole poem was ever published has not been found. It is an agricultural didactic piece in the tradition of Hesiod and Virgil which had again become popular in this eighteenth-century neoclassical age. It was to be the centerpiece of a collection of verse probably by Charles Woodmason. John Dyer's *The Fleece* (1757) and James Grainger's *The Sugar-Cane* (1764) were of the same period and genre. The first excerpt begins in the heroic form:

The Means and Arts that to Perfection bring,  
The richer Dye of INDICO, I sing.  
Kind Heav'n! whose wise and providential Care  
Has granted us another World to share,  
These happy Climes to Antients quite unknown,  
And fields more fruitful than Britannia's own.

Technical details follow, in rather pedestrian couplets, though the descriptions are of considerable interest.<sup>271</sup>

One of the better poets residing in South Carolina was the Rowland Rugeley considered above as a satirist, a man who published his one book-length American poem, *The Story of Æneas and Dido Burlesqued* in Charleston in 1774. Before he came to South Carolina about 1765 he had published in British periodicals and in 1763 *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations* (Cambridge, England) also already noted for its satiric content. Yet his 1763 volume also contains "An Ode to Contentment," as moral and reflective as any verse appearing in the colonial gazettes of the period. Lyrics to ladies, paraphrases of Horace, philosophic meditations,

pastoral dialogues, occasional poems, are among the variety he produced. He also surely contributed to the *South-Carolina Gazette* and the *South Carolina and American General Magazine* and perhaps other colonial periodicals during his stay (until the end of his life) in the colony. Although Rugeley's brother Henry was a well-known Tory, all that at present is known of the poet personally is that he seems to have married a daughter of a Reverend William Dawson (perhaps of Virginia) and with his wife and child died in 1776, and that he was known in the colonies as in Britain as a man of letters and of integrity and a facetious companion. Investigation should reveal more of his Carolina verse of the decade 1765-1776.<sup>272</sup>

A considerable number of poems about Georgia and its founder, James Oglethorpe, were written and published in England before and during the period of first settlement. Many, perhaps most, are promotion pieces, but there were several personal eulogies or complimentary poems on General Oglethorpe, which should be considered as part of the first literature of this younger colony in much the same way that the pre-Roanoke Island voyagers and Hakluyt and even Purchas wrote of the upper southern area before it was settled.

"Georgia and Carolina" appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of February 1733 (III, 94), "While, yet, Unripe, the flowing *Purpose* lay. / And conscious Silence *plann'd* its *op'ning* Way." In the same journal in April (III, 209) was among the first of many of its kind, "An Address to James Oglethorpe, Esq; on his settling the Colony in Georgia," verse which had already been printed in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of February 10, 1733,<sup>273</sup> and just possibly may be colonial in origin. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of September 1734 was "To the honourable James Oglethorpe, Esq, On his Return from Georgia."

After the General had recruited funds, supplies, and colonists during 1735, in January 1736 he set forth again. "A Copy of Verses on Mr. Oglethorpe's Second Voyage to Georgia" may have been written in late 1735 to speed him on his way. Not very distinguished verse, it does contain specific allusions to pine forests, grapevines, and silk culture, concluding that with Oglethorpe "Another *Britain* in the Desert [will] rise!" This and two other "Georgia" poems of 1736 have been attributed to Samuel Wesley the younger, but a recent editor has argued on good grounds that they are more likely the work of the Reverend Thomas Fitzgerald (1695-1752), an amateur literary man of varied accomplishments.

Printed in March 1736 in handsome folio with *A Copy of Verses* were "Georgia, A Poem" and "Tomo Chachi, An Ode." "Georgia," the first poem in the book (the titles of all three poems are included on the title page) contains the usual arguments favorable to the establishment of the colony, with the old plea to utilize the potential Eden:

See where beyond the spacious Ocean lies  
A wide waste Land, beneath the Southern Skies!  
Where kindly Suns for Ages roll'd in vain,  
Nor e'er the Vintage sow, or rip'ning Grain.

"Tomo Chachi" is unlike the other two poems in verse form and subject. It employs a ten-line variation of the Spenserian stanza and remains one of the more dramatic expressions of the noble savage theme in the period.

What Stranger's this? and from what Region far?  
This wond'rous Form, majestic to behold?  
Uncloath'd, but arm'd offensive for the War,  
In hoary Age and wise Experience old?  
His Limbs, inur'd to Hardiness and Toil,  
His strong large Limbs, what mighty Sinews brace!  
Whilst Truth sincere, and artless Virtue smile  
In the expressive Features of his Face.  
His bold free Aspect speaks the inward Mind,  
Aw'd by no slavish Fear, from no vile Passion blind.

A number of stanzas are devoted to this glorious red man and then several to Oglethorpe, concluding that the founder will be remembered through eternity as one of the great benefactors of mankind.<sup>274</sup>

A poem in praise of another great figure in this colony's earlier years is to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of November 1737 (VII, 697), "To the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, on his Design for Georgia." The "advent'rous youth" is lauded for his zeal and vision. The September 1744 *London Magazine* (XIII, 512) carried "In Answer to a Paragraph in a Letter from Charles-town, South-Carolina . . . which hoped the speedy Return of General Oglethorpe to that Part of the World."

Written in the spring of 1757 were a pair of odes, one of thanks that Governor Reynolds was departing for England, the other a welcome to incoming Governor Ellis. The original manuscripts, each with five alternately rhyming quatrains, have recently been reproduced in facsimile along with a letterpress version. Intensely patriotic, they are very decent verse. The lines on Reynolds begin:

'Tis done at Length the Tumults past,  
The storm that Threat'ned us blown o'er;  
R . . . G's Power has breath'd it's last,  
Littl[e]'s vile Threats § are heard no more.

These five stanzas are signed "Americanus," but there is no signature for those on Governor Ellis:

Welcome. thrice welcome! to our Land,  
Georgia break forth in rapt'rous strain;



Great George our Sovereign is our Friend,  
Be thankfull and forget thy Pain—

How has this infant Province shook,  
Under a lawless Tyrants Sway;  
But lo! the iron Rod is broke,  
Ellis is come to cheer our Day.<sup>275</sup>

Though both these governors were under the Crown, Reynolds' autocratic and military point of view as first royal administrator caused considerable resentment from the already disillusioned colonists. The poems (or at least the latter one) were read at the wharf on the arrival of Governor Ellis.

In 1758 a *Tombo-Chiqui; or The American Savage. A Dramatic Entertainment*, probably by English playwright John Cleland (1709–1789), was published in London. The Library of Congress Catalogue says it is a translation of a French work by Louis François La Drevetière's *Arlequin Sauvage*. It is another commemoration of the red man who had caught the fancy of Britons when he visited their metropolis. Apparently colonial is "A.Z.'s" "Ode" sent to the newly inaugurated *Georgia Gazette* in 1763 and published in the issue of April 28. Addressed "To the Printer" and avowedly written for those who were greatly dissatisfied with the preliminary articles of peace signed at Fontainebleau, the poem is the first item in a column headed "America. / Savannah, April 28." There are no local references in the eleven quatrains, but it seems to be of Georgia origin.<sup>276</sup> Though one may agree with J.A. Leo Lemay that more than half the poems appearing in colonial periodicals were reprinted from British sources usually without acknowledgment, there is still enough indigenous verse, in our case southern, to warrant a survey of the periodical pieces and of the volumes of poetry written partially or entirely by Americans. An edition of Latin poetry in colonial America is now in preparation, for example, but in the eighteenth-century newspaper or magazine before 1764 there is relatively little original verse in this ancient language though a great many paraphrases and imitations and adaptations in English of specific ancient poems or poets, including riddles, epigrams, eclogues, and satires. Yet there are all sorts of evidences, including manuscripts, that poems were composed in Latin, by schoolboys as exercises or by mature scholars, including some professors, principally for their own amusement.

Though only a handful of genuinely impressive southern poets can be named, men such as Lewis and Davies and Sterling and Bolling, there is a remarkable variety of forms and genres of verse in the region. The satiric and the elegiac are persistent and often distinctive and in a few rare cases distinguished. Only during the golden age of the colonial South, the period

from the 1720s to the Revolution, does there seem to have been a society in which a number of literate men, and several women, felt impelled to express themselves in meter. Even then southern prose, rhetorical and satiric and occasional, is far more competent and frequent. Yet the considerable body of verse here surveyed proves without question, with library inventories to back it up, that the southern colonial thoroughly enjoyed metrical expression, his own or someone else's.

Much more than his New England contemporary, the southern colonial poet or poetaster followed contemporary English models, sometimes so closely that there is no clue within the verse to indicate its American origin. On the other hand, at least in the eighteenth century, he was developing a humorous, whimsical semi-satiric tone which was distinct from its European origins. And he was also learning to look about him and to describe what he saw, fauna and flora, rivers and mountains and bays, red men and white (still rarely black), which were in themselves quite different from their parallels in Great Britain or New England. Thus there came to be southern nature poetry, a southern elegy, and a southern satirical tradition compounded of whimsy and tolerance more often than vehemence. The southern colonial developed letter writing as an art, and in his journals and diaries as well as his poems he is frequently more introspective than intellectual historians have hitherto discovered.

Finally, southern colonial writing which is principally belletristic leads straight into the literature of the first national period, and from there on to Faulkner. Southern hedonism, southern violence, southern expression in dialect, certain varieties of southern religion, southern backwoods and frontier humor, southern affinities with certain aspects of Old World cerebration, and peculiar combinations of the conservative and liberal in politics and economics, are among the qualities evident in our own time which show their roots in the writing from Maryland through Georgia in the period ending between 1763 and the Declaration of Independence.

CHAPTER TEN



The Public Mind:  
Politics and Economics,  
Law and Oratory

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~~~ Not many Years past [this beautiful country (of upper Carolina) was] A Desert, and Forrest, overrun with Wild Beasts, and Men more Savage than they, but now Peopled and Planted to a degree incredible for the Short Space of Time— And which I never could make them [in Charleston] believe, nor could I my Self have believ'd without Ocular Demonstration. . . . And next to the Almighty, We are in a dutiful and respectful Manner to thank the Legislature for this their Patriotic favour and investing us with this Blessing of our Birth Right, *Liberty* and the *Laws*. So that now We may call our Selves Free Men.

—CHARLES WOODMASON, Sermon Book IV, 473–512, c. 1770, in *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill, 1953), p. 119.

To preserve the Order of Society, to protect the Innocent, and administer Justice impartially; to be circumspect, and watchful, that all the subordinate Officers of Government, act in their several Stations, with a commendable Fidelity, are the characteristics, the Genuine Marks of a good Ruler.

—Address of Burgesses to Governor presented by William Fairfax, February 29, 1752 (in H.R. McIlwaine, ed. *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* [Richmond, 1918], II, 1060).

[in speaking of the Reverend James Maury, teacher, pamphleteer, orator] His particular and great merit was the command of a fine style. It would have been difficult for him not to write with propriety, force and elegance. And I have seen other instances in which this quality seemed to be in some

measure constitutional. Americans in general, I have thought eminently endowed with a knack for talking; they seem to be born orators.

—JONATHAN BOUCHER, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist*, ed. Jonathan Bouchier (Boston, 1925), p. 61.

MOST AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL historians have, for a variety of reasons, tended to ignore in their researches and analyses at least two or three of the four aspects of the early public mind which will be considered briefly in this chapter. Samuel Eliot Morison in his study of the New England colonial mind a generation or more ago stated simply that he was not considering politics or economics. Perry Miller's more profound appraisal of the mind of the same region is both broader and narrower, for he does indeed bring in oratory and economics and politics, though primarily as they are components or reflections of the cerebrations of the Puritan intellect, a theologically centered mind—which Miller contends is *the* source of the American national mind. Louis B. Wright's several seminal studies of southern colonial intellectual life do give, however, fairly extensive attention to agrarian and mercantile economics and comment upon phases of politics, both primarily to explain social structure and mores, though he finds reading habits and educational backgrounds more useful to his purpose.

Recent scholars who might upon occasion consider or label themselves intellectual historians have devoted a great amount of attention to colonial economic and political history in relation to developing ideas, institutions, and practice. Their emphasis is usually upon matters other than the shaping of southern thinking, but they contribute an impressive body of documentary material and analysis, which is most useful in interpreting the evolution of characteristic southern ideas. Both economic and political studies of the southern colonies go back at least to the end of the nineteenth century in the work of such men as Philip A. Bruce on seventeenth-century Virginia. And between 1900 and the post-World War II period a number of distinguished scholars, some within their general studies of all colonial America, have pondered the aspects of the early southern mind. Charles M. Andrews and the earlier Herbert L. Osgood were chief among those who surveyed all British America, and others such as Marcus W. Jernegan and E.A.J. Johnson looked at special subjects.

Slavery in particular has received in this century an enormous amount of attention and some most perceptive critical and narrative studies, but the vast majority are concerned not with how it was written and thought

about but with the institution, the problem, and the individuals in the Revolutionary or post-Revolutionary periods. A few books such as Winthrop D. Jordan's *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (1968) and others concerned with certain aspects of this problem, and for our purposes the southern attitude toward it, cover the subject more comprehensively or intensively than can possibly be done here. Something of the white colonists' attitudes toward their black bondservants has been touched upon earlier; and in the brief look at economics, politics, and law in the present chapter evidence that the African slave problem had its part in the shaping of the southern colonial mind will be obvious, though usually it will be touched upon only obliquely. It was indeed a matter of economics, politics, law, and morality, as well as religion. But though its roots lie in the colonial period, and the later southern conception of what Lewis P. Simpson has called the dispossessed garden or even the lost self-yielding paradise is deep in colonial soil as a dominant intellectual problem of chattel slavery, it is more nearly a part of southern intellectual history since 1763, or so it seems to this writer. In the colonial period it is one relatively small element of the public mind, despite Morgan Godwyn and the S.P.G. as noted above, and Stono's Rebellion and resulting agitations in South Carolina. Only a few of the southern colonial mind's larger features can here be considered per se.

In their relation to other facets of the early southern mind all the four elements or factors of the public mind have in this book already received attention. In Chapter I the historians and promotion-pamphleteers are seen to be vitally concerned with economics and certain aspects of government and law. Chapter II gives evidence that the settlers kept data on their neighbors the red men far more than they ever did the black, and again economics (trade and land) was a major element in their thinking, law and government (Indian and white) are frequently mentioned, and there is representation of Indian-white oratory. The chapter on education incorporates economic equations in its presentation of trade and artisan apprenticeships, and of law in noting the various manners of training attorneys and barristers, as well as some implications as to the political and governmental functions of these lawyers. So with Chapter IV, on books and libraries and reading and printing, which lists titles and analyzes some of the economic-legal-political-oratorical uses of volumes owned by individual colonists or by institutions. The two chapters on religion, V and VI, imply a great deal about lay as well as ecclesiastical politics, and discuss at some length the religious pamphlet which led straight into lay politics and the pre-Revolutionary polemical essay. Chapter VII, on science, demonstrates the economic motive in the minds of explorers, botanists and

zoologists, and meteorologists and geologists. It also considers the economic effect on theory and practice in many forms of agriculture and in varied small technological industry.

Chapter VIII, on the fine arts in the life of the southern colonist, notes something of the economic and political or governmental motives and factors in the planning of buildings, especially public edifices. Chapter IX, concerned primarily with belletristic writing, relates literature to many phases of the public mind and somewhat incidentally, in its emphasis on and description of the satiric tradition, brings out a number of mental attitudes toward politics and economy, even toward the legal profession.

All this rather obvious recapitulation is simply to recall to the reader that the subjects to be treated briefly in the present chapter have already been to some extent noted. It is not the intention in this last discussion to trace in detail the development of the facets of the public mind but merely to emphasize that they had in the southern provinces before 1764 their peculiar character. Like all other features of intellectual life, they were affected by Great Britain and the European continent and by conditions in each colony. For politics and law and economics were somewhat different in each, though as agrarian communities employing indentured servants and later slaves they had several attitudes, or ways of looking at life, in aggregate rather unlike those of their neighbors to the north.

Henry Adams, in characterizing the Virginia mind of 1800, which he might almost as well have called the southern mind of the later eighteenth century, declared that law and politics were the sole objects of Virginia thought, but that in these areas they reigned supreme in America. Later he added agriculture as the third great object of their thinking. As usual with him, he exaggerated, as I have endeavored to prove elsewhere.

For 1800 he was much nearer right, however, than he would have been for 1700 or even 1750, as the quite impressive bodies of studies of Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary southern cerebration in these areas have long since demonstrated. For the southerner pondering his environment, wrestling with his agricultural problems, and formulating the political institutions and philosophies of a new nation has been described in the never-ending studies of Jefferson, Madison, John Randolph of Roanoke, Monroe, Patrick Henry, the later Carrolls of Maryland, and the Draytons and Pinckneys of South Carolina. Older studies have been augmented, though never entirely superseded, by more recent reconsiderations from the 1920s to the present. Scholars have used new approaches and have gone back to primary documents, but much remains yet to be written even on the political institutions and economic trends, especially as representative of mental attitudes. All that may be attempted here is to indicate, on the

basis of paths followed or suggested, some apparent tendencies of thinking on political and economic problems of the South before 1764.

As for law and oratory, somewhat curiously in view of their generally acknowledged importance, almost nothing has been done for the southern provinces. The two dozen or so competent though often brief discussions of colonial legal history and thought have sometimes barely touched on the colonies below the Susquehannah. One principal scholar repeats a variation of a refrain now familiar to readers of earlier portions of this book: the legal history of the southern colonies remains yet to be written.

The oratorical history of the region in the colonial period has been neglected even more. Some attempt has been made to remedy this situation by the survey of pulpit oratory in Chapters V and VI and of Indian-white colloquy in Chapter II. Fortunately political oratory, which constitutes most of the rest of the orally delivered rhetoric now surviving, is easily accessible in the colonial provincial records, and a few personal speeches, such as Byrd's to his men on the Dividing Line expedition, in formal literature. From these some interesting facts and possible conclusions emerge. It is strange that the speeches of John Smith to white and red men, the harangues of Nathaniel Bacon to his fellow rebels, the polished idiom of Sir William Berkeley addressed to colonials a generation before the Rebellion, the opening speeches of governors of all the colonies to their general assemblies, the replies of the speakers of the lower houses, the eloquent charges to grand juries made by governors and chief justices, Jonathan Boucher's sermon on civil liberty, and the forensic oratory of dozens of legislators of the generation just before the Revolutionary War and sometimes slightly overlapping the war period itself, have not been given real attention. Obviously they may be extremely significant as indicative of the development of a fairly distinctive southern oratory, as vehicles for the expression of political and social and personal philosophy, and as representative of stages in the shaping of a national American idiom.

Clearly these four elements of the public mind overlap and intermesh. In the beginning political or governmental machinery was set up in large part to safeguard or direct or channel economic enterprise, as already suggested a frequent reason for colonization. Laws came with and were part of the initial charters of governments, and they altered with evolving and novel economics or new economic staples. Though there was no appreciable body of professional lawyers before the last quarter of the seventeenth century even in the older Chesapeake colonies, in both the Carolinas and in Virginia and Maryland many of the best minds of the early eighteenth century did devote themselves in whole or in part to the legal profession. And many a great planter or merchant or colonial official who did not

practice in this country had been educated at the Inns of Court or under the tutelage of some distinguished attorney-barrister in Britain or in his own colony. These very men, as time went on, became more and more the natural mouthpieces of provincial economic and political opinion, in both their written and their oral declarations.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

Economics affected political structure from the very beginning, and though this structure was altered drastically as time went on, every southern colonist was conscious of the initial forms of government and sooner or later usually became determined that they should not be retained or returned to. Though under some degree of royal patronage and certainly encouragement, the settlement at Jamestown was under the direct control of a joint-stock company which hoped to reap considerable profit from the investment. The result was a quasi-communal government and society, with relatively highly paid officials—particularly after the second charter of 1609—and a general population of tenant farmers and artisans, who with certain others might each own fifty-acre headrights. Even under the Virginia Company of London and the administration of a capitalist-merchant such as Sir Thomas Smythe individuals generally were allowed to accumulate several headrights, and under the later Southampton-Sandys administration from London, officials or former officials, such as sometime Governor Sir George Yeardley, acquired several hundred acres and a number of indentured laborers, and accumulated considerable fortunes.

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES AND GOVERNORS

John Smith's dramatic descriptions of the government under the first charter, with its president and Council in residence in Virginia and its Council at home in London was at least in part representative of the skeleton political structure of all the southern English colonies. Even under the Company, between 1609 (the second charter) and 1624 (the dissolution of the joint-stock company) the president became a governor of very much the sort every colony from Maryland to Georgia had as its resident officer at the end of the colonial period in 1763. And the little Council surrounding Smith remained throughout the Company's rule and all through the royal period 1624-1776, the chief advisory body to the governor and eventually, in all the colonies, the upper house of a bicameral legislature. In the Company's period too, it became the General Court which heard all important criminal or civil cases. Under the Company there was a marshal,

or military and police officer, and a treasurer, who was collector of revenue and developer of industry. The secretary to the Council in Virginia appointed in 1620 or 1621, poet Christopher Davison, was a man of good or eminent family background, whose post remained a significant one in the southern colonies throughout the colonial period. He kept the records and with his own secretaries transcribed them. Sometimes men in his position were to rise to the governorship or acting governorship, though the latter post usually fell to the senior member of the Council.

Within fifteen years of first settlement the Virginia Company had recognized that governor and Council in situ were not enough as a political body to guide the destinies of a growing population of settlers far removed from London control. Therefore in 1619, with what has since been called the Great Charter, the Company in London sent the newly commissioned Governor Yeardley (already a landowner and settler in Virginia) back to Jamestown with instructions which provided for a representative assembly. Each of the four boroughs or cities into which Virginia was divided was to have two burgesses elected by the eligible voters. A former member of Parliament, John Pory, was speaker.¹ Apparently in its first session governor and Council sat with the Burgesses in a unicameral body. Exactly how long this situation existed is not known, but it was not many years before governor and Council sat as the upper branch and burgesses or delegates as the lower, again roughly paralleling Parliament. The bicameral division was in use in all the southern colonies long before 1763. Various precedents were established in that 1619 gathering that continued in future assemblies, such as the burgesses' passing on qualifications of members and the proposal of laws through and to committees. Laws proposed were reported, debated, and read three times. The right to petition the General Assembly for redress of grievances and the further right to petition the home government for the redress of grievances were established and remained (with certain exceptions or breaches) until George III and Parliament refused to acknowledge or respond to the petition of the General Assembly. The legislature of Virginia is still called the General Assembly, as were and are those of surrounding colonies-become-states.

This first General Assembly also followed its prototype the English Parliament in acting as a High Court. At least two cases were tried and sentence passed. This inclusion of elected burgesses in adjudication of cases was a departure from the right of governor and Council to be solely responsible as a court and marked the end of the form of martial law promulgated in the Gates-Dale Code, or Dale's Laws (see below). Then a foundation was laid for local administration of justice in lesser matters in monthly courts (eventually the monthly court of county commissioners of the peace).

The governor and Council continued to exercise great power. The governor could veto legislation and prorogue or dissolve the General Assembly. Though the Lower House acquired more power and leadership, it was 150 years before the Burgesses, dissolved in 1769 by Governor Lord Boteourt, met extra-legally and signed an agreement of association.

Most of the structure of these early legislatures and the executive power and prerogative followed British, especially English models. But as William Fitzhugh said in two 1682 speeches before the House of Burgesses, there were several fundamental differences from the beginning. In the first of the two speeches he complained of the unjustifiable delay in obtaining royal approval of laws passed by the Assembly and not in force until Crown assent was received, for there was inconvenience and even danger in this situation. In the other address, as a constitutional lawyer as well as a burgess, he stressed the differences between the House of Lords in England as the "Supreme Court of Judicature in the nation" and the situation in Virginia where the House of Burgesses was the court of appeal. He insisted that legally and logically the governor, Council, and Burgesses together, or a representative group from them, should form the general court of appeal. His argument was convincing enough to cause members of the Council to be added to committees of the Burgesses which were actually dealing with judicial matters. Ironically, all this was wasted effort, as the home government had already ordered that no more appeals be allowed to the General Assembly. Fitzhugh is an excellent example of what must certainly be called a conservative politician who felt it necessary to insist on certain rights which the Crown or Parliament had not allowed his colony.²

But this is getting far ahead of the story of early colonial political structure, source, and philosophy. In Virginia under the Company in 1621, just before the massacre and under the governorship of Sir Francis Wyatt, the first colony was governed and judged by twenty-one councilors, of whom eight at least had been educated at Oxford or Cambridge and/or the Inns of Court. That is, the social elite which governed in the mother country had been transplanted to the British New World. Yet by 1623, as Bernard Bailyn points out, Treasurer George Sandys (of both Oxford and the Middle Temple) commented despondently on the ineptitude of the leading settlers and remarked that Lieutenant William Pierce, a youngish soldier of humble background, showed "a Capacitie that is not to be expected in a man of his breeding."³ The revealing comment does not of course refer to the first leader of humble origin in British America (there is always John Smith to remember), but it does indicate that the social foundations of political power were consciously being altered. Thereafter in the South there would continue to be more educated men of gentle blood than has generally been allowed, but intermingled and sharing at least equally with

the Diggeses and Wests of Virginia or the Calverts and Talbots of Maryland or the Bohuns of South Carolina were men who made their way entirely in America. They were first-, second-, or third-generation settlers; they had often intermarried with those of gentler stock (as they also did, but less easily, at home), and they had become a permanent and powerful part of provincial government, at one time or another holding all the higher offices, including in almost every colony the governorship or the presidency of the Council as acting governors. The social background of many leaders down to the Revolution was only a generation or two, if at all, removed from the yeomanry, and prestigious university education or noble blood had far less part in the leadership of or the thinking on government than did proved personal ability, though the last was often a concomitant of an evolving provincial family prestige.

In the more than a full generation between the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1624 and the Restoration of 1660 the first group of this new kind of leaders arose. Among them were men of substance, such as Samuel Mathews, but more typical were George Menefie, John Utie, Adam Thoroughgood, and Abraham Wood. They appear first in the record as men of little or no income, one or two being indentured servants, others yeoman farmers without servants. They were tough, tenacious, acquisitive, with definite ideas about their legal, economic, and political rights. William Claiborne may have been trained in the Inns of Court, but he and others survived and led because they were unsentimental, ambitious, and to a degree capable of adaptation to new conditions.

"The Thrusting Out of Governor Harvey" in 1635 has been studied by several historians as an example or anticipation of what was to follow in southern or general British colonial politics. On the face of it, the outcome was a triumph for the colonials, but this was a complex matter which was certainly no triumph for liberty or free institutions. In fact, the issue of representation in the Assembly seems hardly to have entered the matter at all. But motivation for this action does go back to the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1624. Its bases were decidedly economic, for the desire to confirm or be assured of land patents bestowed in the later days of the Company's rule was *a*, if not *the*, major factor in this first "rebellion" in English America.

After the dissolution James I continued in office for a time Sir Francis Wyatt and his Council. Then he appointed the Mandeville Commission, dominated by enemies of the Company, to study the whole situation. But James died before the commission could act in withdrawing titles to land as had apparently been contemplated, and Charles I, decidedly more friendly to the old Company leaders, dissolved the commission and replaced it with a Council of Superintendence (the Dorset Commission) in-

cluding among others old Company stalwarts such as Sir Francis Wyatt and George Sandys. This group recommended that the Company be given a new charter, a move which led to feverish activity in court politics. The Company refused to accept one provision that the King have ultimate responsibility, however, and the Maryland Charter had meanwhile come into being.

The Dorset Commission was succeeded by the Land Commission, the latter composed in large majority of men opposed to the Company. Sir George Yeardley (again governor) meanwhile had continued Wyatt's policy of granting headright patents in great numbers. Sir John Harvey's instructions forbade him to continue this practice, though he had asked to be allowed to do so. Cholerick in disposition, Harvey became embroiled with the councilors soon after he landed. But a truce was formally drawn up and adhered to by the Council and Harvey groups until it became clear that the Land Commission and Maryland's charter together would much endanger Virginia's spread in landowning or acquisition, perhaps even in the retention of certain lands already held by patent. The old settlers were temporarily relieved when Sir Francis Wyatt was sent back to Virginia *after* Harvey had finally been ousted by royal authority. Their long list of grievances concluded with a single real and valid one—that they feared “for the confirmation of their lands and priviledges.”

For years some scholars have intimated or declared that the colonists did not favor the movement to revive the Company. For example, George Sandys as colony agent in Wyatt's second term (c. 1640) presented a petition from the colonists to Parliament for a restoration of the Company. This was followed by an official Virginia Assembly disavowal of Sandys, saying he had mistook their intentions and his instructions. The disavowal occurred, however, in the spring of 1641/1642, after Berkeley had assumed the governorship. Probably Berkeley had on arrival guaranteed land rights to earlier patentees and had therefore been able to talk the Assembly into forgetting the Company. Involved also are matters of diversification of crops (opposed by almost all colonists and advocated by most governors) and of Harvey's representations to commissioners now that he was back in England. It seems probable that Sandys by no means mistook his instructions when he petitioned the House of Commons (*not* the King) for renewal of the Charter, and also that with all his personal idiosyncrasies Harvey had endeavored faithfully to follow his original instructions. As far as the colonial political mind is concerned, it is evident that within approximately one generation from first landing at Jamestown the southern settler was determined to have what he considered his rights, especially economic ones, that he was determined that in such local matters as land and if possible exports the colonials should have control, and that

he would if possible allow no London-appointed governor or commission or even his Majesty to curtail or abolish his "rights." He surely never thought then of himself as a rebel against his king, but as an Englishman removed to new English ground upon which or in which he retained his ancient privileges, in this instance to hold and acquire land, the principal American form of wealth.⁴

Though the leaders in the ousting of Harvey remained with their descendants elements of Virginia population and to some extent part of the hierarchy on the broad spectrum of Virginia leaders, they were being displaced years before the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 by a somewhat different sort of men, gentlemen or quasi-gentlemen, often merchants in the old country and often allied in blood (including the familiar younger sons) to British rural gentry or even nobility. Many had interests in the colony going back to their parents' or family's ownership of stock, and consequently land, in the former Virginia Company of London. Henry Norwood, the Ludwells, Sir William Berkeley, the Diggeses, the Blands, and the first William Byrd (through his Stegge relatives and his wife's kinship with Lady Berkeley), along with others of good family county connections back home such as the Fitzhughs, Lees, Masons, Spencers, Allertons (of New England *Mayflower* descent), were large landowners and members of the "privileged" classes who controlled the counties in which they lived. Only a few could belong to the Council: the rest sought power as burgesses or as county justices of the peace, or the two together, where along with "new men" they showed a pronounced interest in their own well-being and in its concomitant, the general well-being of the region which they had adopted as a permanent home, often with disregard of British imperial interest.

Sporadically they continued to rebel, though never clearly along class lines. The leaders of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, Bacon and Drummond and Lawrence and Giles Brent, were at least as well educated and even as well connected socially at home as were Governor Berkeley's adherents. Indian policy was indeed part of the cause of this upheaval, Indian policy which endangered landholdings as well as lives along the frontier, holdings in which most of the rebels had a stake. Berkeley's policy of stabilizing the border and protecting the Indians from land-hungry settlers, along with his alleged lucrative personal trade with the red men, certainly favored the established. And then several of the future rebels had already clashed with the Berkeley group over land and trade. There was no thought here of defying King or Parliament, but a local tyrant who was, they thought, jeopardizing their lives and hindering their economic opportunity. There seems little doubt that a majority of colonists sympathized with the Bacon cause, especially because so many lived inland or along the frontier, and

had Bacon lived and a few events turned out differently they might have had at least the success of those who thrust out Governor Harvey, though the growing imperialistic aims and policies of the home government had produced in London attitudes which were by no means like those the rebels forty years before had faced.

Brief spots and spurts of defiance continued at least to 1750 and the beginnings of the struggle for independence. Powerful councils allied with ecclesiastical authorities such as the Anglican Commissary Blair, as already shown, managed to have governor after governor removed, from Andros and Nicholson through Spotswood, always because the gubernatorial establishment was insisting on Crown or imperial policies contrary to local interests. Or sometimes one of these viceroys combined with imperial interests those of the lesser clergy and people against the provincial hierarchy, with the former rarely winning. Politics was most often economics, and one sees a steady procession of governors from Sir William Berkeley to the Revolution attempting strenuously or moderately to diversify crops and to displace tobacco as the money crop, or staple. At the same time Boards of Trade seemed to accept and in certain ways promote tobacco as the colonial money producer. It is really not astonishing to see, in the quarter century after Bacon's Rebellion, staunch Berkeleyites such as Robert Beverley I refusing to turn over Burgess records to royal commissioners and becoming leaders in the tobacco plant-cutting "rebellions" to keep up the price of the staple or to protect against Crown policies of British monopoly on export and import, the Navigation Acts which prevented planters in all the colonies from securing better prices for their products. Beverley almost lost his life and property for his defiance or intransigence, but in the end his family emerged with enhanced prestige, and his sons and grandsons became even more eminent in the provincial government than he had been.

One must remember that though Britain had had some experience in what might be called colonial administration in Ireland and the East and West Indies, in the mainland North American settlements it was laying the firmest foundations of empire, as it soon realized. King, Privy Council, Parliament, and their Committee on Trade and the Plantations (its name, size, and functions varied slightly between the 1630s and 1780s) recognized almost at once that they faced strange new problems. Quite early, as has been intimated, they realized that the great wealth of this vast territory was land itself, and what it might bring forth. In the royal colonies such as Virginia, and to a considerable extent in the southern proprietary colonies, provincial government by and large was modeled on English rural models for the counties and on King and Parliament for the central administration.

All the southern colonies eventually were divided into counties roughly analogous to the English variety, though there were at various times "hundreds" and "precincts," and the counties contained one or usually more parishes, which last were socio-ecclesiastical-political units. After some experimentation (especially in the Proprietary provinces) the county unit emerged as a convenient-sized territory for local government, with a county lieutenant who among other things was usually commander-in-chief of the militia (as William Byrd II), a sheriff, and a commission of the peace composed of from four to a dozen or so justices. The senior justice was usually the presiding county judge, and his commission—or a quorum of three or four—met at stated periods varying from twice a year to the more frequent monthly or quarterly sessions. Some justices acted as individual magistrates on petty matters. The County Court handled minor or petty civil and criminal cases, though certain matters, as the disposal of orphans or bastards, were problems for parish vestries. There was usually also a county clerk and perhaps assistants and a jailer, among minor officers. The settled or rising gentry supplied almost all the justices, sheriffs, and of course county lieutenants. There were deviations, for the South Carolina county leaders grouped tightly about Charleston were perhaps most often merchant-planters rather than planters, and in the Trustees' Georgia there was a communal organization suggestive of the New England village grouping, in which each person should own a town lot and garden and farming land not too far away. As a royal colony in 1758 Georgia was divided into eight parishes which were abolished and replaced with eight counties during the Revolution. Even with a few other deviations the southern colonial unit and format was about as near as it could be under New World conditions to English rural forms. There were basic differences for (despite the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina which were never fully in effect) there was in the colonies no county or state nobility having political privileges, there were no serfs, and there was a proportionately greater number of indentured servants in the first century than on English farm or manor, and there was a growing proportion of black slaves who had no part in government save to be counted for purposes of representation.

The provincial legislative bodies were, even in Georgia after 1751, general assemblies modeled in varying degree on the British Parliament. Governors were viceroys, or more frequently lieutenant-governors acting for titular governors who never visited their provinces. Or in the Proprietary colonies of Maryland and the Carolinas the governors represented the owners. Georgia had no real governor until it fell under the Crown's control in 1754. The first Georgia legislature was, like the first in Virginia, a unicameral body but also like Virginia's soon became bicameral.

Surrounding the governor was the Council or upper house, corresponding roughly to the House of Lords but actually including no nobility even in name save for the brief period in South Carolina. In the beginning the councils were usually composed of men of substance and powerful connections in Britain, but as time went on they were chosen or nominated by the governor to the authority at home from among the men of mark in the colonies, in the eighteenth century in the older provinces rarely being first-generation Americans. Though frequently they sided with the governor against the lower house, it was perhaps more often for their personal business interests, which rightly or wrongly they felt were compatible with the Proprietors' or Crown's, than from mere conservative loyalty to authority. Often they acted in concert with the lower house in appealing to the Board of Trade against what they considered unjust or discriminatory laws. And quite often they strenuously opposed a coalition of governor and lower house (as in Virginia at times under Spotswood) or simply opposed absolutely the stand of the lower house on crop regulation, taxes, or fees or a decision of the colonial chief justice (as in South Carolina under Robert Johnson's administration). From the beginning the councilors included many of the ablest, and certainly the wealthiest, men in their respective colonies. They were men who held usually multiple lucrative public offices, as collectorships of customs, and they owned huge tracts of land and were great exporters and importers. Well educated, acquisitive, and conservative, they protested Crown or Privy Council or even Proprietary decisions especially when their personal interests were concerned, and these interests only at times included the general interests of the whole colony. They were frequently allied among themselves by blood and marriage, as Spotswood and many another governor complained, and could offer a solid phalanx against a chief executive or his instructions. But one should remember also that their sons and brothers sat in the lower house and that the noted opposition between the two houses was often exaggerated. Though most of the famous Virginians who represented the colony in the Continental Congress were veteran members of the lower house, they all had close relatives who had served or were serving on the Council. At one time or another on the colonial councils were Randolphs and Byrds and Carters and Wormeleys in Virginia, Lloyds and Ogles and Dulanys in Maryland, Middletons and Wraggs and Draytons in South Carolina, and other not overscrupulous land-grabbers and merchants who built fortunes great enough to keep their large families wealthy, at least land-wealthy, for several generations after them. Men like Henry Laurens (in 1764) declined election or appointment to the Council, which he referred to in his letters as "the Carolina House of Lords." But even in those latter days the refusal of such an honor was rare. As advisers to governors who to begin with usually

did not know the American situation firsthand the councilors were most important to the southern colonies in shaping policy and protecting colonial interests. On the whole they did far less to develop the movement toward separation from the mother country than did their counterparts of the lower houses, partially because of naturally innate conservatism and partially because by 1750-1775 they lacked power. But some of them stood beside their kinsmen and friends in the Continental Congress and argued for independence.

The lower house, which in a sense began its existence with the election of representatives from each of the "cities" or boroughs of Virginia in 1619, has as a political body received much more attention from political scientists and colonial historians than has the Council, and for a number of reasons. After its separation from the governor and Council as a political and even judicial body, it came to be called in Virginia and later in Maryland the House of Burgesses, or the Lower House. In North Carolina it usually went under the same names. In South Carolina and royal Georgia it was referred to as the Lower House or more frequently the Commons House of Assembly. All these titles suggest that this elected body was designed to correspond in form and in at least some functions to the British House of Commons. So it did, and in both its correspondence to and differences from the London Commons it is far more significant in the development of American governmental structure than the appointed Council ever could have been.

Even at Jamestown the unicameral Assembly had a speaker, and as a separate body the Lower House always had one elected by the members themselves. Usually down to the Revolution there were two elected representatives from each county of the southern provinces, sometimes one, rarely more. Certain municipal boroughs and the College of William and Mary, again like British urban communities and universities, likewise usually had representatives. From the beginning also burgesses frequently held military titles in the provincial militia, and in 1619 there were a number of "captains" and "ensigns" in the body. As time went by, almost all or all councilors were militia colonels, and a considerable number of the burgesses, such as William Fitzhugh at the end of the seventeenth century, were also colonels or lieutenant-colonels. Fitzhugh's eldest son was elected to the House when only a young captain, as were many others. The later military rank and duties seem to have gone usually with a position of responsibility on the county commissions of the peace and seem indicative of the solid substance and general abilities of the holder. There is no evidence that Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzhugh or his son possessed martial abilities, though apparently Colonel William Byrd II (a councilor) could at least drill and review his county troops in the governor's presence.

It is of course quite difficult to ascertain the educational backgrounds of most seventeenth-century burgesses. Most were undoubtedly planters, but there were lawyers and physicians and merchants among them, and there is occasionally evidence that some of them like certain gentlemen of the Upper House had attended the British universities (English or Scottish or Irish) or the Inns of Court, though the legal profession per se was frowned upon and in the earlier years outlawed in much of the first century of the southern colonies. Though evidence is somewhat conflicting, and practice varied to some extent in individual colonies, voting seems usually to have been by the freeholders, the possession of fifty acres, sometimes more, as a minimum, placing the individual in this group. There is evidence that early in the settlement of Virginia, and perhaps in other places, all free men, landed or landless, who had been resident in the county or borough for a certain length of time had the franchise. The men they almost invariably elected were at once from among themselves and above themselves, those wealthy or in other ways conspicuous enough to be known as gentlemen freeholders.

Several times it has been argued that the greatest change in relation between ruler and ruled, specifically between Lower House and Crown prerogative and representative, came in the years between Berkeley's departure from Virginia in 1677 and the end of Spotswood's administration about 1720, or between the Glorious Revolution in Maryland 1689-1692 and about 1720, and in the period in South Carolina between the turn of the century and the beginnings of royal government in 1720. North Carolina was much as South Carolina, and Georgia's great movement in the direction of local control came also with the move to royal government.⁵ The somewhat fragmented records of the assemblies or lower houses and the hundreds of other documents from the British Public Record Office and from state archives seem to bear out the idea of an evolution, a broadening of provincial privilege and consequent loss of royal prerogative even at the moment when, in some instances, the Crown was taking formal control of a colony.

John C. Rainbolt sums up the political change in Virginia—and he suggests such a change at a perhaps slightly different chronological period in the rest of the southern and perhaps middle colonies—as a transition from a ruling gentry conceived and conceiving of themselves as similar to a late sixteenth-century or earlier seventeenth-century English gentry, “to a ruling class whose political style was one of familiarity with all orders and frequent subservience to the sentiments of the common planters.” Admitting that the change or its stages is hard to document, he cites some evidence of its existence and development, and he points out in passing that this newer elite possessed in common with the Berkeleyite gentry an

intense interest in personal economic aggrandizement along with a genuine sense of duty to exercise political power to develop the potentials of the entire province. Among other documents, both county and lower house records in Virginia and Maryland, and a generation later in the Carolinas (with some variation and exception), appear to bear him out. That the growing consideration by the upper classes in office of their less opulent constituencies coincides in time with an acceleration in the growth of slavery is by no means a mere accident, for fear of Negro insurrections was common to both groups. But at the same time other factors were equally significant, as the fact that the new native-born elite had stronger feelings about colonial rights as Englishmen, and that the new leaders were closer to the common planters in social origins, education, and religion than their predecessors had been.⁶

Jack P. Greene has made the most searching and comprehensive study of the significance of the representative political bodies in *The Quest for Power*. Beginning with the declaration that the "emergence of the lower houses as a dominant element in colonial government has been the grand theme of American colonial history," he proceeds to an analysis of the causes and consequences in a detail which cannot or should not be here reproduced. That the "threat to assembly rights was of enormous importance in the coming of the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence was a more realistic analysis of the causes of the Revolution than has generally been supposed" is his introductory statement. Dobbs of North Carolina, one of the major imperial governors, gave one frequently reiterated reason in 1760 when he said, "The Assembly think themselves entitled to all the Privileges of a British House of Commons and therefore ought not to submit to His Majesty's Privy Council further than the Commons do in England, or to submit to His Majesty's instructions to his Governor and Council here."⁷ For various reasons Greene chose the four southern royal colonies of 1776, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, though he feels they were representative of all the colonies, with due allowance for a few local variations. He believes that "institutional momentum," derived from several sources, was primarily responsible for the emergence of the lower houses as the controlling political bodies in their respective colonies. Originally he had hoped to study the economic and social motivations of members of the lower houses as they related to political structure, but he found it too great a task for a single volume. His early chapter on "The Configuration of Politics" is a good survey of government in the four provinces in the century before the Revolution. The story of their developing concern with finance, the civil list, legislative proceedings, and executive affairs show also something of the corporate political mind at work.

Except for Sirmans' able *Colonial South Carolina*, studies of colonial legislative politics have been predominantly of Virginia. Lucille Griffith's analysis in the *Virginia House of Burgesses* is a most useful survey in the quarter-century immediately preceding the Revolution, in which the last stage in the rise of the House of Burgesses, that oldest legislature of English America, is studied in enlightening detail, including brief sketches of individual members and their backgrounds. Here are presented briefly the professional and economic interests of the burgesses and the pattern of politics in the House. The story of Landon Carter's relationship to this body and its individual members, and of his polemical prose and verse, augments Jack P. Greene's edition of the *Diary* of Carter in revealing at full length at least one eminent if personally unpopular member of the Lower House. And others as interesting and perhaps even more typical.

Jackson T. Main and Jack P. Greene have each analyzed briefly the wealth and social status of the leading Virginians of the period 1720–1776 (in Greene's case) and about 1780 (in Main's).⁸ Main's emphasis is on the economic, but one always is conscious of its direct relation to politics. Power in the Virginia House of Burgesses was distributed through committees, as it was already in William Fitzhugh's time in the 1680s. From 1720 to the Revolution Greene finds that 630 men sat on committees, of whom he eliminates from his consideration those who played no significant role. Only 110, he believes, belonged to the select few who dominated the proceedings of the House. These men he analyzes. Most were comparatively wealthy, planters like John Robinson, Benjamin Harrison, Charles and Landon Carter, and merchants such as the Nelsons and Richard Adamases. Thirty-nine were practicing lawyers, and more significantly three of the four speakers were lawyers, including Sir John and Peyton Randolph. Over two-fifths speculated in western lands. Family connections had an undoubted part in forming this ruling group (though men like John Holloway and John Clayton and James Power became influential without such connections), of which more than half were connected by blood or marriage with the leading eighteenth-century families. Randolphs provided eleven, Carters nine, Beverleys eight, Lees six, several other families four and three each. In religion all ascertainable were Anglicans, despite Presbyterian strength in the colony. The educational level was remarkably high, some forty having attended William and Mary and a dozen or so good English schools, ten read law at the Inns of Court, and several attended Oxford, Cambridge, or Edinburgh. At least seventeen without university training studied law, including such eminent figures as Edmund Pendleton and Paul Carrington. Geographically unlike some other colonies such as the Carolinas, the Old Dominion had no section with a monopoly on political power. Greene's tables show an impressive

number as listing the learned professions or merchandising as their primary occupations, but one has only to glance at their names to see that almost all the lawyers and merchants were also planters, as was even a professor such as Joshua Fry. By the 1760s and 1770s a similar distribution almost surely would hold for the other southern colonies, with perhaps more merchants in Maryland and fewer educated abroad—with the exception of the post-1750 South Carolina lawyers.

Main's list of the one hundred wealthiest Virginians of the 1780s includes many of the same surnames as in Greene's 1760–1775 group, and again they frequently represent members of the Lower House. That is, the Virginia House of Delegates under the first state constitution was in many ways an uninterrupted continuation of the eighteenth-century colonial House of Burgesses. Naturally there are a few new Christian names and surnames and a somewhat confusing duplication of the same name, as two Joseph Joneses, two Burwell Bassetts, two Lewis Burwells, and three William Fitzhughs in the later list. The wealth was concentrated in Tidewater Virginia, though many of the low-country planters were proprietors of vast tracts in the Piedmont. David Ross, Richmond merchant and largest native landowner with one hundred thousand acres (British Lord Fairfax owned even more), had come along too late to be a part of the last generation of significant burgesses, and many others were the sons of the Greene-designated 110. But many names repeat themselves, as Charles Carter, Benjamin Harrison, Landon Carter, Richard Corbin, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Lee, George Mason, John Page, George Washington, and Ralph Wormeley, though in the 1780s by no means all the living were still in the legislature. Certainly many of them and their sons and brothers and cousins of the same name were in the state House of Delegates. In a later study, however, Main concluded that the proportion of the really wealthy in Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary legislatures had markedly declined from what it was even in 1772–1773.

Yet if one looks at the lists of burgesses made by Greene and Griffith and compares them with the list of the one hundred wealthiest Virginians of almost a decade after the Declaration of Independence he will find that the legislators of the colonial era were *not* simply the wealthiest men of their day and that they represented a much wider distribution of domicile than did the rich of the 1780s. A new look at the burgess lists of 1720–1776, with some added investigation of their backgrounds, professions, and particular and general interests, should convince the investigator that the eighteenth-century Virginia House of Burgesses (and a cursory survey of Maryland and the Carolinas for the period yields much the same results) normally had no power blocs of the especially wealthy or family-connected and that they had an agrarian cast but were interspersed with lawyers,

physicians, and merchants of diverse economic interests. Though court (Proprietor's or Governor's or Board of Trade's) parties versus country (anti-Proprietary and or anti-Board of Trade) parties have often been mentioned by historians, in the eighteenth-century lower houses they were difficult to discern, in fact impossible to discern, except possibly as sporadically formed groups attempting to support their own provincial and/or personal interests, usually an inseparable mixture of the two. Governor Dobbs was perfectly right in saying that the lower houses had by mid-century, and earlier, a firm conviction that they were entitled to all the privileges of the British House of Commons and that they were not compelled to submit to instructions from the home government if they considered them detrimental to a colony's peculiar interests. By 1776 they had been fighting this out for a century, and southern lower houses at least had developed a leadership and a policy which would enable them to produce a kind of political mentality which would be most influential in leading to independence and to the formation of the Constitution some years later. A remarkable fact is that a great number of leaders in these colonies had so developed a sense of self-interest as community interest, or had put aside (as Jefferson and Wythe) personal interest for provincial or national interest, that they could confidently and consciously move toward the building of a new nation. If not the wealthiest men of their home counties, they were all men of substance who thought with their constituents and believed they were representing farmers or tradesmen great and small, and they felt an obligation to do so. Politics and law were not, despite Henry Adams' assertion, the sole objects of Virginia thought, but they were among its major elements. The Houses of Burgesses were the institutions in which they went to school long before 1763.

Though there were no *continuing* political parties of the ins and outs, the rural versus the capital-central government or of city-low country versus upcountry (as there developed in North and South Carolina before the Revolution), neither was there in Maryland and Virginia and royal Georgia a solid front on all matters internal and external. The privileged classes, or the politically represented aristocracy, by no means acted always in concert. Recently a striking and profound bit of investigation, J.A. Leo Lemay's "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," has given detailed and perceptive evidence that in the 1760s, a decade before the Revolution, there was an active and fairly prolonged newspaper and legislative battle between members of the Virginia elite, one group being scandalized by the arbitrary and apparently extralegal bailment of wealthy Colonel Chiswell of Williamsburg who had been indicted for murder. Robert Bolling, poet and country gentleman educated in a Yorkshire school along with Richard Henry Lee and other Virginians, was one of

the leaders in an attack on the General Court which had allowed bail. Allied with Bolling were James Milner and other prominent young colonials. They mounted a newspaper attack which alarmed Bolling's uncle John Blair, president of the Executive Council, and William Byrd III and Presley Thornton. Bolling, who had attended the Inns of Court and also studied law in Williamsburg under Benjamin Waller after his Yorkshire schooling, scorned the aristocratic spirit and spoke for all men of equal justice under law. As Lemay points out, all the essays and satiric poems on the subject were related to a struggle going on in the House of Burgesses as to whether the offices of speaker and of treasurer, long held by one man, should be separated. That there was a Virginia oligarchy is evident. That it fully or actually controlled the House at any one time is far from evident; certainly after this 1765-1766 date it never did. Bolling, by the way, had himself served as burgess 1761-1765. Engaged in the newspaper dispute were several contemporary or recent burgesses such as Richard Bland and Landon Carter and Benjamin Grymes, as well as other colonial officials. There are several references to the late Robinson affair, in which an honored long-time speaker-treasurer was discovered, upon his death, to have lent enormous sums of the colony's revenues illegally to dozens of gentlemen of the colony. The newspaper, Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, and Bolling were sued for libel, and the verdict of October 16, 1766, which acquitted them, marked the end of the supervised press in colonial Virginia. The jurors who rendered this verdict against the oligarchy, incidentally, included such well-known Virginians as John Page, Lewis Burwell Junior and Senior, and John Tyler. The Bolling-Chiswell case seems to fit rather well Jack P. Greene's political form he calls "faction free with a maximum dispersal of political opportunity among the dominant group," though it comes perilously close in certain respects to two of his other three classifications, "stable factionalism" and "domination by a single, unified group." Greene himself assigns Virginia government to the "faction free" group, but he admits that there must be many more studies before definite conclusions regarding early American politics can be drawn.⁹

Almost every prominent southern colonial of the eighteenth century, provided he was not a clergyman, served at one time or another, sometimes for a generation, in the lower house of his colony, though there are a few notable exceptions. These commons houses, in form much like their model in London, developed some procedures differing in detail from those of the Mother of Parliaments but adopted because of their peculiar usefulness in the colony. Members went to school in politics and statecraft, and in Williamsburg even college students might attend the lively sessions of an assembly, as did Thomas Jefferson before he became a burgess himself.

In every colony, even in North Carolina, where local pressure groups moved to locate the capital and to establish representation according to their own imagined needs, and in South Carolina, where Up-Country felt itself discriminated against by Low-Country power and degree of representation, the Commons House was the center of provincial government and the symbol of the relative autonomy of the individual province.

The executive branch of southern political structures, especially in its relation to the legislative, has so far received only incidental attention. Perhaps the remainder of this brief look at southern political mentality should be considered at least partly in the executive-legislative relationship. In the South, somewhat unlike Massachusetts and the rest of New England, few if any of the governors were American born, with such notable exceptions as the two William Bulls of South Carolina or South Carolina-born James Wright of Georgia. Quite often they were technically not governors at all, but lieutenant-governors who received a fraction of the revenues which went largely to enrich some privileged nobleman who never set foot in America. During many periods, especially between the unexpected death of one governor and the arrival of another, periods of several years' duration, the provincial president of the Council (its senior member) was acting governor and had to face and cope with as knotty problems as the specially chosen executives.

From Sir Thomas Gates and Lord de la Warr (first Virginia governors under the Company who had been preceded by presidents of the Council) to Sir James Wright, last royal governor of Georgia, the viceroys represented in their backgrounds a variety of professions and occupations. Perhaps most often their earliest adult experience had been in the army, but in the case of the Proprietary colonies they were Proprietors themselves or their close relatives, as the Calverts in Maryland and some partnership Proprietors in the Carolinas. In Maryland these were at times Lords Baltimore, at others Roman Catholic appointees of a Lord Baltimore residing in England, even a Puritan governor, and under the royal regime a career public servant such as Francis Nicholson. Maryland's last governors, Sir Horatio Sharpe and Lord Baltimore's brother-in-law John Eden, were popular, and Sharpe especially able. For one period Sharpe during the French and Indian War—then Colonel Sharpe—was not only lieutenant-governor but by appointment commander-in-chief of British intercolonial forces sent against the French, though more active and perhaps inept career professionals succeeded him.

Virginia's series of usually interesting and often able governors included in the seventeenth century the fascinating and yet not fully investigated figure Sir William Berkeley, younger brother of a nobleman, playwright, orator, in his early years at least an able administrator, and certainly a man

who always had both Virginia's and the Crown's interests at heart. As a governor in his last two or more decades he definitely allied himself with his colony and was in fact a genuine colonial Virginian, in most ways far more so than his opponents and many of his councilors. Among his successors other full governors such as Lord Culpeper and Lord Howard of Effingham were inept and/or overly avaricious. Only at the end of the century Captain, Colonel, and finally Lieutenant-General Nicholson of the British army as lieutenant-governor 1690-1692 and governor 1698-1705 and Sir Edmund Andros in 1692-1698 again gave Virginia experienced leadership. Andros, representing what was later to be called the imperial point of view, got along far better with Virginians than he did with New Englanders, though he was eventually got rid of through the machinations of Commissary Blair, who was also to maneuver the removal of two of Sir Edmund's successors.

A full-length study of Francis Nicholson and his long career in America would probably illuminate many persistent problems or questions now in the histories of the colonies in which he served—New York, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, New England, and Nova Scotia. His irascible temperament, his literary and educational interests, and his founding of cities in the two Chesapeake colonies have already been noted. His varied career in America is nearly unique, for no other man held so many top executive posts as he or contributed so largely to so many phases of colonial life. A devout Anglican, he did much to establish his church more firmly in the three southern colonies he served. Always hampered by his frequently unrestrained temper, his constructive energy and his vision of a future Britain in America bore fruit. He aided in endowing the highest level of educational institution in both Virginia and Maryland and was with Commissary Blair the founder of the College of William and Mary, an institution to which he left his library. His legislative proposals were usually more for the well-being or development of the colony he was serving than for the empire, though he seems to have considered both as of more importance than the enrichment of Britain alone. Though he had been back in Britain three years before his death in 1728, in his will he referred to himself as a resident or citizen of his last governorship, South Carolina.

Even more of an imperialist among colonial administrators was Alexander Spotswood (1676-1740), another professional soldier who spent much of his life, including some years as governor, in early eighteenth-century Virginia. He had visions of an empire beyond the mountains, and he led the expedition to prove it feasible. His was a stormy career in office from 1710 to 1722, of battles with both Council and Burgesses as he pursued a policy designed to strengthen Virginia's ties with the empire

and to strengthen the colony itself. If Nicholson was the planner of the city of Williamsburg, Spotswood was the city's architect. Partly because of the enmity of Commissary Blair and the Council, he went out of office in 1722 just as he completed a most successful treaty conference with the representatives of the Five Nations at Albany in New York. He had served his sovereigns well, but instead of returning to Britain he elected to join the very group of landed gentlemen with whom he had struggled for many years, became what might be called Virginia's first manufacturing industrialist (iron), and developed lasting personal friendships with his old opponents such as William Byrd II. He and his descendants have remained a part of Virginia and the southern colonial story and tradition.

Perhaps equally as able, and certainly far more successful in developing a policy both imperially and provincially oriented was the tactful and popular Governor Sir William Gooch, Baronet, whose long administration coincided with and may have in part produced colonial Virginia's financial and intellectual golden age. Gooch's full story also remains to be written, but there are his revealing letters to his brother the Bishop of Norwich and others, his official papers, and the comments upon him of contemporaries such as Byrd, which indicate a great deal. Like Spotswood he was technically a lieutenant-governor, deputy successively to the Earls of Orkney and Albemarle, and serving in Virginia from 1727 to 1749 save for a period with the military expedition against Cartagena. Gooch did not always have his way with Council and Burgesses, but his tact and statesmanship did much to improve executive-legislative relations, especially since he frequently championed the cause of the colony against Board of Trade or even royal imperial aims. Though his declining health drove him back to Britain for the last year of his life, he too had identified with his southern colony and was as much a Virginia gentleman as the Randolphs and Byrds who surrounded him.

The title of a recent biography of Robert Dinwiddie, Scottish businessman and earlier an energetic colonial official in the financial aspects of government, refers to him as "Servant of the Crown." Like those of his two more eminent predecessors just mentioned, his instructions and inclinations were toward an imperial policy which would strengthen British power and perhaps enlarge territory in North America. He sought cooperation from his own Assembly and from neighboring colonies in meeting the French threat in the old northwest and along the Mississippi, and his attempts to obtain revenues from his legislature were necessary if the "defense" against the inland European power was to be adequate. Unfortunately for him and perhaps for General Braddock, he had two formidable obstacles. First, he had antagonized his Assembly and almost all Virginians by bringing with him the authority to collect a pistole as fee or tax for all land patents, as

he rightly thought, a possible means of augmenting his own relatively meager salary as a lieutenant-governor. Since almost all Virginians owned land and hoped to buy more, and since his own House of Burgesses had not authorized this tax, they were all infuriated. Even the scholarly historian-president of William and Mary, William Stith, got in the habit of proposing the toast "Liberty and Property and No Pistole." Dinwiddie's official letters published almost a century ago and other documents show him to have been a quite able executive attempting to be faithful to his instructions and vitally interested in the preservation and expansion of the empire. The violent reaction against him was expressed in the satiric documents mentioned above, but most significantly in the accelerating mood of defiance of and opposition to much of what he proposed. He was at once a victim of the developing politics of his time and his own acquisitiveness. Perhaps he inadvertently sped the move toward independence. He did have some personal friends in Virginia, but he never really identified himself with the peculiar interests of the colony as Gooch or Spotswood had.

Among Dinwiddie's Virginia vice-regal successors only Lieutenant-Governor Francis Fauquier (in office 1758-1768) really became part of the colony socially, politically, and economically, and as shown above, culturally. At the same time that he tried tactfully to further the interests of empire he stood with the legislature against Camm and the Anglican clergy and the support they had received in England. His two full-governor successors, Lord Botetourt and Lord Dunmore, served more briefly. While Botetourt was enormously popular personally and Dunmore was of course the villain to the colonists in their last years of imperial affiliation, neither seems to have had any considerable effect on legislative action, and chronologically they were too late to receive extensive consideration here anyway.

North Carolina governors really begin with the executives appointed by the Proprietors to govern smaller units of the territory, as the Albemarle and Cape Fear regions. The early jealousies and rivalries among the original settlements at New Bern, Bath, Brunswick, Wilmington, and Edenton, among other places, were to plague administrators throughout the colonial period. Perhaps the ablest of the early Proprietary executives was Virginian Philip Ludwell, appointed in 1688 as governor of Carolina "north and east of Cape feare," and with him the idea of North Carolina instead of Albemarle or Cape Fear began.

Under an earlier and later series of governors there were a number of small but perhaps significant "rebellions," for they indicate the political temper of the people and the times. In the 1670s John Culpeper, a firebrand recently arrived from Charleston, led an anti-Proprietary faction in quest of greater freedom in trade and other matters, a protest that sprang in part

from Britain's effort to enforce the Navigation Acts, especially an act of 1673. After some skirmishing martial and verbal, an assembly elected a speaker and a former governor was ordered to be tried. In the end this ex-governor Miller escaped to England and Culpeper himself was tried in England but freed. A former Charleston merchant, Thomas Cary, governor about 1708-1711, who was deposed and the laws of whose second administration were all nullified, gathered his followers and defied newly appointed Governor Hyde and attacked the latter's followers. Spotswood sent a company of marines for Hyde's relief, and the "rebellion dispersed." The politics of the affair involved prosecution of Quakers and some other dissenters, and establishment of the Anglican church. But the rebellion left the province so weak that the red man's resentment of the white flared up in the Tuscorora War in 1711, the period in which John Lawson met his tragic death.

George Burrington was Proprietary governor in the 1724-1725 period and royal governor 1731-1734. Of his successors Gabriel Johnston (1735-1752), Arthur Dobbs (1754-1765), and William Tryon (1765-1771) interest us most. Johnston, for example, was unusual among colonial executives in coming from a university professorship rather than from the army or some political office. Each of them found himself more or less in a tug of war. Usually governor and council represented the "pre-rogative party" supporting an imperial point of view, with the speaker and/or treasurer of the lower house leading a "popular party" championing what most of them considered to be local interests, the whole situation much like that of the other southern colonies, with a few members of the council inclined to the provincial point of view along with the burgesses. The governors had trouble with salary, which the assembly was supposed to confer upon them, and there were disputes over whether governor or burgesses appointed judges and established courts and supervised quitrents and even land tenure. Paper money, North Carolina's peculiar "Granville District," and boundary surveys and disputes were among the colony's other legislative problems.

Arthur Dobbs, mentioned in preceding chapters as writer and promoter of the search for a Northwest Passage, was among the more colorful and able of North Carolina's executives, but not among the more popular—if any colonial governor was ever popular there. Like most of the other better-known southern colonial governors, he was an imperialist; he endeavored to conciliate and even ally neighboring Indian tribes and to get his colony into cooperation with its neighbors in opposing the French; he attempted to establish a permanent capital by reconciling regional interests; he tried to strengthen the Anglican establishment, and he ran head-on into the dilemma of sympathizing with his colonists in their trade with foreign

countries (and thus defiance of the Navigation Acts) and his strong belief in allegiance to Britain. A long-time civil servant in Ireland, he brought to his office enormous experience, especially in financial matters. Although almost sixty-six years old at the time of his appointment, he attended to his affairs with great vigor. The official records are full of his speeches, proclamations, and proposals to and with his assembly. He was by no means always successful—almost surely no man could have been in that time and place—but he did much to develop his province, and the records of his administration reveal not only his and the colony's problems but the relation of both to the growing resistance to Crown and Board of Trade prerogative. He died and was buried in Carolina just as he was packing his possessions to return home for a visit.

As suggested above, more than in colonial Virginia and Maryland, east-west sectionalism was an important and enduring factor in the history of North Carolina (as it was indeed in South Carolina). Differences in ethnic stocks of settlers, religion, soil, trade, crops, and land acquisition were all among the elements creating it. It really did not break into flame until after the chronological end of the colonial period, though the unrest was most evident in the westernmost counties in 1754. By 1771 about half the colony's quarter of a million people lived in the six western counties and Mecklenburg, yet they had only seventeen members in the Lower House as compared with sixty-one for other counties. Local government officials were appointed, not elected, becoming courthouse rings. An Edmund Fanning in Orange County was a notorious representative of this unjustifiable privilege, and he was attacked first in pamphlet, ballad, and stump speeches. The popular party, developed into a band of Regulators, were by April 1768 firing shots into the roof of Fanning's house in Hillsborough. Meanwhile Regulator propaganda was printed in an attempt to obtain justice by peaceful means. The attempt failed, and the clash became martial. On May 16, 1771, Governor Tryon with fourteen hundred militiamen defeated a force of about two thousand Regulators at Alamance. A few men were killed on both sides, twelve Regulators were tried for treason and six hanged, and the others who had not left the province already were pardoned. They had not objected to the constitutional right of the Assembly to enact laws: they merely objected to the improper execution of these laws. Though recent Carolina historians have seen little or no connection between Alamance and the American Revolution, the "battle" must remain significant as a suggestion and actual implementation of the lengths to which the southern colonist would go in protest or rebellion against what he considered unfair political action. The Regulators and Alamance developed from the clearly unfair practices of a colonial legislature, from a resentment at least simmering far back into the colonial period. Gover-

nors appear to have had little to do with these conflicts, though in Tryon's case he perforce was supporting the status quo, and there is little evidence that even as astute and experienced an official as Dobbs really attempted to equalize the representation, nor did his predecessors. Dobbs actually seems to have been too busy with trade, the French, the Indians, and the low-country rivalries to have been fully aware of this rising tide of sectional discontent with the nature and practice of legislature and legislation.

In some ways governors and their General Assemblies in South Carolina paralleled those of their sister colony of which they were originally a part, but there were significant differences, and the lower province which developed as a city-state with a backcountry potentially and actually rich for the trader had its own peculiar qualities. There was never the division or rivalry between communities of equal strength as in North Carolina, for the few backcountry villages such as Dorchester could not hope to rival a growing, thriving, and powerful merchant city such as Charleston. Political organization under Proprietors and under the Crown was superficially much as in North Carolina, with British-appointed governors and/or lieutenant-governors, a council of leading gentlemen, and a commons house of assembly. Ethnic and national groups were quite distinct from those of the sister colony, though both provinces contained a strong and influential core of Englishmen and a number of Scots, and at one time or another both had influxes of Puritan settlers, usually from New England. One of the powerful groups of Proprietary South Carolina, however, was known as the Goose Creek men, families usually originally English and strongly Anglican who reached South Carolina after some years or even a generation in the Barbadoes. Another was the Puritans from England, who included some of the Proprietors and governors and formed the backbone of the earliest dissenting element in the colony. And then there was an early Quaker influence.

By 1672 Puritan or other dissenting governors had been replaced by Barbadian and former royalist officer Sir John Yeamans, a landgrave or nobleman of the Carolina peerage, who died within two years, to be replaced by a former governor, Joseph West, a dissenter who was probably a Quaker. West remained undisturbed as governor for almost a decade, though the Barbadians controlled or dominated the Council and Lower House in a sort of truce with him. The Proprietors, however, became more and more disgusted with the government of the colony, particularly in matters of debts to them, land distribution, and Indian affairs. Between 1682 and 1694 the Proprietors undertook extensive reform, meeting with failure except in inducing considerable numbers of Scottish Presbyterians and French Huguenots to emigrate to the colony, the former group establishing a settlement at Port Royal. Meanwhile the Proprietors continued to

revise John Locke's Fundamental Constitutions of 1669, the first revision being the setting up of South Carolina's unique system of jury selection. The second revision clarified legislative procedure, really setting up a tricameral Assembly. Another was the assurance to dissenters that they would not be taxed to support the Church of England.

As the Proprietors knew, these and other revisions of charters would not and did not at once bring about alleviation of economic and other troubles. For one thing, their efforts produced a bitter factionalism within the Assembly perhaps stronger than existed in any other colony, save perhaps in Pennsylvania and New York between certain groups, as in Carolina Proprietary and anti-Proprietary parties, Anglican versus Presbyterian, Englishman versus Scot, Barbadian planter against urban merchant, among other polarities. There were, however, no hard and fast lines, and Low-Church Anglicans in later years were often allied with dissenters in Commons House maneuvering. Huguenots were divided. Generally, of course, the Proprietary party was the dissenting group, more so than in any other southern colony.

Proprietary governors never emerge as forceful men, though undoubtedly a few of them were, and certainly their terms of office never approached in length those of Berkeley and Gooch in Virginia or even royal South Carolina's later James Glen. The names of a few Carolina Proprietary viceroys survive in those of a few counties, but this is almost all their immortality. More than administrators in any other American colony, southern or northern (save perhaps New York), these Carolina governors faced and attempted to cope with the Indian trade problem, for open to their constituencies was the possibility of growing wealthy through an exchange of trading goods for furs with Creeks and Cherokees and quite early with Catawbas and other tribes described in Chapman Milling's *Red Carolinians*. In fact, the Carolina backcountry, as a place of settlement and incipient physical conflict as well as of trade, was a major political problem throughout the colonial period. Governors and their representatives, traders such as James Adair, or missionaries such as Charles Woodmason, as well as merchant and planter assemblymen with stakes in mercantile traffic, were all actively concerned with these matters.

Rice and indigo as successful staples at the turn of the century brought relative political tranquility for a time. The conciliatory Quaker governor Archdale arrived in 1695 and had to cope with a wave of local Franco-phobia, quitrents, and land problems. He managed to secure new land tax laws for his Assembly by a remission of past debts in quitrents. In 1696 the first slave law was passed in an attempt to control slaves individually and the traffic in them. Despite the ambiguities of the law there is no doubt that it declared the slave a chattel. During Archdale's administration the

Commons House of Assembly became what it remained, Sirmans declares, the voice of the people of the colony.¹⁰ The elected branch of the legislature did not at once acquire extensive power, but it was now on the way. For the first time the Proprietors not only recognized the elected members as a separate house (they did this under Ludwell in 1692) but accepted its right to initiate legislation. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was in certain respects the ablest of the Proprietary governors, though he seems to have considered Dissenters almost as great a menace as Spaniards. His first act was to dissolve his predecessor's Assembly and in 1703 call for new elections. He got into trouble in his opposition to trade reform and illegal dissolution of the Assembly.

By the time of the arrival of Governor Charles Craven in 1712, the old political factions were beginning to fade away and during his tenure completely disappeared. But in 1712 South Carolina began an unsettled period, during which the Yamassee War of 1715 caused heavy losses, and the colonists in 1719 overthrew the Proprietary government. The first royal governor, Francis Nicholson, restored order in a few years, but the Crown government did not solve all problems. Finally Governor Robert Johnson and Lieutenant-Governors Thomas Broughton and William Bull, with the Assembly, worked out some of them, though coping with the British Navigation Acts in order to sell their rice and indigo and ship's stores staples remained a perennial problem.

The story of Nicholson's handling of the political situation in 1720 is well told, in succinct form, by Sirmans, though he leaves some questions unanswered. The veteran administrator maneuvered the selection of a Council which supported him (a group to which he paid great deference), a body which quickly attained so much prestige that members of the Commons House were asking to be "promoted" to the Upper House as they had never done before. In this period this Council was probably the nearest thing the American colonies ever had to a House of Lords, though upon occasion the parallel political body in Virginia rivaled it. With the Commons House, made up largely of 1719 rebels against the Proprietary, Nicholson had to proceed even more carefully. Earlier the Lower House had been largely planters and Indian traders. Nicholson handled the group tactfully, bowing to all its wishes in lawmaking except in unusual circumstances. He approved almost every bill passed. A broad franchise law of 1721 made the Commons House extremely responsive to public opinion—they found it necessary to adopt the ideas of the electorate, a result already paralleled in Virginia and other colonies. Only as a High Church Anglican did Nicholson come into any serious conflict with his Lower House.

Nicholson was immediately followed by the president of the Council,

Arthur Middleton, wealthy planter and cultivated gentleman but not a man of tact. In 1730 former Proprietary Governor Robert Johnson resumed office and showed himself a man of remarkable practical ability, restoring harmony which had been disrupted after Nicholson's time and leaving things in good order. South Carolina was expanding rapidly in population and economy, and he was able to do a great deal. The land system was perhaps his greatest problem. Johnson died suddenly in May 1735, being succeeded briefly by his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Broughton, who died in 1737.¹¹

The new acting governor William Bull found politics cooling off a bit, though a dispute begun earlier with Georgia continued. Then was appointed in 1738 James Glen, an impecunious young Scot who held office for many years and guided South Carolina through most of its colonial golden age. During his earliest years (1738-1743), however, he remained in Britain, and Lieutenant-Governor William Bull, the cultivated gardener and botanist and amateur historian, was the key figure in politics. Bull, realizing the growing power of the Commons House, became closely associated with that body. Its speaker, Charles Pinckney, became his special protégé. Frequently Bull sided with the Commons against the Council. Along with Robert Johnson, Bull was chiefly responsible for ending the colony's period of disorder.

The arrival of Glen in 1743 marked the end of internal conflict between opposing factions of the people. Though political disputes occurred within the Assembly during his administration down to his departure in 1761, Anglicans and Dissenters, merchants and planters, worked together in peace. The distinguishing political feature of South Carolina's most successful governorship was the three-way struggle for power among governor, Council, and Commons House, with the victory going to the last as it was doing in other southern colonies.¹² After 1743 the House, which had since its formation in 1693 been growing in importance, in its demands dominated provincial politics. In Glen's period the governor's status remained what it had been previously in the royal era, though he was unusually vigorous in planning and leading in attempts to secure both the Indian trade and Carolina safety along the frontier. His contemporary Dr. George Milligen-Johnston declared that South Carolina, especially Charleston and vicinity, had the largest percentage of population in the wealthy-merchant-planter-gentry class among the colonies of North America.¹³ This gentry of about five thousand dominated life in the colony and was instrumental in Carolina's attaining a certain maturity. The governor really had little power over other public officials, as Glen once complained. They were appointed either by the powers in England or the local assembly. Glen appointed only justices of the peace and gave military commissions, "Offices

of no profit and some trouble." He had little control of finances, yet an annual salary from the Crown gave him a certain degree of independence and he was not closely supervised by the home government. His long, rambling letters to Britain reveal the man and his situation, documenting his eagerness to please.

As in the Chesapeake colonies especially his Council was composed of men very wealthy in landholdings and slaves. The body was nearly evenly divided between planters and merchants (again many of the latter were both) with a few lawyers, one professional soldier, and "placemen." Generally the Council were satisfied with the status quo, but the Commons House of Assembly looked toward the future. Conducting its meetings in a most informal manner, it did not impress favorably the jaundiced eye of visiting New Englander Josiah Quincy, who saw it at work a few years after Glen's time. Its accomplishments, however, were considerable. Like other lower houses it worked primarily through committees. The finance committees and their annual tax bills were the most important, but the Commons declarations of its right to its own laws, even a provision that Parliamentary laws were not valid in South Carolina, were often repeated. Curiously, and unlike Virginians and Marylanders, for a period few Carolinians cared to become members of the Commons House, primarily because that body consumed too much time and effort better devoted to one's personal interests. Many elected declined their seats, and many others consented to serve for one term only—sometimes two-thirds of the members were first-timers. Only two parishes (the units which elected Assemblymen) showed real interest, St. Philip's in Charleston and St. Andrews just across the Ashley from the city. Naturally these sent able and experienced men and exerted great influence, especially the Bulls, Draytons, and Middletons of St. Andrews. There never quite developed the continuity of leadership as in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and therefore at the last no comparable experienced leaders to send to the Continental Congress. Merchants and lawyers dominated the House's leadership, its planter members more than content to remain backbenchers. Of the men emerging as leaders 1733-1751, as Sirmans points out, eleven were merchants, six lawyers, four planters, and one physician. Some merchants, such as Henry Laurens and Gabriel Manigault, saw public service as a means of advancement as well as of protection of their economic interests. Leaders or followers, all members of the Commons House were dedicated to the idea that the powers of the group should be expanded at the expense of governor and Council. It is difficult to uncover all the reasons for this quest for power, though several minor ones may be obvious.

While the Commons House was flourishing, local government and the judicial system seem not to have evolved or matured at all. Though as

noted the parishes of the Church of England were the most important units of local government, controlled by two churchwardens and twelve vestrymen, the officials met infrequently and had few responsibilities or powers. The judiciary, highly centralized in Charleston in three major courts, will be glanced at below. No courts existed outside the city, and there were only a few justices of the peace, in contrast to the situation even in North Carolina but especially in Maryland and Virginia.

The Commons House was content with the highly centralized government. As in other colonies in the eighteenth century, public figures frankly avowed their personal economic interests, and there were a number of financial irregularities on the order of the Virginia Robinson affair, but less extensive or serious. At mid-century a small group of men clearly dominated almost every phase of life in South Carolina, but the Commons House, made up largely of merchants and lawyers of Charleston and answerable to many voters who were not gentry, had, despite the apathy of the planters or because of it, a different view of politics from that of other southern lower houses. The view was broader economically than the essentially agrarian perspective of the Chesapeake burgesses. The Lower House tinkered with the constitution, continued to chip away at the financial powers of the Council, and sometimes sided with Glen against the Upper House, though antagonisms between executive and Commons emerged from the later crises in Indian affairs and the recession of mid-century. What Sirmans calls Glen's "decline" (in power and popularity) is clear by 1750-1753. Glen in his later years failed to get along with his Assembly or even with fellow governors such as Dinwiddie, muffed many opportunities to straighten out Indian affairs, and retired under a cloud of suspicion in 1756, being blamed by the home government for things he did and did not do.

Glen's successor, William Henry Lyttelton, the most politically influential in England of all South Carolina governors, began his term by trying to end the antagonism and strife between the two Houses of Assembly, built forts in the Indian country, and dismissed from the Council William Wragg, who was immediately elected to the Lower House and became one of its leaders. Greater continuity in Commons House leadership began to develop for various reasons. Lyttelton's South Carolina, away from the scene of action, tried to sit out the French and Indian War in which the Upper South was so vitally engaged, though that war affected the colony's life in many ways. In 1760, on his return from a triumphant diplomatic mission to the Cherokees, Lyttelton was in essence reprimanded by the Commons House for his previous "insults" to that body. Soon he was replaced by William Bull, Junior (as lieutenant-governor), in turn followed by Thomas Boone in 1761. Boone quarreled with the House, refusing in

one instance to let Christopher Gadsden take his seat, and engaged in a strenuous debate with this Commons House as to its rights. The contest dragged on through half of 1764, when Boone decided to return to England, leaving the younger William Bull again in charge. But the Gadsden election controversy had clarified the nature of the constitutional crises in South Carolina more than any other political dispute before 1763. The stubborn defense of the Lower House, appealing to the rights of Englishmen, continued in its development after 1763, as has been noted.

Under its royal governors who took over in 1754 and in its Assembly instituted somewhat earlier, Georgia grew prodigiously in trade and production. Council and governor were similar to those of other colonies, with a Commons House originally of nineteen members but beginning in 1760 to have some twenty-five. The first Crown executive, John Reynolds, who arrived October 1754, did little to attract settlers or rid the land of terror of possible marauding neighbors. But his immediate successor, Henry Ellis (1757-1760), and later James Wright (1760-1782) established a clearcut ascendancy of the whites over the Creeks and managed to get rid of many of the causes of contention between governor and Assembly hatched in Reynolds' time. Georgia, the utopian experiment, the buffer state against Indians and Spaniards, the "debtors haven," and according to some the convicts' heaven, had from the beginning a greater mixture of nationalities than any other southern colony. The German Salzburgers and Moravians, for example, were a large proportion of the earliest population, and other groups of Scots and Continental Europeans, even Puritans, became elements in a motley population whose political institutions were "plain English." Ellis, amateur scientist, an able diplomat and politician, used his skills to protect the southern flank of British America at a critical moment in the last and greatest of the French and Indian wars. Parleys and colloquies and treaties were quite successful. Governor James Wright, his successor, son of a former chief justice of South Carolina and himself sometime attorney-general of the neighboring colony, transferred his considerable property across the Savannah and came to stay. Solid and sound in judgment, he was well liked from the beginning. He was the host governor to Dobbs, Boone, and Fauquier at the Augusta Conference and Treaty with the Indians. On the whole, royal governorship in Georgia was most successful.

Of course Georgia's Lower House has the shortest history of any in the mainland colonies. It first met in January 1755 and as far as journals reveal met for the last time before the Revolution on March 10, 1774. In the first session it ground out laws and passed a slave code. It was soon quarreling with Governor Reynolds, who forced a speaker of his choosing upon it. In 1761 it passed its only election law—free white men of twenty-

one or more who had lived in the province six months and had a freehold of fifty acres could vote. "The Sons of Liberty" had resented the Stamp Act, but it was the Commons House of Assembly which led in opposition to the Crown and to governor as British acts against colonial "rights" progressed. Though Georgia's debt to Britain was more obvious than in the other colonies, in the 1760s the province developed the same opposition to Crown prerogative and Parliamentary taxation as did her sister mainland provinces, though her motivations may have been somewhat different. The older English-born or English-sponsored settlers were now almost entirely gone, and there was a huge proportion of inhabitants who had come from the older colonies. Georgia seems not originally to have resented the Navigation Acts, but with the Stamp Act resentment began to rise. Governor Wright had persuaded the province to send no delegates, however, to the Stamp Act Congress.

Over executive opposition and instructions from home the Lower House in 1771 elected as its speaker Noble Wymberley Jones, son of a prominent pioneer Georgian and a patriot. Wright refused to accept him, and another person was thereupon elected to the post. More than most colonies Georgia divided into relatively strong Loyalist and Revolutionary camps, with Habersham and the older Noble Jones remaining with the King and the sons of both early joining the Revolutionists. The political spirit of unrest may be traced back to the Trustees' period, when the younger Stephens and Patrick Tailfer protested against the arbitrary power and tyranny of the London-based governing board. In the royal period, as just noted, the colonists were generally on good terms with the two later royal governors. But the Commons House delegates were representing their constituencies, which included the "Sons of Liberty," in the now long-familiar claim of the rights of Englishmen in the face of arbitrary Crown and Parliamentary taxation.

Louise B. Dunbar and Leonard W. Labaree have written essays on the royal governors of all the American colonies, and Bernard Bailyn discusses the character and power of both royal and proprietary governors in his *Origins of American Politics*. Dunbar is concerned with the men in office immediately preceding and after the Revolution, and Labaree attempts a survey of all the viceroys from Sir Francis Wyatt of Virginia in 1624 through Sir James Wright of Georgia into 1783. Labaree counts some 214 men actually holding commissions from the Crown as governors or lieutenant-governors, and sketches the backgrounds, training, and characters of the group as a whole. For example, a large proportion were from the aristocracy of Great Britain and altogether sixty-seven (about one-third) bore titles or were the sons of peers. Twenty-five were knights. Though the education of most is still unknown, it is clear that seventeen attended

Oxford, fifteen Cambridge, nine Harvard, and fifteen Scottish, Irish, or Continental universities. Many attended the Inns of Court. Dunbar points out that most of those chosen after about 1750 were military men, though this does not hold for some of the ablest, at least in the South, as Dinwiddie of Virginia, Dobbs of North Carolina, and Wright of Georgia.

Most royal colonial governors came to office in middle age, and most owned before their retirement considerable property in the colonies over which they presided. They were torn by or at least conscious of actual or potential conflict between their provincial affiliation and the duties of their official positions under the Crown. When the Revolution came, no governors were executed and few rudely treated, though their material losses were great.

Both essays glance, at least briefly, at character and previous administrative experience, and the culminative and cumulative report is most favorable. For despite an occasional appointment to ease the debts of a member of an influential family, most governors were men of ability and integrity, in the later years especially concerned as imperialists with the preservation of the British empire. It is equally obvious, however, that they accepted their appointments to further their careers or accumulate some degree of wealth.

Bailyn probes from directions somewhat different from those of Dunbar. He demonstrates that in their powers and their limitations the governors were a major element in the evolving political scene. It is suggested that politics became a public issue because, unlike Britain, the colonies had not yet clearly defined the respective areas of jurisdiction of governors and assemblies, and that it was the debate over their respective powers that made politics a public issue; or that, again unlike Britain, the competition for office and for land, wealth, position, and concomitantly power, was so much more intense in the colonies that politics became everyone's business, while in England the business of politics was simply to administer a society in which everyone already had his place defined. This is perhaps an oversimplification, but for the eighteenth century before the Revolution it would seem to hold true, with the governor as symbol, colonial champion, and home government apologist and agent.

The southern governors noted here and in other chapters fit the generalizations rather well, though more is now known about several individuals and their careers than when the Dunbar and Labaree studies were written a generation ago. It is obvious that in the South, long before the end of the seventeenth century, certain long-term governors of the Chesapeake area colonies were as much or more Americans than they were Britons, even such career soldier-administrators as Francis Nicholson and certainly the quite different Sir William Berkeley. In the earlier eigh-

teenth century Spotswood and Gooch, after distinguished army careers, combined their firm adherence to an imperial ideal to a pronounced local interest, as suggested before. Fauquier, who remained in Virginia for only a decade but died there, seems in several matters to have supported his local constituency against the board of Trade and Crown-established church "aggression." Even such an ardent imperialist as Arthur Dobbs (and he was only one of many southern governors to do so) struggled to have Navigation Acts repealed and to have his colony allowed more or less free trade on the Continent.

One gets the impression, and it is admittedly only an impression, that proportionately, especially in the eighteenth century, there were more Scots and Scotch-Irish among southern administrators than there were in the northern and middle colonies. Spotswood, born near Gibraltar, was Scottish in ancestry, and native Scots were Robert Dinwiddie and the last Virginia royal governor, the Earl of Dunmore. James Glen of South Carolina was also Scottish, and born in Scotland or Ireland were at least five North Carolina governors or acting governors, including Arthur Dobbs. With the possible exception of Dunmore, these were certainly among the ablest of colonial executives. Most of these men were accused (within their provinces) of bringing swarms of relatives and friends with them, certainly an exaggeration with a grain of truth somewhere in it. Evidence of any relation of these appointments to the growing proportion of Scots and Scotch-Irish in the South is not evident, however. And of course by far the larger number of governors were English-born.

The governor of a southern British colony usually found a congenial society with which to associate, though one or two would have preferred the urban life of New York or Philadelphia. They were rarely paid enough salary to maintain their dignity, and they often or perhaps usually attempted other means of augmenting their incomes for present and future prosperity. Dinwiddie's famous Pistole Fee is a rather simple example of this kind of attempt. Entering into land speculation partnerships was a more involved matter, with Dinwiddie and Dobbs as prime examples of entrepreneurs in western-country real estate.

Southern royal governors were, like their fellows of the proprietary provinces, symbols of the colonies' close connection with the mother country. Becoming a part of their individual colonies' society did nothing to decrease the deference paid them as representatives of the Crown. That they attempted to be faithful to their instructions is too often illustrated by their quarrels with their legislatures, particularly the lower houses. That they were sympathetic to colonials is borne out by their efforts noted above to have navigation and other acts affecting American economy rescinded. That the office was a practical political necessity in a governmental unit

such as a colony was a belief carried into the national period, when the southern states like their neighbors to the north merely continued the position, in some cases with the first national governors residing in the "palaces" occupied by their royalist predecessors.¹⁴

EVOLVING THEORY AND ITS EXPRESSIONS

To Jamestown in 1607 the first settlers brought political theory and philosophy with them as well as political institutions. From then until 1763 the southern colonists' political ideas were grounded in English institutional practice and English law, but as already suggested several times persisting ideas were altered considerably as time passed. Both a developing idealism and a developing realism or pragmatism and rationalism were elements in the change, some of British or Continental European origin and some from actual experience in the new environment. The first instructions to the first governors reveal a consciousness on the part of homeland authority of a living theory of the rights and liberties of Englishmen wherever they might be but also an expressed or implied recognition of the fact that colonials would live under conditions which compelled some changes in the structure of political bodies and concomitantly equal changes in the concept of rights. The political planners or strategists at home had no crystal ball through which they might peer into the future, however, nor even any clear concept of New World conditions. Therefore as theories evolved or altered on each side of the Atlantic, on both sides aimed at the welfare of the embryo commonwealths, they showed certain distinctive features.

Seventeenth-century political theory, as expressed by a Bacon or a Hobbes or a Harrington, and that drawn from the ancient classics affected all English-speaking communities. So did the later seventeenth-century conservatism or Whiggism of Locke and Sidney and Molesworth and Filmer and the slightly later philosophies of Trenchard and Gordon and Bolingbroke, among others, as already mentioned. Much has been written on the impact of all these in Britain and America, including Peter Laslett on Locke and Filmer and Caroline Robbins on the leftish Whigs (her Commonwealthmen), particularly on their theories and the place of these in English thought, with implications as to their American relevance. Most recent scholars have concluded that few if any colonials believed in a pure democracy but held to the moderate British ideal of a mixed government. And though the Browns and David C. Skaggs have seen the rise of genuine (but not pure) democracy in Virginia and Maryland as well as in Massachusetts, their critics all seem inclined to feel that they exaggerate the degree of democracy in any twentieth-century sense and that in the genera-

tion before the Revolution the southern colonies were ruled, through their lower houses, by a rather large and clearly responsible prosperous upper middle class who read Locke, Trenchard, Gordon, Molesworth, and Bolingbroke, as well as Addison's *Cato*, but also owned and quoted, though less frequently, the Hobbeses and Filmers of the conservative side of their British past. Bolingbroke could be quoted from various works and varied places to defend or elucidate a Whiggish or a Tory doctrine. And all agree that what the eighteenth-century American, as a true child of the Enlightenment, read and quoted from the classics or the British or European theorists when he wrote or spoke was reshaped to his own ends. Matters which were already law in Britain had to be fought for, many colonists thought, as political rights. Not only might not rights be assumed, in the colonist's mind it was imperative that he be treated according to every legal right enjoyed by those who had remained at home.

Basically the colonial's theory differed from that of his average British contemporary. In every colony he struggled to show and establish the difference between privilege and prerogative. He liked to declare his Lower House exactly comparable to the British Commons but just as vehemently denied that the governor and Council were the equivalent of King and Lords, though William Fitzhugh once made a speech arguing that the Council was at once the same and not the same as the House of Lords.

Southern political theory differed from that of New England in at least two fundamental ways, or through two basic influences. The New England commonwealths and laws were as biblical in form as their creators could make them, at least in their own concept of the biblical, and only gradually moved from the theory of a new theocracy to that of a secular state along British traditional lines, always of course modified by certain circumstances of American environment. The southern colonies, even in Georgia and Maryland almost always secular in political theory, drew from British and to an increasing extent classical ideas and ideals. As slavery developed as a major element of society and economics, it became of necessity an element of political philosophy, for in the eighteenth century British politicians opposing the rising American demand for liberties and rights for all men, especially for themselves, pointed out the inconsistency of this demand from a people a large proportion of whom were in a state of perpetual servitude to the rest. Fairly early in the eighteenth century in southern gazettes were expressions of political theory which either attacked or defended black slavery.

But there were direct and indirect expressions of varying southern political theory long before the eighteenth century. Strachey and Smith were at Jamestown accepting British and classical models of government at the same time they described aboriginal tribal organization (in terms of Euro-

pean monarchy) suggesting that novel conditions, the rights of Englishmen, and their liberties demanded that in the New World there were and had to be modifications in application of the models. No set of instructions from home, no act proposed or passed by legislature, and no speech by assemblymen or governors fails to suggest some facet of political philosophy as felt by colonials or their London-based governing boards.

The Hartwell-Blair-Chilton *The Present State of Virginia, and the College* (composed 1697, published 1727) was concerned to a considerable extent with the colony's government. The political portion attacks the multiple and arbitrary powers of the governor, which the authors believed should be shared by a less complaisant Council even more than by the Lower House. Actually, however, the abuse of power by the councilors is also attacked. The whole section is entirely in line with Commissary James Blair's practice and theory throughout his long career. The book also blames the scarcity of able lawyers and astute politicians for the political confusion of the state of the colony's laws. It has also a good deal to say about law and judicature, for two of the authors were prominent attorneys.

Probably written just before this history was a recently printed essay, in the past erroneously attributed entirely to Locke, but it has been shown by Michael Kammen in "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke" to have been co-authored, and probably documented almost entirely, by the Virginia Commissary. Its ideas on "the virtues and vices of civil society and the arts of government" at once suggest the discussion of these matters in *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*. Its title, "Some of the Cheif Greivances of the present constitution [i.e., government and laws] of Virginia, with an Essay Towards the Remedies thereof," presents much the same "remedies" as does the 1727 printed history. A section on "The Arbitariness of the Government" is directed against governor and governor-appointed Council, points out the multiple office-holding of the latter, and suggests that in future the councilors be appointed at the King's pleasure and not the governor's. Curiously and ironically Blair in practice was a multiple officeholder himself, but at this moment he is suggesting primarily that the powers of the governors be diminished and of the Council be carefully regulated.¹⁵

By 1701 one American, probably Ralph Wormeley or Benjamin Harrison III of the Virginia political and social hierarchy-aristocracy, had published in London a book in which he analyzed colonial problems and suggested remedies. This was *An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America*, which calls for a good constitution for all the colonies (and a law uniting them) which would include established laws and would limit the powers of governors. The

author admitted that he was a Virginian but wished to keep his name secret so that he would not become involved in a "Pen and Ink War."¹⁶ The essay does appear to be an expression of the reflections on government of someone who had devoted a lifetime to pondering colonial political problems. He may have been the first to see the need of "known and established laws" to settle these problems, and his plan for united colonies seems to have gone beyond Penn's of 1697. In essence he anticipated much of the Constitution of 1787 by almost a century.

Perhaps significantly the provocation for *An Essay* was Charles Davenant's 1698 *Discourses on the Public Revenues, and on the Trade of England . . .*, in which the author advocated William Penn's plea for a union of the colonies which would give equal representation to each colony and which praised the Proprietary system. New York was to be the meeting place of an intercolonial congress. A Virginian, remembering his as the oldest and largest colony, would naturally have objected to equality of representation, and a southern provincial would not have approved of New York as a meeting place. The author of *An Essay* also objected to aspersions cast on Virginia's land tenure system, including allegations regarding the land-grabbing propensities of the great planters. But more important, and more than a reply to an argument for the merits of New York over Virginia, this southern book shows a deep concern for liberty under the Crown, declaring that it is not concerned with trade "but [with] the government of the plantations," not how to make them great and rich, by an open, free traffic, but how to make them happy by a just and equal government. The theme of identity of interest for Britain and the colonies is emphasized again and again. The King's constitutional prerogative is defended, but the idea of his having absolute power is attacked. The Virginia author is a loyal adherent to the imperial idea. Liberty he sought, but not freedom from imperial ties. Since he regarded himself as an American within the framework of a great empire, no feeling of colonial inferiority disturbed him.

About the same time (in 1699) William Byrd II composed a brief and thoughtful essay "concerning Proprietary Governments," an argument against their existence at all. His proposal that all existing Proprietary provinces be placed under the King's "Direction" he bases on their inadequate economic contribution to the British empire, the fact that their governments harbor rogues and pirates, that they permit smuggling and other illegal trade, that they entice servants in the royal plantations to run away from their masters, and that they are totally inadequate in their defense against the French. This is all in a manuscript published for the first time as an appendix to the 1945 reissue of *An Essay*, just mentioned. Byrd, British-trained as a barrister, several times his colony's agent in

London, burgess and councilor and holder of other political offices, was in a position, especially as a naval or customs officer, to be aware of the evils of the laxity or leniency in the Proprietary colonies in regard to runaway bonded servants and pirates and smugglers. In his private correspondence and diary he is at times highly critical of his own governor Spotswood, and of some of the general conduct of the Virginia provincial government, for quite different reasons. In view of the variety and frequency of hitherto unknown Byrd essays now turning up, one may predict that other commentaries on government may be added to this brief manuscript and the references scattered through his letters and diaries.

Twenty-seven years after *An Essay*, Daniel Dulany the elder, in *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws* (Annapolis, 1728), employed some of the same English authorities as had the Virginian—Coke, Molesworth, Rushworth among others—in a protest against Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert's third veto of an act to establish English statutes in the upper Chesapeake colony. Educated at Gray's Inn, Dulany attacked on a firm legal and historical basis any Proprietary prerogative in prohibiting such laws. A generation later the younger Dulany, educated at Cambridge and the Inns of Court, published a series of pamphlets, including *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies* (Annapolis, 1765, and London, 1766), a frontal attack on the ministerial claim that the colonies were "virtually represented" in Parliament. Between the father and the son others in 1748 wrote for the *Maryland Gazette* a series of essays on the nature of the British constitution, signing themselves "A Freeholder," "Philanthropos," and "A Native of Maryland." And in the younger Dulany's time another Marylander destined to go further than Dulany in argument toward independence was Charles Carroll of Carrollton. From 1765 well into the 1770s Carroll wrote at first along similar lines—and from much the same reading—as Dulany, but by 1773 they had clashed. For Dulany, a councilor and recipient of certain Crown officers' fees as "Antilon," sided with the governor when Eden claimed the right to set these fees. Carroll, educated at St. Omer's and the Inns of Court, as "First Citizen" took up the cause of the Assembly or Burgesses in opposition, and was soon on the road to political immortality. Accused of being one of Maryland's "Independent Whigs," Carroll claimed that he knew none of them, though the philosophy of the British liberal Whigs stood him in good stead in his arguments. Carroll argued cogently, pointing up similarities and differences in the situations of a Proprietary colony and Great Britain. He urged that the liberty beginning to disappear in England must be maintained in America.¹⁷

In Virginia during the eighteenth century a number of papers or books after *An Essay* of 1701 suggested colonial political ideology. In the earliest group, perhaps Robert Beverley's *The History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1705, 1722), already considered in several of its aspects, is the most significant as well as interesting. Following one venture into politics, the author had shunned participation in government and continued to do so for the rest of his life. His notable book includes the theme of English failure to impose social progress upon the Virginia state of nature, a theme in itself a part of his political theory. Beverley approved the Crown takeover of Virginia government in 1624, but he criticized the Navigation Acts and above all the wickedness and exerted arbitrary power of a series of royal governors. His analyses of the contemporary form and practice of government, which he includes with the history of its evolution, concludes with his prophecy of his native province as a great commonwealth of free and independent citizens. Acknowledging that Virginians occasionally fought against certain governors' misinterpretations and use of royal instructions, he declared that the colonists had always been loyal to the sovereign and to England.

The Reverend Hugh Jones' *The Present State of Virginia*, published in 1724 while the author was on a visit to England, is unusually impartial as far as politics and government are concerned. Jones saw Virginia as a state where moderation held sway, for "the violence of neither Whig nor Tory reigns here." Yet he, like Beverley, pointed out that in defense of their constitutional rights as Englishmen these colonials would even fight royal governors. He saw the colony and England as mutually dependent upon each other. In its government, as in other things, it pursued the middle path, the Horatian mean, with a political structure Jones saw and approved as paralleling in most respects that of Great Britain.

The *Virginia Gazette*, founded in 1736 by William Parks, did not carry before mid-century any great number of political essays, though after that date, usually anonymously or pseudonymously, some of the major American essays of the pre-Revolutionary period were printed in that newspaper. Before 1750 there were a few scattered political analyses, especially some reprinted from British journals, including Trenchard and Gordon's *Cato's Letters*. For 1738, for example, among native pieces appeared several by "Morforeo," "Touch-Truth," and "Philanthropos" on the economic laws and politics of tobacco. Earlier, in 1736, Sir John Randolph and former Governor Spotswood exchanged ideas on economic-political matters in the ablest presentation before mid-century, in both style and reasoning. On October 10, 1745, "Common Sense" wrote a legal-political piece on the laws of England as Virginia's best guide. These essays discuss

much the same ideas the generations immediately before and after them do, though the French and Indian War had not yet exacerbated men and situations.

Many or most of the pieces by native authors after mid-century should be gathered and republished, for the recent collections of pre-Revolutionary prose such as Bernard Bailyn's confine themselves to separately printed pamphlets. The Virginia essayists of the quarter-century before the Revolution, including Richard Bland, Landon Carter, and John Camm, on the Pistole Fee and Two-Penny Acts controversies, have been well edited but not yet published together, though Bailyn has included one of Bland's in the first volume of his *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776*. Merrill Jensen in *Tracts of the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (Indianapolis, 1967) has also confined himself to separately printed pamphlets but presents a different essay by Bland, one by Dulany also included in Bailyn, and another by Henry Laurens of South Carolina of 1769, as well as Thomas Jefferson's *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*. All of these except perhaps Laurens' have been noted and discussed above. Although all of those in print appeared a little after the colonial period, the Virginia essays are but a continuum, as Homer Kemp has shown, in a series begun in the early 1750s.¹⁸ Economic, ecclesiastical, or legal concerns are as strong motivation for, and elements of, these essays as are political matters. But like those of other colonies they represent, through protest of Parliamentary and royal prerogative, stages in the developing move toward independence. The Pistole Fee and Two-Penny Acts disputes in Virginia which preceded and in one instance were carried into the Stamp-Act period, seem peculiarly southern—of the Chesapeake Bay variety. For the Pistole Fee concerned not only taxation without consent but the whole matter of western land development, which was largely a southern problem. And the Two-Penny Acts controversy had at its very roots the problem of the staple tobacco.

Jack P. Greene has edited and published four of Landon Carter's pieces on the Stamp Act which add substantially to our body of literature on the reception of that act in Virginia. Written in 1765-1766, they represent Carter's whole political philosophy, and show this curious and unusual man as a thoughtful advocate of the usual ideas, the political ideology of his province and time.¹⁹ J.A. Leo Lemay and others have suggested or identified polemical political essayists in the *Virginia* and *Maryland Gazettes* of the 1760s, including more essays by Richard Bland and his opponent John Camm, and others by John Randolph, Jr., James Milner, George Wythe, Thomas Burke, Richard Hewitt, John Wayles, George Mason, and Jonathan Boucher, and yet others possibly by William Davis, Richard

Henry Lee, Landon Carter, Dr. Arthur Lee, Robert Carter Nicholas, James Henry, and John Mercer. Many of these men, as has been shown, expressed themselves as frequently in satirical political verse as in essays. Certainly much remains to be done in identifying contributors of political polemical or ideological prose in the *Virginia Gazette* after 1750. In fact, this identification is imperative for all the southern newspapers.²⁰ Not two or three men, but perhaps at least two dozen, were developing in print the ideology immediately preceding and preparing for the young Thomas Jefferson's 1774 expression. Richard Bland's *An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies* (Williamsburg, 1766) was many years later called by Jefferson "the first pamphlet on the nature of the connection with Great Britain which had any pretension of accuracy of view on the subject."²¹ With all due allowance for exaggeration by Jefferson, Bland's reading in Anglo-Saxon law and history and in Squire's *Enquiry into the Foundation of the English Constitution* (1753), along with the more frequently used Whig sources, Rapin and Tacitus among them, represents at once the Real Whigs' (see Caroline Robbins' *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* [Cambridge, Mass., 1959, 1961]) seventeenth-century view of the democratic ways of the Anglo-Saxons and the basis for the particular shape of Anglo-American idealism, which appealed to history in substantiation of political radicalism. Jefferson and his party were to carry this view of the Anglo-Saxon origins of liberty into the nineteenth century, and later historians using Magna Carta as an example of Teutonic virtue triumphing over Latin or French tyranny have brought it to the threshold of our day. The Road from Runymede is still identifiable in our political course, but now to say that principally and primarily there were only Saxon origins for the Great Charter is a vast oversimplification or even outright error. But Patrick Henry and R.H. Lee and James Madison and Thomas Jefferson were arguing for men's rights in the light of man's historical experience. When they were not appealing to Saxon precedent, they were appealing to classical, or believed that they were. Mobs in Boston or in Charleston might overturn statues of British governors or kings, but not they but their more learned political representatives won the first battles fairly far back in colonial legislative history and echoed their arguments of appeal to historical precedent in pamphlet and in the Declaration and in *The Federalist* and in the Constitution. Southerners were by no means alone in this, but it is impossible to imagine the great Revolutionary documents without the preliminary guiding discussions of Drayton and Laurens and Carroll and Dulany and Bland and Landon Carter, and the pens and minds of Jefferson, Madison, and Mason in the documents themselves. One must return to the southern library, with its volumes on political

theory strongly but by no means entirely Whiggish, and remember that the colonist used it in the spirit of his own times to bolster or exemplify his argument.²²

Except for an occasional reference to individuals, tracing political ideology in the Chesapeake country has led us chronologically past the Carolina and Georgia men. In North Carolina in and before the 1760s, Governor Arthur Dobbs, who had written much on trade and the Northwest Passage and a long and tortuous monograph on Providence showed his orthodox imperialism in his addresses to his Assembly (to be noted under other headings below) and in his "An Account of North Carolina" included in that colony's *Colonial Records* (Volume V) edited by W.L. Saunders. Other governors recorded similar concepts in some of their speeches and proclamations, somewhat in contrast to their seventeenth-century predecessors, who varied considerably in their attitudes toward Crown prerogative and Assembly rights.

The North Carolina Regulator movement (resulting in the Battle of Alamance in 1771) had somewhat different aims and little direct contact with the Regulator group in South Carolina to be considered in a moment. The pamphlets of the North Carolinians (Regulators and others) reveal all phases of government which were under criticism or attack in that colony from a decade before mid-century to the period of the national Constitution. William K. Boyd gathered and reprinted fourteen of these scarce and invaluable representations of the southern late colonial mind.²³ Beginning with a pamphlet illustrative of an attempt to impeach Chief Justice William Smith, a revealing implicit and direct presentation of judicial and governmental practice and ideology, there are included treatises on economic matters, as one on currency in relation to government, beginning with a declaration of the writer's privilege through Magna Carta to speak freely (1746); another on trade by Scottish Carolinian John Rutherford (1761); and one on the relation of colonial politics and economics (written c. 1761) by Henry McCulloh, in a series which show the author a convinced territorial imperialist. Then follow the pre-Revolutionary essays, Maurice Moore's on the justice of the policy of taxing the American colonies in England (1765), by a member of a family long prominent in North Carolina politics, which denies any right of Parliament to tax the American colonies; then a group by Reuben Searcy and George Sims (1759 and 1765); Hermon Husband's 1761 religious-political *Remarks*, his *Impartial Relation* (1770) of events leading to the Regulator "Tumults and Riots," and his *A Fan for Fanning and Touchstone for Tryon* (1771); and lastly the Reverend Dr. George Mickeljohn's *Sermon* (1768) on the duty of subjection to civil powers preached before Tryon and the troops raised to quell the Regulators (he was later

a moderate Revolutionist). These are the most pertinent of the surviving North Carolina pamphlets, publications which are at once general in their political ideology and peculiarly local, even southern, in their provincial applicability. They make clear that at least some North Carolinians even before 1740 were much concerned with political rights (as the General Assembly records also indicate), and that by that date at the latest they were expressing themselves in print. The earlier tracts were printed in Williamsburg, Boston, Philadelphia, and London, and one in Glasgow, and Micklejohn's sermon in New Bern. One recalls that North Carolina had no printer of its own until 1749, and that he would hardly have dared to publish any of the earlier pamphlets save the *Sermon* supporting the King's government.

South Carolina, in its newspaper and printing press and direct contacts with Britain through certain governors and other individuals almost as gifted as the Chesapeake Bay men, was quite articulate. From 1733 on essays or speeches were published in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, including a number from *Cato's Letters*. One from that collection, printed as early as 1736, was on freedom of speech, the same piece being reprinted twelve years later. So many political essays had appeared by 1749 that in the July 29 issue of that year editor Peter Timothy felt impelled to declare editorially that he was not "a Republican . . . unless Virtue and Truth be Republicans."²⁴ In the years just before the Revolution, the *Junius Letters* created more of a sensation than had the earlier *Cato's Letters*; at least ten of the former were reprinted in full within a short time after their British first appearance. John Wilkes' *North Briton* also was represented four times in the year 1763.

The speeches of governors and other officials and of members of the Commons House of Assembly also display political ideology as well as comment on contemporary problems, that shown by the governors being usually conservatively imperialistic. On April 21, 1733, Councilor Francis Yonge's comments "On Liberty" addressed to the governor and fellow councilors appeared. It was one round fired in the first newspaper debate in South Carolina, and it reiterated the position that the Lower House had the same rights as the House of Commons. Yonge was joined by Commons Speaker John Lloyd (on May 3) in defending the recent act of the Lower House in taking a man into custody who had surveyed land illegally and refusing a writ of habeas corpus, which the House claimed it had the right to do as the British House of Commons had that right. To the same point was Chief Justice Robert Wright's speech on the opposite side in the Council, printed in the April 28, 1733, issue, which saw the act of the Lower House as illegal. It is worth noting that Yonge's argument is buttressed by direct or footnote references to British Whig writers, as Care

and Echard. Much more of Carolina political theory is evident in the *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly*, a series begun under the editorship of J.H. Easterby in 1951 and now in its tenth volume. Then Chief Justice Nicholas Trott's introductions to his volumes of laws, his speeches in sentencing, and his charges to the Grand Jury, to be noted below under law or oratory, obviously contain a considerable amount of political theory by a conservative, somewhat religiously bigoted, tremendously learned man who was also quite aware of New World conditions even as he cited Old World precedents. Francis Nicholson's theories as to the necessity of developing local political institutions outside the metropolis as they were in other mainland colonies he had governed are also worth noting.

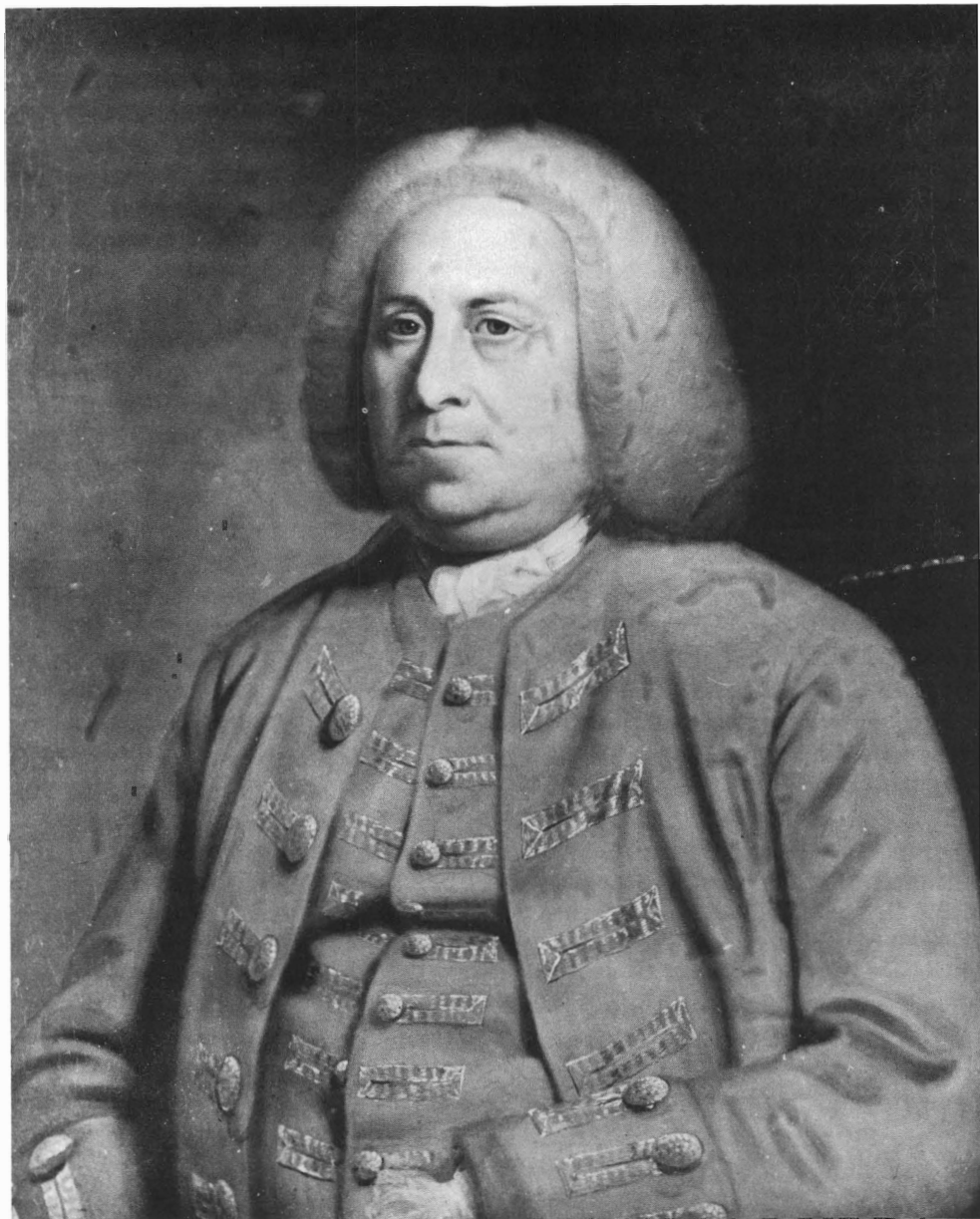
By 1767 a long-growing evil in the backcountry was the reign of terror and robbery by lawless men about whom the governor in Charleston would do nothing, though slightly earlier Lieutenant-Governor Bull had done his best for the harrassed Piedmont settlers. In desperation, by October, 1767, they had formed their own band of Regulators and were taking the law—and incidentally the government—into their own hands. On November 7 their "Remonstrance," a list of grievances, a long, detailed, and eloquent protest composed by Anglican missionary Charles Woodmason, was presented to the Assembly. In forceful language the former merchant lectured his one-time fellow townsmen on their duty to the immigrants of the frontier. He got quick results, particularly in the establishment of circuit courts of justice in the backcountry, though the crisis was by no means past. County courts had not been established, the Regulators refused to admit the jurisdiction of the Charleston courts, and they were developing their own rationale of government which also demanded clergy and school-teachers and, above all, representatives in the Assembly. Because they lacked the last, they refused to pay taxes. It took several years before these matters were settled, with some concession on both sides.

"The Remonstrance" is a plea for legal and political justice from "Free-Men—*British Subjects—Not Born Slaves*," with reference among other matters to their legal rights as freeholders, inequitable representation in the General Assembly, inadequately defined parish boundaries in the backcountry, and much on the necessity for religious instruction and general education, even on the liberty of the press (they had to send to Virginia to get their list of grievances printed). Woodmason's documents, now published with his diaries and sermons, are like the writings of the North Carolina Regulators not a direct anticipation of the Revolution but one stage in the growing independence of the frontiersman and his demand that he, like his fellow colonists of the older settlements, share fully the rights of Englishmen, including a voice in government.²⁵



Photographs by Flournoy, Virginia Chamber of Commerce

Above: Sweet Hall (built about 1710), King William County, Virginia, where poet and essayist James Reid lived. *Below:* St. John's Church, King William County, apparently referred to in James Reid's "The Religion of the Bible and of K W County Compared"



Virginia State Library

Governor Robert Dinwiddie (1693-1770) of Virginia

Though intellectuals who might express themselves on politics were scarce in colonial Georgia, there were a few. Most notable was the Patrick Tailfer group whose *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America* (Charleston, 1741) helped to hasten the end of Trustees rule by its presentation of the "wrongs" in land distribution, in prohibition of slaves and rum, and in other matters which they felt to be their due as freeborn Englishmen. In their introductory satiric dedication to Oglethorpe they refer to the colony as "this Child of your auspicious Politics!" with ironic commentary on its precocious maturity in mode of government, under "our Perpetual Dictator," and an analysis of the original Royal Charter of 1732 as an instrument of government. They point out that the charter had never been lived up to in that excessive and unlawful taxes had been levied especially on land, that the present freehold "system" had been grossly abused and was not effective under any circumstances, and among other things that their "Civil Liberties" had been denied. Thus in this attack there is a great deal of implicit and avowed political ideology.²⁶ Save for the diametrically opposite remarks of the Stephensens, father and son, pro and con the Trustees' government, and the records of proclamations of governors and proceedings of legislatures, there is little more expression of political ideas in the youngest colony. During most of its short life it was too busy in experimentation and practice to produce thoughtful comments in print on politics in general or on its relation to this province.

These somewhat random examples are perhaps sufficient to indicate that in most of the southern provinces before 1764, in many instances stretching back into the seventeenth century or at latest beginning with the eighteenth in the Virginia 1701 *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America*, there was a fairly steady stream of printed expression by colonials of their ideas about the needs of government and political structure in their own colonies, including a number of protests against current British and local procedure and policy. This expression appeared in London-printed pamphlets and later in American-printed tracts and newspaper essays. In general there is an evident progression toward the more vehement protest political pieces of the 1750-1765 to 1775 period. Therefore a number of "considerations" composed after 1763 but growing out of provincial political ideology and practice have been noted with those a generation or two older. Wide divergences occur in opinions and concepts of existing institutions, including county courts, but there is a reiterated allusion to the common law, the Magna Carta, the rights of Englishmen, and the limitation of Crown and Parliamentary prerogative, in the period of the Enlightenment, with

emphasis on the logic of the position taken. Also repeated is reference to the parallel powers and functions of the House of Commons and the Lower House of Assembly and occasional identification of the House of Lords with colonial Councils. The Proprietary southern colonies express some sharp and certainly a continuing criticism of the Proprietary prerogative, not so often printed as written in letters and other pieces only now being published. And certainly well before 1763 it is evident that as the provincial "aristocrat" came to dominate the social and economic life of the South, he became more ambitious to control its political machinery, free of British limitations. It was English Whiggism, in the now-familiar combination of its conservative and liberal aspects, which he adapted from his political experience and wide reading and careful pondering of his American situation to form his theory of government. Convinced of individual human rights, including the opportunity to profit from his own labors and the bounty of the new land, he saw his land and labors best protected and even enlarged by an effective autonomous local governing body. The literate southern colonial was constantly conscious of himself and his province in a political context. Consideration of his economic and legal ideas and his rhetoric and oratory will add to the evidence of this pervasive political consciousness.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

The traditional historical generalization that Virginia and the other southern colonies were established to find gold and other wealth and that New England was founded so that men might seek God in their own way has in the twentieth century been altered and qualified to such an extent as hardly to be recognizable and certainly not acceptable as complete explanation. The southern venturers prove to have had propagation of the gospel and extension of the power of Britain among their primary objects, and the Puritans to have placed economic gain on at least a par with the search for religious and political liberty, which they might have found elsewhere in the world. In the same way, as recently as a generation ago major historians alleged, and believed they proved, that the southern provinces of the third quarter of the eighteenth century promoted the Revolution at least in considerable part so that they might repudiate their indebtedness to English and Scottish merchants. But our most recent and eminent historians, after freshly examining the pamphlets of the 1750-1776 period just noted and other evidence, declare their conviction that the colonies rebelled on ideological grounds.

Yet these changing or shifting conclusions as to reasons for initial set-

tlement and for venturing into the war for independence do not for the southern colonies obliterate, though they may alter, the fact that economic factors were powerful motivations for both actions, and that if ideological reasons were basic in both, the ideologies sprang from a developing economy as well as from law and politics quite different from those of Great Britain in the past. Politics, especially imperial policy, was a major factor in the founding of each of the southern colonies, even Proprietary Maryland and the Trustees Georgia. But involved in it all, and appearing in written instructions at least from the first Jamestown charter of 1606, was the possibility of economic gain, not at all necessarily to make individuals suddenly rich but to give them a better life in which reasonable labors would allow great profitable leisure, not to bring treasure from the Spanish Main into national coffers but to insure the national security and expansion by developing new natural resources from ship's stores and fertile land and industrial metals such as iron. If gold and silver turned up, so much the better for the nation. Along with religious toleration of varying degree or kind in most of the colonies were to go basically English political institutions and a chance at earning a good living. The promotion-tract was meant to appeal to all these British desires or needs. Even if he were a Salzburger or a Huguenot or an English Roman Catholic persecuted in the Old World for his religion, the southern colonist in almost every instance also had economic motivation.

All through the colonial period the economic factor induced or compelled the majority of enacted laws, partly because moral and social matters theoretically were taken care of in the English common law. In other words, economics can never be entirely separated from politics and law. But certain of its peculiar qualities, such as systems of land tenure, the labor force, crop diversification, transportation, and trade, are distinguishable. As in all others matters, in economic problems the southern colonies shared much with the other mainland colonies, and they differed in much, and among themselves.

LAND, LABOR, AGRICULTURE, AND PROFIT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The first permanent colony, Virginia, one recalls, was established by a joint-stock company of nobility, gentlemen, and city merchants who hoped to realize a considerable profit from their undertaking. As late as the 1670s the Ferrars, surviving members of the original stockholders, were still suggesting to some of the early settlers such as the Yeardleys how wealth might yet come to and through the colony by sericulture, or silkworm raising. Instructions from home and efforts of resident governors and

other considerable landowners were devoted not only to increased income from tobacco—everybody wanted that—but to policies of diversifying crops and establishing some basic industry as a safeguard against the dangers of a single-staple economy. Royal control after 1624 did not alter at all any of these basic economic concepts.

As previously noted, it dawned almost at once on American resident officials and London sponsors that the most abundant and promising form of wealth in the British colonial mainland area was land. Under the Virginia Company of London land at first was held in common for the anticipated benefit of London stockholders through the crops to be grown thereon or through the ship's stores or minerals already on or in it. But some time before 1619 land grants had been made to a few individuals (the records have been lost) and in that year the newly arrived Governor Yeardley began issuing patents in fee simple. Then and during most of the colonial period throughout the southern colonies the basic unit or head-right was a fifty-acre tract bestowed for transporting either oneself or another person to the colony. Very soon settlers began to import other individuals at their expense and to develop the much larger plantations combining many fifty-acre tracts, and at the same time to establish the indentured servant system by demanding a certain number of years of service from each person transported as recompense for the cost of his passage. All this had been preceded, incidentally, by a system of Company-owned "tenants" or indentured servants, assigned according to their supervisor's official importance to the governor, the treasurer, the marshal, and the college overseer, among others. And from the records it is evident that these bonded laborers worked for the personal profit of officials, and that the same officials acquired personal landholdings in addition to their Company-owned income-producing tracts. Resident Treasurer George Sandys, for example, had felt compelled to buy two hundred acres so that the servants (his personally or the Company's) he had brought with him might have a place on which to grow food crops to prevent their starvation. The census of 1624/1625 gives a list of those dwelling on the "Treasurer's plantation" as distinct from those living on Mr. George Sandys' land. There are patents of three hundred and four hundred acres to Sandys personally, and perhaps others. Some of his acres came presumably by virtue of his shares in the Company (a means of acquisition not already mentioned), others from the transportation of individuals at his own expense. Titles to much of this land can still be traced without a break.²⁷

Governors Wyatt and Yeardley acquired even more property, perhaps some by virtue of their office and certainly some by purchase and by number of servants imported. An early large-scale plantation owner and experimenter in a variety of crops, as mulberry trees and silk, was as already

noted William Digges, Sandys' kinsman and son of a Crown official at home. Digges probably began his land acquisitions with those due his parent as a member or shareholder in the Company. W. Stitt Robinson points out three general early types of particular plantations. First were those such as Smith's or Martin's Hundred, with grants of eighty thousand acres each to groups or societies of investors. A second type resulted from a combination of persons outside the Company with one member of the stock company, such as John Martin's Brandon, seven thousand acres, though several of these were made larger. A third type involved new adventurers who bought stock in order to organize a particular plantation, such as Lawne's Hundred or Isle of Wight plantation.

By 1619 the grants to shareholders or adventurers were one hundred acres per share, with promise of an equal amount when the first grant was settled. Generations later colonists were still promised fifty acres for each person transported at their expense. One document of 1618/1619 outlined a uniform land policy, often referred to as "the great charter" but actually "Instructions to Governor Yeardley." In it there were some slight alterations of preceding policies, including a differentiation between certain lands free of quitrent and others requiring it.

William Claiborne, who surveyed or oversaw most of the patents drawn up by Governor Wyatt in 1625, became, not incidentally, a very considerable landowner himself, surviving for more than another generation and defending his "property" in Kent Island against the authority of Maryland. But after January 1625, at which time Wyatt was still issuing patents in the name of the Company, the Governor and Council under the Crown continued to issue the same sort of land grants as before. Yeardley, who succeeded his friend Wyatt, began in 1626/1627 issuing patents as (1) dividend for investment in founding the colony, (2) reward for special services, (3) stimulus to fortify the frontier by using land to induce settlement, and (4) a method of encouraging immigration by the headright. The latter two methods of inducement continued in force not only in Virginia but in most of the southern colonies throughout much of the colonial period, even into the era of the speculative land companies of the mid-eighteenth century. The first category is an interesting indication of the Crown's acknowledgment of the Virginia Company's original investment, though it had no significant relation to economic thought over the years save as a "proof" to be used by pre-Revolutionary pamphleteers such as Jefferson that the British government had not itself begun the permanent settlement in the New World. That it was used in polemical writing, however, is significant indication of the long memory or knowledge of surviving records (or of Stith's *History*?) as to the economic-political origins of the colony.

As time went on ship captains obtained extensive property by reason of headrights for persons they brought in, though there were flagrant abuses among this group. Interpretations of laws and instructions fluctuated as the century progressed, and persons brought in under bond were sometimes believed to be entitled to fifty acres outright when landed, at other times upon expiration of their indentures. Perhaps many more bought land, or were given it, through former masters. The headright system was gradually distorted, or expanded, so that larger grants could be made. Before 1650 the average grant was four hundred or so acres, the largest slightly over five thousand acres. From 1650 to 1700 the average increased to over six hundred acres, and the largest rose to twenty-five thousand. The Northern Neck, a Proprietary within a royal colony, posed special problems, though grants differed in form little from those issued by the royal government. Northern Neck Proprietor's agents such as William Fitzhugh were able to build their personal holdings to more than fifty thousand acres. By 1701, when he died, Fitzhugh had lands enough to endow each of his sons with impressive acreage which helped to establish the Fitzhughs as a leading family of the Old Dominion and to place one son in a councilor's seat and a number of others—like the father himself—in the House of Burgesses. The Northern Neck system was partially feudal, for under it planters paid quitrents and fees to the Proprietor, as indeed other Virginians did to the Crown. There was, however, a marked difference in the methods of obtaining a grant. Not the headright but purchase or "treasury right" was used in this Proprietary. And though the barons of the Potomac and Rappahannock, Masons and Carters and Lees and Fitzhughs and a few others, laid the bases for their enormous eighteenth-century holdings in this era before 1700, public antipathy developed toward the Proprietors was not dispelled until well into the subsequent century. Actually most of the patents issued by agents Ludwell, Fitzhugh, and Brent were for relatively small holdings.

By the end of the seventeenth century, despite the aforementioned general headright rule outside the Northern Neck, in that region and in the rest of Virginia the foundations were laid for the great landed estates which were to continue to expand in the eighteenth century. Many proposals were made by and to the Board of Trade to collect the quitrents in order to prevent the development of huge domains, but this was never effectively done because of almost uniform resistance from landowners and the existence of vast areas of unoccupied land along the frontier. Thus came into being the vast estates owned by most of the leaders of the colony during and just before the Revolution, ownership which may have given a sense of independence and often a resentment against what was considered

excessive and unfair taxation. Despite these great holdings, however, one should remember that Virginia was in general an area of moderate-sized farms owned by men of moderate incomes, as were most or all southern colonies, even South Carolina.

Land tenure in the seventeenth-century Proprietary colonies began somewhat differently from Virginia's but was by 1700 roughly similar. In Maryland the earliest settlers at St. Mary's held medium-sized farms under the headright system, with a few major exceptions such as the feudal St. Clement's Manor and one or two other large manors along feudal lines, with their own courts, which gradually faded from the land picture as individuals and families began to build up their holdings, though perhaps not as large a percentage of the great landed families of the eighteenth century owned extensive land before 1700 as in Virginia. Diggeses, Chews, Gerrards, and others prominent in seventeenth-century Maryland had large plantations, but the great landholding Carrolls and Dulanys and even Ogles and Lloyds either arrived after 1700 or began their extensive land acquisition after that date. As in Virginia, the average Maryland landowner before 1700 had only a few hundred acres at most, and perhaps usually one hundred only. As time went on the Marylander was more inclined than his Chesapeake neighbor to hold the land he cultivated under leasehold, though that is primarily an eighteenth-century phenomenon. Between 1660 and 1700, 72 percent of all patents in Maryland were for tracts of less than 250 acres. Only 2 percent were larger than nine hundred acres, figures strikingly parallel to those shown in a Virginia rent roll of 1704.²⁸ Maryland still has ground rents!

In the Carolinas, not officially chartered until the last third of the century, there was as in Maryland a Proprietary political and land structure, but a structure quite unlike that of the upper Chesapeake colony. Eight Proprietors were issued a charter as early as 1663; it was subsequently altered until it included what is roughly modern North and South Carolina. The leaders among the Proprietors at first tried to attract experienced colonists from older settlements by the promise of generous land grants as well as liberal political and religious rights. Then in 1669 John Locke and Proprietor Lord Ashley drew up the famous Fundamental Constitutions, under which Ashley hoped to set up a sort of manorial system. The Constitutions provided for manors, manorial courts, and the equivalent of serfs, a program designed for some time in the future. As far as the proposed land system is concerned, it did by mid-eighteenth century result in the emergence of a landed gentry, a class more distinct in the then separate South Carolina than in North Carolina. Though the Constitutions, titles of nobility, and the courts, were never really implemented, the policy

of making large grants of lands was to produce this landed gentry within two or three generations, and indirectly to affect profoundly Carolina systems of labor and agriculture.

By 1698 the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly was announcing its opposition to large land grants, an opposition in which most factions agreed. But meanwhile there was also a headright system, which brought some affluent settlers who received a thousand or more acres, but primarily people of moderate means who received three hundred acres or less for themselves and their families. The smaller grants dominate the land records of the first decade, and the headright system, with certain notorious exceptions, seems to have been administered honestly. This headright system was the only part of the original Proprietors' land policy the colonists continued to follow. The plan of twelve-thousand-acre seignories or baronies failed completely. But by 1694/1695 rent collection laws had been passed, many small farms or tracts purchased and quitrents collected so that officials could be paid. Proceeds from land sales went directly to the Proprietors, who thus saw the first return on their investments. By the end of the century Proprietor-Governor Archdale had introduced a few reforms in the land laws and attempted with the Assembly to straighten out arrears and other problems in land payments. Quitrents were to be paid punctually each year. Archdale's laws remained without serious opposition for two decades, though they by no means worked perfectly. Under the Crown there was some alteration. By then the agrarian economic system was fairly well set, even if not full developed.

North Carolina's land problems and laws were in the seventeenth century theoretically at least the same as those of South Carolina. In the North Carolina settlements the initial patents were for very small tracts in the years before the 1665 charters and plans were drawn. The major grants to settlers came in the next century, and they never approached in number those made in the Charleston area.

The history of Indian-white land tenure is part of the early story and the later one, as well, on into the nineteenth century. Some of the whites' rationale in the question of occupying the new land has been touched upon but it should be noted here. As Wilcomb E. Washburn and Roy Harvey Pearce, among others, have pointed out, there was a European rationale which considered America a *vacant* wilderness or paradise, as one wished, because it was not occupied by a Christian people or because there were so few red men per square mile or because red culture could not be considered a civilized one. All through American history there have been perceptive observers sympathetic to the Indian who have accepted none of this. Many have believed the red man was shamefully exploited. But

even such a sympathetic commentator as Thomas Jefferson, who had a good deal to say in various places of the wrongs done the aborigine, in Query XI of his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, observes, "That the lands of this country were taken from them by conquest, is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchase, which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country we know has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form." To do the writer justice one should note that in his original manuscript Jefferson added wryly and then crossed out the words "it is true that these purchases were sometimes made with the price in one hand and the sword in the other."²⁹

It is also true that colonists long before Jefferson—including Morgan Godwyn and Robert Beverley and William Byrd II in Virginia alone—had pointed out the injustices of seizing the red man's land. But there can be no doubt that the average southern colonist of both centuries, almost as much as his New England contemporary, either saw God's providence in dispossessing the heathen or simply ignored any moral implications in assuming ownership of land awarded him within the legal framework of his province.

Labor supply in any unoccupied or relatively unoccupied agricultural land is a major demand, and in its economic and social aspects it affected profoundly all the American colonies south of New England. Abbot E. Smith sees more than half the people who came to the middle and southern colonies arriving in the status of servants. They came to Jamestown, St. Mary's, Cape Fear, Charleston, and Savannah as skilled artisans and untrained day laborers. To begin with and through much of the seventeenth century, most of them were white. The patterns of apprenticeship, one form of indenture, have been discussed. Under the Virginia Company the first customs and habits of indentured servitude were established, forms which endured in slightly variant patterns in all the colonies which needed labor. Ship captains and factors in both Britain and America made themselves rich by handling these people. As many a ballad tells us, some were kidnapped on London streets or in other port cities, some were malefactors condemned to death or transportation, some were educated schoolboys from Christ's Hospital, and some were political convicts, but the greatest number were men and women, youths and maidens, from the lower middle or lower classes who hoped to make a better living in the New World after they had served their time. And there were even impecunious sons of the lesser gentry or merchants who sold their time in order to meet the main chance in the New World, such as the cousin of William Fitzhugh who in his rela-

tive's will was given the remainder of his period of service, several years.

It could be and was a cruel system for the city rogue or slut or unskilled rustic who found painful his or her days of strenuous physical labor under a hot sun whether cultivating tobacco in the upper South or rice, indigo, or later cotton in the lower. If he or she showed aptitude or arrived with skills, the load was lighter and the days passed more quickly in working at a trade in which presumably one was interested anyhow. In earliest Virginia the normal term was seven years; later there and in other colonies it might be as short as four years for the highly skilled, including schoolmasters and musicians, or for child apprentices it might last until they were eighteen or twenty-one. At various times and in various places, at the end of his term, a man was given clothing, tools, perhaps a little money, and frequently a fifty-acre tract. The woman usually had approximately equivalent recompense.

In the earliest years of every southern colony an appallingly high percentage of the indentured died while still under bond, usually from diseases against which they had no immunity or from malnutrition or, less frequently, from Indian raids or overwork. We have written record of their reaction to their lot throughout the seventeenth century and to a lesser extent in the eighteenth. Richard Freethorne of Jamestown in the year after the 1622 massacre wrote in terrified and pathetic tones of his dangerous plight, though Marylander George Alsop, who was after all writing a come-hither pamphlet, in the 1660s took a very different view of opportunities and life in his colony. Others also mentioned in preceding chapters complained of having been kidnapped, or, if they were felons, usually found New World bonded existence wretched indeed.

But the truth is that an appreciable number of them, such as the Princess Anne County Virginian Adam Thoroughgood, had ability and connections enough to rise in one lifetime to a position of affluence and political leadership in the colonies. And many more formed the core of small farmers and frontiersmen who were the majority of the populace of every southern province. Political prisoners, Scots and Irish and English and Welsh who at one time or another had fought against King or Commonwealth, found that they might forge ahead rapidly in America, with no one paying much attention to their Old World pasts.

Abbot E. Smith finds that most of the records of indentured servants in seventeenth-century Maryland in the land commissioner's office in Annapolis show what happened to many of these servants as they became free and "proved their right" to fifty acres, and the resultant land speculation they and others engaged in. Smith finds about 2,500 servants unaccounted for, neither proving their land right nor recorded as dead.

As Hugh Jones suggests, some probably became overseers, and others

preferred to pursue the trade they knew or acquired, such as smith, carpenter, tailor, cooper, and bricklayer. Perhaps it was the shiftless group among the freed bondsmen who formed the society of Lubberland, the land of lacklustre-eyed, sallow squatters who inhabited such no man's land as the barren or semi-barren ground on the Virginia-Carolina border and were usually but not always to be found in the poorer tracts and backwoods of the South.

In South Carolina, though there were for a number of reasons never as many white indentured servants as in the Chesapeake colonies, there were a sufficient number to constitute an important element or factor in the growth of the colony. When the Charleston area was settled, Virginia definitely had not finally decided in favor of Negro slave labor. Even a generation later South Carolina was in the same position. From the passenger list of the *Carolina*, one of three ships sailing from England to Charleston in 1699, sixteen passengers brought a total of sixty-three servants but thirteen passengers brought no servants. Though nothing is recorded of the character of these servants, an offer of the Proprietors may have motivated the majority of passengers on this list: they would give a headright of 150 acres to every freeman coming out before March 25, 1670, plus 150 acres for every able manservant carried with him and 100 for every woman servant and for every manservant under sixteen.

The principal reason for the introduction of these bonded people was naturally to meet various labor demands. Since some of them (though none of this shipload) are known to have been artisans, it is likely that a considerable number of skilled laborers were needed in Charleston itself and on the large plantations nearby in which building may have been going on. Skilled laborers continued to pour into South Carolina even after the rice and indigo crops were being cultivated by black slave labor. Some like Chesapeake servants set out for the frontier as soon as they had served their terms, but in Charleston it is clear from the advertisements in the local newspaper of the next century that in the city itself or in its environs there was plenty of demand for the services of most of them.³⁰

The best of the labor force seems to have been the Lowland and Highland Scots and Scotch-Irish who drifted from the north into the Valley of Virginia and western Piedmont North Carolina, or came through the Chesapeake and Carolina seaports. Most of them in the eighteenth century especially gravitated toward the Piedmont and eventually the Appalachians, where there were unoccupied lands. Some of them turned from the soil to become Indian traders and journeyed in regular cycles between seacoast and aboriginal settlements. Some began as freeman under bond, though in the later period those who were indentured were often political prisoners

serving out their terms. In the eighteenth century these Scots and Scotch-Irish, whether free or not to begin with, came to form the majority of the superb frontiersmen—aggressive, hardy, canny—who were to push westward the borders of British America. Skilled or unskilled labor was but the beginning of their contribution to the southern colonies.

An examination of the wills of seventeenth-century southerners who held servants at the time of their owners' deaths shows that those under bond were then almost without exception white men and women. Relatively few among large-scale planters owned black slaves outright at all, yet as everyone knows blacks had been in the Chesapeake colonies since about 1620. There is still occasional argument that even originally some were in perpetual servitude, yet most evidence points to the Africans' possessing about the same status as the indentured white servant to begin with. As Winthrop D. Jordan notes, however, there is simply not enough evidence to show whether initially the blacks were treated like white servants. The first fragmentary documentary evidence of about 1640 indicates that at least some Negroes were serving for life. That they presented peculiar social problems is quite evident from mid-seventeenth century Chesapeake country laws.

The tobacco economy or industry forced Virginia and Maryland planters by the 1660s into a search for labor supply over and above white indentured servants. Though there were a few Indian slaves, usually bought from other Indians, nowhere in the colonies did the red men make good field hands. The Royal African Company, with a monopoly on the black slave trade, kept prices so high and demanded such a volume of business, as a Maryland governor wrote in 1664, that the Chesapeake planters were unable to purchase the Negroes. What they did, then and in the succeeding decades, was to purchase blacks in small lots from New England traders, as William Fitzhugh was doing in the 1680s. From Hening's *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, it is also evident that by 1659/1660 the Dutch were sharing with the New Englanders a trade in Negroes in exchange for tobacco. Philip A. Bruce cites evidence for the probability that, after 1682, the Royal African Company was bringing in most of the blacks, who as they increased in number commanded higher prices rather than lower.

One has only to follow Fitzhugh's letters from 1680 to the end of the century, and his will and inventory of 1701, to get a good idea of the numbers, ages, and employments of slaves in this period on a large tobacco plantation. Obviously they were bought like any other commodity, and considered as trade commodity by New England, Dutch or British ship captains and merchants, and never really as human beings, even though an

occasional Virginian such as Morgan Godwyn in the *Negro's and Indians Advocate* . . . (London, 1680) stresses their humanity with the implicit assumption that few of his contemporaries British or American did. For almost all American colonists, blacks and dry goods shipped in the same vessel (especially from New England) were the same sort of merchandise. Bruce has a great deal on their situation in Virginia in the seventeenth century as he gleaned it from county records. Yet he indicates that as late as 1700 the African and the institution of slavery were significant primarily as they pointed to the future. For only in the last years of the seventeenth century did supplier and planter make slaves an appreciable element in the agrarian economy.

There are a few more facts as to the status of the black in the Chesapeake seventeenth century. Not one black seems to have perished in the 1622 massacre, though in a census taken soon afterward quite a number of Negroes are listed. The acts regarding Negroes in Henning's *Statutes at Large* are often ambiguous. One of the earliest is a 1640 reference to a Robert Sweet who had to do penance in church for getting a Negro woman with child and to the whipping of the woman (I, 552), all according to the laws of the Church of England—the same punishment meted out to white couples guilty of the same offense. Yet ten years earlier, a Hugh Davis was sentenced to be soundly whipped for "defiling his body by lying with a negro" (I, 146), indication that in some instances this was considered a peculiar offense. In 1660/1661 an act was passed imposing especially heavy penalties on a white indentured servant who ran away in the company of Negroes (II, 26), since the blacks themselves were incapable of making satisfaction by an addition of time to be served, a clear indication of their condition of life servitude. Two years later an act declared (II, 170) that all children born in the country should be held bond or free according to the condition of the mother, and that Christians guilty of fornication with Negro men or women should pay double the usual fines, a further indication of the blacks' peculiar status. By 1680 a law was passed for preventing Negro insurrections (II, 481, 492), probably an anticipatory law inspired by the experience of West Indian planters who for some years had been employing Africans in great numbers. There are also in this period laws regarding emancipated Negro women.

In 1691 an act for keeping Negroes, mulattoes, *and* Indians under strict control, a long and detailed document (III, 86–88), was passed. Most interesting is the part forbidding intermarriage between whites and any of the three aforementioned groups on pain of being banished from the colony forever. An English woman having a child by any of the black or red men had to pay heavy fines and the bastard child was to be bound servant until it was thirty years old. Fear of free Negroes (and evidence that they

existed) is also indicated in a clause of the same law which demands that the owner emancipating must pay for the Negro's or mulatto's (the Indian is not here mentioned) removal out of the country within six months.

A curious law, behind which must lie some unnamed situation, is that of 1705 (III, 250-252) which declares that no Negro, mulatto, or Indian shall hold any public office civil, ecclesiastical, or military in the said colony. The same act declares that "the child of an Indian and the child, grand child, or great grand child, of a negro shall be deemed, accounted, held and taken for a mulatto." The Indian clause is perhaps the least familiar and most intriguing here. In the same year an act expressly forbade the marriage of any free white man or woman to a Negro or mulatto man or woman, bond or free, and ministers who performed a ceremony between such persons were to be heavily fined.

Thus even in the first century the Negro was consciously a social as well as an economic problem in Virginia, and the same holds for Maryland. In North Carolina the number of blacks was so small in proportion to the white population that they did not in this period, or indeed later under royal rule, become a great problem. At the close of the Proprietary period, well into the eighteenth century, only one-sixth of the population was black, and it never rose to be more than 25 percent of the population.³¹

In South Carolina the existence and uses of Negro slavery were recognized even as early as the Fundamental Constitutions, and the influence of the economic success of the slave system in the Barbadoes, from which many of South Carolina's early prominent settlers came, the example of slave labor in Virginia and Maryland, and above all the cultivation of staples which demanded a type of labor neither the indentured white servant nor the Indian could supply, resulted in a black population which by the end of the colonial period is said to have been 60 percent of the whole. In the Chesapeake colonies the staple came first and then the slaves, but in the Charleston area the white colonists and Proprietors seem to have sought a staple which could be most profitably developed by black slave labor. The Barbadian experience of many Carolinians had shown that Negro labor was cheaper in a number of ways, and as early as 1682 Samuel Wilson in his *An Account of the Province of Carolina* (London, 1682) remarked that "without [Negro slaves] a Planter can never do any great matter," and in 1688 a planter wrote a friend that "negroes were more desirable than English' servants."³²

Even so, only after the introduction of rice culture in the 1690s did the South Carolinians import blacks in great numbers, though some had arrived earlier from the Barbadoes with their owners. For a time many Carolinians tried Indian slavery, buying red men from Indian allies or enslaving on their own more than did any other colony. But they soon found them

unfit and temperamentally unwilling to work daily and strenuously under a hot sun in the open fields, though recently Clarence Ver Steeg has found that the Indians were used as slaves longer and in greater numbers than has ever been noted previously. By 1696 the Assembly enacted its first comprehensive Negro slave law, most of it devoted to police control of the slaves, another reflection of fears derived from Barbadian experience in slave revolts and from their own uneasiness as the proportion of blacks grew rapidly and steadily greater. The most unusual feature of the law was its definition of a slave, a deliberately vague definition naming Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians as in Virginia but allowing for varying interpretations of the effect of being bought and/or sold so that they and their children were slaves "to all Intents and purposes."³³

Thus the principal agrarian labor in the existing four colonies by 1700 or 1705 had become black African slaves. It was officially accepted and eventually even applauded in South Carolina, though individuals then and later viewed the system with misgivings from a religious, social, and moral point of view and though in the Charleston area they remained a tiny minority of the white population. In the three upper colonies, two entirely and one partially devoted to tobacco as a major or the major staple, there were more misgivings for the same reasons as well as an additional reason, the economic. The long series of governors who believed in or accepted the instructions from England as to necessary diversification of crops usually saw the importation of the Negro as a major deterrent to diversification. Even authorities in London, who sometimes imperiously demanded adherence to a tobacco economy (and at other times were for diversification), were often dubious about the long-run efficiency of Negro labor. In the upper colonies too, in the seventeenth century and later, more persons than in South Carolina felt the pernicious moral potentialities of slavery. Despite this consciousness of its existence and its possible economic effect, the growing institution was not a major element of southern thinking, economic or otherwise, in the first century after Jamestown. The relative paucity of laws related to the slave and infrequent mention of him in all kinds of writing of the period indicate that for more than half the colonial years the southern colonist usually had other things on his mind.

With Jamestown began the agricultural economy which has dominated the South into the twentieth century. It has had many forms and has seen many changes, some of them evolutionary and a few revolutionary. The Virginia settlers brought English methods with them and for certain crops employed them to advantage, but combined with them, largely from necessity, agricultural methods they learned from their red neighbors. Agricultural activity was a major concern of the southern colonial mind, a concern

closely related to both politics and economics. Laws were passed to encourage and control it. Some courts devoted themselves almost exclusively to its problems, and planters, especially the large-scale ones, had before the end of the seventeenth century become as much merchants as farmers, primarily to expedite the sale of their produce and control the resulting imports. Governors such as Sir William Berkeley were themselves great planters, and wrote and spoke of their crops and the possibilities of crop diversification. Berkeley said that hope of economic competence quickens industry and bridle intemperance. Captain John Smith, and Robert Beverley a century later, demonstrated that a profit motive had overshadowed all others in the settlement of new plantations.³⁴ Instructions to every governor were concerned largely with the economic problems of agriculture, embracing fertilization of lands, labor, inspection of outgoing agricultural cargo, taxes and fees to be derived directly or indirectly from both exports and imports, and the perennial demand or necessity for diversification, the last varying partly with the market value of tobacco and other staples. Though certain members of the Board of Trade, pressured by London, Bristol, and Glasgow merchants, urged continued concentration on tobacco in the upper colonies, more visionary or farseeing practical men urged the opposite, an economy producing wheat, fruits, woods, ship's stores, and dozens of other products of growing plants. Both theories had their adherents down to the Revolution, though in practice and to a considerable extent by law the major crop or staple system was largely dominant in the Chesapeake area. Later than 1700 the agriculture of South Carolina was just organizing and discovering its two most profitable staples, and in the 1750s, when Georgia emerged as a royal colony, it was following the staple-and-slave system.

Profit then loomed large in the minds of the Virginia Company and its successor the Board of Trade and the Plantations, in the plans of the Proprietors of Maryland and the Carolinas, even among the Trustees and later Crown authorities in Georgia. Persons in authority on both sides of the Atlantic tried all through the seventeenth century to make institutions and men more prosperous, even though the experiment of the Virginia Company had ended in bankruptcy. This half-capitalistic, half-communistic project was condemned even while it was going on, incidentally, by participants in it such as Ralph Hamor and John Smith. A major segment of the instructions given to royal or Proprietary governors was concerned with schemes for profit, as mentioned above, largely through agriculture. Obviously land revenues in taxes and fees were a first source, but it was realized that they alone would never make resident officials or rulers back home prosperous. Other forms of taxes were imposed by lower houses in America to pay for their local government and for some

of the obligations to titular governors and/or to the Crown in London.

But this was legal or political tribute rather than actual profit from agriculture or trade or minerals or industry. The instructions also contained suggestions or demands for searching for precious metals, mining and processing iron ore, erecting shipyards, gathering ship's stores, growing hemp, planting mulberry trees and experimenting in actual silk production, and gathering valuable medicinal plants, among a host of other things mentioned in chapters above. Every colonial governor was aware that each year if possible he should show capital gains and dividends on British investment in some form or other. If he could not, he should indicate what plans he had for future prosperity and what promising new enterprises were being undertaken.

The governor's Council, composed of multiple officeholders who were usually wealthy men in lands and servants but eager to receive as well the additional revenue forthcoming from their public offices in the form of fees, quitrents, and fines, naturally hoped and cooperated with the governor in endeavoring to make each year a profitable one for the general economy. Usually they managed to secure comfortable personal incomes whether governor and Board of Trade came out well or not, as many a provincial chief administrator grumbled.

Aubrey C. Land points out that capital was crucial in the planting colonies, as indeed it was in all the colonies. But south of the Susquehannah enterprise may not so readily have attracted British financing as it did in the middle and northern colonies. Commodity exports of a staple with capital imports should have set up a circular flow, and in many ways it did. Every southern colony had its entrepreneurs of quick wit in land speculation, mercantile activities, manufactures, especially moneylending—in commercial paper, bonds, notes, and mortgages. From such sources came the fortune of perhaps the wealthiest southern colonist before "King" Carter (and he outlived Carter), Richard Bennett of Virginia and Maryland, whose fortune reached its peak in the eighteenth century. But others also understood what was necessary. In the early eighteenth century Maryland Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, Oxford-educated brother of the Proprietor, wrote to the latter stressing the difficulties of developing commercial agriculture without paper money, though men like Bennett, who signed themselves in their wills simply as "trader," had built up their own individual systems of private credit arrangements which made possible exchange of goods. Long before in the 1680s and 1690s William Fitzhugh, building on his credit-income from county and provincial offices, his law practice, and his extensive land speculation, had developed his personal credit-exchange system in paper, as his letters to his collection agent and to others indicate. And he had been preceded by an earlier Bennett, a

Mathews, a Digges, a Ludwell, and a Lee. These men often had a large sterling balance with London bankers or factors, or they may have invested in further land or in shipping, or as in William Fitzhugh's case simply and baldly in silver plate.

The tissue of debts due, paper notes, payments in cash and tobacco, and other items in the inventories of several eighteenth-century colonists published by Aubrey C. Land may well represent similar records of capital accumulation earlier, though there seems to have been no known seventeenth-century figure who died before 1700 who was as wealthy as Bennett or the later nabobs of the Potomac and Rappahannock and the Ashley and Cooper. Land is able to measure approximately the actual wealth of some of these men and illustrates his method by his discussion and reprinted inventories and other documents of a number of them which reveal "The Leaven of Enterprise" and "The Capital Base."³⁵

The earliest business types seem to have been the merchant-planters of the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century, men who fused a number of their business and agricultural interests into real profits, expanding them on into other related fields. Almost every great planter of the upper South throughout the colonial period was also in part a merchant and an industrialist, including at the end of the era aristocratic Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, who made profits in iron and milling as well as agriculture, or less aristocratic David Ross of Richmond and points west, the wealthiest Virginian in acres (and probably in milling and mining) of the 1780s. Of the first families of the Chesapeake before 1776, however, only the Nelsons of Yorktown seem to have been preeminently (though not exclusively) merchants.

North Carolina's experience in general parallels that of Maryland and Virginia. And though Charleston in South Carolina soon developed a merchant and a professional (medical and legal) elite, most of its members as individuals were also planters, developing rice or indigo plantations and building dwellings outside the city along the banks of the rivers, as so many of the Chesapeake people did.

Though the facts are more difficult to ascertain for the seventeenth than for the eighteenth century, the planter-capitalist whether small or moderate or large seems neither to have built nor to have sought or tried to build his profit out of sheer greed, nor as far as can now be discerned, entirely from a desire for power, though there were "King" Carters. Perhaps the New Englander in the seventeenth century was no more motivated by greed than was his southern neighbor, but he seems to have been more interested in the concomitant power of wealth, if one may judge by the first Puritan merchant princes. In the seventeenth century, Lees, Diggeses, Fitzhughs, Carters, Wormeleys were developing the now-familiar

southern ethic of gracious living. One should read of Durand's visit to Wormeley and Fitzhugh in the 1680s, the aesthetic and material comforts ordered by Fitzhugh from London, Governor Berkeley's way of living at Green Spring, William Byrd I's imports from England, to see what profit might be metamorphosed into even in the early colonies.

The mention of Berkeley calls to mind again the governors of the southern colonies, so many of whom became thoroughly acclimated colonials in mind and sympathy and carved out great landholdings for themselves, undoubtedly in part through the privileged position they for a time occupied. Berkeley himself returned to Britain only for relatively brief visits during his long thirty-nine years in his colony, though he did die there. In Virginia Samuel Mathews, Jr., earlier a planter but governor under the Commonwealth in 1657, lived out his life in the colony and had prominent descendants surviving there at least well into the eighteenth century.³⁶ Later Governor Spotswood retired and became a major capitalist-industrialist in his colony and died there just as he set out for a last time in military service. Sir William Gooch, though he died in Britain in a desperate search for health, had become a Virginia gentleman in his interests, including partnerships in an iron mine with one of the Nelsons and other planter-industrialists.

Calverts, Bennetts, Blakiston, Ogle, and other governors became and remained Maryland gentlemen, usually to their dying days. Their families intermarried with other local gentry and inherited fortunes both groups managed to build. In the Carolinas there were officials of various ranks from governors through chief justices and attorneys-general who came to the colony and married there or saw their children married there. Most of them, though not all, amassed respectable fortunes despite the niggardliness of their actual salaries. For the prospect of accumulating a comfortable fortune was usually the initial major inducement to undertake the governorship or legal high office.

Certainly major and minor placemen came to the southern as to the other colonies looking for wealth or at least security. That some were outright unscrupulous and dishonest is obvious, but it is impressive that many more British-born provincial officeholders fade into the walls of the colonial gentry and have left their descendants in prominence or mediocrity or obscurity, just as have other men. The seventeenth-century southern colonial might arrive with little or no fortune, and he was likely to live out his life without accumulating more than a hundred or so acres of farmland, a house and livestock and garden, and a place in a fairly settled community. Sometimes he wandered or moved deliberately westward, looking for the South Sea or gold or more land or just adventure. If he did move west, he occasionally perished because he was too audacious,

at times laid the foundations of a fortune from Indian trade, and more often cleared a promising plot of ground in order to domicile himself in a new country. He might die young from an Indian tomahawk or full of years in a crude bed. In any case he died as the independent farmer-hunter who consciously and subconsciously was in the next century to expand immensely the territory of what was to be, as he often realized, a great nation. He was certainly economically motivated, eager for the recompense—or profit—from his labors which would make him independent, but there is no evidence that he set a whit more store on worldly goods than did his northeastern neighbor beyond the Hudson.

THE EVOLVING ECONOMY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Hartwell-Blair-Chilton in *The Present State of Virginia, and the College* depicted the economic condition of the Chesapeake colonies about 1700, as already noticed in one way or another several times. One historian calls their picture "a kind of still life," perhaps to be entitled "Virginia [and Maryland] as [they] stood at the century's end." As a tableau it also suggests or anticipates many of the developments of the coming century. Though this report was designed to bring about certain changes, its analysis of economic life seems objective enough. Population consisted mostly of planters, but there were many tradesmen and merchants. The farmers wore out land rapidly with the intense cultivation of the one money crop, tobacco. Because the colonies lacked towns, markets, and currency, artisans and small tradesmen found little real encouragement, though they did exist. Merchants were least in number, but they lived better than almost anyone else. The authors point out that Virginia general assemblies, in repeated efforts to establish trade towns, had always tried to create too many all at once, often one for each county. They suggest that Maryland had done better by establishing only two ports, one on the western and one on the eastern shore. They conclude that Virginia might well begin with two or three towns. The opposition to these trading centers, the authors note, was largely from native Virginians who have never seen an English town. The final great weakness was the absence of money, or a viable currency, and they suggest that a common standard of money be established all over the British plantations in America.

In 1700 the Carolina plantation system was just beginning to emerge, and Georgia was not yet born. Yet from 1700 on, most of the economic problems of all the southern colonies had to do especially with soil and crops, useful trading centers, and a currency or monetary system which would be accepted in the whole Atlantic world. In the eighteenth century

southern provincial income increased enormously, presumably in direct relation to the increase in population. A very recent documented estimate shows that from 1720 to 1775 the number of American colonists rose about 35 percent a decade, or roughly 3 percent a year, and that the total black and white population increased from 466,000 to about 2,500,000. Immigrants accounted for only about 20 percent of the growth in the white population, a significant figure in pointing up the depth of the New World roots of the population at the time of the Revolution. In the four divisions of this period 1720-1735, 1735-1745, 1745-1760, and 1760-1775 the upper and lower South together showed a considerably higher average percentage of increase of white population than did the northern colonies.³⁷

Though it has been usual to consider the southern colonies backward or unsound economically even in the first decades of the eighteenth century, a recent simple quantitative measurement appears to indicate that they were among the "most highly developed of the colonies." Virginia and Maryland between 1697 and 1775 accounted for 30 percent of the population and sent 50 percent of colonial exports to England—over 60 percent if one includes Scotland. The French and Dutch, among other European Continental nations, bought Chesapeake tobacco through Glasgow and if possible through English ports and factors. There were alternating periods of stagnation and of growth, but the tobacco economy reaching its height in the middle third of the century was the foundation for a golden age in prosperity and intellect in the Chesapeake country.³⁸ For the Carolinas there was also a burgeoning of trade and crop production which likewise produced a great age in politics and above all in art and architecture and literary and scientific writing. Georgia in her thirty colonial years was experimenting with all the staples of her sister colonies from Maryland south, but she soon dropped tobacco and built a prosperity on rice and indigo, as her nearest neighbor to the east had done, and later on cotton.

Land still came first among the southern colonial's economic necessities. It never was entirely free: settlers had to acquire title from someone. Provincial government, provincial Proprietor, regional Proprietors such as Fairfax in northern Virginia and Carteret of the Granville District of North Carolina, or individual owners or company owners of vast tracts were the sources for the land acquired by both small and great planters. Fitzhugh's 54,000 acres at his death in 1701 were more than matched in the new century by Carters, Burwells, Byrds, and others in Virginia alone. They held enormous acreages by the 1730s, and Marylanders and Carolinians by then did too, as did a few coastal Georgians in the royal period.

Jackson T. Main's study of the one hundred richest Virginians of the 1780s (and riches were here in terms of acreage held) shows that the wealthiest was a Richmond merchant, David Ross, already mentioned, who held more than 100,000 acres; one Carter holding 60,635½ acres and six others of that family about 100,000 among them; George Fairfax 50,000; four Fitzhughs still owning more than 40,000 together; a Robert Beverley 48,988; an Alexander Spotswood 47,262; and many now forgotten persons with impressive acreages. William Allen (22,846), Roger Atkerson (40,629), Henry Banks (77,168), Cuthbert Bullett (27,716), Nicholas Davis (27,747), James Henry (66,750), and David Patterson (43,477) were extensive landowners among these unknown. In contrast are Thomas Jefferson with 12,050 acres, three Lees with only 22,000+ acres among them, George Mason with 8,852, John Page with 6,015, Edmund Pendleton with 7,283, Peyton Randolph with 15,771½, John Tayloe with 11,216, John Taylor with 12,907, George Washington with 12,175, and Ralph Wormeley with 15,707. It should be remembered that all these and others, scaling down to 4,000 acres, were among the hundred greatest landholders. In almost every instance here cited the total acreage was divided into tracts located in from two to thirteen different counties, from the Atlantic to the foot of the Blue Ridge and in several instances as far west as Botetourt and Berkeley counties well beyond the first chain of mountains. In other words, most were nonresident proprietors. Many of the owners of the greatest acreage resided on home plantations in Tidewater, especially the Northern Neck.

Yet, as one historian remarks, any scholar searching for great plantations in colonial southern land records ends up by discovering mostly moderate-sized farms. He cites the Virginia General Court patent records of 1706, which show that individual holdings acquired in that year were principally under 250 acres and most of the others from 250 to 500 acres, with a scattering of larger tracts up to Richard Bland's 5,644 acres in Henrico. Only later were much larger tracts to be acquired in single units. In Maryland, the other Chesapeake colony, not surprisingly, most of the acreage was in small or moderate-sized family farms. The same holds for North Carolina and for interior South Carolina, with perhaps a greater proportion of immense adjoining or unified tracts in the rice-and-indigo Low Country belt.

Main's tables and other materials indicate that the leading men of their respective colonies were land speculators, that they bought directly or through the companies they organized (Governor Dinwiddie and George Washington and the Mercers were stockholders in a northern Virginia-based firm of the 1750s). Main's lists for the 1780s show that before or

after the Revolution presumably opulent Tidewater planters were buying inland, several beyond the mountains, partly for speculative purposes but perhaps most often to safeguard their families, for they saw the once fertile lands of eastern Virginia more and more barren.

William Eddis in his *Letters from America*, recounting his Maryland adventures in the years just before the Revolution, describes the mechanics of the land system. He declares that in every American province there are vast tracts of unappropriated land being granted to "adventurers" on stipulated terms, such as quitrent, settlement within a given term of years, and a survey by an official of the county in which the property lies. He also discusses land acquired by warrants of escheat granted when the original patentees or persons claiming them have died intestate or without heirs. Eddis' explanation was particularly applicable to Maryland, and incidentally indicates that the Proprietor may well have received a handsome income from these land transactions, perhaps principally in the form of patent fees.

The holders of large tracts, the speculators, usually were most interested in settling upon their scattered holdings tenants who would eventually or sometimes immediately purchase modest individual sections. A goodly percentage of William Byrd II's letters to London factors and to Swiss and German agents, as well as his compilation of the *Natural History of Virginia* and even his *History of the Dividing Line*, were written primarily to attract settlers to the lands he owned, especially to those on the Virginia-North Carolina boundary and in North Carolina (which later he describes in *A Journey to the Land of Eden*). In one letter of 1736 to the German Dr. Zwiffler, he writes of his 105,000-acre tract along the south branch of the Roanoke River which he had recently "purchased" from the King. In this particular instance he wanted to sell to individuals rather than to lease the acres. In another letter to a Swiss correspondent Byrd proposes to give the first one hundred families arriving ten thousand acres of this same tract and would sell the rest at the price of £3 current money per one hundred acres. Though he was never quite successful in disposing of such huge acreage, his method was followed by others who were either more fortunate or better planners, including some of the land companies.³⁹

Leaseholding of about one hundred acres was a favorite method of land employment in the Chesapeake area, for in the tobacco-producing belt the tenant farmer could with this amount of land raise for himself a lucrative crop of tobacco with regular rotations to fresh land, and yet have woodland for cattle and hogs and enough more cleared land for truck gardening. There was no opprobrium attached to tenant farming in the colonial era, and landlords such as Daniel Dulany and Charles Carroll often waived

rents for a period of years before the land could be cleared. One ten-thousand-acre tract owned by Charles Carroll, Carrollton, was largely broken into rental farms.

The great plantations were in evidence, as has been seen, in the seventeenth century, but their golden age was in the generation centered about the 1750s. Usually they had evolved or been nursed along for generations before emerging as the great seats with a core of handsome buildings at the center. Such had been Fitzhugh's Eagle's Nest and Bedford, such was at the end of the colonial period Robert Carter's Nomini Hall and Landon Carter's Sabine Hall, Charles Carroll's Carrollton or Doughregan Manor, the great building-clusters of the Middletons and Draytons along the Cooper and Ashley, or the Joneses' Wormsloe in Georgia. These estates were self-sufficient in foodstuffs, had the capacity to produce and process the staple crop, and depended on indentured or slave labor. They were also, as discussed in Chapters VII, centers of minor industries and crafts, including milling, nail manufacture, and weaving. They might also be the depots for the export crops of their nearest neighbors who had smaller acreage and no water transportation facilities.

The Ohio Company of Virginia, the first great southern land corporation, included not only several governors but the Virginia Fairfaxes, Nelsons, Lees, and Washingtons, and the great London merchant John Hanbury among its shareholders. They sought directly from the King half a million acres, in a petition which stressed the economic and political value of developing such a property. One argument among others was that the backcountry would then be secured for the British empire.⁴⁰ The land company or the great individual landowner was capable of securing and often did secure the best of the backlands by exerting political and other pressures. One petition (among several on the same subject) as early as 1702 to Governor Nicholson protests against the discrimination shown by a local official, Major Thomas Swann, in parceling out unoccupied land.

Even the South Carolina plantation system was well developed when Georgia came into being. As in most other matters economic and political, the youngest colony began somewhat differently from the older southern provinces. As the philanthropic and buffer colony, Georgia was never really a haven for debtors who had to be guarded and guided. About half the first settlers were foreign Protestants, and many of those others who came at the expense of the Trust were not really charity colonists. Originally the Trustees granted each settler a fifty-acre headright, increased for those who would bring over white servants. At first there was not much more legal individual ownership of land than there were slaves and rum (of which there were none), but before the Crown took over, in the last few years under the Trustees, land was granted so rapidly that it looked as

though the Trustees wanted to get rid of as much as possible before the King assumed control. The Trustees did indeed look after those they considered their friends in Georgia. In some families all of the members, including minors, were granted five hundred acres each. During 1752, 106 different people were given five hundred acres, 55 were given one hundred, and 41 received fifty. There were other tracts varying from two to eight hundred acres each. Nearly seventy-five thousand acres were granted away in that year. When the Crown assumed control, voters for members of the new Commons House of Assembly had to be owners of fifty acres, and the assemblymen themselves had to hold five hundred, restrictions complained of by city dwellers until they were given a different form of qualification by property value. In certain sections of Georgia, land tenure at the end of the colonial era was not very different from that of Virginia, the oldest colony, for along the sea islands and in the Savannah area a number of privileged old settlers or enterprising more recent ones owned extensive plantations. There were certain differences in land tenure inland, for the Georgia Indian tribes contested step by step the onward progress into their territories, and the colony-state's later history is a story of disregarded treaties and broken promises, followed by new treaties granting the white man something more.⁴¹

After 1720 population increases in all the colonies, as already suggested, were steady and tremendous. In the South newly recruited labor was increasingly black, but, according to the most recent investigators, the prevalence and pervasiveness of Negro labor in the eighteenth century has been considerably overestimated. Importation of blacks accelerated in the first two decades of the century, but in 1720 the majority of farms or plantations were operated by families of whites without bond or slave labor. Even at the end of the colonial period, the small farmer idealized by Thomas Jefferson formed at least half the southern population. He was sometimes illiterate and often semiliterate, and naturally he left few literary monuments. But there are contemporary descriptions of him and of his economy, before mid-century usually unsympathetic descriptions, and he left his imprint or impression on county records and in a few letters parodied by his literate neighbors to afford entertainment or as a transparent guise for political or economic polemics. It was this small tobacco farmer whom Ebenezer Cook depicted so devastatingly in *The Sot-Weed Factor*.

Slightly lower down the economic and social scale were the isolated white families William Byrd II encountered along the boundary and etched forever in his pages as he narrated the histories of the Dividing Line. Byrd delved straight into their economic circumstances, pointing out that they were too shiftless or too short-sighted to grow sufficient corn for both them and their livestock, and that their cattle and hogs literally rooted

for themselves in swamps and marshes the whole winter and were brought home only in the spring. He found that their only "business" was raising hogs, their principal food, along with the Indian corn which practically grew itself—with the help of the women of the family. Apparently they cultivated only enough tobacco for their own use, perhaps partially because transportation from their inland domiciles to a potential market or port was impossible. Such were the alleged squatters, subsistence farmers whose way of life shocked a Tidewater gentleman who was accustomed to see his own small-farm neighbors more industrious and enterprising, as were indeed Ebenezer Cook's Maryland semiliterate tobacco growers.

But there was another kind of small-scale cultivator Byrd met fairly frequently during the same expedition and comments upon in an offhand way. These were the simple folk, much like his yeoman neighbors at Westover, who entertained the leaders of the expedition beneath their own roofs for the night, fed the visitors' horses, and were hospitable in other ways. Though Byrd's tone in depicting them is slightly derisive, there are also evidences that he recognized them as a sturdy element of his society which might be considered its backbone. Their surnames often suggest them to have been kinsmen of the great plantation families, and numbers of them rose in that generation or the next to positions of prominence in county or colony. Southern colonial society remained fluid, for despite all that has been written of the planter elite, any man might rise to prominence through his own exertion—perhaps combined with marriage into a family a step up the scale socially and economically.

Most of the great southern staples save cotton reached some sort of economic peak in the eighteenth century. The literature regarding tobacco, rice, indigo, even Indian corn, or maize, is considerable. Governors continued to be vitally concerned with these commodities in their annual reports and other letters to the Board of Trade. The Chesapeake and Carolina gazettes contain scores of essays on the economics of tobacco exportation, inspection, and tax, on the proper preparation of rice and indigo, and on the relation of all these to the British Navigation Acts. Such figures as William Byrd and Landon Carter in Virginia, Henry Darnall in Maryland, dozens of South Carolinians including the remarkable Eliza Lucas Pinckney and eminent Charleston merchants, created our first literature of agricultural economics, which crosses the lines into politics and law and belles lettres.

One characteristic pamphlet on tobacco already noted, characteristic of the author and his province's problems, is Sir William Gooch's *Dialogue between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoco, Planters, both Men of Good Understanding, and Justice Love-Country, who can speak for himself*. . . . (Williamsburg, 1732). A commentary on the Tobacco Law

of 1730, it was aimed at persuading the small planters that the act had been passed to aid them. *The Present State of Great Britain and North America* (London, 1767) by Dr. John Mitchell of Virginia and London, and *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), probably not by him, discuss southern staples as to cultivation and export. In *The Present State* Mitchell stresses the exhaustion of the soil brought about by tobacco, indigo, hemp, and flax. Tobacco plantations, he says, should be broken up to raise wheat, cattle, and sheep. The most profitable southern staple in the end should be cotton, which he pointed out had been grown with success even as far north as Virginia since 1746. The author of *American Husbandry* agreed with the author of *The Present State* in much, including the soil-exhausting nature of tobacco. The former also adds that a plantation must have at least twenty slaves to make tobacco profitable, and that to every farmer's advantage other crops should be grown along with it. Rice he describes as the "grand staple production of South Carolina" and declares that it is only profitable if an additional staple such as indigo is grown along with it. As pointed out earlier, indigo had been reintroduced into South Carolina by Eliza Lucas (later Mrs. Pinckney) about 1740 at a moment when Britain had been cut off from other sources for the "French blue." The young woman describes in letters during the next decade her methods of cultivation and her success, for indigo did become the colony's second staple. *American Husbandry* presents a long account of its planting and processing.⁴²

The grand staple of North Carolina, if it had one in the eighteenth century, was its forests, which—processed into tar, pitch, turpentine, or other naval stores—became the colony's chief contribution to colonial commerce. By 1768 about 60 percent of all naval stores exported from the American colonies originated in North Carolina. Next perhaps in economic significance were sawn lumber, staves, and shingles. Wheat was a lesser exportable commodity but by 1765 had become quite an important product. Tobacco, rice, and indigo also had some part in North Carolina's economy, usually each in a particular region.

Governor Dobbs as a lifelong promoter of trade, first for Ireland and Great Britain, had published *An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland* (Dublin) as early as 1729, and among his manuscript remains are essays on trade with Labrador and on the general economic situation in North Carolina. One of the latter, really a letter to the Board of Trade in London, analyzes wasteful methods of clearing land and cultivating crops. In recent years it has been printed along with several other reports on the state of the province. This essay reveals the elderly governor as a man who tolerated slow development of patented land because he understood the difficulties of a yeoman planter as a Virginia aristocrat

such as Byrd seems not to have done. His report on his colony reveals a realistic, compassionate, yet keenly mercantile mind looking at American husbandry.⁴³

One other expression in print of southern colonial trade before 1764 should at least be mentioned. This is Francis Yonge's 1722 *A View of the Trade of South-Carolina* (London), part of a campaign launched by royal governor Francis Nicholson to promote the weak areas in the province's economy. Yonge tried to persuade Parliament to take rice off the list of products which could not be shipped directly to Continental European markets. Then he attempted to convince the Board of Trade that South Carolina's naval stores were as good as Sweden's, for the board was discontinuing bounties on naval stores except those produced by slower (and they thought better) Swedish methods.⁴⁴

More should be noted about the burgeoning black slave labor force in the eighteenth century. In this period the Atlantic slave trade reached its height as far as the southern colonies were concerned. Mainly still in the hands of the Royal African Company, it was shared also by the Saints of New England, who were still sneaking in their cargoes, and the pious Presbyterian merchants from Glasgow. Tobacco, rice, indigo, cotton, and naval stores required slave labor, most planter colonists believed. And Georgia perhaps rightly believed that under world or American conditions the colony could not possibly thrive unless it too had slave labor.⁴⁵ Though some historians decline to admit that slavery had become a moral question in the southern colonies before the immediate pre-Revolutionary decade, there is plenty of evidence that many colonists considered it so. Clergymen such as the Anglican Thomas Bacon and the Presbyterian Samuel Davies, who addressed the blacks directly in their sermons, seem to have accepted the situation, though there are other evidences that Davies at least was troubled and compassionate. The early Georgia prohibition of perpetual servitude may have been in part for economic reasons; but there was humanitarianism in the prohibition, as any one who reads the Trustees' records and the correspondence of the Earl of Egmont and his friend William Byrd II of Virginia, knows that the concern was first with the evil trade and second with the labor force in American residence. Several times Byrd expressed his abhorrence of the slave trade in his comments on the inhuman or unchristian traffic "in our fellow creatures," but his opinions reflect, as do Jefferson's in the *Notes on the State of Virginia*, a concern at least as much for the effects of the institution on the white masters as on their black servants.

But others besides Byrd and Jefferson and English Quakers such as John Woolman who viewed American slavery abhorred it. Among them were

American Quakers, scattered clergymen of various faiths, and thoughtful plantation owners in almost all the colonies. Hugh Bryan's preaching in 1740/1741 to Negro slaves and predicting that they would revolt and win their freedom was not merely the delusion of an erratic mind but the expression of white fear and black hope and sensitive humanitarianism. By 1740, Sirmans tells us, Negroes in South Carolina outnumbered whites 39,000 to 20,000, and more blacks were being imported at the rate of 2,500 a year. South Carolinians remembered at least three Negro slave revolts, and in this period there were sporadic rebellions or other forms of defiance, all encouraged by Florida's Spanish governors. In September 1739 a large group of slaves had attempted to fight their way to St. Augustine. In the end forty Negroes and twenty whites were dead. Though no other colony had such a large percentage of slaves in its population, many plantation owners in the Chesapeake country and North Carolina also feared outbreaks. The economic blessing and necessity always had its thorny side. Law, politics, and society had to alter their forms to cope with the problem. And colonial plantation society never deluded itself, whatever it believed about economic necessity, that the Negro enjoyed his lot, though occasionally it argued that this servant was better off than he would have been if left in Africa.⁴⁶

This brief survey of a few elements of the southerner's colonial economy indicates in various ways how economics-oriented this colonial was. Tremendous accumulations of other evidence exist in the letters of men in each colony, some of whom have been considered in other connections in preceding chapters. In the eighteenth century Robert "King" Carter carried on a correspondence with various persons at home and especially in England which was principally concerned with economic matters. As seen above, much of William Byrd II's considerable epistolary expression is concerned with plantation and trade economy. North Carolina Quaker shipbuilder and merchant William Borden thought his colony's principal economic problems might be solved by the issue of noninterest-bearing loan bills of credit and he wrote a letter "address" to the people on the subject. The early Georgia merchant Thomas Rasbery wrote to customers and agents on ship cargoes, bills of exchange, the rice market, and the fur trade. The merchant prince Henry Laurens wrote letters to individuals and to business firms in Britain, on the European continent, and in northern America, almost all of them basically concerned with his import-export business. Thousands of these business exchanges still in existence in Scotland and England and in various American repositories are concerned with all the topics just surveyed—land, labor, industry, trade, cultivation of

staples, plantation management, and some form of currency. The average southern colonial, the great and small planter, believed in gracious or comfortable living, but to attain that living he knew that he would have to devote much or most of his time to his immediate and future economic problems.

Obviously and inextricably bound into the problems of land, labor, commodities, capital, export-import and other trade, poverty and luxury, crude and gracious living, were governmental structure and governmental policy, as here noted. Politics was a means of creating or accelerating an evolving economic structure which produced the golden ages, or prosperous eras, of the southern plantation in the generation just preceding the Revolution. Liberty meant above all free enterprise, and the southern colonies' small farmers and large plantation owners and most public officials were convinced that such economic liberty, especially in trade and land acquisition, would or could come through government. That is, as in the middle and northeastern colonies, economic individualism was bound up with the state control of economic life. The question of slavery, approval or disapproval, was always tied up with the relative prosperity real or potential of staple produce, primarily though not entirely an economic matter.

By Robert Beverley's time, actually perhaps as early as the Virginia Company's era, colonists were asking for the substitution of an American form of mercantilism, including manufacture and trade and production, in place of the British brand. Beverley's details are highly prophetic of future development. Sir William Berkeley protested the control of tobacco, the labor and produce of forty thousand people, by forty merchants in the mother country. Even before but including and after the establishment of the Carolinas and Georgia the southern representatives from governors to legislators (including naturally the great planters) were complaining that English mercantilism was a violation of colonial interest, and they intensified and focussed their complaints in the decades after 1750. The thinking of men like a Robert Carter or a Henry Laurens, rarely explicit but strongly implicit in their writings, revolved about a set of ideas which justified their economic system, including slave labor, large plantations, staple crops, Indian trade, and the necessity of freer import-export, agrarian theories again paralleling but not identical with those of their more northern neighbors. Most historians, including Max Savelle in *Seeds of Liberty*, see the planter aristocracy as moving steadily toward the principle of economic laissez faire as they chafed more and more under the mercantilist restrictions of the mother country. In *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* in 1774 Thomas Jefferson stated positively

that the exercise of free trade with all parts of the world was a natural right which could not be taken away by any British law or ordinance. Concomitantly, the chafing at British land restrictions was also expressed most succinctly by Jefferson, that the title to land was grounded in the laws of nature. At least as early as the mid-eighteenth century the groundwork in economic thought was clearly laid out on which could be erected a new and independent structure.

LAW: INSTITUTIONS, STATUTES, AND PERSONNEL

In considering law in the southern colonies again we must touch continually upon the other three principal concerns of this chapter, evidences of the public mind in politics and economics and oratory. Although a number of impressive single-volume histories of American law and even more impressive collections of essays on varying facets of colonial legal history have appeared in recent years, only a tiny fraction are concerned with early southern jurisprudence. Even though Henry Adams declared law to have been before 1800 one of the two principal interests of the Virginia mind, neither he nor anyone else seems to have studied its law or legal practice *per se*. The general legal histories and specific essays repeat the variant of a refrain now familiar to readers of earlier portions of this book: the history of law in the southern colonies remains yet to be written.

It cannot be written here, though certain of its aspects and qualities will be noted. As with most other aspects of the southern mind, there were European foundations or roots, many considerably altered in adaptation to time and place, and some elements of it had no Old World parallel or origin. The rise of the legal profession is in itself a significant story, and the legal education of so many planters who never practiced is indicative of certain qualities of the colonial mental character. Southern members of the Continental Congress and authors or framers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution occasionally, as in the case of Thomas Jefferson, considered themselves professional lawyers, for at one time or another they had actually practiced in the courts, but there were other founding fathers educated at the Inns of Court or under eminent colonial jurists who had actually never practiced.

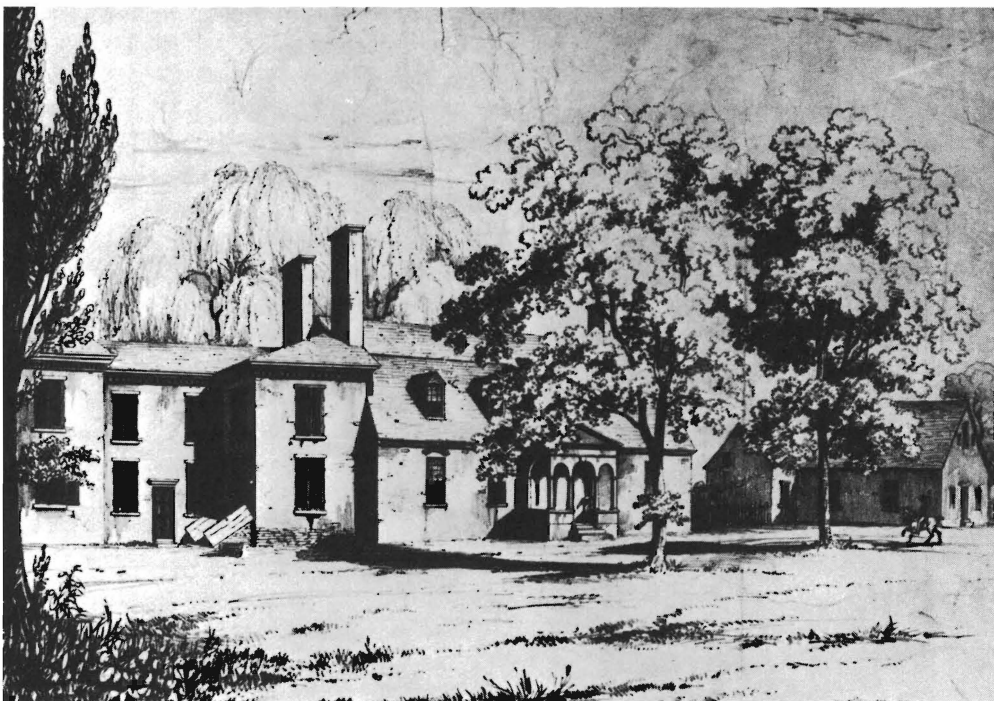
The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were litigious periods in Great Britain itself, and the mainland American colonists even went beyond their relatives at home in resorting to the courts to settle many sorts of problems. The land alone in America posed unique legal problems which were compounded by the peculiar forms of indentured and slave labor

which cultivated it. North Carolinian Edward Moseley, prominent planter and political figure who was part of Byrd's Dividing Line expedition, in 1748 in his will urged that the one of his sons best qualified should "be bred to the law, it being highly necessary in so Large a family."⁴⁷ Though he left his law library for this son, there is no evidence that the youth was educated in the profession as Moseley's fellow planter William Byrd II had been. Moseley seems to have been expressing an attitude held in common with most other southern colonials of large affairs from Maryland to Georgia. Someone in a Carroll or Byrd (the *only* son) or Jefferson (the *eldest* son) or Dulany or Manigault family should be capable of handling problems in land or trade litigation. For example, Charles Carroll of Doughregan Manor on October 16, 1759, wrote to his son Charles of Carrollton, then studying in Britain, almost in the words of Moseley:

It is a shame for a gentleman to be ignorant of the laws of his country and to be dependent on every dirty pettifogger. . . . On the other hand, how commendable it is for a gentleman of independent means, not only [not] to stand in need of mercenary advisers, but to be able to advise his friends, relations, and neighbors of all sorts. . . . Suppose you would be called upon to act in any public character, what an awkward figure you would make without the knowledge of the law either as legislator, judge, or even an arbiter of differences among your neighbors and friends.

The elder Carroll reminded his son that the boy's grandfather, who had attended the Temple as the young man was to do, had under the Lords Baltimore when they were Catholics been attorney-general, receiver-general, judge in land affairs, and agent of the Maryland colony, among other things. A few months later Charles of Doughregan told the son that the young man must remain four years in the Temple, for he would not master the law in any less time, and in yet another letter told why he had himself had to try to study law in Maryland.⁴⁸

Surviving inventories of the libraries of most educated men contain law books, from a single-volume abridgment of provincial statutes (next to the Bible in popularity in Virginia) to dozens of volumes which would be of use to the planter in his capacity as a justice of the peace or a legislative delegate, and of even greater use in advising him in land disputes, sales, or acquisitions. The Pistole Fee and Two-Penny Act in Virginia and the tobacco-inspection law disputes of an earlier period brought forth in the two Chesapeake colonies a flood of able essays by lawyers, planters, and clergymen, with all parties supporting their arguments by references to legal tomes obviously then in their possession. Carolinians arguing in print various legal decisions of local or British government quote from or refer to the same authorities on jurisprudence.



Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

Sketch of Doughregan Manor, a Carroll mansion in Maryland,
by an unknown artist



...Baltimore Museum of Art, the Dr. Hugh Young Bequest

Portrait of Leonard Calvert, governor of Maryland; oil on canvas
by Francis Brerewood (active ca. 1730)

SOURCES OR ORIGINS

No two southern colonies had at the bases of their legal fabric exactly the same English law, but they all had more in common with the British heritage than did the New England colonies. To some scholars, for example, Massachusetts law has seemed not common law at all but a new system based on the Bible, an overstatement which even when discarded does not obliterate the fact that the early New England statutes had sources differing considerably from those of the South Atlantic group of colonies.

From the 1606 First Charter of the Virginia Company down through the Declaration of Independence, it is quite clear that basic to southern legal systems was the common law of England, modified in the eighteenth century by Enlightenment rationalism and the exigencies of time and place. The First Charter declares that the colonists shall have and enjoy "all liberties, franchises, and immunities within any of our other dominions," the same words which appear in one form or another in later charters, in instructions to governors, in the statute law of general assemblies, in petitions against tyrannical governors, in the declaration of the Stamp Act Congress, and finally in the Declaration of Independence. Charles M. Andrews is among those who refused to believe that these words referred to universal human rights, but took them rather as "strictly legal, tenurial, and financial." In referring to the Virginia State Bar Association's plaque of 1959 at Jamestown celebrating the establishment of the "Common Law of England" on this continent and noting that since Magna Carta that law has been "the cornerstone of individual liberties, even as against the Crown," Wilcomb E. Washburn attacks the wording as more confusing than enlightening and as reflecting the assumptions of a later age "rather than the experience of an earlier age." As A.E. Dick Howard suggests, this is a rather odd criticism, since the inscription is by its own terms designed to reflect the assumption and heritage of a later age and speaks of a "developing system of 'freedom under law' which is [today] at once our dearest possession and proudest achievement." Obviously, what would be more natural to the first settlers in any colony than at least "tacit acquiescence" by everyone in the authority of the laws to which they have always been accustomed?⁴⁹ As will be seen, in their oratory governors as well as legislators echoed this concept of human liberties—even the able but intransigent Sir William Berkeley.

But before turning to the evolving and enmeshed concepts and practice of English common and provincial law one should note that there had been of necessity for a time in Virginia under the Company a form of martial law, famous or infamous to future generation as (Sir Thomas) Dale's Laws, the remembrance or recall of which was designed to warn

legislators or administrators who might be too harsh that no such tyranny would ever again be tolerated.

Two of the authors of *The Present State of Virginia, and the College* (London, 1727) heretofore referred to many times, were English-educated lawyers Henry Hartwell and Edward Chilton. At the beginning of Section VI of their book they summarize succinctly what most fair-minded observers agree is the relation between English and colonial laws in most of the southern colonies not only in 1697, when they composed this statement, but throughout most of the era before the Declaration of Independence.

It is none of the least Misfortunes of that Country, that it is not clear what is the Law whereby they are govern'd. They all agree in this, that the two Fountains of their Law, are the Laws of *England*, and the Acts of their own General Assemblies, but how far both or either of these is to take place, is in the Judge's Breast, and is apply'd according to their particular Affection to the Party: Sometimes it is said, that of the Law of *England* they are only to regard that Part which was in being at the first seating of *Virginia*, and none of the latter Laws, except where the *English* Plantations in general, or *Virginia* in particular, are mention'd. At other times they pretend to observe all the Laws of *England*; sometimes if there is a Difference between the Law of *Virginia* and the Law of *England*, the *Virginia* Law shall take place, as being suited to their particular Circumstances. At other times the Advantages shall be given on the Side of the *English* Laws, because the Legislative Power was given them with this Proviso, that they should enact nothing derogatory to the Laws of *England*, or to the King's Prerogative.⁵⁰

This somewhat cynical observation was at times not quite applicable in the Proprietary colonies, where there were laws, technically proclamations, made by single or group Proprietors or by Trustees, the last in Georgia. That there was a steady trend toward challenging English statutes enacted after the colonies were settled, laws often held not to be applicable, is evident in the legislative and court records of every colony. Perhaps more intriguing and more revealing are the statutes in the collections for Virginia by Hening, South Carolina by Trott, and Maryland by Bacon, to mention only the best-known single-colony gatherings. In them one may trace the new laws dealing with situations entirely alien to the British Isles, the controls placed upon black and red men in states of servitude, the manner of distribution of virgin land, the deliberate planning of ports and towns, the stealing of hogs, the taxes for inspection of exported crops. Then there are other laws which represent a tailoring or alteration of English statutes governing county and parish legal structure, the peculiar functions of the American sheriff and justice of the peace among them. These

last were almost always considered to be in force if they had the King's assent, despite the observation of Hartwell and Chilton just noted. On the other side is the resentment from at least Governor Berkeley's time of Parliamentary laws, such as the Navigation Acts, designed to control American exports for British profit.

From governors to small farmers, southern colonials were entirely conscious of the contemporary British acts which they felt, usually correctly, were discriminating against them and disregarding their welfare. Colonials were also aware of instructions from the Board of Trade, which if strictly observed by governors and councils had the same effect as British laws. Acutely were the settlers conscious of outdated or politically maneuvered statutes passed by assemblies of their own colonies which they felt were not for their best interests, and they were most resentful when many statutes passed in their assemblies with almost total approval of the constituencies were vetoed in Great Britain. From the humblest of freeholders to the most opulent of planters, the colonial was law conscious. Often his resentment of British unfairness expressed itself in action or in written expression. His resentment of laws favoring a region or a social class produced the distinct Regulator groups of the two Carolinas. And this resentment took several forms when a Proprietor, Lord Baltimore, in 1722 instructed his governor that the statutes of England did *not* have the force of law in Maryland. The last resentment, expressed several times in the Lower House of Assembly, resulted in the gradual introduction of English statutes in place of Proprietary proclamations and instructions, partially as the result of the great pamphlet of the elder Dulany in 1728, *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws*.⁵¹ In another generation Daniel Dulany, Jr., and a host of other southern as well as northern colonials were insisting on an interpretation of "the Benefit of the English Laws" which they felt supported them in their opposition to taxation without representation.

The Virginia legal system was in structure by 1763 a series of courts at least roughly parallel to the juridical structures in the other southern provinces. Bruce found records of six types of courts, the magistrate's, the parish's, the monthly or county, the general, the general assembly, and the admiralty. Chitwood points out that except for a brief period under Effingham, there were never separate chancery cases. South Carolina, on the other hand, with almost the same personnel as its General Court, had a chancery court which kept its separate records for 1691 through 1779, records published as recently as 1950. And Maryland chancery proceedings for 1669-1679 have been published. To the six varieties of tribunals Bruce found in the seventeenth century in Virginia the oyer and terminer

and the hustings courts for the cities of Williamsburg and Norfolk were added in the first quarter of the eighteenth. Curiously, Robert Beverley, writing before 1705 in *The History and Present State of Virginia*, recognized only two sorts of Virginia courts, the general and the county, though he mentions the admiralty, which he says amounts to nothing.⁵² In addition to Bruce's six in Virginia, there were also for more or less brief periods the hustings courts of the largest Maryland towns, the feudal manorial courts existing briefly in Maryland and on paper in the Fundamental Constitutions of the Carolinas, the piepowder courts mentioned by William Fitzhugh and apparently existent in Maryland for a time, and the ecclesiastical courts, the abhorrence of which was a strong factor in the successful colonial determination to prevent the appointment of American Anglican bishops, the courts actually existing to the extent that George Whitefield could be tried before one in South Carolina. All these latter courts had their English origins, often feudal. But just as English in origin, though in their inception considerably altered from their models, were the persistent court structures mentioned by Bruce and the chancery courts existing for varying periods in Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland.⁵³

STRUCTURE AND EVOLUTION OF COURTS AND LAWS

The General Court, sometimes called the Court of Appeals, frequently a double- or triple-duty tribunal handling chancery and admiralty proceedings and any crimes involving property above a certain valuation or hazard of life or limb, was at once the oldest court and the highest in the southern colonies. In Virginia its earliest history, personnel, and function is in two periods, before and after 1619. Under the Virginia Company the president and Council originally were invested with judicial as well as administrative powers. They were particularly authorized to punish with death all persons convicted of certain crimes, but only after the original accusations were investigated by twelve "honest, impartial, and sworn jurymen." Under this system and authority John Smith and Edward Maria Wingfield were tried, in Smith's instance not under English law but under a clause in Leviticus (compare New England!). Captain Newport arrived in time to throw out the whole proceeding against the captain.

The history of the General Court as such really begins in 1619, with the authorization for the first General Assembly, in which that body, including governor and Council *and* elected burgesses, acted as a legal tribunal as well as a legislative body. For a time it was to meet as a court in each of the four existing corporations about once a year. It was thus a quarter court. By the 1640s it seems to have confined its meetings to Jamestown. It had its own room, which had such ornaments as the King's arms and "a chair"

during most of the last third of the century. After 1699 it met in Williamsburg, first in the college and then in the capitol. By 1662 it was convening only three times a year, when its name was changed officially from Quarter to General Court. Soon it was decided that it should meet only twice a year, though three sessions were returned to occasionally. For the remainder of the colonial period this court met usually twice annually.

Virginia was perhaps the only southern colony in which the governor and Council, at least after the General Assembly became a bicameral body, formed the General Court until the end of the period in 1776. Roughly corresponding courts in most other colonies were composed of a chief justice and the Upper House of Assembly or designated members of it. In Maryland after 1692 (when it became a royal province) this highest court became two, the Provincial Court presided over by the chief justice and apart from the Council, and the Court of Appeals composed of the governor and Council. In North Carolina the highest tribunal was called the Superior Court. Under South Carolina's first royal governor Nicholson the more serious criminal and civil suits went to one of the Charleston courts, of Common Pleas, General Sessions, Chancery, or in maritime cases the Court of Vice-Admiralty. The former two were presided over by the chief justice and four associate justices (usually laymen without pay) and the Chancery Court was the governor and Council. After 1760 the Chancery Court in South Carolina heard appeals from the lower courts.⁵⁴ These highest provincial courts, unless they were divided into two or more, had both original and appellate jurisdiction. Original jurisdiction included the right to try all criminal cases involving the loss of life and limb and civil cases involving considerable sums in land and other property, as well as problems with Quakers, recalcitrant county justices, and sometimes heretical opinions or foibles of individual clergy. For many decades appeals could be made from their verdicts on anything except criminal cases to the General Assembly, but eventually the final appellate court was the King and Council. In different colonies the powers of these highest general courts varied somewhat, but there was some court of appeal in each colony and some means of appeal beyond the colony, including even the Proprietaries. The attorney-general was usually the chief executive officer of this court.

Maryland seems to have been the only southern colony with a separate probate court, known as the Prerogative or Commissary General's Court, which endured from 1673 to the Revolution. From 1760 Georgia had a distinct small-claims court, which lasted until 1776. Webb's *Virginia Justice* (see below) mentions a court of claims called by the sheriff, and by the 1760s North Carolina established formally a court of claims. The Board of Trade and the King managed to establish admiralty courts in 1697 for all the colonies. Thomas Tench was first judge for Maryland,

Edward Still for Virginia, North Carolina, and the Bahamas, Joseph Morton for South Carolina. These courts had jurisdiction over violations of the revenue acts, a departure from the custom in England, where such cases were tried in courts of exchequer. They also had jurisdiction over the carcasses of whales and the cutting up of timber for masts for the royal navy. Judges were appointed by the governors and confirmed by the High Court of Admiralty, the judges being generally members of the local bar without special admiralty training. Southern admiralty courts seemed not to have differed from those of other colonies. One complaint against all these courts is embodied in the Declaration of Independence in one of the accusations against George III. An exchequer court is reported in North Carolina from 1732 but nothing is known of its work. That a regular system of ecclesiastical courts was not established in America is possibly significant in several ways.

Appeals to the Privy Council from the American colonies did occur, but they were rare indeed, partly because of the excessive time and cost involved. In the seventeenth century there were two in the 1680s, after Effingham had seen to it that the General Assembly was no longer a court of final appeal. In Virginia such as appeal in 1682 had to involve an amount of at least £100 sterling and in 1685 £300 sterling. Maryland law was similar from 1694. Several problems of jurisdiction came up, especially in relation to admiralty cases. In the end various complaints against the jurisdiction of the Privy Council in several sorts of cases seem to have resulted in a distinct movement in the direction of greater autonomy for local courts. In other words, conciliar review evolved in the same direction as did colonial political institutions.⁵⁵

William Fitzhugh and other legal-minded or legally educated Virginia burgesses in the 1680s, especially under the governorship of Effingham, were much perplexed by the problems of the appellate jurisdiction of the General Assembly. As a court of last resort that body had some of the functions and powers of the English House of Lords. The whole matter recorded in the journals of the House of Burgesses is a good example of the southern colonial's recognition of the kinship and parallelism of the American judicial structure to England's and his simultaneous recognition that they were not exactly the same and could never be identical. South Carolina and Maryland covered the ground of English courts but divided them somewhat differently, both when they were Proprietaries and when they were royal colonies. Again and again they recorded in higher court or legislative documents their realization of similarity and difference, but always with the insistence that one principle was unchanged—colonials enjoyed the rights and liberties of Englishmen before the bar as elsewhere.

Turning to the bottom of the judicial system, one finds the same mixture

of English theory and practice and altered colonial application. In Virginia the so-called magistrate's court was the last to be established, but even then it was an institution by 1742 when an act was passed authorizing the nearest justice of the peace to try every case involving an amount not exceeding twenty shillings or two hundred pounds of tobacco and to judge some criminal acts. John Hammond, in his 1656 *Leah and Rachel*, notes that in Virginia one can hardly travel "two miles together, but they will find a Justice, which hath power of himself to hear and determine mean differences, to secure and bind over notorious offenders, of which very few are in the Country."⁵⁶ The same type of justices or "commissioners," as they were originally called, acted in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. In South Carolina they were the only representatives of justice outside the city of Charleston.⁵⁷ Though almost invariably men of substance and if possible education were chosen for this office, very rarely were they legally trained. Actually some colonies originally set out to exclude professional lawyers from their judiciary and trials altogether, but more of that later. In Virginia in the last two decades of the seventeenth century, however, there were trained attorneys such as William Fitzhugh who performed the office of magistrate. They had their models in the rural areas of England, where single justices considered simple cases. Appeal to the whole panel of county justices appears always to have existed save possibly in South Carolina, where an unsatisfied plaintiff or defendant went straight to the Charleston courts.

Again presumably with the exception of South Carolina, the southern rural settlers had recourse to other judicial institutions. There was at least one parish court in Virginia during the seventeenth century, for in 1656 by special act of assembly Bristol Parish was empowered to erect such a tribunal, to have the same jurisdiction as a county court but to be composed only of such justices as resided within the parish, which embraced portions of two counties. Appeal might be made to the monthly court of either county. There were other instances of special territorial courts, though they seem to have been rare, except along some of the frontiers, where they were obviously a convenience. It is difficult to find English precedent or model for them.

Throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century the most important tribunal for the administration of local justice was the county court, or county commission of the peace, also called the monthly court. To this day in most of the South, a certain day of each month is known at the county courthouse as court day. Actually not all those county courts met every month, especially in the seventeenth century, but laws in Virginia as early as 1623-1624 authorized a monthly sitting of this body, though the counties were not so called for some years in the future. Usually

the most convenient place in the county, normally but not always a central location, was designated as the place of meeting. The justices were by law to be chosen from among the "most able, honest, and judicious" residents of their counties, a qualification which in effect meant even as early as 1662 when it became law that men of substance, modest or large landowners who later in this century and the next in the Chesapeake colonies were colonial country squires, took their seats on the county bench. North Carolina in the seventeenth century had not perhaps enough such men of substance in some of its counties, but in general it adhered to the same requirements. And the South Carolina justices, who seem to have acted primarily individually, appear to have possessed the same qualifications for office.

The county commission of the peace and the justice of the peace were both distinctly and traditionally English. During the Commonwealth and after the Restoration, in the southern colonies the powers of the commission were so directed at all matters concerning their area that one group for a time refused to send burgesses to the General Assembly on the grounds that they handled all their own affairs satisfactorily at home. W.F. Craven sees the developing Chesapeake court as "markedly English in spirit" but unmistakably American in character and distinctly regional in form, as regional and un-English as the New England town.⁵⁸

Though as in England the justices served without pay, there were for these commissioners of the peace varying material recompense for their really enormous amount of trouble and time. Their numbers varied, frequently between eight and ten or twelve, with a quorum required of a much smaller number which must include the senior member, or "commander," the latter term perhaps going back to the days of Sir Thomas Dale. After 1662 there were county lieutenants along with sheriffs, and it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the lieutenant from the senior justice, for the latter and the former were usually colonels in the provincial militia. Most burgesses were or had been justices of the peace. At one time William Fitzhugh, for example, was colonel or lieutenant-colonel of the militia and flew the county flag from his house, though in indignation at certain aspersions of one of his fellow justices he had just resigned from the commission. The other justices ordered that the county flag be taken from him, but since his *military* commission was from the province he seems to have kept it to the end of his life. As a trained lawyer he may have especially irked his colleagues by pointing out to them the technical aspects of English statute or Virginia law of which the rest were ignorant.

Sometimes members of the provincial Council sat with the justices, and sometimes the entire Council met with a particular commission. The latter was unusual after 1662 in Virginia, though a law of that year required that two members of the Council were to sit once a year with the county courts,

but no councilor was to perform a judge's function in the county in which he resided. Thus the county commission was in part a circuit court.

Since county justices normally had no legal training, legislative acts from time to time required each county commission to purchase certain legal volumes, such as English and provincial statutes (no southern American Reports were published until after the colonial period) and one or more of the popular manuals to guide these lay judges. The inventory of most southern planters of prominence (and nearly all of them had served on the bench) almost always included the great English manual, Michael Dalton's *The Country Justice* (first edition 1612-1618; Jefferson's was of 1666), and Swinburne on *Wills and Testaments* (first edition 1611). This was true in both centuries. In the eighteenth century were added William Nelson's *The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace* (London, 1736) and later Richard Burn's *The Justice of the Peace* (London, 1770, is the date of Jefferson's copy). But far more significant from the point of view of American legal history is George Webb's *The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace: And also the Duty of Sheriffs, Coroners, Church-Wardens, Surveiors of Highways, Constables, and Officers of Militia. Together with Precedents . . . Collected from the Common and Statute Laws of England, and Acts of Assembly, now in force; and adapted to the Constitution and Practice of Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1736), composed by a New Kent County lawyer and dedicated to Governor William Gooch. One of the earliest of its kind produced in this country, the manual attempts as St. George Tucker's edition of Blackstone did half a century later to adapt English laws or reconcile them with those of the Virginia colony-state. That neighboring provinces also found it useful is suggested by its appearance in the inventories of former justices in Maryland and the Carolinas. Before the Revolution somewhat similar handbooks had been published in North Carolina, South Carolina, and New Jersey as well as another by Richard Starke in Virginia, though all these came between 1761 and 1774. Based on and modeled after Dalton, American manuals may have been even more useful than the original English, if one may judge by the popularity of Webb's book, though the older Dalton is mentioned in book lists more frequently.

The county court upheld its decorum, or its dignity and integrity, as its records attest. Many justices declined to serve on cases in which they might be considered interested parties, and the court generally punished as severely as it had the power to do any instance of contempt or attempt to ignore its decisions or its authority. The buildings in which it met were at first the houses of members, but gradually separate buildings were constructed, some of which remain today as symbols of architectural good taste and the dignity of the local law. Inside they were often furnished with

the royal arms, royal portraits, portraits of major British statesmen, or other appropriate decoration. Their jurisdiction was wide, from probate to certain criminal and civil suits involving property to admiralty matters, ecclesiastical matters, paupers, and orphans' estates. For many things they secured expert legal advice, as from one of their own members such as Webb or Fitzhugh. Some of the leading attorneys of each colony practiced at least as frequently before the county as before the General Court.

Each county had a clerk and a sheriff, both connected with the court. The clerk, in former Chesapeake colonies at least, continues to this day to have duties not substantially different from those of his predecessor of three centuries ago. Again he was almost always a man of substance and usually education and intelligence, appointed by the secretary of the colony. John Clayton the botanist spent most of his life, for example, as a Tidewater Virginia county clerk. Since they drew up certificates and depositions and warrants, among other things, for which they charged substantial fees, their incomes were large, and they could combine the office with others or with agriculture. Perhaps most were also planters.

The sheriff in England from Edward II's time had been drawn from the gentry. In the southern colonies he had to be a resident of the county and had been frequently or even usually already a justice of the peace and sometimes a burgess. He was from the earliest times appointed by the governor on the advice of the Council. He had two types of duties, one in county government, the other in judicial functions related to the county court. He published proclamations, collected prerogative revenues, took over custody of persons brought to trial, impaneled juries, and performed other kindred duties. In Virginia he was originally the same as the provost-marshal, in Maryland he was a man of property who usually alternated annually terms of office as justice and as sheriff, and in North Carolina (though his office was not created until 1739) he was the executive officer of the county court and representative of the Crown, as he was in the two older colonies. In South Carolina he performed many of the same functions. In the last he was not allowed to stand for the Commons House of Assembly, perhaps because his office was considered sufficiently significant to warrant his individual legal-political attention. In Virginia his income was derived from 10 percent of all quitrents collected and fees for certain court duties, as well as a few other allowances. Apparently he was similarly well paid in the other colonies. As the Revolution approached, the North Carolina sheriffs came under fire, one or more being accused of embezzling taxes and of controlling elections. Yet one study of the North Carolina sheriff notes that he was among the political leaders who led the people toward revolt. Ironically one of his chief duties everywhere was to be a conservator of the peace. Throughout the colonial period he was a respected

figure in the southern legal system, resembling his English model in many of his duties, but having less judicial function, more financial power, a more purely local as opposed to provincial or royal character, at once a more democratic and more important office. In the national period he lost some of his prestige and some of his power in relation to tax collections. Though he was frequently a country squire even after 1776, his stature had shrunk a little, or on the westward-moving frontier had changed its shape.⁵⁹

Minor offices, as those of constable and coroner, were frequently held by men of prominence, sometimes by former sheriffs or members of the lower houses of their provinces. Among Virginians who were appointed as coroners by their governors were Robert Beverley I, John Custis, David Fox, William Randolph, and William Byrd I. County grand juries were also drawn from men of property, and there is in the Norfolk County, Virginia, records of 1662 a charge to one of these groups from the justices of the peace which is a detailed statement of its duties.

Though to begin with basically English in nature, punishments for various crimes began to alter sharply soon after the Jamestown settlement. Dale's Laws, however temporary, had given evidence of change, and the acts passed by the 1619 Jamestown Assembly and the subsequent assemblies in Virginia and all the other colonies indicate the dire need of adaptation. As in the later Old West beyond the Mississippi, some crimes formerly deemed of lesser seriousness became capital, and others more serious in Britain were punished less severely in the colonies. But, as in political and economic situations, the most striking changes were punishments and modes of punishment for new or relatively new felonies or misdemeanors. The Indian, the indentured servant, the slave, the squatter on technically unoccupied land, had to be coped with on criminal as well as political and economic terms. Forms of slander, often severely punished, seem to us who read them today peculiarly American, though some which were malicious gossip such as accusation of witchcraft go back for centuries in western Europe. Despite what we know of Puritan punishment for witchcraft, as noted already, the records show no single instance of execution for this alleged crime in all Virginia colonial history, and only one or two possible hangings for this crime—though the evidence is not clearcut here—in any of the other southern colonies. Many educated persons from Alexander Whitaker in 1610–1612 to Nicholas Trott a century later, including other educated and intelligent men and women, were orthodox Christians enough to accept witchcraft as a reality, but in all the colonies in which cases can be traced in any sort of chronological order, it seems that the southern justice-judge and juror became more and more a rationalist, a skeptical and consciously disinterested weigher of evidence.

The aspects of primogeniture and entail in the southern colonies might be a detailed complete study in itself. Richard B. Morris points out that in New York and the southern colonies before the Revolution legislation was not enacted establishing the system of visible descent and that in these provinces primogeniture was the rule of inheritance. Of course after the Jeffersonian offensive it was abolished legally in 1776 (officially in 1785) in Virginia, in Georgia in 1777, in North Carolina in 1784, in Maryland in 1786, and in South Carolina in 1791. Actually the law was by no means adhered to in the South even in the seventeenth century. Some wills seem to recognize or follow roughly the biblical injunction of a double portion to the eldest son, but more were like those of William Fitzhugh and Robert "King" Carter, who left their eldest the largest portion but bestowed nearly as considerable estates in land, livestock, and servants on their numerous other sons. In practice there appears to be a fairly steady movement toward equal or equitable disposition of property, especially among sons. Entails to begin with were widespread in all the colonies, though Morris' statement that abolition of entails in Virginia by an act of 1776 released at least half, possibly three quarters, of the land appears excessive. Again there seems to have been a steadily developing docking or alienation of entails in the eighteenth century.⁶⁰

Philip Bruce, who thoroughly investigated seventeenth-century county and provincial records in Virginia, notes that one of the ways in which the legal system in the colony differed from that of England was in "the practical absence of primogeniture" and gives the reasons therefor. C. Ray Keim, in a specific study of "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," concludes that the evidence simply verifies the pattern of most English institutions in the colonies: "generally they went through an evolution that made them American." The process began at Jamestown, where primogeniture existed as a custom rather than a law and could be defeated. An examination of Virginia wills shows that customarily the eldest son received the home place and that other lands and property were distributed among other sons and daughters. Keim cites at least seven good reasons why the use of primogeniture and entail were limited in Virginia. All would hold true for the other southern colonies. He concludes that much of the land was never held in entail, the opposite of Morris' conclusion.⁶¹

Laws governing political and economic matters evolved even more than those regarding moral or biblical problems. As law libraries and legal knowledge grew and at the same time second- and third-generation colonials grew up in increasing ignorance of the English common law, more and more insistence was put on the rights or liberties or privileges of Englishmen, with the result that earnest men who had experienced life-

times of what they considered Crown tyranny or Parliamentary oppression enacted new laws. They evaded and altered as far as they could, or as far as they thought they might have a chance of having the changes approved, through series after series of acts designed for their political and economic protection. Much of the steady progression of statutes sent to Britain for approval, and the polemical and satirical essays on legal subjects, were authorized or shaped or promoted by the steadily growing body of men in the southern colonies educated in the law. These men are significant as a profession, as preeminent examples of the developing sophistication of the minds of southern leaders, and as a major element in the gradual move toward independence.

THE LEGAL PROFESSION

Though Daniel J. Boorstin has generalized to the extent of alleging that "the English prejudice against lawyers secured new strength in America" and that only a limited development of the legal profession occurred in any of the colonies before the mid-eighteenth century and his allegations are in accord with the findings of some but by no means all of the recent historians of the legal profession in America, these allegations should be accepted only with serious qualifications and questions.⁶² Though there were centuries-old prejudices against the profession of law, as Chaucer suggests, it was also by the fourteenth century a highly respected as well as frequently satirized profession. And the quality, socially and intellectually, of those who attended the Inns of Court in the years just before Jamestown is sufficient evidence in itself of the respectability of the barrister and attorney. Miles Sandys, brother of the Archbishop of York, and several of his sons and nephews, for example, were prominent members of the London bar. As already noted, many or most of the leaders of the Virginia colony under the Company from 1619 to 1624 were former members of the Inns of Court, including Governor Sir Francis Wyatt and Treasurer George Sandys. These men here acted in the judicial rather than the pleading role of their profession, but the surviving records indicate that individually they often argued for or against a political or criminal situation or the applicability of English law or the Charter Instruction to that situation. In the first Anglo-American generation, at any rate, a professional knowledge and use of the law and legal procedure was quite evident—that is, in the South. The fact that the New England colonies of the seventeenth century (by 1702 they had changed) looked askance at English common law may be one reason why in that area of America there was an absence of educated lawyers, but from the beginning the southern

charters and gubernatorial instructions and legislation showed respect for, adherence to, and a certain affection for this body of traditional and formally legalized statutes.

Yet the first practitioners before the General Court and county court were not of the quality of the trained barristers or judges of the first generation. By 1642-1643 the colony was enacting legislation to regulate practicing lawyers, setting their fees, and requiring that they be licensed, that they could not plead in more than the General Court and one county court, and that they could not decline to serve anyone who requested them. This act applied to the lower grade of lawyers, for there were such in the colony as in Great Britain, men who were self-educated or apprentice-educated in their profession and never secured a clientele of the more prominent among their fellow settlers. The law did not apply to "special attorneys" within the colony or "to such who shall have letters of procuration out of England," presumably a group educated at the Inns of Court or under eminent practitioners in the mother country. There remained throughout the seventeenth century these two ranks or classes of lawyers. By the 1640s as a profession attorneys had indeed fallen under public odium, and laws had to be passed forbidding their working for fees. Ordinary law business fell into the hands of the clerks of the courts, who apparently could charge fees for any such work. This prohibition of working attorneys reflects, as Bruce suggests, the low quality of the professionals between 1640 and 1660 rather than any feeling that they were not needed. By the 1660s able and respected attorneys were in business, perhaps in part because royalist sympathizers among English practitioners had fled to the colony during the Commonwealth, and after 1660 other royalists such as William Fitzhugh, arriving about 1670, had been persuaded by colonial friends or relatives that Virginia was a good place for an aspiring young attorney.

Again, despite some general declarations to the contrary, by the end of the seventeenth century law was as distinct a profession in Virginia as medicine, though there were no licensed practitioners. Perhaps the proposal for the establishment of a law society at Jamestown in 1681, commented upon by William Fitzhugh in a letter to Henry Hartwell, marks the beginning of the century in which the legal profession in the colony rose steadily at an accelerating pace to become one of the most eminent bars in American history, both in individual practice and in written and published argument.

During the more than two decades of Fitzhugh's legal career, from about 1676 to his death in 1701, this learned attorney made his name as counsel and legal adviser to such men as Robert Beverley in the plant-cutting case, Richard Lee, Ralph Wormeley, and at least a dozen others of the distin-

guished men of substance in the colony, some of whom were themselves educated in the law. Fitzhugh's letters reveal that during his career he was frequently in communication and consultation with almost all the other leading attorneys of the colony.

William Sherwood, resident of Jamestown, probably had the most lucrative practice of the period, though he labored under the disadvantage of being a known malefactor in England. In his private capacity or as attorney-general of the colony, Sherwood communicated with Fitzhugh several times. Despite the shadow on Sherwood's earlier English career, he was undoubtedly an able man who had a part in elevating his profession. Another friend and correspondent just mentioned was Henry Hartwell, one-time clerk of the Council, burgess, and councilor, English-educated lawyer who co-authored with Chilton and Blair *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*. Other prominent attorneys among Fitzhugh's correspondents or mentioned frequently in his letters were Sigismund Massey of Westmoreland County and Arthur Spicer of Richmond County, the latter of whom was perhaps the most prominent lawyer of the Northern Neck other than Fitzhugh himself. Spicer's professional and general library, inventoried by item the same year (1701) that Fitzhugh died, has been noted.⁶³

The first lawyer of record in Maryland appears in 1637, John Lewger, attorney for the Lord Proprietor, three years after the settlement of the province. Like most other attorneys of the Chesapeake colonial period before the 1730s, he was also a planter. In 1638 and 1640 Cyprian Thoroughgood and Cuthbert Fenwick appeared before the courts as attorneys. Between 1634 and 1660, Thomas Gerrard, Giles Brent (later attorney-general), Thomas Mathew (the Virginia burgess and author of the account of Bacon's Rebellion?), Kenelm Chiseldine (also sometime attorney-general and in-law and correspondent of Fitzhugh), Nehemiah Blakiston (chief justice and another Fitzhugh acquaintance), were among those lawyers whose names appear frequently in the Maryland court records. Several held land and had kinsmen on the Virginia as well as Maryland side of the Potomac. Blakiston and Chiseldine were with Coode the leaders of the Glorious Revolution in Maryland, which resulted in that province's becoming a royal colony, and Gerrard was the father-in-law of all three of these leaders of the rebellion as well as stepfather of Fitzhugh's wife.⁶⁴

All together, a recent scholar finds, 207 men are found to have practiced in the province between 1660 and 1715. Of these, 48 are classified as professional lawyers, including those living on both the Eastern and the Western Shore. Naturally many more of those resident on the Western Shore practiced before the Provincial Court than did those who lived across the

Bay. Those who had attended the Inns of Court were exempt from examination. There were at least ten of them, and almost invariably they occupied prestigious offices and had lucrative personal practices. As in other colonies, most attorneys had gone the route of apprenticeship to a well-known lawyer, often in England but especially after 1700 in Annapolis or another political center. The prominent Thomas Bordley (1682-1736), who may have trained Ebenezer Cook and John Fox of Virginia, was himself in part educated through clerkships. He was Maryland's attorney-general in 1712.⁶⁵ Almost surely because their practices were so profitable, more than two-thirds seem to have held only private legal positions, apparently in contrast to the situation in Virginia before 1715, when most of the now-known attorneys were at times county or provincial officials. Yet the society in which the attorneys operated in Maryland may have viewed them with a certain ambivalence, for not until 1731 does a Maryland testator describe himself in his will as a lawyer. But a good evidence of their respectability is that sons followed their fathers in the profession.

Prince Georges County in Maryland, not founded until 1696, has surviving voluminous court records for 1696-1699, which tell us a great deal about the attorneys practicing in those years. Most had experience in the older counties. Though generally their legal training is unknown, William Bladen (1673-1718), born in England, had been educated at the Inner Temple. During the years from 1696 he was to hold a variety of offices, most of them connected with the legal structure of the colony. James Cranford (d. 1699), Burgess from Calvert County in 1696, left an inventory of legal books which includes English statutes and reports and Dalton, among others. Many of these end-of-the-century attorneys did serve in public offices such as clerkships of courts and memberships in the Lower House.⁶⁶

North Carolina, a separate province in practice by 1691 but not formally until 1731, has little record of its early lawyers. A few of its chief justices before 1746 who were sent from England were trained lawyers, and a law of 1746 creating a superior court required by statute that the judges be trained attorneys. The earliest lawyers whose names survive were active principally after the middle of the eighteenth century, and include a Scot named Samuel Johnston and Henry Eustace McCulloch (practicing in the province 1761-1767), a barrister of the Inner Temple. There were two English lawyers and a Connecticut-born Princeton graduate who was attorney-general in 1777. English-born James Iredell was perhaps the best-known of the Revolutionary generation, a judge of the Superior Court by 1777 and in 1789 a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

South Carolina, with a metropolitan center such as Charleston, should have been legally a different story, but actually very few of its early at-

torneys achieved prominence. In the first place, the Fundamental Constitutions banned the professional practice of law as a "base and vile thing." In the seventeenth century the province was controlled by the governor and his merchant-planter Council and Commons House of Assembly, who at this period were rarely educated in the British law schools. Even the first chief justice of record, Edmund Bohun, appointed in 1698, seems to have had no legal training. Court records are so fragmentary before 1703 that little is known of the men or business concerned in them.⁶⁷ Only in 1702, when Nicholas Trott (1662/3-1739/40), an English lawyer of distinction who had previously been attorney-general, was appointed, did South Carolina have a legally trained chief justice. He had been educated in the Merchant Taylor's School and the Inner Temple and had made himself through his own reading one of the major biblical as well as juridical scholars of his time. Brief accounts of him, until recently always prejudiced for or against man and judge on the basis of surviving contemporary partisan accounts, show him in a series of wrangles with political rivals. Compiler of *The Laws of the Province of South-Carolina* (2 vols., Charleston, 1736), *The Laws of the British Plantations in America, Relating to the Church and the Clergy* (London, 1721), and *Clavis Linguae Sanctae* (London, 1719), he was sufficiently erudite for these works to bring him honorary doctorates from Oxford and Aberdeen. Trott had arrived in Charleston in 1699 as attorney-general and naval officer, and acted for some time as a sort of intermediary between Proprietors and the governor and Assembly. The London Public Record Office contains his reports from and accounts of the early turbulent years of the colony. During one suspension from office he served in the Chancery Court as counsel in three cases (1700-1701). An ardent High-Churchman and a member of the S.P.G., he pushed for establishment of the Church of England, and numbered among his enemies the powerful dissenting groups in the Assembly who were allied with the Low-Church faction. In 1716 he was appointed to the Court of Admiralty in addition to his other duties. His connection with and speech on the trial of a famous pirate will be noted below. Though he went out of office and favor with the end of the Proprietary government in 1719/1720, he lived on until January 1739/1740, an active scholar on juridical and religious subjects to the end.

Nicholas Trott is easily the leading jurist south of Virginia during the colonial period, for both his writing and his work in the judiciary. His "Eight Charges" have been discussed elsewhere as essays and will be considered again below as legal oratory, along with his speech to the condemned pirate. The editor of his manuscript "Eight Charges" would put him in the first rank of colonial writers—"with men like Increase Mather whom he quotes and Judge Samuel Sewall."⁶⁸

In the middle third of the eighteenth century the southern bar had grown enormously in numbers and greatly in prestige. Georgia, which under the government of the Trustees theoretically allowed no lawyers, had attorneys come pouring in after it became a royal province. Within five years, E.M. Coulter tells us, they had multiplied so fast that they were important enough to be referred to as "the bar." Chief officials in Reynolds' new government included William Clifton, attorney-general, and William Grover, chief justice and an Oxford graduate, both probably trained at the Inns of Court since by this time holders of both these positions in the southernmost colonies were professional lawyers imported from Britain.⁶⁹ Georgia colonial lawyers who are usually remembered came after this period, on the threshold of and during the Revolution, though the colony had at least two known members of the Inns of Court residing within its borders before 1764.

South Carolina as a royal colony after 1720 had an increasing number of attorneys, but few are remembered who practiced before the Revolutionary generation. Charles Pinckney, whose second wife was Eliza Lucas, was the first native-born lawyer of prominence. Pinckney studied law at the Inner Temple and served as advocate general in the colony, and at other times he was a member of the Commons House of Assembly and a councilor. Later were Daniel Blake and his brother William, William Drayton, John Garden (son of the commissary), Benjamin Guerard, Daniel Horry, Sir Egerton Leigh, Bart., John Mackenzie, Peter Manigault, John Rutledge, all members of the Inns of Court around mid-century and prominent after Pinckney's time. William Wragg had been at the Middle Temple in 1725.⁷⁰ All four Signers of the Declaration of Independence attended the Inns of Court: Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Edward Rutledge, Jr., and Thomas Lynch, Jr. North Carolina residents who attended the Inns about mid-century included Gabriel Cathcart, Enoch Hall, Thomas McGuire, and Thomas Child, several of them attorneys-general of their respective colonies. These were by no means all the prominent pre-Revolutionary attorneys of the Carolinas, but almost without exception the London-educated were political leaders, a few remaining loyalists but most coming out for independence.

Though before 1730 a little occasional prejudice still remained against the profession in the Chesapeake colonies, each of these provinces developed an eminent bar in the half century before the Revolution, that of Virginia unsurpassed in mainland British America. From Daniel Dulany the elder to his son Daniel Dulany, Jr., and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland had a number of able and eloquent lawyers, most of them educated at British or European universities and the Inns of Court; among them besides those already mentioned were Stephen Bordley and his

younger relative another Thomas Bordley, two Carrolls, Lloyd Dulany, Robert Goldsborough, Philemon Hermsley, James Hollyday, Edmund Key, Philip Thomas Lee and Richard Lee, George Plater, and William Paca, like one of the Carrolls a Signer of the Declaration of Independence. These men in turn trained legal clerks or apprentices and, inadvertently in the courtroom, their colleagues who had had fewer educational advantages. Some, such as the younger Daniel Dulany, never went all the way to independence, but his *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising the Revenue . . .* (Annapolis, 1765) and other papers did much to create the state of mind in which others did move toward the Declaration.

In and out of the little capital city of Williamsburg during the middle half of the eighteenth century were dozens of legal practitioners of ability, many of them men of great general learning and an impressive number educated in the British universities and/or the Inns of Court. Among the eminent who held varied juridical offices and practiced ably and even brilliantly were others whose entire education was received in the colonies. Benjamin Waller, for example, read law under Secretary of State John Carter after a stay at the College, and during his own legal career in turn guided many others in their legal studies. George Wythe, Signer, and first professor of law in an American university, studied at William and Mary and then law under an uncle. Richard Bland, the learned polemicist, attended William and Mary and probably got his legal training under some Williamsburg lawyer. St. George Tucker, Bermuda-born but educated generally at William and Mary and legally under Wythe, whom he was to succeed as professor of law at the college, was the editor of the classic American edition of Blackstone at the end of the Revolution, and as a versatile son of the Enlightenment contributed dissertations on slavery, education, and politics as well as composed good verse, plays, and familiar essays.⁷¹

In this period a gifted group of Northern Neck planter-lawyers was led by John Mercer, who practiced in both county court and General Court, composed abridgments of the Laws of Virginia which were indispensable to his contemporaries, and probably lampooned in verse the political and economic policies of the royal governor. Some, like Mercer, may have been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, or the Scottish universities. Undoubtedly most of these and other planter-attorneys received their training by reading under local lawyers. If so, these mentors must have been learned and intelligent men.

Then there is the long list of Virginians who actually attended the Inns of Court, perhaps for this period beginning with Sir John Randolph and Edward Barradall, two of our three earliest known court reporters. Both

were from leading families of the colony and married into other leading families, Randolph dying in 1737 aged forty-four and Barradall in the same year at an even earlier age. Both men served in many legal capacities, including the office of attorney-general, and their now-printed reports reveal personal professional perceptions as well as the details of the cases they presented.⁷² Though neither man lived to hear much of the first rumblings of major upheaval brought on by the French and Indian War, Sir John's sons were both to be attorneys-general of the colony, and one, Peyton Randolph, was to be first president of the Continental Congress. The sons also were educated at the Inns in London.

The long roll of other eighteenth-century Virginians trained at the Inns of Court after 1719 includes at least two Beverleys; a younger-generation John Banister who was to be a framer of the Articles of Confederation; John Blair, later United States Supreme Court justice; Robert Bolling, already mentioned; Lewis Burwell, president of the Council and acting governor; three Carters, a Cary, a Corbin, a Fitzhugh, a Grymes, a Harrison, a Lee, a Mason, and a Nelson.

As noted already, of the Americans educated at the Inns of Court before the Revolution a good half came from South Carolina and Virginia, and Maryland was represented by about one-sixth. The first and last presidents of the Continental Congress, Peyton Randolph and Cyrus Griffin, had attended them. It is interesting that as few of the British-educated lawyers were loyalists as those trained entirely on American soil, perhaps fewer. Many of the totally American trained had received a general education at William and Mary and a legal one under a Waller or a Wythe. Among the patriots entirely educated in Virginia one should not forget Edmund Pendleton, John Lewis, Robert Carter Nicholas, Thomas Jefferson, and John Tyler Senior. Richard Henry Lee was a student at the Temple but never practiced, and Patrick Henry is renowned partially because his successful legal career began with little or no formal training—"the forest-born Demosthenes," he was somewhat mistakenly called. John Marshall studied law at William and Mary for a few weeks.

There can be little doubt that the London-educated lawyers brought back to the colonies not only a considerable knowledge of English law but much of English court procedures, including forms of debate and a sense of decorum. These men inevitably influenced the mode of training and of judicial and trial procedure in all the southern colonial courts, perhaps usually indirectly. When in the 1750-1776 period the same men and their American-trained colleagues such as Jefferson and Wythe came to write their polemics or pondered considerations of British Parliamentary

oppression, they were capable of arguing in British terms, citing British precedents, using the arguments of British Whigs. It was a British sense of history, a British knowledge of the lessons of classical antiquity and of what the British believed to be Anglo-Saxon liberties, that the legally trained political leaders of America employed against what they considered arbitrary and to them un-English oppression. And it was English rhetoric and logic they used in oral argument, charge, or exhortation in law court or congress.

ORATORY

The Reverend Jonathan Boucher, the Virginia-Maryland loyalist who was himself a renowned pulpit and political speaker, remarks in his *Reminiscences* that he has thought "Americans, in general, . . . eminently endowed with the knack of talking; they seem to be born orators." By Americans he meant Chesapeake colonials: among his examples are the Winslows and Lees of Virginia.⁷³ From Captain John Smith's long colloquies with Indian chiefs to the grand debates of Provincial and Continental Congresses and the Constitutional Convention there was a great deal of oral rhetoric from south of the Susquehannah, some of it in traditions shared with the more northern colonists, some of it, as time went on, perhaps beginning to have a peculiar regional quality of its own, especially if it was occasional or informal. But as the few historians of early American speech admit, its history in the southern colonies has not been written, its quality and potential contribution to the mainstream of national oratory after the adoption of the Constitution has not yet been assessed.

The spread-eagle oratory of the early national South has been considered elsewhere by me, with attention to some late European influences which went into its formation.⁷⁴ But what can be pointed out here is the habit of public expression by governors, legislators, jurists, rebels, clergymen (inside and outside their pulpits), and various other kinds of orators. Some speeches were printed in the colonial period, and more have been printed within the past century in the official records of each colony and in scattered instances in other recently published matter. Though it was not usually the habit to spread on the county court records the speeches of lawyers or justices of the peace, a few of these survive and have been printed in context in recent years. Something of Indian-white and pulpit oratory has been considered at length in preceding chapters, but these modes of expression will be noted briefly here, for they overlap several

of the others, especially the political. Even the academic exercises of the first William and Mary group of students in 1699 are to a considerable extent political and economic as well as educational in drift.

The more formal speeches from Berkeley, perhaps even from Smith, on through certainly to the Richard Henry Lees and Patrick Henrys of the Revolutionary generation, were composed under a strong sense of rhetorical rules. These rules included the classical teaching and models such as Cicero, Quintilian, Longinus, Demosthenes, and Aristotle; such leading rhetoricians of the Renaissance as Peter Ramus, Thomas Farnaby, and John Clarke, and the various general rhetorical manuals (most of them classical in basis) for written or oral discourse of the eighteenth century.⁷⁵ All of these and others may be found in the inventories of southern libraries.

The southern colonial auditor had an opportunity to hear (or to read when published) proclamations and speeches of colonial officials, especially governors, in the most formal tradition. If he attended public times in the capitols, he could hear assemblymen, including speakers, argue or present in somewhat more relaxed style subjects dear to their hearts. In county courts he could hear both well-educated and half-educated attorneys whose utterances reflected their training. In church he heard clergymen of varying oratorical ability and learning displaying little excessive emotion or enthusiasm until the period of the Great Awakening. He could sometimes hear a Nicholas Trott pronounce sentence or charge a grand jury. And one may presume that most southern colonials were aware of the special sort of rhetorical idiom employed by whites and Indians in ceremonial exchanges or treaty negotiations. He occasionally listened to presumably unrehearsed (but when written out later "improved") speeches such as Byrd made to his yeomen of the Dividing Line expedition or the harangues or exhortations Nathaniel Bacon and other "radicals" addressed to their followers or opponents. The average southern settler may have lived in relative isolation on his own farm, but he had frequent opportunity in his lifetime to talk and to hear talk, both formal and informal.

LEGISLATIVE, POLITICAL, AND DIPLOMATIC

One investigator finds that more than two-thirds of the secular speeches printed before 1760 were governors' addresses to colonial assemblies, and that from 1761 to 1787 popular-legislative speeches much outnumbered governors'. The statistic is not too significant as an indication of anything for the southern colonies, for they had no presses until the second quarter of the eighteenth century which engaged in any such printing, and few

speeches from the colonies were printed in Britain in the first century of settlement. Fortunately a great many of the secular southern politico-legislative speeches survived in manuscript, however, and have been printed in the last hundred years.

The earliest of colonial oral diplomatic discourses, the exchange between Powhatan and Captain John Smith in 1609, was in fact printed in the seventeenth century. As Smith has recorded the speeches, they are excellent examples of Elizabethan-Jacobean rhetoric, on one side being what the writer thought the red man was saying. Powhatan's "discourse of peace and warre," with its elaborate rhetorical and emotional appeal to the English, has been noted. Smith's reply must be fairly close to his original utterance, for he makes it straightforward, almost blunt, arguing logically in a series of antithetical followed by simple declarative sentences. Then come other speeches, as proud chief and wily president maneuver. Here Smith shows none of the Hotspur rhetoric displayed elsewhere, but a restrained eloquence which rises when necessary to the elaborate metaphor found in later white-Indian exchanges.⁷⁶

The first known gubernatorial address, made in 1650/1651 by Sir William Berkeley to the Virginia House of Burgesses at a crucial moment when both thought the Commonwealth forces might attempt a takeover, is in phrase and cadence and in impassioned logic an early example of the sort of oratory culminating for a time in the public words of Patrick Henry. Berkeley asks:

what is it can be hoped for in a change, which we have not already? Is it liberty? The sun looks not on a people more free than we are from all oppression. Is it wealth? . . . With out blushing I will speak it, I am confident there lives not that person can accuse me of attempting the least act against any mans property? Is it peace? . . . But Gentlemen by the Grace of God we will not so tamely part with our King, and all those blessings we enjoy under him. . . . I will either lead you to victory, or loose a life which I cannot more gloriously sacrifice.⁷⁷

However contrasting the notion of loyalty, the manner is much the same as Henry's, and in stirring words it calls for liberty or death.

Lord Culpeper, who as the successor of Berkeley spoke to the General Assembly in 1680, is not nearly so rhetorical or emotional. His speech is representative of another now-American form of address, the state-of-affairs report on the colony, state, or nation. He was followed by Lord Howard of Effingham, who was in the Culpeper tradition of strictly business, though Effingham seems to have spoken more frequently.⁷⁸ Nicholson was also usually businesslike, though perhaps a trifle more courteous. It is not until one comes to the years of Alexander Spotswood's administration that real oratory again appears from the governor. Early in his

career—he became governor in 1710—this able executive made a long speech fortunately preserved in the record, which includes facts and plans about the Governor's Palace, the price of tobacco, the appointment of courts of oyer and terminer, and benefactions to the College of William and Mary. In one eloquent paragraph he presents the possibility of slave uprisings in words which are worth remembering:

I Would Willingly Whisper to You The Strength of Your Country and The State of Your Militia; Which on The foot it Now Stands is so Imaginary A Defence, That we Cannot too Cautiously Conceal it from our Neighbours and our Slaves, nor too Earnestly Pray That Neither The Lust of Dominion, nor The Desire of freedom May Stir those people to any Attempts The Latter Sort (I mean our Negro's) by Their Dayly Encrease Seem to be The Most Dangerous; And the Tryals of Last *Aprill* Court may shew that we are not to Depend on Either their Stupidity, or that Babel of Languages among'em; freedom Wears a Cap which Can Without a Tongue, Call Together all Those who Long to Shake of The fetters of Slavery and as Such an Insurrection would surely be attended with Most Dreadfull Consequences so I Think we Cannot be too Early in providing Against it, both by putting our Selves in a better posture of Defence and by Making a Law to prevent The Consultations of Those Negros.⁷⁹

An equally able administrator, Sir William Gooch, who was governor for twenty-two years, had not the power of words of Berkeley or Spotswood. His opening and closing speeches to the General Assembly are not especially happy in phraseology, but they are businesslike, courteous, religious, even affectionate toward those he addressed. His closing speech at the session ending March 30, 1728, for example, reads almost like a benediction, as in intent it was.⁸⁰ Governor Robert Dinwiddie was businesslike and straightforward in his utterances, but his personal unpopularity and the unpopularity of some of the measures he was supporting prevented him from being very effective with his assembly. His successors Francis Fauquier and Lord Botetourt were more popular viceroys and made rather long, down-to-earth speeches which are hardly models of Ciceronian oratory but were sincere and usually conciliatory.

Some extant speeches were delivered by Virginia burgesses themselves at least from the 1680s, when Fitzhugh addressed himself to two vital questions. That few were recorded in full as his were, and a few others which will be noted, may indicate that most were not models of eloquence, though it is more probable that not every able speaker would or could supply a written copy of his words to the clerk of the House. As noted already, the two speeches of William Fitzhugh were on subjects of significance to the colony—the unreasonable and awkward delay in receiving

assent from the King for laws enacted by the assembly, and the question whether members of the Council should sit on the Burgesses' committee for private causes. Both received the enthusiastic approval of the House, but in style they are more legalistic than elegant, though Fitzhugh appears a more graceful speaker than most governors.⁸¹

Two effective political orators were speakers of the House of Burgesses in the eighteenth century. Peter Beverley's address of March 1702 when he was elected speaker is worth noting, as are two by Sir John Randolph on similar occasions in 1734 and 1736. Beverley's words are brief and effective. Randolph's give us an inkling of why he was the most respected Virginia political figure of his time. His 1734 acceptance speech is a model of modesty, pertinence, felicitous phrasing, and plain logic, as well as a beautiful expression of the theory of noblesse oblige. The 1736 discourse upon the occasion of Randolph's second election as speaker is all that the other is and in addition a concise history of the colony which points out the times when power had been abused or abased, and the inherent and traditional right of the House of Burgesses to the liberties of all Englishmen, including freedom of speech and other privileges due legislative bodies. In his conclusion the speaker tactfully went on to Governor Gooch:

The Art of Governing Well, is thought to be the most abstruse, as well as the usefulest Science in the World; and when it is learnt to some Degree of Perfection, it is very difficult to put into Practice, being often opposed by the Pride and Interest of the Person that governs. But you have shew'd how easy it is to give universal Satisfaction to the People under Your Government: You have . . .

I do not mention these Things, for the sake of enlarging my Periods, nor for flattery, nor for conciliating Favour: For if I know my self at all, I have none of the Arts of the first, nor the Address that is necessary for the other. . . .

Permit me then, *Sir*, to beseech You to go on the same steady Course: Finish the Character You have been almost Nine Years establishing. . . . Make us the Envy of the King's other Plantations; and put those Governors out of Countenance, who make Tyranny their Glory.⁸²

Such was political oratory at the dawn of the golden age. It reached its height from the 1750s to the 1790s, when Carters and Lees and Masons and the later Randolphs, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, Richard Bland, Robert Carter Nicholas, and Patrick Henry were with voice and pen enlarging the minds of their colleagues and their constituents. At least one Carter was a poor speaker, for Jefferson tells us that Landon Carter was dull and monotonous enough to lull his listeners into slumber. This is certainly not said of the others, though Jefferson's own weakest point as a legislator was his low, at times almost inaudible tone in speaking. Hugh

Blair Grigsby sums almost all of them up—Peyton Randolph, with soundness of learning and accuracy of research rather than grace of delivery; Richard Bland, of vast learning and twinkling humor; Edmund Pendleton the logical debater, to be discussed again just below; George Wythe, always able, often impressive, and at times eloquent; Richard Henry Lee, the Cicero of the assembly, also to be noted again in a moment; and Patrick Henry, who belonged to the rhetorical pulpit tradition of the impassioned prose of Samuel Davies, an amazingly logical extempore speaker who kindled into flame as he debated. With all due allowance for the evaluation in terms of his own nineteenth-century rhetoric, Grigsby knew most of these men firsthand, or almost firsthand, and he spent a lifetime learning more about those he had not known personally.⁸³ He has much more to say about these and others.

Despite the studies of some of these and other late colonial Virginians as political speakers, the quality of their oratory has never been fully analyzed, though there are some useful, suggestive studies. Just recently Jack P. Greene has included an investigation of the oral rhetorical ability of three of them in an essay really directed in part to other matters: "Character, Persona, and Authority: A Study of Alternative Styles of Political Leadership in Revolutionary Virginia."⁸⁴ This interesting evaluation of the diverse character of leadership is centered on Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, and George Mason, all born between 1721 and 1735. These men, Greene points out, lie in age between the older Richard Bland-Benjamin Waller-Landon Carter generation and the younger Thomas Jefferson-Patrick Henry-Edmund Randolph group. All three began their active legislative careers well within the colonial period and extended them to and past the adoption of the Constitution. Their qualities of leadership are suggested by their oratorical style. Much of Lee's appeal as a political leader lay in his eloquence in public speaking. Among the contemporary adjectives applied to Lee's style are "chaste," "persuasive," "classical," and "elegant," and there is evidence that he strove for theatrical effect on the model of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. Early in his career he assumed the role of the independent "country" patriot who ferreted out corruption. He would never have made a stump speaker: "His proper forum was the legislative chamber."

Edmund Pendleton, from much humbler social background than Lee and without Lee's educational advantages, also was "a very smoothtongued speaker." He was not elegant, however, and as Jefferson suggested, was at his best as a legislative debater, "cool, smooth and persuasive, . . . his conceptions quick. . . . You never knew when you were clear of him . . . the ablest man in debate I ever met with." No classical ornament decorated his pen or his oral discourse.

George Mason, though relatively little regarded by historians until quite recently, was in his own time perhaps next to George Washington in the respect accorded him by his Virginia contemporaries. Though born in 1725, he was a minor figure on the political scene until the Revolutionary crisis. His father and grandfather had, like him, served terms in the House of Burgesses, but they had not played the role the earlier Lees had in contemporary politics. He was a planter and perhaps the architect of his beautiful house Gunston Hall. His writings published in the 1760s on the Stamp Act and other matters are the first known signs of his active career. By 1775 he emerged as a major figure, but his personal and family history both lay behind this step into the limelight. He was not, like Lee, a polished orator nor even as smooth a debater as Pendleton, but he had his classical model, Cato the Younger, whose speech was "straight forward, full of matter, and harsh," as Plutarch says. Jefferson adds that "his language was strong, his manner most impressive, and strengthened by a dash of biting cynicism." To his contemporaries who, as has been shown, delighted in the character of Cato, Mason seemed the Roman reembodyed, the most unselfish of patriots.

Possessed of strong personal integrity and independence of mind, each exemplified a different mode of leadership. Greene sees Lee and Mason as having no precise counterparts in the earlier generation, though he admits that Landon Carter (save in real effectiveness and elegance of delivery) in his earlier years "assumed a posture similar to that later exhibited by Lee." Lee and Jefferson and Henry are seen as something new in the colony, the vigorous and uncompromising defenders of the basic beliefs of their society. This conclusion one may accept with qualifications, for these men and Pendleton, Peyton Randolph, and several of the other articulate burgesses share this role. Mason may be something else, the man perfectly happy in his private station, who steps forward to speak for or champion the public weal.

Yet this is not quite the whole story of Virginia colonial oral discourse. For most benchers in the Virginia House of Burgesses (or those of the other southern provinces for that matter) public legislative speaking was the expression of logic and their meetings were committees for serious discussion. Oratorical flights in the assembly were, one gathers, the exception rather than the rule, and when they did occur the speakers were directly or indirectly appealing to all their fellow citizens on crucial points. One historian says the lower houses were no more suitable for ornate eloquence than is a modern corporation board meeting. Perhaps so, but occasionally earlier and quite often after 1750 the colonial legislator spoke to and for the stockholders as well as the board of directors.

As has been noticed several times, the Maryland Archives contain the

most extensive printed coverage of the records of any southern colony, including the journals of both houses of the General Assembly and of county and provincial courts. Among the journals especially are the speeches of governors to the Assembly, usually brief and businesslike and of much the same quality as those from Virginia executives. Among the earliest of interest is a 1707 fairly long address to both houses by Governor John Seymour (1704-1709). It is a little tedious in its outline of business but concludes with a faintly rhetorical exhortation. Seymour's later speech on antimonarchical elements in the now-royal colony, his inquiries concerning circuit court judges, and his request that there be at once an investigation and punishment of blatant or flagrant immorality in the colony, with a final exhortation to Christian living and character, is somewhat more significant discourse.⁸⁵

Governor Samuel Ogle (1731-1732, 1733-1742, 1747-1752) has left many speeches, both in the recently published *Archives* and in *A Collection of the Governor's Several Speeches, and the Addresses of each House . . . At a Convention of the Assembly, begun the First of May, 1739 . . .* (Annapolis, 1739). In 1732, when Maryland was ostensibly again a Proprietary province, Ogle made a vigorous speech against tobacco-plant cutting and on the question of a paper currency.⁸⁶ The published collection of 1739 contains much more than his speeches, for the addresses and messages to and from the Lower House and the Council are also here. In Ogle's first reply to a long address from the House of Burgesses, he defends himself and the government against a number of charges, including his recent "unprecedented Prorogation" of the last assembly, pointing out particular inconsistencies which run through their complaints, and mentioning paper currency, the established Anglican church, and aid to back-country settlers. It is entirely business, almost a debate type of argument. It was followed by a long series of alternating messages from the Council and burgesses, each of which felt injured by the other. Ogle had to push his tobacco program, though in the end he lost it, the one major defeat he sustained during his several terms. The long documentary addresses passed between House and governor cite history and English statutes and Crown prerogative and the logic of the tobacco-inspection tax. Curiously he seems to have taken offense at the burgesses' reference to the birthright "of every *British* Free born Subject," which he saw as an altogether new ground for argument. He concludes the series with the conventional assurance that he will never do anything to endanger "*the Security of your Property, Rights, and Just Liberties.*" The exchange goes on for seventy-two large-paper pages of print, with Ogle's final speech almost a gesture of despair, for he finds it necessary to prorogue the assembly.⁸⁷

One other gubernatorial address of the earlier Maryland period should

be noted. Benedict Leonard Calvert, on October 6, 1727, spoke to the assembly in a gracious and practical speech which opened the session. He alluded to the recent death of King George, gave thanks for his welcome as the Lord Proprietor's representative, and then presented five points: religious worship, the tobacco industry, the Assize Law, the regulation of ordinaries, and the ill condition of the public records. He recommended that a committee of both houses inspect the documents and attempt to regularize them, and concluded with conciliatory remarks regarding tobacco laws and taxes, pointing out that Lord Baltimore's interest was inextricably interwoven with their own.

The popular Governor Horatio Sharpe during his long tenure also made a number of speeches, perhaps the best-remembered being his proclamations on various occasions during the French and Indian War. They are both devout and rhetorical. The three volumes of his correspondence suggest other qualities of his discourse—the expression of a kindly and able man.⁸⁸ He also seems to have understood the art of Indian diplomatic oratory, though he usually had his messages delivered by proxy. His successor Robert Eden made some fairly effective conciliatory addresses to the assembly, though by then the Crown's cause in America was lost.

One of the remarkable examples of colonial diplomatic rhetoric is the series of exchanges between Lord Baltimore and his kinsman Colonel George Talbot versus William Penn concerning their border disputes in 1682 and 1684. It is really a series of colloquies courteously yet cogently expressed when Penn and Baltimore conferred in 1682; and in 1684, while the Maryland Proprietor was in Europe, Talbot acted as chief of a commission to treat with the Pennsylvania Proprietor. Penn was less courteous, or deferential, to Talbot, though the latter held his own in a series of sharp exchanges. They discussed the whole history of both parties' relationship with the Susquehannahs and other small Indian nations. They spoke of personal estates and entail (which Talbot insisted existed in Maryland only as a part of "the old Comon Law of England"), the Bishop of Durham clause in the Maryland Proprietor's charter which gave him semi-autonomy, and the surveying of the boundary. Both principals (Talbot and Penn) were indeed born talkers, though the unprejudiced observer will probably feel that the Marylander makes a more convincing case.⁸⁹

There is plenty of evidence that Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the younger Daniel Dulany, William Paca, and later Ogles were effective legislative speakers. And many other governors' speeches have survived, printed in separate pamphlets or the *Maryland Gazette*. But the political nature of at least one sermon would place it here rather than under religious or pulpit oratory. It was preached by Jonathan Boucher in Queen Anne's Parish "On Civil Liberty, Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance." It is

a most able statement, and a courageous one under the circumstances, of the loyalist position. Boucher concludes with the admonition: "Honour all men: love the brotherhood: fear God: honour the King." It is a logical discourse, based upon the premise that politics "properly understood, form an essential branch of Christian duty." One cannot help admiring the courage and perspicacity of the doughty scholar-clergyman."⁹⁰

North Carolina had several able speakers among its early governors, from George Burrington, governor under the Proprietors and later under royal rule, onward. Burrington was caustic and dictatorial, and his platform manner got him into as much trouble as anything he said or did. His successor, Gabriel Johnston, a Scot of good birth who had been a professor of oriental languages at St. Andrews, was at thirty-five superior to his much older predecessor. He maintained Burrington's position on the quitrents, however, and set up a court of exchequer to collect rents by distress if necessary. His opening speech took up the refrain of Burrington's critics, on the other hand, for he declared that he found affairs in great disorder. A speech of September 21, 1736, was printed in full in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of November 27. Characteristically for a man of his background, he included two eloquent paragraphs on the establishment of schools and the need for a complete edition of North Carolina laws (he could find none). The whole long address is one of the most felicitously and tactfully phrased to come from the southern colonies before 1750.

Johnston's successor, Arthur Dobbs, appointed in 1753, has in various connections been mentioned several times. Though his total effectiveness remains a moot question, his direction of affairs, which may be followed in his many speeches to his assembly, indicate that through perhaps at least two-thirds of his administration he showed himself among the ablest colonial governors of his time. He clashed with his legislature on many issues, including revenues for frontier defense, and he argued their necessity with logic and even eloquence. Better known as a writer than as a speaker, when the history of colonial oratory comes to be written he will have a respectable place in it.⁹¹

Among North Carolina legislators of the pre-Revolutionary period, there can be little doubt that most of the writers of the *Regulator* and other tracts were also eloquent in oral discourse, and there are a few journals of the assembly which at least suggest it. The most eloquent, however, were certainly men of the Revolutionary generation, as James Iredell, who was not born until 1751.

South Carolina colonial political and legislative speaking did not become notable until the eighteenth century. Though much was published in the *South-Carolina Gazette* from 1732, the recent new series of legislative journals edited by J.H. Easterby and R.N. Olsberg have so far given us a

wealth of material from 1736 through 1751, including speeches, debates, and proclamations, many of which had hitherto remained in manuscript. A.S. Salley had many years ago attempted to edit seventeenth-century assembly records, but his originals were fragmentary or he did not have the proper facilities, for they remain sketchy outlines with little annotation. Only a few addresses by such governors as Ludwell and Archdale appear in these early papers, and they afford us no evidence of conscious rhetoric in their composition.⁹²

The earliest of the easily available eighteenth-century discourses is the speech of Governor Robert Johnson to the Commons House of Assembly meeting December 7, 1732 (*South-Carolina Gazette*, December 16, 1732), an unadorned state-of-the-colony address covering immediate and long-term problems as to forts, Indians, Negroes, trade, payment of troops, and the "recent sickness." A few months later (April 28, 1733) the *Gazette* printed not a governor's but a chief justice's speech, to the Council on the Commons House of Assembly's right to suspend habeas corpus, or rather its lack of any right to do so. The columns of the paper were opened to both sides, and Councilor Francis Yonge and Commons Speaker John Lloyd defended the Lower House by repeating the old claim that it had the same privileges as the House of Commons.⁹³ Both Lloyd and Yonge show themselves able legal debaters, but the former's style especially is that of a courtroom lawyer, with little or no embellishment, and though Yonge cites familiar historical authorities already noted, he uses none of the eloquence of some of the Chesapeake legislators or of his South Carolina contemporary Nicholas Trott.

The *Gazette* continued to carry gubernatorial addresses and proclamations, though usually after those for November 1736 they are today more conveniently read in the Easterby-Olsberg modern edition of the *House Journal*. In Volume I, for example, is Johnson's treaty-speech to the Indian chiefs of the Cherokees. And there are the usual addresses to the Commons House by Governors Broughton, William Bull the elder, and James Glen. The two former show nothing remarkable as speakers, but Glen, who was perhaps South Carolina's ablest and longest-termed governor, left on the record a number of thoughtful and forceful speeches. His language is apt and urbane and graceful. He begins in one speech: "Bad Governours and Magistrates are the greatest grievance that any Province can be afflicted with; you may be assured therefore that I shall concur with you in whatever will restrain the Rapacious, or tie up the Hands of the Oppressor. In enacting Laws, let them be short, clear, and necessary."⁹⁴

After 1743 the Commons House of Assembly, like its counterparts in the Chesapeake region, had assumed a position of power. It was composed of able men, but they seem to have had no such causes as the Virginia

Pistole Fee and Parson's Cause to elicit a flood of brilliant yet reasoned oratory. On the Stamp Act and the Indian problems, the latter with them perennial, the South Carolinians debated in their forum, but their more forceful speakers came after 1763, in Gadsden and Drayton, both said to have been capable of "a copious stream of irony and sarcasm," and in Henry Laurens. And though forensic oratory in South Carolina must have further study before final conclusions can be drawn, all the evidence so far would indicate that the colony's speakers never equaled their Chesapeake counterparts in the power to move men's thoughts whether in their own assembly or in the Continental Congress. In the latter several became leaders, but not because of their persuasive oral rhetoric. Part of this—providing it is true—may spring from their lack of a more than century-old tradition of elegant and moving as well as logical oratory.⁹⁵

Georgia administrators under the Trustees and under the royal government, in that hectic generation immediately preceding the Revolution, showed themselves able legislative or political speakers, from James Habersham (1712–1775), who began under the Trustees, through Crown Governors Henry Ellis (1712–1806) and James Wright (1716–1785), who remained loyalists but in the latter two instances especially attempted to be conciliatory to the end. In fact, such were Governor Wright's persuasive powers that Georgia sent no delegates to the Stamp Act Congress. By 1774, however, Georgia radicals such as Noble W. Jones, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, and George Walton had called together "every patriot in Georgia" at a tavern in Savannah and had taken their stand, one may be sure, after considerable discussion. At a second Provincial Congress the eloquent clergyman John J. Zubly preached to these radicals "on the alarming state of American affairs," though in the end he opposed independence and suffered banishment. Jones had been a vociferous opponent of the Stamp Act, and Walton was a loud voice in the later moves toward independence. Once aroused, Georgia spoke frequently, but its youth and inexperience as a political entity may have prevented its producing in the colonial period any notable orators, at least on political subjects.⁹⁶

LEGAL ORAL RHETORIC

George V. Bohman holds that law courts before 1700 were so irregular in procedure, judges so poorly trained, and lawyers so few that "little significance can be attached to speeches upon legal occasions." With this one cannot agree, at least for the Chesapeake region, for there trained judges and provincial attorneys-general and qualified attorneys did exist in such men as Chiseldine and Blakiston in Maryland and Fitzhugh, Sherwood, Spicer, Hartwell, and Chilton in Virginia, all of whom appeared

frequently before general and county courts. The records of the General Court of Virginia are quite fragmentary and give us almost nothing for the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but there is more for Maryland which has already been printed in part and needs to be analyzed. The Prince Georges County Court journals of the last years of the century show an impressive bar in that Maryland region, which includes some men educated at the Inns of Court, as has been seen. Very little of the cases is reported in direct discourse, but the enormous amount of detail, if properly analyzed, might indicate a great deal about the legal forensic abilities displayed. One picks up little things, as that attorney William Stone was fined for cursing in court, and on another occasion the same lawyer as special clerk of indictment is quoted in full in his presentation of a defendant before the Grand Jury. There are hundreds of other varied reports. This Prince Georges volume was deliberately chosen for editing to represent a cross section of Maryland seventeenth-century court-trial records. Many more are still in manuscript for the county courts of both the Chesapeake colonies in that century. Those this writer has examined in county courthouses (as Stafford in Virginia) or in photostat or microfilm in other places suggest that there must be extensive study, county by county and colony by colony, if an authoritative history of legal procedure and oratory in the seventeenth-century South is to be written, and it must naturally include the earliest court records of the two Carolinas.⁹⁷

Admittedly it is difficult to draw the distinction between eloquent pleading and other legal abilities. It can not be doubted, however, that in the earlier eighteenth century aforementioned attorneys who were also burgesses or even councilors were able and eloquent pleaders before the bar of local and provincial courts. Daniel Dulany, Sr., and Charles Carroll, Sr., of Maryland, and Sir John Randolph and John Holloway of Virginia, along with others of these provinces and the Carolinas appeared before various sorts of courts. Though William Byrd II had attended the Middle Temple and was a qualified London barrister, all the pleading he ever did in court was in Britain (so far as we know), once for a Virginia governor and several times as agent of the colony, in no instances formally in court. Back in Virginia as a councilor he was a member of the General Court and a judge of the Spotswood-appointed court of oyer and terminer. In none of his Virginia judicial activity is there record of his speaking to the subject.

In the more immediately pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary generation there were known able speakers among the lawyers. Among them were the younger Dulany, Patrick Henry, George Wythe, John Randolph, Jr., John Rutledge, Peter Manigault, and William H. Drayton.

Among the pre-Revolutionary trials which excited popular interest and involved some noted lawyers most that were printed with the attorney's

speeches were from northern courts, but at least two southern trials were among the most famous. One was the Parson's Cause case at Hanover Court House in Virginia, where in 1763 Patrick Henry made the speech which started him on the road to distinction. Another was the much earlier 1718 trial in Charleston of Major Stede Bonnet for piracy. Though the prosecution and defense pleas are not remembered, Chief Justice Trott's speech as he sentenced Bonnet to be hanged is justly recalled. In fact it was most popular reading in the early eighteenth century, for Daniel Defoe incorporated it verbatim in his *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates* (London, 1724).⁹⁸

This is a typical Trott utterance. That is, it is an eloquent, moral, learned, sententious discourse quoting biblical law and, one might add, even showing sincere compassion for the convicted pirate. It is addressed to the general audience and the court as well as to the man being sentenced and is thus a juridical sermon on the nature and consequence of a life of crime. The jurist appeals directly to Bonnet to repent and reminds him of God's mercy: "And do not mistake the *Nature* of Repentance to be only a bare Sorrow for your Sins, arising from the Consideration of the *Evil* and *Punishment* they have now brought upon you; but your Sorrow must arise from the Consideration of your having offended a gracious and merciful God. . . . And therefore now having discharged my Duty to you as a *Christian*, by giving you the best Counsel I can with respect to the Salvation of your Soul, I must now do my Office as a *Judge*."

The other speech occasion in court procedure for which entire oral discourses have been preserved is the charges delivered by judges to grand juries. Many of those to provincial juries were printed in pamphlets in their own day (pre-Revolutionary) in the northern colonies and at least once in Virginia. The most noted charges of Revolutionary times were four by Justice William Henry Drayton in 1774-1777, which form a philosophical and even dynamic statement of the political and legal theory upon which the Revolution and Independence were based. The last three were heard by large audiences in Charleston and on circuit. The charge of October 15, 1776, *The Rise of American Empire*, is said to be still widely read, but legal historians seem to prefer that of April 23, 1776, which claims that the King had by his unconstitutional acts dissolved the ties that bind England and America. Though these ideas were developing in the period covered by this study, they lie outside it. But several southern charges not necessarily so political are even more remarkable for their philosophical and eloquent legal qualities.

The earliest of these, the "Eight Charges Delivered, At So Many Several General Sessions, & Gaol Deliveries: Held at Charles Town . . . In the Years 1703. 1704. 1705. 1706. 1707," by Nicholas Trott, is at this writing

not yet in print but almost surely soon will be. This work of the noted linguist, theologian, and philosophical jurist has been discussed somewhat as a series of belletristic essays, for in one sense so they are. Cogent and copiously documented with authorities from many areas, the eight charges speak specifically to legal subjects, as the nature and origin of law, its usefulness, the happiness of living under law, the obligations to obey civil law, the nature and obligation of oaths, the grand juror's oath, the excellence and reasonableness of the laws of England, and an exhortation to enforce these laws against offenders. Two aspects of these oral discussions—for they are spoken straight to his jurors—are (1) the explanation of the crime of witchcraft in which Trott believed, composed to refute skeptics such as Scot and Webster, which quotes among other authorities his contemporary Increase Mather, and (2) Trott's compelling speech sentencing a group of three convicted murderers in a case involving adultery. The latter is suggestive of his later sentencing of Stede Bonnet, with exhortations to repentance and reminders of the mercifulness of God. This early charge is certainly one of the most eloquent extant examples of colonial legal rhetoric.⁹⁹

Trott, one remembers, was speaking as a provincial chief justice who was legally trained. In Virginia, where the governor was the presiding judge in the highest court, the charge did not come from a professional lawyer, but at least two men showed a considerable knowledge of jurisprudence and procedure in their charges to grand juries. The earlier is Sir William Gooch. In 1730 William Parks published in Williamsburg *A Charge to the Grand Jury. At the General Court, held in the Capitol of the City of Williamsburg, in Virginia, on Monday the 19th Day of October, 1730*. Incidentally this seems to be the earliest issue of a Virginia press of which a copy is known.¹⁰⁰ It is one of Gooch's better-known speeches, as usual a series of instructions regarding impartiality, the laws of God, the duty of diligent inquiry into the facts, the necessity of prosecuting all who "swerve from their Duty to GOD, their *Sovereign*, their *Country*, or their *Neighbour*." He begins in a philosophical as well as juridical vein: "*Gentlemen of the GRAND JURY, Whether we consider the present State and Condition of the World, or consult the Tempers of Mankind thro' the several Ages past, we find the same Reason all along subsisting, which at first produced Societies and Common Wealths, and led our Ancestors into such Forms and Rules of Government as would best preserve Mens Lives and Fortunes.*"

Gooch felt ill prepared to formulate charges and wrote his brother in England to send him a book "sealed up" which gave instructions in such matters. Robert Dinwiddie, his successor, on the other hand, though he was of merchant background, apparently felt quite at ease in charging his grand juries. His juridical instructions have been published within the past

century. In 1752 he delivered two, in 1753 a third, and in 1754 and 1755 briefer ones of similar import and phraseology, with others in 1756, 1757, and 1758, concise and pointed instructions of the 1755 variety. As judicial or legal eloquence the 1752-1753 charges are much the most interesting and graceful. All to a certain extent belabor the obvious, but for style and intent some phrases are worth noticing. He begins in April 1752, near the beginning of his term:

It is the Blessing and Happiness of the Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain to be govern'd by Laws that are founded on natural Justice and Equity, upon the mutual Duties that arise among the Members of the same Society, from their relation to each other. A great many of these Laws consists of Precepts by which Right and Wrong are pointed out and distinguish'd. But the power of Enforcing these Precepts is not, as in other Countries intrusted to a single Person, whose Judgment may be pervert'd by Caprice, or by Prejudice, and whose Conduct may be influenc'd by the Threats of Power, the Allurements of Wealth, or the Importunity of Persuasion.

In the fall of the same year, after two paragraphs on the principal ends of civil government and human laws, he speaks significantly to the jurymen as individuals:

I will recommend one Rule to you, Gentlemen; That is, to consult without Fav'r or Prejudice, the native Dictates of Your own impartial Hearts. There is a just Judge within the Breast of every honest Man. Be only properly inform'd, and the Dictates of Your Conscience may be briefly pronounc'd to the World. If matters of Form, or Points of Law sh'd Embarras Your Proceedings, the Court will be ready to instruct You. As You are to Enquire of and present all Offences against the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, I doubt not, You will acquit Y'rselfes with all Honesty, Diligence, and Impartiality, by hav'g a due Regard for the Honour and Glory of God, a Love to Your Country, and Most Sincere and affectionate Loyalty to this Sacred Majesty, King George the Second, upon Whom, and his Royal Progeny (next under God) our Safety and Protection in the many valuable Blessings of our Constitution chiefly Depends.¹⁰¹

Although, as already noted, many of the chief justices of the southern colonies other than Virginia were trained at the Inns of Court, their charges to grand juries so far known more nearly parallel those of the two amateurs, the governors, than they do the more probing and pondered admonitions of the learned Nicholas Trott. Samuel Chew of Newcastle (Delaware-Pennsylvania) did take his opportunity in 1741 to discuss the lawfulness of defense against an armed enemy, a direct attack on the Quaker doctrine of nonresistance in the French wars (it was reprinted in 1775). But north or

south, most of the charges directed to grand juries printed in pamphlets or newspapers are just as standardized as those of Gooch and the later instructions of Dinwiddie—possibly even more standardized.

But there were also county court grand juries from the first half of the seventeenth century, at any rate in Virginia. Philip A. Bruce cites evidences of their existence at least as early as 1645, when an act was passed empowering these juries to receive all presentments and information and to inquire into cases of felony and misdemeanor. He also outlines a long charge delivered by the justices of Lower Norfolk to their grand jury in 1662, a detailed statement of the duties of that body, a long list of possible unlawful actions which embraced everything not involving loss of life or limb or above a certain amount of tobacco. This one address contained all the injunctions laid upon such juries for the remainder of the century, though certain statutes were altered during the next four decades. A 1685 Henrico county grand jury was to inquire whether particular persons were building their tobacco casks of a larger size than the law allowed. Other charges are extant for Westmoreland, Isle of Wight, and Middlesex counties. The instructions were less formal than in the General or Provincial Court, but all together they form a body of largely unpublished colonial legal oral literature well worth examining.¹⁰²

RELIGIOUS AND OCCASIONAL

Although the New England sermon is the most abundant of the forms of colonial writing and speaking from that area, the southern sermon was much less frequently printed and preserved, as has been pointed out. Only one, that of Alexander Whitaker, is known to have been printed in the seventeenth century, and that was an occasional piece, as were most of the scores published in the next century. From Maryland to Georgia, from Thomas Bacon to John J. Zubly, the individual printed sermon celebrated usually a major contemporary problem, from education to the relation between slaves and masters to a celebration of victory. In Virginia Anglican parson Stith spoke out *against* gambling and the doctrines of the New Light, and Presbyterian Davies on the qualities of a good soldier and the necessity for war against the French as well as *for* the New Light doctrines.

No more polished pulpit orator lived in eighteenth-century colonial America than Virginia dissenter Samuel Davies. Anglican Thomas Craidock in Maryland was almost as graceful in his language and equally as vehement in his fulminations. Both were poets as well as preachers, and with Josiah Smith in South Carolina and a number of other clerics, principally but not all dissenters, they set firmly an American rhetorical tradition which a secular orator such as Patrick Henry could shape to his own

political ends. Jonathan Boucher and his friend James Maury were Anglican parsons who came close to the rhetorical but never the doctrinal side of Davies' homiletic form.

There was of course another homiletic tradition in style and subject in the southern colonies perhaps best represented by Commissary Blair's sermons on the Sermon on the Mount, the quiet unraveling of texts which touched upon some aspect of everyday life, in as plain a style as was any ever found in New England. This Anglican unadorned homily is traditional in the American Protestant Episcopal church to the present day. In the colonial period it was represented by manuscript and more rarely printed separate sermons of dozens of Marylanders and Virginians and a few Carolinians, including Commissary Alexander Garden, who could at times grow vituperative and vehement but rarely ornate, and in collections such as Blair's and Samuel Quincy's of South Carolina.

The preaching of George Whitefield throughout the South and his close association with Georgia influenced other preachers of the Great Awakening in the region, especially southern dissenters. In varying degree, in secular and ecclesiastical context of the more evangelical kind, his style has survived in southern rhetoric, occasionally in a political speaker, more frequently in the emotional sermons of the so-called fundamentalist clergy. It is kin to the oratory of Davies and even Cradock though rarely so logical or rational as theirs. Fear of the torments of Hell rather than the love of God and the moral life moved religious speaker and listener. Similarly in the mouths of political demagogues the fears and prejudices of particular rural or urban groups instead of the character of candidates too often have been the means of moving voters to action. The second Great Awakening of about 1800 and the rise of romanticism combined with the earlier elements to produce camp-meeting religious rhetoric and spread-eagle political oratory in the nineteenth century, but that is another story. Perry Miller has written much of the New England Puritan sermon style as has W.W. Sweet in general of religion in colonial America, but once again it must be emphasized that the history of southern colonial religious oratory—Anglican and dissenting—and its potential effect upon trends in our national oral rhetoric, secular and religious, have yet to be satisfactorily assessed.

But popular oratory, sometimes political in effect though lying outside the legislative and executive rhetoric of the colonial South, had at least a kind of beginning in the later seventeenth century. The commissioners' "Narrative of the Late Rebellion in Virginia" of 1677 includes allegedly verbatim copies of at least three speeches by Nathaniel Bacon which must be at least fairly accurate approximations of what the rebel actually said.

In the first, upon hearing that Berkeley was raising forces to march against him, Bacon exhorted "Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers" in undaunted spirit:

It is revenge that hurries them on without regard to the Peoples Safety, and [I?] had rather wee should be murder'd and our ghosts sent to our Slaughter'd country-men by their actings, than wee live to hinder them of their Interest with the heathen [Indians], and preserve the remaining part of our Fellow Subjects from their cruelties. Now then wee must bee forced to turne our swords to our owne defence, or expose ourselves to their Mercyes, or Fortune of the Woodes, whilst his majestyes country here lyes in Blood and Wasting (like a Candle) at both ends. . . .

But they are all damn'd Cowards, and you shall see they will not dare to meete us in the Field to try the Justnesse of our course and soe wee will downe to them.

To which, we are told, all the rebels cried "Amen, amen." Bacon's next speech is summarized in indirect discourse but is followed by a direct address to "Gentlemen" to encourage their marching against the marauding red men:

I had rather my carcase should lye rotting in the woodes, and never see English mans face againe in Virginia, than misse of doing that service the country expects from me, and I vowed to performe against these heathen, which should I returne not successfull in some manner to damnifie and affright them wee should have them as much animated as the English discouraged, and my adversaries to insult and reflect on mee; that my Defence of the country is but Pretended and not Reall and (as they already say) I have other Designs and make this but my Pretense and cloke. But that all shall see how devoted I am to it, considering the great charge the country is at in fitting mee forth and the hope and expectation they have in mee, All you gentlemen that intend to abide with mee must resolve to undergoe all the hardships this wilde can afforde, dangers and successes and if need bee to eate Chinkapins and horseflesh before hee returns.

In a final recorded address to his tired soldiers he is quoted as continuing to speak in intrepid spirit: "Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers, How am I transported with gladnesse to find you thus unanimous, Bold and daring, brave and Gallant; you have the victory before you fight, the conquest before you battle."

No more ornate was his style than that of his enemy Sir William Berkeley, nor is there any real evidence of the demagogue. The words bespeak a courageous leader sincere in his belief that his cause is just. The two King's commissioners who reported these speeches declare that they were drawn from disinterested persons and reliable reports and records, "selected

and sett downe [with] what wee thought most consonant to Truth and Reality." ¹⁰³

Then there is the academic rhetoric of the pastoral colloquies of 1699. Trained by parson schoolmasters or professors with the aid of the best manuals of their time, William and Mary students proved themselves down to the Revolution to be articulate and logical, and classical in their oral references. There are evidences from clerical, juridical, and political alumni that students at the little college were taught to express themselves in the forum or even on the amateur's stage.

Eighteenth-century field or occasional rhetoric is represented in William Byrd II's report of his own speeches to the men of the Virginia force in *The Secret History of the Line*. In *The History of the Dividing Line* the author omits all of them, and one recent critic has argued that these discourses and other elements of *The Secret History* render its epic quality more pronounced than in the later *History*. And it may be true indeed that Byrd had in mind the speeches scattered through the great classical epics.¹⁰⁴ The wanderings of Aeneas or Ulysses are certainly suggested, among a number of other things. Calling himself "Steddy," Byrd may be assuming the role of any of the epic heroes, even in addressing his "Troops":

Hereafter drawing out his small Troop, Steddy made them the following Speech.

Friends & Fellow Travellers.

It is a pleasure to me to see that wee are like to be so well attended on this long & painful Journey. And what may we not hope from Men who list themselves not so much for pay, as from an Ambition to serve their Country. Wee have a great distance to go, & much Work to perform, but I observe too much Spirit in your Countenances to flinch at either. As no care shall be wanting on my part to do every One of you Justice so I promise myself that on Yours, You will set the Carolina Men, whom we are to meet at Coratuck, a constant Pattern of Order, Industry & Obedience.

A month later, March 14, as the men stood on the edge of the Dismal Swamp, "Steddy thought proper to encourage the Men by a short harangue to this effect. 'Gentlemen, we are at last arriv'd at this dreadfull place, which til now has been thought impassable.' " On April 9, reaching the conclusion of the spring stage of the survey,

Steddy drew up his Men, & harangued them in the following Manner. "Friends & Fellow Travellers. It is a great Satisfaction to me, that after so many difficultes & Fatigues, you are return'd in safety to the place where I first Join'd you. I am much oblig'd to you for the great readiness & Vigour you have shew'd in the business we went about, & I must do you all, the Justice to declare, that you have not only done your Duty, but also done it with Cheefulnesse & Affection. . . ." Upon the whole matter

it was as much as we could do to part with dry Eyes. However they filed off to Prince George Court, where they entertain'd their Acquaintance with the History of their Travels.

At the end of the autumn expedition, and winding up of the whole adventure, Steddy harangued his men again on their safe return:

Friends and Fellow Travellers, It is with abundance of Pleasure, that I now have it in my Power to congratulate your happy arrival among the Inhabitants. You will give me leave to put you in mind, how manifestly Heaven has engaged in our Preservation. No distress, no Disaster, no Sickness of any Consequence, has befallen any One of us in so long and dangerous a Journey. We have subsisted plentifully on the bounty of Providence, and been day by day supply'd in the barren Wilderness with Food convenient for us.¹⁰⁵

So spoke a Virginia aristocrat far removed from the ringing plains of windy Troy, but as capable as Agamemnon, Nestor, or Ulysses of epic rhetorical encouragement. One notes that the sturdy yeomen or frontiersmen are addressed, as are Bacon's half a century earlier, as "Gentlemen," or as "Friends and Fellow Travellers," a courteous formality no doubt derived from Britain in the first instance and epic convention in the second, but a forensic custom to endure in American and especially southern public address. Byrd spoke with the same warm deference he employed, no doubt, to his colleagues of the governor's Council, and surely to his correspondents among the noble or the great or the exalted of England or Virginia. Whatever the disparity in fortune or military rank or social position, Bacon and Byrd and one may be sure hundreds of others for more than a century, including a Patrick Henry or a more elegant Carter or Lee, spoke as one among equals. So did an aristocratic Maryland Catholic Carroll or a learned Chief Justice Trott or an opulent and sophisticated Pinckney. There was little condescension when one colonial addressed another, alone or in the midst of his fellows.

Public affairs for the colonial southerner meant community affairs and political and legal institutions, laws, trade, land, and labor, all of which were to every man directly personal. The small farmer was content, or felt he must be content, to leave the control of courts and county and provincial government to his wealthier neighbors and British-appointed major executives. Yet he was conscious that he had a stake in government and made himself individually felt as he voted for members of the representative Lower House of his province. The great planter felt his responsibility to his constituents, to Britain, and to his own class or power group as he voted in Council or Lower House. He was always conscious that not all English

law could be applied in America, and concomitantly that new laws for new situations were essential. At the same time, whether large or small planter, he clung to the idea that the English Common Law and Magna Carta were the foundations of his liberties, though in the eighteenth century the law of logic, or reasoned law, of the Enlightenment took their place as foundation for much that they represented. As the generations were farther and farther removed from British nativity and from the older settlements along the coast, the colonist showed his consciousness that the Board of Trade could not rule him fairly or justly from afar, for it never understood the conditions under which he lived. And the board, representing the Crown, often seemed not to care.

This indifference to individual and community colonial welfare, save as individual and community contributed to Britain's economic welfare, seems evident especially in the homeland's attitude toward colonial agriculture and trade and industry, including land and commodities and labor supply. Sometimes the mother country and her children the southern provinces seem to have agreed, as in the procurement of black slave labor, though it is difficult to decide in regard to the Chesapeake colonies whether desire to sell or desire to buy came first. Once begun, land speculation and the slave trade, despite sporadic and individual opposition to the latter, continued to expand long past the end of the colonial era. Virgin land in the South and Southwest remained a potent economic consideration for more than a century after 1763. So indeed did the slave trade or the institution of slavery. But it is difficult to see that in the slave colonies any consistent rationale if indeed any at all developed in defense of the peculiar institution, simply because there was not sufficiently powerful an attack upon it to warrant or require a defense.

Lawyers as a profession may in the early years of each colony have been unpopular with many, but the need for legal protection was always there. A people strongly conscious of their political rights and economic wrongs soon perceived the necessity for aid from minds more skilled than the farmers' in the intricacies of the statutes governing them. With their growth in prosperity, not in poverty, came the flourishing groups of attorneys, amateur and self-trained and apprentice-trained or brought up in the Inns of Court. In three of the southern provinces before 1763 they formed a bar which in proportion to population and wealth was as distinguished as any in the long history of the later American republic. The courts in which they worked, county or provincial or special, developed or altered from British models according to the needs of each colony, yet all were in many ways similar.

The colonials whom the Reverend Jonathan Boucher called born talkers were from the middle and upper classes, parishioners and vestry and bur-

gesses who expressed themselves in their households, in law courts, in lay religious gatherings, or in political assemblies. But the legal records, particularly those of the county courts, indicate that indentured servants, backwoodsmen, rank and file soldiers or sailors, and town artisans exploded in picturesque epithets and blasphemous and obscene language, in indignation or scorn or rebellion. Even the illiterate often defended themselves in the lower courts at times quite effectively, and their recorded oral testimonies show that they too could think on their feet. Sometimes one even learns what some of them said to each other on court day in the courthouse yard, or on Sundays after church among the gravestones. That which is preserved is usually not full of sweetness and light, but it reflects the sturdy independence and unsubdued tempers of many humbler folk. From Henry Spelman and others of Captain Smith's Jamestown to the Regulators of Alamance the southern colonist of any degree, though he had no New England town meeting in which his voice could be heard, managed to express his feelings orally to those who might alleviate his condition. If he did so at considerable risk, so did the even slightly unorthodox in Massachusetts.

Epilogue

FOR THE THREE VOLUMES



AS THE INTRODUCTION and the subsequent chapters indicate, the purpose of these volumes has been primarily to *present* certain major aspects of the intellectual life of the southeastern British colonies in America. In other words, this is the most extended analysis and record yet offered to indicate the nature, including the complexity, of the early southern mind. Whenever possible, and that is most of the time, these aspects are shown through reference to or quotation from the written expression of the settlers themselves or from their actions recorded by others among their contemporaries, with additional consideration of the interpretations of more recent commentators. But there is also the mute yet distinguished evidence from the colonists' own architectural creations in brick and stone and wood and in their garden design. The warning given in the Introduction should be repeated, however, that there is here no attempt at a complete picture: only the outlines of a portrait.

Additional materials relating to the subjects of all the preceding chapters are still pouring into repositories or are just being edited and published for the first time since the eighteenth century. Yet two rather definite suggestions which should be emphasized concerning the southern mind seem to emerge from already available materials. One is that the quality and quantity of the political leadership supplied by the region during the Revolution was much more broadly based intellectually than has generally been recognized, perhaps a major explanation of its prominence; that is, that southern polemical writers and legislative statesmen historically wrote and acted from a deeper cultural context than politics and law and agriculture, that independence in religion, considerable breadth in reading, classics-based education, knowledge of and even practice in producing the fine arts, and a widespread scientific curiosity about their world or environment were among other things also essentials of their mental character as it performed politically. Carrolls and Dulanys and Blands and Jeffersons and Middletons and Laurenses and Wymberley Joneses of the Revolutionary generation were but representative.

The second suggestion is that there has been continuity in certain features of southern intellectual character from the colonial era to at least the mid-twentieth century. Qualities of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century southern mentality can only be occasionally mentioned, not discussed, here. Since they are presumably better known to the reader than the cerebral qualities of the region before 1764, they will usually be inferred in the brief recapitulation of colonial character presented. Perhaps the South in most respects is less different from than it is like the middle and northeastern colonies, and certainly it is less different from those areas today than it was in 1763 or 1800. But the discussions in the preceding chapters seem to indicate that the Southeast early developed several peculiar qualities of intellectual-social character which endured for at least more than three centuries. There are many Souths, and there is one South. Both have qualities which have persisted, sometimes altering their shape a bit and sometimes shifting their locus even within the region.

The immediate incidents and acts which made the southern provincial a revolutionary between 1763 and 1776 have frequently been suggested here, but merely suggested. Dozens of studies long and short elsewhere have attempted to assess southerners' motivations after 1763. But the present work does incidentally depict the mental character formed earlier from which reactions to new events of the 1760-1790 era may have sprung or surely did spring.

Among these are the southern colonist's strong belief in his own region. From Roanoke Island through the settlement of Georgia, with some minority disagreeing, he voiced his convictions that the southeastern area was a potential paradise different from the Old World. This he demonstrated in promotion literature and in the histories he wrote, and in the latter he usually asserted that European political and economic measures in controlling the colonies were responsible for whatever evils had developed in his Eden. This persistent criticism and resentment of British imperial decrees and regulations, which he saw as misunderstanding or ignoring the needs of the settlers, was evident in every colony from Virginia under the stock company to Georgia under the Crown.

Even the red man had a part in determining southern attitudes, though unhappily not usually the most attractive part. Though the colonist remained curious about all phases of the aborigines' culture and was aware that he learned much from it, when the title to land came into question the settler most often showed only his greed. And his greed meant in the eighteenth century that he was highly resentful of belated attempts by the Crown to protect Indian boundaries. Yet the southern soldier such as Francis Marion or Light-Horse Harry Lee or George Rogers Clark or

George Washington learned much of the frontier and frontier warfare from his red neighbors, tactics he was to employ in campaigns against the British. And the southerner became the superb frontiersman of the Revolutionary era by adapting European modes of discovery and settlement to Indian experience. Many political leaders remained frontiersmen in mind if not in dress, for treaty powwows, dramatic talks with some beautiful "primitive" rhetoric, were the heritage of the last colonial Georgians and Carolinians as well as of the Chesapeake members of the Continental Congresses such as Washington and Jefferson. Earlier Virginians, for example, at least from the time of William Byrd I, had been vitally affected in their economic-political ideas through their trade with the Cherokees. And Cherokee land and trade were very much in the picture at the time the Declaration of Independence was signed.

In another way the southern Revolutionary leader, like his colonial ancestors from Maryland to Georgia, was acutely conscious of his natural environment as a major element of his potential paradise. His own and his forefathers' observations on plants and animals, meteorology and geology, aboriginal crafts and agriculture, affected and shaped his concept of the middle ground, the potential paradise which *in esse* or *in posse* he felt his new land to be. Persistently and avidly the Revolutionary generation, like the long line of the curious stretching back to Thomas Hariot, were informing their European relatives of what they found and of what might or should be done with it. Boxes of preserved specimens, living plants in earth and animals in cages, strange stones or weather observations poured in a steady stream into Great Britain and the Continent even during the years of conflict, not only through the Alexander Gardens and John Mitchells and John Randolphs who had cast their lots with the King, but through many avowed patriots who defied him. In turn the New World resident received European and oriental living things which he attempted with varying but considerable success to domesticate even during the war years. The educated planter had for generations been a collector and experimenter, but in the decades before and of the Revolution so was the barely literate small farmer, the Indian trader, the Yorktown or Annapolis or Charleston merchant, and the British-born government official who more often than not ended his days in the southern colonies, as he seems less frequently to have done, for example, in New England. Henry Laurens, Arthur Middleton, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, George Wythe, and Thomas Jefferson among the Signers of the Declaration of Independence were interested in almost every feature of their natural environment and its potential as a new garden for the plants of Europe, but they were also conscious of the possible effect of their climate and topography in the founding of the new nation. With the possible exception of Wythe and Laurens, they were

preeminently agrarian in outlook, but even these two men owned wide acres and studied the ways of nature.

For better or for worse because of his human greed and the soil and climate and topography of his region, the southern colonist came early to depend on a few "staples"—tobacco, rice, indigo, and later cotton—as the bases of his economy, and he was still depending on them at the moment of independence. Of course his reliance on this economy had been a principal motive in his clamor against the mother country, for he was convinced that these staples were unfairly taxed without his having been allowed any say in the matter. The tobacco imported from the West Indies, the rice from Madagascar, the indigo again from the West Indies, were adapted to his land and to a considerable degree determined his social and political as well as his economic life. His necessity for fresh land to replace his eroded acres in the Tidewater made him far more than his northern contemporaries a seeker after western lands, a frontiersman ever widening the domain controlled by his particular colonial government, and therefore as an agrarian economist always conscious of territorial boundaries, of land taxation in quitrents and patent fees, of Crown interference or intervention in his march into the interior.

Southern Revolutionary leaders and their friends and supporters were not only experimenters in the staple crops and their concomitants maize, wheat, hemp, and potatoes, but in mining and iron and steel furnaces and factories, in flour milling and shipbuilding and brewing and distilling and a variety of lesser arts. In these they were far more enterprising and efficient than they have ever been given credit for being. Manufacturers or industrialists of the Revolutionary period who followed precedents set from 1621 at Jamestown and developed by Berkeley, Spotswood, and scores of other earlier colonists included George Washington, Robert Carter III, David Ross, many millers of wheat along the Potomac, shipbuilders from Baltimore to Savannah, brewers almost anywhere. Though Jefferson was a champion of agrarian interests, he had a number of small industries on his plantations, and he believed in encouraging all manner of American industry and merchandising. No southern delegate to the Continental Congresses or to the Constitutional Convention was unaware that manufacturing and trade were vital to a stable economy or government.

Contrary to most published history and to tradition, insistence on education persisted from the beginning of the first colony, as evidenced by Company, private, royal, and public provincial foundations *and* laws. There were from the beginning of the colony proportionately more university-educated men than in the rest of British America, and perhaps by 1763 80 to 90 percent of white male settlers were literate. There was a steady infusion of the most recent European ideas on education from

Brinsley's 1622 *Consolation* to the Anglo-Scottish-Continental theories of the later eighteenth century. Despite a strong classical tradition from Sandys and Davison at Jamestown into our own time—of which more in a moment and later—often the southern educated and educator from John Clayton I and Hugh Jones through Thomas Bacon and especially James Maury and Jonathan Boucher and Thomas Jefferson had come to believe in the preferability and necessity of a nonclassical education even for most of the youth of the middle and upper classes. Yet despite these pragmatic theories, almost without exception (even the relatively scantily educated Patrick Henry and George Washington knew and employed at least some Latin) the Revolutionists were steeped in the classics, particularly in Graeco-Roman history and philosophy, and in their writing and speaking used the ancient orators and statesmen as models or as courts of appeal or as oracles. In this the southerner was by no means alone among Americans. But the fact is that the government the Revolutionist shaped was strongly in the ancient republican image as it existed in the minds of James Madison and George Mason and Thomas Jefferson. And the houses and public edifices designed by colonists themselves from the classical pattern books of Vitruvius and Palladio find their happiest expression in the South. Though neither Jefferson nor any other southerner is directly responsible for the public architecture of Washington in the District of Columbia, it is the southern examples of classical-revival building which were the inspiration for what became that great city's, and ultimately the nation's, dominant architectural style.

The evidence produced in Chapter IV has shown that through a fairly steady importation of books by individuals or by dealers even in the smaller provincial towns, and from newspaper extracts, the southern colonial's mind was constantly being shaped and directed by the world from which he or a recent ancestor had come. His agrarian mode of life, with its relative isolation, resulted in more rather than less reading, especially among the upper and middle classes. After religion, history and politics were indeed the average man's chief mental interest. Of the latter two subjects he read all sorts, though increasingly from the 1690s what are today labeled Whiggish or libertarian. Books on history and politics were in provincial and private club libraries, the Bethesda Orphan House in Georgia, small planters' libraries, and the great collections of the Carrolls and Byrds and Carters and Dobbsses and Pinckneys and Middletons. Above all, they read Whig political philosophy in eighteenth-century newspapers, as essays from Trenchard and Gordon and Addison and a dozen other "real Whigs." Along with these writers and edited by some of them were the classical authors on history-politics who suggested representative and/or republican government. But these were not the only books which the Duc de la

Rochefoucauld-Liancourt had in mind at the end of the eighteenth century when he observed that a taste for reading was commoner in Virginia (read the South) among men of the first (read upper and middle) classes than anywhere else in America.

Again it has already been noted that religion was as firmly established in the southern consciousness as it was in the New England, though it was not by any means narrowly or dominantly Puritan. Elements in the Stuart Church of England one may call puritan, especially a preference for simpler forms of liturgy and sacrament and an insistence on moral decorum, which persisted through the era. Among the leaders even prior to the Revolution, from before Sir John Randolph's time through that of his relative Thomas Jefferson, Low Church Christian Trinitarianism had evolved for many into a mild deism. But the majority of the people of the South, from Roman Catholic Carrolls through New Light Presbyterians to German Lutherans, were quietly, or occasionally militantly, witnesses to "Christian Truth." Usually Quakers were tolerated, as were Roman Catholics even outside Maryland. In Whitefield and Davies the southeastern colonies had two of the leaders of the first Great Awakening, and the latter especially set patterns in his pulpit oratory and declared Christian faith. Like perhaps the majority of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence from other areas, many southern leaders may have been deistic in personal beliefs, but almost to a man they were affiliated at least technically with an orthodox Christian communion.

Rationalism and hedonism were convictions and practices impinging upon their religious and moral philosophies. From the earliest witchcraft trials to the sermons of William Stith and Bishop James Madison, the theological or religious beliefs were colored or affected by reasoned realism. Reconciliation of pleasure-seeking and belief in an omnipotent God is usually evident, perhaps most obviously in a sermon (see below) by Thomas Cradock, a Maryland orthodox Anglican of the mid-eighteenth century.

Southern provincial parish organization, which almost from the beginning set local vestry as representative of the people against parson as delegated outside authority, was perhaps the most obvious example of the tensions and clashes within civil as well as ecclesiastical government. This struggle was to anticipate by 150 years, as Bishop William Meade already quoted has suggested, the battles of the American Revolution, for "*Taxation and representation* were only other words for *support and election of ministers*." This was of course the principle and problem of induction. It applied especially in Virginia, but the records show the vestries of every other southern colony at least at times acting as independently as did those of the oldest province. The struggle *within* the Anglican communion was

a stronger element in affording the average southern colonial experience in insistence on freedom to choose than were any pre-Revolutionary arguments for toleration by dissenting sects. The militant leadership of dissenting parsons such as Samuel Davies of Virginia and Josiah Smith of South Carolina and dozens more including Whitefield, however, was among the additional considerations which led to such legislation as Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.

Pietism or the pietistic and the evangelical, from the pre-Revolutionary Presbyterian Samuel Davies to the Revolutionary Baptist John Leland seem, at least on the surface, to have contributed little directly to the pressures which impelled the southern colonies toward independence. On the other hand the always-existing Anglican latitudinarianism was combined with the aforementioned semi-autonomy and extreme self-reliance of the vestries of the established church to form the background or foreground of almost every individual among the southern Founding Fathers. Their rationalism, their realism, their ideology were all related in one way or another to their experience with institutional and theoretical religion.

What clergy and laity wrote on religion and politico-religious subjects also formed part of the mental background of the Revolutionary leader. Both established and dissenting clergy were articulate and expressed themselves in publications, even in the seventeenth century before there were printing presses in the South. The Quaker journals of Fox, Edmundson, Burnyeat, Story, and later Woolman covered the southern scene, Fox and Story *in extenso*, and at the same time that they point out the irreligion of the backcountry folk they give striking testimony to these humbler people's hunger for religion of the evangelical variety, testimony later to be corroborated by Presbyterian and Baptist preachers and even Anglican missionaries on the frontier such as Charles Woodmason.

In the eighteenth century sermons and tracts by scores of colonials were published in both Britain and America, and hundreds more survive in manuscript. Anglican and dissenting are concerned principally with the relation of God and man; they also consider war, politics, social problems, and education. Homilies remaining only in manuscript cover the widest range. Some of the theological essays came from laymen, as a recently discovered prose piece on the history of Christianity by sophisticated and urbane William Byrd II, and a much more complex and extensive study of God and Providence by North Carolina businessman-promoter-governor Arthur Dobbs. It is also worth noting, however, that throughout the southern colonies during the Great Awakening it was only in Charleston where the dissenting interest was quite strong that there was an extensive publishing of religious polemical essays on such subjects as George Whitefield and his doctrines, though the middle and northern colonies abounded in

pamphlet and newspaper comments on such topics. In Virginia and Maryland, save in the implications of some of Samuel Davies' *Virginia Gazette* critical pieces and some pamphlets of his, almost nothing bearing on dissenters and their relationship to provincial government appeared. It is possible that Georgia, not then possessed of its own printer but with a considerable stake in Whitefield's Orphan House, may have entertained two strongly contrasting views on religion. But church *doctrine* seems never to have been a major concern of southern political leaders as it was frequently in the Northeast.

As plain in style as a New England parson in his sermons and yet unconcerned with fine points of theological doctrine, the southern Anglican cleric had always given sufficient evidence of his erudition. There was little in his sermons his humblest or least-educated parishioner could not understand or accept as reasoned truth. Commissary Blair summed up what was certainly a general attitude when he wrote in the preface to his collected discourses that they were aimed at the everyday problems of mankind. Patrick Henry modeled his political and legal oratory in part on the pulpit style of the eloquent and doctrinaire Presbyterian Davies, ignoring the doctrinal content but further embellishing the already somewhat ornate imagery from his desultory reading of Roman republicans and English Whigs. But Jefferson and Madison incorporated graceful rhetoric in a relatively plainer style, neither of the latter being noted for his oratory though both renowned for the reasoned argument of their presentation. Richard Henry Lee's polished speeches are in the tradition of classical forensics, as is the stately legislative rhetoric of Berkeley and Spotswood and Sir John Randolph noted in Chapter X, with almost nothing of biblical allusion or phrase, much less of theological doctrines.

In the two decades before independence there were southern sermons concerned with politics by Boucher of Maryland, Micklejohn of North Carolina, Zubly of Georgia, and a few others in every colony. Usually the preacher was strongly for or against independence or some alleged tyrannical measure of the Crown, but at times he was as conciliatory, as anxious for compromise, as were some of his more thoughtful lay brethren. In the eighteenth-century South the religious tracts were on the whole much more polemical than the sermons. It is perhaps significant that many of the most acrimonious and at the same time most felicitously expressed religious debates of the last colonial quarter century, from about 1750 to 1776, were usually in the form of a series of pamphlets or newspaper essays, with laymen on one side and clergy on the other, as in the Parsons' Cause or Two-Penny Act controversy. For the southern concern with religion, both Anglican and dissenting, naturally gravitated toward or was allied to problems of government. Finally among the relations of religious

belief to government, the matter of conversion of the heathen aborigines like the matter of the proper function of a Christian laity in relation to clergy, partially because both matters were incorporated items of southern royal and proprietary charters, became at least and at last in some measure political before the Revolution and so continued during that period.

The medical profession, represented from the first generation at Jamestown, in itself made all men conscious of its own and kindred sciences. Wyndham Blanton's detailed histories of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginia medicine are enough in themselves to dispell any mistaken idea that there was not moderately skilled practice and even some significant medical experimentation by trained physicians in that colony. And in Maryland and South Carolina especially there is ample evidence of up-to-date investigation and application of smallpox inoculation procedures and of intelligent concern with epidemics. The physicians in their search for *materia medica* were also among the major colonial botanists, and they enlisted intelligent laymen in their explorations and collections. Some of the earlier physicians and planters and government officials and parsons who participated in the "excursions of the curious" are noted in Chapter VII. In the Revolutionary era itself prominent among those who combined intellectual activity in their own or kindred professions with political were Drs. William Bull and David Ramsay and Alexander Garden of South Carolina, and Drs. George Gilmer and Hugh Mercer and John Mitchell of Virginia, some patriots and some loyalists. Dr. Mercer as a general in Washington's army died in action in 1777. Dr. Arthur Lee had a brilliant career as a medical student at Edinburgh and as an experimental scientist, but he is remembered as one of the ablest political pamphleteers writing for the patriot cause in Britain and America. Dr. Theodorick Bland, poet and soldier and practicing scientist, was a member of the Continental Congress and later of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1788 and died in 1790 as a member of the new Congress. Many others combined medicine and politics. But political or nonpolitical, the trained physician was a vital element of Revolutionary society, of whose varied capacities lay political leaders were aware. And frequently, very frequently, he brought his peculiar training and interest into governmental practice. He had been doing so since the days of Dr. John Pott of early Jamestown.

Thus the southern men Henry Adams refers to as only lawyer-politicians and farmers, among them our Founding Fathers in the Continental Congress and in the signing of the Declaration of Independence and in debates (including *The Federalist*) on the Constitution and the adoption of the latter document, were far more or other than attorneys and politicians and planters, though they were all of those. At least they were not narrow specialists in these professions or occupations, for the Carrolls and Pacas,

the Lees and Harrisons and Wythes and Jeffersons, the Pinckneys and Middletons and Waltons and Joneses, were all men of the middling and large-planter societies who carried with them to the forensic halls broader qualities which most of their generation and social condition in their provinces possessed. Among these qualities was a considerable knowledge of the needs of and for technical industry, of the significance of climate and meteorology, of the relation between land and taxes as the bases of the economics of the plantation economy, and of the problems of western expansion in its relation to topography as well as Crown prerogative. And they were aware that their ancestors for several generations had been interested in most or all of these things and had possessed as they did a reasonable degree of erudition founded upon a consciousness of history, usually through the classics. Most possessed an inherited or locally acquired good taste manifested in buildings large and small and in gardens and music and drawing and painting. One must repeat that they were, after all, heirs of the Renaissance and children of the Enlightenment who hardly could avoid being interested in an environment unknown to Englishmen two centuries before, an environment in which they could develop a new government and society by adapting European models to what they considered an undeveloped land and people.

The matter of continuity in southern intellectual life for the 350 years from 1607 is more complex than that of the Revolutionary mind's bases in earlier colonial qualities. Certain of the early characteristics just discussed may be found in the Southeast and even the larger South past 1950. But some grow weaker and fade away under the pressures of wars and economics and especially of new intellectual winds of doctrine from inside and outside the United States. Some are partially transformed by the new pressures. And then there are other enduring qualities not noted in the immediately preceding paragraphs, partly because they have not the Revolutionary relevance of those discussed. This is not the place to cite a mass of evidence as to the trends of southern intellectual life between the years of establishing independence and our own time, but a few examples may suggest the continuance of certain colonial traits into the twentieth century.

At least as early as 1785 Thomas Jefferson in a letter to the Marquis de Chastellux gave lists of what he considered the essential differences between the southern and northern mind. In the twentieth century John R. Alden, C. Vann Woodward, Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, and C. Hugh Holman are among those who have in various places outlined and sometimes analyzed what they considered the peculiar qualities of the southern mind as it is and was. The three latter, literary critics who have

meditated in terms of history, emphasize different qualities, though they are in general agreement with historian Woodward. Others have stressed the durability and distinctive nature of a trait they allude to only briefly, the humorous.

The pride in a potential Eden was still in the expressions of nineteenth-century writers from John Taylor of Caroline through Edmund Ruffin to Thomas Nelson Page and Walter Hines Page. For Taylor and Ruffin it was to be an agrarian paradise based on chattel slavery, for Thomas Nelson Page more a nostalgic concept of what might have been idealized from what actually was, for Walter Hines Page a realistically conceived New South, what the postbellum region might become, how it might fulfill its original promise by an abrupt break with the tradition of the black in thralldom and with white backwoods lethargy. More sophisticated and yet perhaps more chauvinistic literary minds of the twentieth century, clinging to a basic faith in the ways of their region, variously called for blood and irony with which to temper narrow sentimental provincialism or, quite differently, for a return to the antebellum plantation system including its ethics and order. The political demagogue, the educational reformer, the liberal or conservative clergy, perhaps above all the growing merchant-industrialist group—often recruited from outside the South—might appeal to the southerner's faith in his region or manipulate it for particular ends, not always utopian.

Love of the earth itself, or greed to possess it, remained too into the twentieth century, but as public lands vanished and suburbia took over much of the South as it did the rest of America the earlier hunger for acres, the desire to live on them and close to them, survived primarily as literary themes. In the nineteenth century the family from the older South was still reaching out into the West and Southwest, as Joseph Glover Baldwin illustrates so graphically and whimsically in his books, or as George W. Cable and Mark Twain depict vividly and often grimly in their pictures of the interior South in a John March or Colonel Sellers drawn from experience. In the twentieth century this love of the soil takes on tragic overtones, as Erskine Caldwell looks at his poor white contemporary in *Tobacco Road* and William Faulkner at his Yoknapatawpha's past in terms of land in a dozen stories such as *Absalom, Absalom!* and *The Sound and the Fury* and "The Bear." Dozens of other creative artists testify to the vitality or to the memory of this tradition at least up to the middle of the twentieth century. And the southern ecologist, both practical and idealistic in his insistence that the natural region must be preserved for its inherent beauty as well as for the future survival of mankind, sees scientifically the tragedy of man's insistence through greed on destroying his life source.

Despite Jefferson's failure to establish a system of public primary and

secondary and junior-college education in his own time, there is plenty of evidence that what he proposed, and what scores of earlier colonials had in mind for both public and private education, was not forgotten between 1819 and the third quarter of the twentieth century when a system strikingly similar to his has been implemented on a nationwide scale. All through the nineteenth century, from Jefferson's younger contemporaries William Wirt and Daniel Bryan, through several South Carolinians and then to the North Carolinians Walter Hines Page and Edwin A. Alderman, the need for and suggestions for systems of public education appeared in newspapers, magazines, books, and political orations, and usually the need was given more than lip service. The southern evangelical sects followed the example of their more conservative brethren in establishing their own colleges, and long before the Civil War the Baptists and Methodists as well as Presbyterians and Episcopalians had an educated ministry. In the twentieth century real universities have been established, public and private, in every southern state, with at least four of them among the leading teaching and research centers of America. The dream Jefferson transferred to his University of Virginia from his alma mater, William and Mary, deriving ultimately from the college of Henrico, a dream shared by both his contemporaries and his colonial ancestors (as the latter's legislative enactments prove), has in our time come into full blossom, and the institution at Charlottesville has made itself second to no other of this nation in its pursuit of knowledge and in its practice by student selection of creating an aristocracy of virtue and talents. And in neighboring states there are institutions devoted to the same ideals. Better never be born than ill-educated, said William Fitzhugh in the 1680s. Despite some gross neglect of its blacks and poor whites during the era of the South's political and economic decline, from about 1820 to 1920, the need for universal yet selective education remained in the minds of some of every generation. As in the rest of America, there was among individuals and groups the antiintellectualism suggested by W.J. Cash in *The Mind of the South*. But the point is that education expanded, however moderately and slowly, even when antagonism to intellectualism was most evident.

Reading has remained a southern habit, though the statistics on the sale of subscriptions to the South's most distinguished periodicals, which show little encouragement for these efforts within the region, might if taken as a criterion appear to indicate otherwise. There were private and a few public libraries great and small in the South at least through the 1840s, as this writer has shown elsewhere. From the copies of the books published between 1840 and 1915 still being rediscovered by dealers and college libraries, from the allusions to current and older writing in the correspondence of later nineteenth-century southerners, from literary and

historical and other allusions in their newspapers, it seems obvious that those who scanned the public prints or made knowledgeable references in their own writing or gathered books for themselves had read much more than popular media: if they comprehended the matter before them, they must have done so. There may have been an intellectual elite, but as a class or group they hardly were numerous enough to support the newspapers or account for the sophisticated references in those periodicals. And even if those who did read between 1800 and 1950 began with the popular novel and verse of their time, they proceeded from or accompanied them with more erudite matter. John Randolph of Roanoke, for example, devoured the novels of Sir Walter Scott and the less illustrious fictionists as they appeared, but he also read carefully and annotated intelligently his vast collection of Greek and Roman Elzevirs. And one may still see in a modest farmhouse or small-town dwelling a library of one bookcase or less containing much regional history, from David Ramsay through Charles Colcock Jones to Douglas Southall Freeman, the accounts of men and localities and states and nations. Earlier libertarianism has been modified or narrowed in many but not all nineteenth- and twentieth-century political discussions, but ideas of freedom and independence are in our time still present in the writings of a Waring or Daniels or Dabney, though often presented with critical detachment not even the Revolutionary moderates Dulany or Zubly could show—and, one should add, presented with the same sort of basic conservatism shown by Washington and Mason and Madison and at times even Jefferson.

His provincial and regional history, his persistent reading of and meditation upon European and classical history, have been among the factors continuing in the post-Revolutionary southerner a sense of the presentness of the past. When St. George Tucker or George Fitzhugh in the first national period argued for or against chattel slavery, they did so in terms of human history. When unionist or secessionist presented his point of view, it was usually in terms of humanity's or of the nation's past. When the proponents of the New South, the Henry W. Grady's or Walter PAGES, urged economic and social progress, they did so in phrases that suggest something older or at least urged a natural evolution from something older. When southern literature came to full flower between 1920 and the 1950s, its creators were attempting as Hawthorne and Emerson in New England had done a century earlier to capture a past culture just as it seemed to be disappearing, just after the wave had crested.

Related to education and reading is the southern classicism noted as a significant element of Revolutionary political philosophy. This classicism endured at least until mid-twentieth century as an element of the regional mind, though in politics it has become less and less important. In archi-

ture, as already suggested, its monuments are all around us, though today few more such monuments are being erected. But the backbone of the nineteenth-century educational system, despite the Bouchers and Maurys and Jeffersons, had strong classical components, as the essays and legal debates and orations of even a William Wirt who never attended college suggest. The ideal Virginia or South Carolina gentleman, depicted by a George W. Bagby or William Gilmore Simms, was to some extent modeled on the more admirable of the Greeks and Romans. The critical theory of Hugh Swinton Legaré is more classical than neoclassical. The model farmer of John Taylor of Caroline would have been at home on a Sabine farm. Poe the poet and critic owes much to the classical models in his British and American educational background. Poet and lawyer William Munford made the first full American translation of Homer, and many of his other verses are classical adaptations. Cale Young Rice and William Alexander Percy in the twentieth century have rendered into good English verse several of the Greek and Roman poets. James Branch Cabell's Poictesme grew from classical Mediterranean soil as well as medieval ground. And the Nashville Fugitives, who themselves point out their education in classical academies, with suggestions as to the potential influence of the Graeco-Roman literature and language on their own writing, in dozens of instances show a variety of artistic traits or modes or philosophies kin to the ancient. The peculiar ironies of John Crowe Ransom, the stoic traditionalism of Allen Tate, and the stark tragedy of Robert Penn Warren's *Brother to Dragons* surely owe something to a classical heritage in the South which goes back to George Sandys and even John Smith.

Religion still shows traces of the brand of puritan Anglicanism which arrived with John Smith and the Reverend Mr. Hunt at Jamestown in 1607. This antiliturgical attitude within the established church created permanently a Low-Church form of worship in Virginia and rather generally in the South. It also in its disregard of elaborate ritual prepared the way not only for the evangelicalism of Whitefield and the Great Awakening but for organization of a Methodist church not in Georgia but in the Chesapeake region, in which Anglicanism had first reached the future United States and in which it had been dominant for almost two centuries. To this day the strongholds of Methodism in Virginia and Maryland lie in regions in the colonial era almost or entirely Anglican, for the transition was easy when the younger church employed a simplified Episcopal liturgy for its services and sacraments and a system of bishoprics. Also latitudinarianism in doctrinal belief, which developed especially among laity but also among clergy, made it easy for the son of the established church to transfer his affiliation not only to the Methodist but to the Baptist, or sometimes even the Presbyterian, or to reason out a quite different the-

ology from any officially held by these groups. Above all it was almost surely the latitudinarian concept—or libertarian if one may so apply the word—which kept others than Sir John Randolph and George Washington and Thomas Jefferson nominally within the fold even into our own time.

But until the twentieth century, when the Episcopal Church is undergoing a remarkable resurgence throughout the South for some old and some new reasons, during the century or more after the Revolution when the average citizen of the area lived in the country, his religion was largely in the hands of Baptists and Methodists, who had realized their opportunities and the nature of their appeal and had made the most of both, and to a lesser extent in the hands of the more learned (until quite recently) Presbyterians. Many of the South's national leaders may have been or may be secretly or privately agnostic or atheist, but if so, they have almost always kept their personal religious attitudes to themselves. For the pietism or evangelicalism of the vast majority of those who vote seems, rightly or wrongly, to be taken for granted. In the past perhaps quite properly the more extremely "fundamentalist" evangelical sects have been accused of anti-intellectualism, but in our time they seem largely to have come to agree with the older moderate Protestant denominations and with Commissary Blair that the ordinary weaknesses of mankind in everyday life are the chief concern of the clergy, and that the preacher has to a considerable extent had to become a social and within prescribed limits an intellectual guide. But convinced supernaturalism, a belief in man's imperfectibility, and an appeal to the King James Bible as final authority have remained as basic elements of the southern churchgoer's religion, though Calvinist doctrines of the elect and predestination seem held or heeded by few. Yet something of the fatalism and narrow moral puritanism of the Calvinist lingers even outside Presbyterianism, suggested perhaps obliquely in the writing of Poe and Timrod and Simms and Lanier, and in the twentieth century pondered in the verse and fiction of Donald Davidson, Robert Penn Warren, Flannery O'Connor, William Faulkner, and especially the novels of the somewhat older Ellen Glasgow.

The hedonistic quality of the southern mind is in our generation commented upon directly by a multitude of critical writers, including W.J. Cash and David Bertelson, and indirectly by most of the poets and novelists. From the colonial beginning the love of play, of recreation, has gone hand in hand with the piety of the rank and file of society and with the more reasoned religious philosophies of the better educated. Previous chapters have touched upon the interest of almost all southerners in outdoor sport, particularly hunting and fishing, and also in games and frolics, from country or formal dances to barbecues and fiddling contests and

Indian ball games to English bowling. Court days at county seats and public times in provincial capitals, royal birthdays or accessions, rural elections, victories in war or declarations of peace, have all been occasions for celebrations of several levels of sophistication, but the citizens of every or any class participated in most of them at least through the nineteenth century. Thomas Cradock's sermon "Innocent Mirth Not Inconsistent with Religion" preached in 1747 from the text "A merry Heart doth Good like a Medicine" is perhaps the best expression of the general southern hedonistic philosophy of the earlier period. W.J. Cash analyzes quite well the form and spirit of the hedonism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though his emphasis is perhaps on the pleasure-seeking less-educated folk of the rural South. From this hedonistic element of the southern mind of any degree of sophistication came in the seventeenth century the performance of the humbler artisans' play "The Bear and the Cub," and in the eighteenth century the governors' and country gentlemen's balls recorded by Byrd and Fithian and Harrower, the strolling players who delighted all sorts of folk in the playhouses of Charleston or Petersburg or Annapolis, and the amateur theatricals at private mansions along the rivers or in school or college by students. By the nineteenth century already ingrained was the habit of swapping stories in convivial groups in mansion drawing room or around the hunters' campfire. Francis Walker Gilmer wrote early in this third century of Christmas spent by a group of eminent Virginians at an upper-James River estate indulging in what he calls "old laughing," by which he meant the merriment occasioned by a long-drawn-out series of tall tales. And the later fictionists Simms and Caruthers and Kennedy and Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page carry the testament of hedonism from mid-nineteenth into early twentieth century, where among others William Faulkner and Robert Penn Warren have continued it. As much as any single one of the southerner's intellectual qualities, his love of recreation indicates his balanced view of life, not as some historians have suggested his congenital indolence.

The southern familial relationship, mentioned in several places in this book including the Introduction, has developed from the Old World British rural family and the relative isolation of farmer or planter husband and wife and children in their wide-spaced New World region. It goes far back into the seventeenth century. Then and in the eighteenth century it is evident in the lists of property holders of the same surname in every county, in governors' or parsons' complaints that they were ruled or thwarted by interlocking family relationships, in the evidence that smaller communities were controlled for generations by blood kin. Then from the earliest generations into the twentieth century there was southern "family" in

another sense, a communal unit of dependent whites and blacks protected—and often exploited—by a wealthier planter who expected loyalty and usually gave it in turn to those who lived or worked on his land. Potentially a vicious relationship, it was often a relatively happy one, and there can be no doubt that it developed a sort of clan feeling.

But to return to the blood-related family. In the records of many colony-states it is fairly easy to trace the effect of the united effort of those of the same lineage to movements in church and local government, in education and philanthropy, and in patronage and fortune-building. It was not for nothing that South Carolina Pinckneys were related to most of the leading families of their Low Country, that Virginia Byrds and Harrisons and Randolphs and Custises and Lees were so intermarried that most were cousins many times over, that Maryland Dulanys-Taskers-Diggeses-Carrolls both Protestant and Catholic held ties of blood, and that in all the Piedmont Scots and Scotch-Irish clans might control a county or determine the form of Christian faith as far as church organization was concerned. As younger members of prolific families such as the Carters perforce moved to western or southwestern lands, they kept up for several generations their communication with their kin in Tidewater, and the Virginia Wyatts were corresponding with their distant British cousins 150 years after Sir Francis and his brother Hawte had left the colony. Like the Adamses in Massachusetts, many a humble or yeoman southern male married into a family a rung or two higher up the social and economic ladder, with the result that his grandchildren might be professional people or planters on a larger scale, but like their grandparent often retaining their cordial connections with less fortunate kin, or at least recognizing the relationship. This fluidity (there are several other forms or sources for it) in southern society did not diminish the sense of family, which has continued strong into the twentieth century, evidenced in print by genealogical journals and books by the score. But also from the early nineteenth century, in the novels and stories of Simms or Caruthers or Kennedy (especially in the last's *Swallow Barn*) to the mountain local-color tales of Mary Noailles Murfree or the plantation folk myths of Joel Chandler Harris, the southern creative writer has presented the family as an organizational factor, and family feeling as a major motivating force in the action. Perhaps Faulkner's greatest tales are those of disintegrating upper-class families, of the sturdiness of plain folk-kin or the evil inherent in those of one blood, as well as of the Greek tragedy of a thwarted aspiration to found a family. Compsons, de Spains, Sutpens, Benbows, Sartorises, and Bundrens are among the families who people his fiction, all to some extent depicted in their relations among themselves and as unified against the out-

side world. Glasgow, Warren, Welty, Ransom, and Tate are also among those who present family relationships, family pride, and family shame, often with a powerful irony mixed with sympathy and understanding.

Only a few other continuing qualities can be mentioned. There is and has been in the South a real code of honor which is only distantly related to a New England Puritan moral or social code. Its intricacies may be observed in the literary versions of the famous Kentucky Tragedy treated by Poe and Simms and Chivers and Warren, or in the code duello as practiced by John Randolph of Roanoke and Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson. The southerner has also been known in this country and abroad, from Hugh Jones and Joseph Glover Baldwin to Thackeray and beyond, as amiable and well-mannered, qualities any outside visitor may still meet at a southern filling station or find presented in the semiliterate and humbler folk in the writing of Faulkner or Warren or even Styron. A tragic sense of life, so prominent in contemporary southern literature, is often said to be the result of the great defeat suffered in the Civil War, but in various forms it was frequently evident long before, in John Smith and George Sandys, in Morgan Godwyn and Landon Carter, in Randolph of Roanoke, John C. Calhoun, William Gilmore Simms, and Edgar Poe. Twain and Cable were among the immediate postbellum writers who prepared us for this tragic sense in a Faulkner or a John Crowe Ransom.

At least one more among the traditional and persistent traits or themes or attitudes must be noted, the continuity of a sense of humor in the southerner's intellectual constitution. The Renaissance dry humor of exaggeration of such early settlers as George Sandys or the recorder of the talk of his Indian neighbors such as Powhatan, the baroque jesting of George Alsop and John Cotton of Queen's Creek, the wry humor of Norwood, the half-bawdy invective in prose and verse of early eighteenth-century ecclesiastical or political polemicists, the primitive tall tale recounted along with the ironic wit of a William Byrd, the elaborate mock-epic and mock-elegy, the Hudibrastic verse and the Swiftian satire, the comic traits of minorities of the unlearned or the underprivileged, had by the 1760s and 1770s become peculiarly American backwoods humor, largely southern. Dialect and understatement and exaggeration and the sophisticated narrator are all present in newspaper tales, the "Dinwiddianae" verses and letters, the Bland-Carter-Camm pamphlets, the mocking ballads loyalist or patriotic of the later eighteenth-century South. By 1800 southwestern or backwoods storytelling was proceeding into the popular printed forms which were to be the principal content of such journals as *The Spirit of the Times*. In these tales A.B. Longstreet and Sut Lovingood and Thomas Bangs Thorpe and a score of others had prepared the way for Sam Clemens. This humor has continued and developed in our own century, handled effectively in

verse and prose by Warren and in masterly fashion in the novels by Faulkner. By no means all of the creators of the homely, bawdy, outrageous tale have been southern, but the greatest of them have, and their employed dialect, their predicaments for characters, their out-of-doors agrarian settings, their droll sense of the disproportionate, seem best to fit this region of America. The frontier or its nostalgic recall are always present. Blended with the last are those aforementioned regional qualities of a consciousness of the past and of the environment. The humor of discomfort manifest in *Beowulf* has survived in new and relatively distinctive form more than a thousand years after and several thousand miles away from the world of the Vikings.

Just as, long ago, most of the peculiarly New England character disappeared or blended indistinguishably into that of the rest of the United States, since World War II (and beginning at least two generations before) the South too has become more like the rest of the nation. But as the American Puritan mind continues to be assessed, largely to determine just what if anything has survived of it in the shaping of the modern United States, so the early southern mind at this particular moment when it is beginning to be revealed should and must be analyzed. For the region that was *a* or *the* leader in thought on this North American continent for half its existence has certainly not explained itself or its intellectual role in a national development. Now that the area's past is being discovered or rediscovered, it can begin to be assayed.

Bibliography
and Notes



VOLUME THREE

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE FINE ARTS IN THE LIFE OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIST

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Though over the last two or three decades I have examined personally a great many of the art objects mentioned here, this chapter has had to rely largely on secondary studies by general or art historians who have been able to amass a great amount of statistics and details concerning the southern colonies. There is an enormous number of surveys and histories and manuals of American art in general and various phases of it. There are even more studies by regions, though in these there are some curious and lamentable gaps. With a few distinguished exceptions, the authors of the older studies have been quite vague as to dates of creation, the identification of artists, and even the location of churches, houses, buildings, and music. This is worse than vexing, for some of the older books mention significant items unnoticed by later writers.

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North Carolina, which certainly had a number of portraits, as that of Chris-

topher Gale, is represented in the literature principally by the two study-reproductions of the John White pictures by Hulton et al. and by Lorant mentioned above.

South Carolina has produced several studies of its own art. Most recent is Frances W. Bilodeau, *Art in South Carolina, 1670-1970* (Columbia, 1970), and somewhat earlier Anna Wells Rutledge, in "Artists in the Life of Charleston," *Trans. APS*, n.s., XXXIX, pt. 2 (1949), 101-260, produced the best survey of art in a southern colony, though materials for the early period are scant. An older but still useful study is Robert Wilson, "Art and Artists in Provincial South Carolina," *Yearbook*, City of Charleston, 1899, pp. 137-147. George F. Frick and Raymond P. Stearns, *Mark Catesby, the Colonial Audubon* (Urbana, 1961), consider the water-color drawings of the great naturalist. Margaret Simons Middleton has written useful studies of the two major colonial artists, *Henrietta Johnston, of Charles Town, South Carolina, America's First Pastellist* (Columbia, 1966), and *Jeremiah Theus* (Columbia, 1953).

Georgia graphic arts are considered in Harold E. Davis, *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1776* (Chapel Hill, 1976), pp. 188-189, and in Marion C. Bright et al., comps., *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715-1870* (Athens, Ga., 1975).

MUSIC: The best single-volume history is Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (2d ed., New York, 1966), though it is not strong on the colonial South. Other general surveys are John T. Howard, *Our American Music: Three Hundred Years* (3d. rev. ed., New York, 1964), I; Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America: Aspects of the History of Music . . .* (New York, 1965); J. Mates, *The American Musical Stage before 1800* (New Brunswick, N.J., [1962]); J. Mattfield, *A Handbook of American Operatic Premières* (Detroit, 1963) and *Variety Music Cavalcade, 1620-1961: A Chronology of Vocal and Instrumental Music Popular in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1962); Simkins, ed., *Art and Music in the South*; O.G. Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America (1731-1800)* (New York, 1949) and *Early Opera in America* (New York, 1915); Albert Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South: From Colony to Confederacy* (Rutherford, N.J., 1972), though the title is misleading; and Henry W. Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Hamden, Conn., 1961). Useful are D.J. Epstein, "Slave Music in the United States before 1860: A Survey of Sources," *Notes*, XX (1963), 193-201, 377-390; John T. Howard, *The Music of George Washington's Time* (Washington, D.C., 1931); Howard M. Jones, *America and French Culture, 1750-1848* (Chapel Hill, 1947), esp. the chapter on French music in America; Howard R. Marraro, "Italian Music and Actors during the Eighteenth Century," *Italica*, XXIII (1946), 103-117. Several unpublished dissertations are also useful: N.A. Benson, "The Itinerant Dancing and Music Masters of Eighteenth Century America" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minnesota, 1963); T.W. Dean, "The Organ in Eighteenth Century English Colonial America," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Southern California, 1960); Roger A. Phelps,

"The History and Practice of Chamber Music in the United States from the Earliest Times to 1875" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Iowa, 1951). For vocal music, see also J.K. Davis, "Early American Singing Schools," *Mus. Journ.*, XX (1962), 46ff., and C.L. Cheek, "The Singing School in America: Backgrounds," *Hymn*, XIII (1962), 5-11n. Maurer Maurer, "The 'Professor of Music' in Colonial America," *Mus. Q.*, XXXVI (1950), 511-524, and "Colonial Organs and Organists Are Research Subject," *Diapason*, XLV (March 1, 1957), 24-25, are suggestive and informative. The most recent study of the organ is Orpha Ochse, *The History of the Organ in the United States* (Bloomington, Ind., 1975). The great Moravian organ builder David Tannenberger is with his teacher Johan Gottlob Klemm, the subject of William H. Armstrong's *Organs for America* (Philadelphia, 1967). Sonneck's *A Bibliography of Early American Secular Music* (New York, 1964) and Robert Stevenson, *Philosophies of American Music*, A Lecture Delivered in the Whittall Pavilion of the Library of Congress, January 9, 1969 (Washington, D.C., 1970) are indispensable.

Virginia colonial music is discussed in the volume by Stoutamire just mentioned, and it is touched upon in Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play*, Williamsburg Research Studies (Williamsburg, 1965), pp. 35-39; Ruthford Goodwin, *A Brief and True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1959); George W. Pilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville, 1971), esp. on hymnody and black vocal music; Mary N. Stanard, *Colonial Virginia: Its People and Its Customs* (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 308-313; *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, 1941); *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, ed. W.K. Boyd and Percy G. Adams (New York, 1967); *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774*, ed. H.D. Farish (Williamsburg, 1943); *The Diary of Landon Carter*, ed. Jack P. Greene (2 vols., Charlottesville, 1965); and Philip A. Bruce, *Social Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Williamstown, Mass., 1968). The organist at Bruton Parish Church is treated in F.W. Coburn, "More Notes on Peter Pelham," *Art in Am.*, XX (June 1932), 143-154; and Maurer Maurer, "The Gaoler Played the Organ," *Etude*, LXVIII (May 1950), 18-19, and "Peter Pelham: Organist-Jailer," *Tyler's Q.*, XXVIII (1946), 6-13. Maurer's "The Library of a Colonial Musician," *WMQ* (3), VII (1950), 39-52, and J.W. Molnar's "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory," *Mus. Q.*, XLIX (1963), 150-162, both concern the music left by a deceased music teacher. Maurer's "A Musical Family in Colonial Virginia," *Mus. Q.*, XXXIV (1948), 358-364 concerns the Councilor Robert Carter family. J.W. Molnar's "Art Music in Colonial Virginia," in *Art and Music in the South*, pp. 63-108, is the best single essay on its subject. His edition of *Songs from the Williamsburg Theatre: A Selection of Fifty . . .* (Williamsburg, 1972) is a delightful collection with the music, as is J.S. Darling's *A Little Keyboard Book: Eight Tunes of Colonial Virginia Set for Piano and Harpsichord* (Williamsburg, 1972). Particularly helpful are three typescript reports in the Research Di-

vision, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, on "The Eighteenth Century Orchestra," "Military Bands," and "Music in the Colonial Theater." And one should see Victor Yellin, "Musical Activity in Virginia Before 1620," *Am. Musicological Soc. Journ.*, XXII (Summer 1969), 284-289.

Maryland has one book-length study of its music, Lubov Keefer's *Baltimore's Music: The Haven of the American Composer* (privately printed, Baltimore, 1962), an interesting account to be used with some caution. On firmer ground are the musical references in J.A. Leo Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* (Knoxville, 1972). Elaine Breslau's "An Early Maryland Musical Society," *MdHM*, LXVII (1972), 436-437, concerns the same persons as Lawrence C. Wroth treats in "A Maryland Merchant and His Friends in 1750," *MdHM*, VI (1911), 213-240, and Oswald Tilghman's *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1915) gives much detail on some of the group. Dr. Alexander Hamilton's musical tastes are shown in *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerary of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill, 1948).

North Carolina colonial music is largely Moravian and has been so treated: J.H. Johansen, "The Hymnody of the Moravian Church," *Hymn*, VIII (1957), 41-46; G.L. Knight, "Count Zinzendorf's Hymns," *Hymn*, VIII (1957), 47-49; Maurer Maurer, "Music in Wachovia, 1753-1800," *WMQ* (3), VIII (1951), 214-227; and D.M. McCorkle, "The Collegium Musicum Salem: Its Music, Musicians, and Importance," *Am. Musicological Soc. Journ.*, VIII (1955), 69-70, "Early American Moravian Music," *Mus. Journ.*, XIII (1955), 11, 45-47, and "Moravian Music in Salem: A German-American Heritage" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., 1958).

South Carolina in the colonial period saw two hymnals published in Charleston, Jonathan Badger's *A Collection of the Best Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (adv. *South-Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1752) and John Wesley's *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns . . .*, 1737 (recently re-edited and published in facsimile by Frank Baker and George W. Williams [Charleston and London, 1964]). There is V.L. Redway's "Charles Theodore Pachelbel, Musical Emigrant," *Am. Musicological Soc. Journ.*, V (1952), 32-36, a study of the internationally known organist, and *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney*, which shows the writer's study under both Pachelbel and Peter Pelham. There is much on Charleston music in Eola Willis' *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century* (Columbia, 1924). Professor George W. Williams has written more than anyone else on Charleston church music: "Charleston Church Music, 1562-1833," *Am. Musicological Soc. Journ.*, VII (1954), 36-38; "Jacob Eckhard and His Choirmaster's Book," *Am. Musicological Soc. Journ.*, VII (1954), 41-47; "Eighteenth-Century Organists of St. Michael's, Charleston," *SCHM*, LIII (1952), 146-154, 212-222; and "Early Organists of St. Phillip's, Charleston," *SCHM*, LIV (1953), 83-87; and *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809* (Columbia, S.C., 1971), which contains much on our period. Benson's "The Itiner-

ant Dancing and Music Masters of Eighteenth Century America," mentioned above, tells us about many Charleston musicians, as does Hennig Cohen's *The South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*, pp. 92-104.

Georgia's musical history is touched on in Harold Davis, *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1776* (Chapel Hill, 1976), and in Adelaide Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia 1735-1740* (Winston-Salem, [1905?]). J.W. Broucek's unpublished dissertation is the most nearly complete coverage: "Eighteenth Century Music in Savannah, Georgia," (Florida State Univ., 1963).

THE THEATER: Since the stage was relatively more popular in the southern colonies than in others, it has received some attention. The pioneer work, William Dunlap's *History of the American Theatre* (orig. 1832, 3 vols. in one, New York, 1963) must be consulted, as should Barnard Hewitt, *Theatre U.S.A., 1668-1957* (New York, 1957); Glenn Hughes, *A History of the American Theatre, 1700-1950* (New York, 1951); Paul McPharlin, *The Puppet Theatre in America: A History* (New York, 1949); Mates, *The American Musical Stage before 1800*; Montrose J. Moses and John Mason Brown, eds., *The American Theatre as Seen by Its Critics, 1752-1934* (New York, 1934); George C.D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. I (New York, 1927); Arthur H. Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War* (New York, 1923); Hugh F. Rankin, *The Theater in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill, 1965), the indispensable study; George O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre: Before the Revolution, 1749-1774* (Philadelphia, 1888), still useful; Garff B. Wilson, *Three Hundred Years of American Drama and Theatre From Ye Bear and Ye Cubb to Hair* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973); Louis B. Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia* (San Marino, Calif., 1940) and *Cultural Life in the American Colonies* (New York, 1957); and Richardson Wright, *Revels in Jamaica, 1682-1838* (New York, 1937), which throws some light on early American actors and troupes. Fred-eric M. Litto's "Addison's *Cato* in the Colonies," *WMQ* (3), XXIII (1966), 431-449, studies the significance of the popularity of this one British play especially in the southern colonies.

Maryland's theater is considered in most of the histories just mentioned and in Elihu S. Riley, *"The Ancient City": A History of Annapolis, in Maryland* (Annapolis, 1889), and in Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*. Two M.A. theses are useful: Mary C. Black, "The Theatre in Colonial Annapolis" (George Washington Univ., 1952), and Jarvitus Boyd, "The Golden Age of Maryland Culture 1750-1770" (Univ. of Maryland, 1967).

Virginia, which possessed the first American theater, has a prominent place in the histories of the theater just mentioned and in other books and essays. Stanard, *Colonial Virginia*, devotes pp. 229-251 to the theater, and Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play*, even more proportionate space. Robert H. Land's "The First Williamsburg Theater," *WMQ* (3), V (1948), 359-374, and

Mary A. Stephenson, "The Second Theatre: Williamsburg," Colonial Williamsburg Department of Research MS. Report to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, December 1946, p. 28, are most useful, as is "The Statutes of William and Mary Codified in 1736," *WMQ* (2), XXIV (1914), 288. Susie M. Ames, "Law in Action . . ." *WMQ* (3), IV (1947), 177-191, considers the 1665 Eastern Shore play. Rodney M. Baine, *Robert Munford, America's First Comic Dramatist* (Athens, Ga., 1967) gives the one full-length study of a Virginia colonial dramatist who wrote immediately after the period of this study. Munford's plays have been reprinted and edited: Cortlandt Canby, "Robert Munford's *The Patriots*," *WMQ* (3), VI (1949), 437-503, and Jay B. Hubbell and Douglass Adair, "Robert Munford's *The Candidates*," *WMQ* (3), V (1948), 217-257. Paul L. Ford's *Washington and the Theatre* (New York, 1899) sheds a good deal of light on playgoing habits in the pre-Revolutionary generation, and Carl R. Dolmetsch, "William Byrd II: Comic Dramatist?" *EAL*, VI (1971), 18-30, raises an intriguing question of authorship. F[airfax] H[arrison], "The Theatre in Eighteenth Century Virginia Outside of Williamsburg," *VMHB*, XXXV (1927), 295-296; Thomas B. Rowland, "Norfolk Theatres in Olden Times," *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, no. 2, pt. 1 ([1898]), 102, and Wyatt, "Three Petersburg Theatres," pp. 83-110, consider the small-town provincial stage.

North Carolina theater is discussed in Chapter II of James S. Purcell, Jr., "Literary Culture in North Carolina before 1820" (Ph.D. diss., Duke Univ., 1950).

South Carolina had a lively theater in its capital discussed in detail in Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century*. Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette*, has a chapter on the theater and considers one phase of it in "Shakespeare in Charleston on the Eve of the Revolution," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV (1953), 327-330. R.A. Law has examined phases of Charleston's stage in "A Diversion for Colonial Gentlemen," *Texas Review*, II (1916), 79-88; "Charleston Theatres, 1735-1736," *The Nation*, XLIX (1914), 278-279; "Early American Prologues and Epilogues," *The Nation*, XCVIII (1914), 463-464; and "Thomas Dale, an Eighteenth Century Gentleman," *The Nation*, CI (1915), 773-774. He gives most of what we know of the literary or poetic side of Dale, who composed theatrical occasional pieces of wit and charm. For locations of verse by Dale printed in newspapers and magazines, see J.A. Leo Lemay, *A Calendar of American Poetry* (Worcester, Mass., 1972).

NOTES

1. Forman, *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, pp. 1-17, and other works by him mentioned in the bibliography for this chapter and Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 12-13.
2. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 363-368; II 524, 614n, 902-908.

Johnston and Waterman in *Early Arch. N.C.* see the Roanoke Island dwellings as somewhat cruder than is here suggested.

3. Early Jamestown architecture is discussed in many of the books mentioned in the bibliography for this chapter, e.g., Kimball's *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and Early Republic*, pp. 3-9; three books by Forman, *Arch. of the Old South*, pp. 9-19, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 21-60, and *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, pp. 18-35. See also Hume, *Here Lies Virginia*, pp. 40-47, including excellent photographs.

4. For "A True Reportory," see *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609: Two Narratives . . .*, ed. Louis B. Wright, *Jamestown Documents*, (Charlottesville, 1964), pp. 79-82, for the wooden chimneys, Forman, *Arch. of the Old South*, pp. 20-22, and *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, pp. 33-34.

5. Harrington, "Seventeenth Century Brickmaking and Tilemaking at Jamestown," pp. 16-39; Claiborne, *Comments on Virginia Brickwork before 1800*, passim. Whiffen points out (*Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg*, pp. 7, 202) that legislative acts and *Va. Gaz.* announcements show that at best some brick was imported. See also Hume, *Here Lies Virginia*, passim, esp. p. 66. Hume notes that some thin Dutch Roman-style brick, undoubtedly imported, was used in Jamestown buildings.

6. Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, II, 172-173. Long before 1662 Jamestown had brick houses and tile roofs as well as brick footings, cellars, and chimneys, and brick houses and churches were appearing. See Harrington, pp. 17-34, and Claiborne, pp. 1-4. For the first Jamestown bricklayers, see Philip L. Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages . . . , 1606-1609* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1969), II, 382-383, and passim.

7. Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia* [London, 1615], introd. A.L. Rowse (Richmond, Va., 1957), pp. 29-32. Robert Johnson, in *The New Life of Virginea* (London, 1612), in Force, *Tracts*, I, vii, 4, asserts that the first stories of the Henrico houses of this period (see text below) were all of brick, and it is possible that some of those at Jamestown were.

8. *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, p. 50.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 79, and Richard B. Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer* (London and New York, 1955), passim.

10. Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va. Seven. Cent.*, I, 655.

11. Forman, *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, pp. 62-65, and *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 118-127. Quite similar decorative colored plaster has been found in Robbin's Neck in Gloucester County, Virginia. See Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 21-22.

12. Rawlings, *Virginia's Colonial Churches*, pp. 18-27, who believes a 1638-1644 church was burned and immediately rebuilt; Forman, *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, pp. 50-53, and *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 153-163; Mason, *Col. Churches of Tidewater Va.*, pp. 1-16.

13. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 192-200, and other Forman books. See Also "A Relation of Maryland" (1635) in C.C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1920), pp. 72-75.

14. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 207-211; Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, pp. 56-58; and Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, p. 21.

15. Forman, *Arch. of the Old South*, pp. 107-154. Here are included drawings of many variations of detached and row houses of diverse materials and most interesting early chimney forms.

16. Forman, *Tidewater Md. Arch. and Gardens*, pp. 101-108, and *Architecture of the Old South*, pp. 107-112. As Reps points out in *Tidewater Towns* (p. 56), systematic archaeological exploration of the St. Mary's site remains yet to be undertaken.

17. For details of St. Mary's buildings see Forman's several books noted above, especially *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, *Arch. of the Old South*, and *Tidewater Md. Arch. and Gardens*.

18. Hume, *Here Lies Virginia*, p. 49. For Henrico, see Hamor, *A True Discourse*, pp. 29-32, and [Johnson], *The New Life of Virginea* (Force, I, vii, 14). There is no evidence that the brick church at Henrico was ever completed. For the hospital, see Charles E. Gilliam, "Mount Malado," *Tyler's Q.*, XX (1939), 138-142.

19. Sandys' letter is reproduced in Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer*, p. 144, dated March 30, 1623.

20. Forman, *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, p. 40, and *Arch. of the Old South*, passim; also Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 10, 14, and especially Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Col. Arch. of Tidewater Va.*, pp. 1-7, passim. The Thoroughgood house has been called the oldest existing house in Virginia and probably in North America. The window sashes are eighteenth century, as are probably other details. Kimball, *Domestic Arch. of the Amer. Colonies*, p. 10, knew of no wooden seventeenth-century house in Virginia, but much has been discovered since he wrote in 1922.

21. See above and Annie Lee Ross, "Domestic Arch. in Va.," p. 36.

22. Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Col. Arch. of Tidewater Va.*, pp. 19-27; Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 19-27, and *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, p. 15; Forman, *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, passim, esp. 41-43.

23. The most recent and complete study is Louis R. Caywood, "Green Spring Plantation," *VMHB*, LXV (1957), 67-83, which is accompanied by archaeological survey maps and a reproduction of Latrobe's watercolor and of the crude 1683 drawing as well as a photograph of the excavations. See also Forman, *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, pp. 43-44; Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 19-21, 416-417; Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Col. Arch. of Tidewater Va.*, pp. 9-15.

24. For these various houses, see the books cited by Forman, Waterman, and Waterman and Barrows. The last (pp. 29-35), gives the fullest description, drawings, and photographs of the house, but it also appears in Kimball, *Domestic Arch. of the Amer. Colonies*, pp. 42-47, 70, 272. For the Fairfield ballroom, see Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, p. 26.

25. See R.E. Stivers' "Turkey Island Plantation," *Va. Cavalcade*, XIV (Autumn 1964), 41-47, in which the first of the paintings of an early American plantation and the 1806 insurance-policy plat are reproduced. The Moratti-

co panel is reproduced in several places, such as Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, p. 63 (Waterman remarks on p. 110 that it may represent possibly Warner Hall, Rippon Hall, Corotoman, or Turkey Island). For a sensible conjectural ground plan of the "principal" Turkey Island mansion, see Forman, *Arch. of the Old South*, p. 75, fig. 87. Forman believes it was a cruciform structure.

26. See Forman, *Arch. of the Old South* and his various books on Maryland, for Bond Castle esp. his *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Md.*, passim, and *Arch. of the Old South*, pp. 135-139.

27. See esp. Rawlings, *Virginia's Colonial Churches*; Mason, *Col. Churches of Tidewater Va.*, and his 1945 and 1950 essays in the *VMHB*; and Lancaster, *Historic Va. Homes and Churches* (Philadelphia, 1915). Forman's studies also touch on Virginia church architecture. For some individual edifices, see the "Partial Bibliography" in Rawlings, pp. 271-273.

28. Forman, *Arch. of the Old South*, pp. 138-144. He lists some forty-four 1650-1700 buildings in his *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Md.*, and he has found more since. Forman dates the Easton meetinghouse as 1682 and includes a Cecil County meetinghouse as having been erected before 1696. Over the years Forman has reconsidered many of his first assignments of date, making a few earlier but more later.

29. Radoff, *County Courthouses and Records of Md.*, passim. The first Dorchester courthouse may be still standing, though the second of 1797 does not survive even in description. Forman's Maryland volumes describe several of the early courthouses. See also the volumes of the *Archives of Md.* for records.

30. Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va. Seven. Cent.*, I, 524-539. The several essays of W.H. Gaines, Jr., are in *Va. Cavalcade*, beginning XVI (1967/8), passim, to 1974. Forman has some interesting suggestions in *Va. Arch. Seventeenth Cent.*, pp. 58-59, and the Yorktown courthouse is discussed in Clyde F. Trudell, *Colonial Yorktown* (Old Greenwich, Conn., 1971), pp. 118-120. For the 1696 act regarding the York courthouse see Hening, *Statutes*, III, 147.

31. The county standard, mentioned in relation to Fitzhugh in Stafford, also is noted in York records of 1697 (Trudell, p. 119). The form or design would be interesting to know.

32. Bruce, *Econ. Hist. Va. Seven. Cent.*, I, 325, II, 302; and Trudell, *Colonial Yorktown*, pp. 76-78.

33. Forman, *Arch. of the Old South*, pp. 172-176, 177-182; Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh T. Lefler (Chapel Hill, 1967), pp. 8-9; Stoney, *Plantations*, p. 27; A.S. Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, (New York, 1911) p. 181. The English church must have been the 1681-1690 early St. Philip's.

34. Stoney, *Plantations*, pp. 23-24, 47-48, 90-96; Lawson, *A New Voyage*, ed. Lefler, p. 21.

35. Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 29-59; Whiffen, *Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, pp. 53-66. Waterman leans to Wren as the source of the original design for the house.

36. For a reproduction of Jefferson's plan, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings of*

Williamsburg, p. 60. The Bodleian Plate drawings appear on p. 58. For Taliaferro's repairs, see *ibid.*, pp. 141-142, and Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, passim; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, 1956), p. 70.

37. For Kingsmill, see Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 61-63. There are many good descriptions of Stratford: e.g., Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 92-103.

38. Of the many descriptions of Byrd's mansion, one of the best is Thomas Lee Shippen, *Westover Described in 1783* (Richmond, May 1952), written by a young relative to his parents in Philadelphia.

39. Rosewell in exterior appointments at least is strikingly like the mansion of Cound just outside Shrewsbury, itself derived in many details from *Palladio Londoniensis*. Good drawings, photographs, and discussion of Rosewell appear in Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 106-123, and in Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Col. Arch. Tidewater Va.*, pp. 86-96. The drawing in the latter of the north elevation shows that this house was indeed a major mansion even in the British sense.

40. For excellent photographs and discussion, see Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 25, 202-212, and *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 118-124.

41. C. Malcolm Watkins, *The Cultural History of Marlborough, Virginia, An Archaeological and Historical Investigation* (Washington, D.C., The Smithsonian Institution, 1968), passim.

42. See Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 84-91, for fine photographs of interior and exterior. Material on Tuckahoe appears in a number of books listed in the bibliography for this chapter.

43. Juxtaposed pattern drawings and photographs of the two Mount Airy fronts demonstrate how strikingly like the patterns they are. See Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 254-255, 258.

44. Beirne and Scarff, *William Buckland*, pp. 12-30, and Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 223-230.

45. Books such as Farrar's *Old Virginia Houses* offer fine photographs and vague descriptions that too often suggest little about the dates of erection and how much of the buildings are original. In small print in *Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion*, American Guide Series (New York, 1940) is scattered here and there much more information as to original character and date of these modest houses as well as accurate information on the larger ones. Virginia badly needs the sort of architectural surveys Forman has done for Maryland. O'Neal's *Architecture in Virginia* is a first step in the right direction, though some of the datings seems questionable, e.g., for the Rolfe-Warren House. Finally there has appeared a study of the small Virginia house, Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville, 1975).

46. Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*. The editor does little to explain obvious changes in the exteriors. Others believe thousands of colonial structures still stand in the Chesapeake province but admit they have made no count.

47. Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 21-24; Hammond, *Col. Mansions of Md. and Del.*, pp. 161-163; Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*, p. 30.

48. Hammond, *Col. Mansions of Md. and Del.*, pp. 110-117; Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*, pp. 141-142. For Mount Clare, see also "Baltimore's Country Mansion," *Southern Living*, IX, no. 5 (May 1974), 4n. with an excellent photograph showing enclosed upper portico or porch with Palladian window and attached wings. The porch-portico of the ground floor is supported by four columns.

49. Charles Scarlett, Jr., "Governor Horatio Sharpe's Whitehall," *MdHM*, XLIV (1951), 8-26; Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, pp. 68-75; Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*, p. 110 (excellent photograph); Hammond, *Col. Mansions of Md. and Del.*, pp. 77-86; Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 102-104.

50. See Whiffen, *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg*, passim, for detailed consideration of building material and design and individual houses. See also Kocher and Dearstyne, *Colonial Williamsburg*, and for city plans, lots, etc., Reps, *Tidewater Towns*. Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, discusses the Peyton Randolph and Wythe houses, the Chiswell house noted above, and three other Williamsburg Randolph houses. And Waterman and Burrows, *Domestic Col. Arch. of Tidewater Va.*, give (pp. 49 ff.) details of the President's House of the College of William and Mary.

51. Eddis, *Letters from America*, p. 13, and Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, pp. 136-140; Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulaney of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 48-50, 353n. The Burnaby reference is in Reps. Dates of construction of Annapolis houses are singularly difficult to find. Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, gives a tabulation but without supporting evidence.

52. Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, p. 119, and Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*, p. 124 (photograph). Wilson gives the street location of all his photographed houses.

53. Joseph C. Morton, "Stephen Bordley of Annapolis," *Winterthur Portfolio*, V (1969), 12; Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions* (pp. 112-113, photographs); Hammond, *Col. Mansions of Md. and Del.*, pp. 72-76.

54. The Ogle house, now carefully restored, has an octagonal rear wing attributed to Buckland. See Beirne and Scarff, *William Buckland*, p. 137, and Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, pp. 91-93, 123, which dates the house 1737-1740. For the Carroll house, see Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*, p. 123; Randall, "Colonial Annapolis," pp. 316-317; Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, p. 123; for the Scott house, Waterman, *Dwellings of Va.*, pp. 105, 109; Beirne and Scarff, *William Buckland*, pp. 56-57, 72-73; Randall, "Colonial Annapolis," pp. 320-323; Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, pp. 80-83.

55. For the Brice house, see Beirne and Scarff, *Buckland*, pp. 96-97, 126-128, who believe it entirely a creation of the 1770s. The 1740s dating has appeared in architectural volumes several times, as Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, p. 123 (though on p. 34 he gives circa 1772 as the date). See also Waterman, *Dwellings of Va.*, pp. 95, 101, 104-105, 109, and Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*, p. 123, both of whom date the house before Buckland's time. For the Windsor

house, see Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, pp. 117, 124 (dates variously 1730 and 1760).

56. There is much on these two houses, including floor plans, in Beirne and Scarff, *William Buckland*, pp. 82-96; Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, passim; Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*, pp. 113-120; Waterman, *Dwellings of Va.*, pp. 95-99, 186. For the Paca house, see Davis, pp. 88-89; Beirne and Scarff, *William Buckland*, pp. 95, 125; and Wilson, *Md.'s Col. Mansions*, pp. 121-122. All three are discussed in Hammond, *Col. Mansions of Md. and Del.*, pp. 15-44.

57. For these rural and other North Carolina colonial residences, see Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, passim; Waterman, *Dwellings of Va.*, passim; Lawrence Lee, "Old Brunswick, the Story of a Colonial Town," *NCHR*, XXIX (1952), 237-240; Allcott, *Col. Homes in North Carolina*, passim; Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern . . .," *NCHR*, XXII (1945), passim, and *Governor Tryon and His Palace*. Allcott describes and gives photographs of several smaller country houses closely resembling the Chesapeake type, especially those in brick or with brick gable ends and wood siding.

58. Stoney, *Plantations*, passim; Waterman, *Dwellings of Va.*, passim; and McClure et al., *S.C. Architecture*, passim. Unfortunately Stoney's interesting book gives few architectural details, though he gives dates, photographs, and plans.

59. Corry, "The Houses of Colonial Georgia," pp. 181-201, and Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.* Both are woefully lacking in technical details and dates. Forman in *Arch. of the Old South*, pp. 182-184, describes pre-1764 Georgia plantation houses in only the vaguest terms and evidently knew of none. His interpretation of the 1764 Augusta residence indicates it was quite small. The Georgian style was established in later eighteenth-century Savannah, but little indication of it on the plantations exists.

60. For illustrations, see Lawson, *A New Voyage*, ed. Lefler, passim; Allcott, *Col. Homes in N.C.*, pp. 8, 11, 76 for Hillsborough and Brunswick; Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, passim, for Edenton, New Bern, Salisbury, Hillsborough, and Wilmington.

61. For Palmer-Marsh and Cupola details and some drawings and photographs of the buildings see Allcott, *Col. Homes in N.C.*, pp. 18-25, 45-46; and Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, pp. 29-31, 50-58, 174.

62. Allcott, *Col. Homes in N.C.*, pp. 96-100, and Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, passim. The Tryon Palace staff publishes a useful descriptive pamphlet concerning the building and what is being done to recreate its entire milieu—and contents. See also Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 85-91.

63. Cate, "The Original Houses of Frederica, Georgia: The Hawkins-Davison House," *GaHQ*, XL (1956), 203-212; and Fairbanks, "Excavation of the Hawkins-Davison Houses, Frederica National Monument," *GaHQ*, XL (1956), 213-227.

64. Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.*, pp. 32 and passim, and *De*

Brahm's Report, ed. De Vorsey, pp. 152, etc. Governor Reynolds had in 1754 found 150 old wooden houses, all small, in the city (Corry, "The Houses of Colonial Georgia," pp. 192, etc.). See also *Journal of Peter Gordon*, ed. Coulter, frontispiece and Introduction.

65. Among the many books, pamphlets, and essays some of the most useful are McClure et al., *S.C. Architecture*; Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*; Leland, *Fifty Famous Houses of Charleston*; Kimball, *Domestic Arch. of the Amer. Colonies*; and Stoney, *Charleston: Azaleas and Old Bricks*, pp. 19ff.

66. For these Maryland churches, see Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens and Furniture in Tidewater Md.*; *Arch. of the Old South*; and *Tidewater Md. Arch. and Gardens*; also Rose, *Colonial Houses of Worship Still Standing*, who gives figures and lists and dates of Maryland churches; Robertson, *Land of the Evergreen*, passim (e.g., Rehobeth Presbyterian Church 1706, built by Francis Makemie); Radoff, *Buildings at Annapolis*, pp. 17-20; Weis, *The Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy in the Middle and Southern Colonies*, passim. Eddis, *Letters from America*, ed. Land, p. 8.

67. Two of the most accurate accounts of Christ Church Lancaster are Rawlings, *Virginia's Colonial Churches*, pp. 120-127, and Louise B. Dawe, "Christ Church Lancaster County: . . . A Pictorial Essay," *Va. Cavalcade*, XXIII, no. 2 (Autumn 1973), 20-33, the latter of which contains dozens of photographs, many in full color. For a succinct accurate summary, see O'Neal, *Architecture in Virginia*, pp. 108-109. Rawlings is the single best source for the other churches, though there is useful material in the books by Mason and Whiffen. Rawlings includes color photographs of Yeocomico, St. Peter's New Kent, Aquia, and Abingdon. In the Jones Papers, LC, is a 1715 "account rendered" of furnishings for a Virginia church, from flooring to pulpit and communion table.

68. Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, passim; Lee, "Old Brunswick: The Story of a Colonial Town," pp. 230-245.

69. McClure et al., *S.C. Architecture*, pp. 2-3; Stoney, *Plantations*, pp. 49, 97-99; Lilly and Legerton, comps., *Historic Churches of Charleston*, pp. 84-85.

70. Stoney, *Plantations*, pp. 50-51; McClure and Hodges, *S.C. Architecture*, pp. 4-5; Lilly and Legerton, comps., *Historic Churches of Charleston*, pp. 90-91.

71. Lilly and Legerton, comps., pp. 86-87; Stoney, *Plantations*, pp. 67-68, 181-185.

72. Williams, *St. Michael's, Charleston*; Lilly and Legerton, comps., pp. 14-15, 68-69; Edward McCrady, "An Historic Church: The Westminster Abbey of South Carolina: A Sketch of St. Phillip's Church . . . 1665 . . . to the Present Time," *Year Book, City of Charleston*, 1896, pp. 319-374; Stoney, *Charleston, Azaleas and Old Bricks*, Plates IX, X, XI, XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX.

73. Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.*, pp. 235-238; Corry, "The Houses of Colonial Georgia," pp. 181-185.

74. Radoff, *Buildings at Annapolis*, pp. 7-14, and *The County Courthouses and Records of Md.*, p. 8; Eddis, *Letters from America*, ed. Land, p. 12; Mrs. Rebecca Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings . . . [of Annapolis],"

MdHM, XIV (1919), 263; Repts, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 128. The third statehouse as it was in 1890 is well described in Randall, "Colonial Annapolis," pp. 316 ff.

75. Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, pp. 34, 50, 138–140, etc.; Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Morton, pp. 68–69; Repts, *Tidewater Towns*, pp. 171, etc.; Goodwin, *Report Concerning Williamsburg*, passim.

76. The most extensive account of the attempt to build a statehouse is in Jones, *For History's Sake: Preservation and Publication of N.C. Hist.*, pp. 19–53. See also Lefler and Powell, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 224–229. Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, really give nothing on early statehouses in their section on public buildings, pp. 245–252.

77. For Milligen-Johnston's description of the Charleston statehouse of 1752, see the facsimile edition of his book included in Milling, ed., *Col. S.C.*, p. 145. See also George C. Rogers, Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Norman, Okla., 1969), p. 58; and Bowes, *The Culture of Early Charleston*, p. 112. Oldmixon's 1708 edition of *The History of the British Empire in America* does not include any statehouse or -houses among the handsome buildings named. See Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, p. 365, and *The State Houses of South Carolina, 1751–1936* (Columbia, 1936).

78. Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.*, p. 239; Corry, "The Houses of Colonial Georgia," pp. 181–193; Coulter, ed., *The Journal of Peter Gordon, 1732–1735* (Athens, Ga., 1963), pp. 42–43; Francis Moore, *A Voyage to Georgia Begun in the Year 1735* (London, 1744), p. 33; [Mills B. Lane, comp.], *Savannah Revisited: A Pictorial History* (Athens, Ga., 1969), for Gordon's *View of Savannah* and a typical dwelling house with shed dormers.

79. Radoff, *County Courthouses and Records of Md.*, passim; Repts, *Tidewater Towns*, passim; Key, "Notice of Some of the First Buildings . . . [of Annapolis]," pp. 262–263; Eddis, *Letters from America*, ed. Land, pp. 11–12; Forman, *Architecture of the Old South*, passim.

80. The 1770 building, no longer a courthouse, is described in Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, pp. 152–161, who is among those who suggest that the 1715 building may have been the prototype for many other county structures. See also Whiffen's "The Early County Courthouses of Virginia," pp. 2–10; and O'Neal, *Architecture in Virginia*, pp. 85–86.

81. Whiffen, "The Early County Courthouses of Virginia," passim; O'Neal, *Architecture in Virginia*, passim; *Virginia, A Guide*, passim; Trudell, *Colonial Yorktown*, pp. 118–121.

82. Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, pp. 249–251. A photograph of the Chowan County Courthouse appears as the frontispiece of this volume, of the Hillsborough building on p. 271. For a 1711 wooden court building and later buildings, see Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., "Public Buildings in Craven County, 1722–1835," *NCHR*, XX (1943), 301–326. Dill also mentions that in 1760 there was a partially completed courthouse at New Bern in ruinous condition, though it was opened for occupancy July 3, 1764.

83. William Drayton's county courthouse in Charleston was not completed

until 1792 and is in the mixed Palladian and Greek Revival style, a most handsome building originally intended to be a statehouse (see Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston*, pp. 71-72; Bowes, *Culture of Early Charleston*, p. 112). The matter of early county courthouses obviously merits investigation. See M. Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1966), p. 143, for evidence that perhaps all early courts in the region which is today South Carolina were held in Charleston.

84. Force, *Tracts*, I, iv, 70; Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.*, pp. 239, 272-273; A.E. Scholes, comp., *Chronological History of Savannah* (Savannah, 1900), pp. 42-43; Moore, *Voyage to Georgia*, pp. 32-33.

85. Radoff, *Buildings at Annapolis*, passim; Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, passim; Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, passim; *Virginia, A Guide*, passim; O'Neal, *Architecture in Virginia*, passim. The flat roof of the Williamsburg gaol is the subject of detailed comment in Whiffen, pp. 70-74, etc. Buckland built a new prison in Annapolis in the 1760s and a workhouse or poorhouse (Beirne and Scarff, *William Buckland*, p. 39).

86. Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, pp. 107, 114; Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens, and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland*, pp. 141-142, 162. A human skeleton was found walled in the old Princess Anne Customs House when it was restored.

87. Trudell, *Colonial Yorktown*, pp. 76-83; Darter, *Colonial Fredericksburg*, pp. 60, 158, 160; *Virginia, A Guide*, pp. 216-226, 459-461.

88. Ridout, "The Indian Queen," pp. 189-204; Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, pp. 188, 219, 247, 326; *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerary of Dr. Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill, 1948), passim; Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, pp. 112-113, 124. The terms *ordinary* and *tavern*, though in Britain referring to somewhat different sorts of houses of hospitality, in the colonies were used indiscriminately.

89. For a great deal on almost all the rural and town taverns see *Virginia, A Guide*, passim. In addition, see Davis, *Alexandria Houses*, frontispiece and pp. 36-47; Darter, *Colonial Fredericksburg*, passim; Trudell, *Colonial Yorktown*, pp. 85-105; James G. Scott and Edward Wyatt, IV, *Petersburg's Story: A History* (Petersburg, 1960), pp. 151-155 and illustration opposite p. 27; Hume, *Here Lies Virginia*, passim; *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782* by the Marquis de Chastellux, ed. and trans. Howard C. Rice, Jr. (2 vols., Chapel Hill, 1963), passim.

90. Goodwin, *Report Concerning Williamsburg*, passim; *Colonial Williamsburg: Official Guidebook* (Williamsburg, 1964), pp. 15-17 for Raleigh Tavern, others passim; Hume, *Here Lies Virginia*, pp. 158-159; *Virginia, A Guide*, p. 322.

91. *South Carolina, A Guide to the Palmetto State*, American Guide Series (New York, 1941); Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. Ga.*, p. 242; Fairbanks, "Excavation of the Hawkins-Davison House, Frederica . . .," pp. 222-227.

92. McNamara, *The American Playhouse*, pp. 15-25; William C. Young, *Famous American Playhouses, 1716-1899*, Vol. I of Documents of American

Theater History (Chicago, 1973), pp. 3-5; Mary A. Stephenson, "The First Theatre," Colonial Williamsburg Department of Research MS. Report 1946; Land, "The First Williamsburg Theater," *WMQ* (3), V (1948), 359-374; Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, pp. 114-117. Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play*, reproduces opposite p. 224 a photograph of a model of this first theater.

93. Stephenson, "The Second Theatre: Williamsburg," passim; McNamara, *American Playhouse*, pp. 31-40; Young, *Famous American Playhouses*, pp. 7-10. The architects of Colonial Williamsburg have considered reproducing the theater at Richmond in Yorkshire, one of the few eighteenth-century provincial English theaters in existence.

94. McNamara, *American Playhouse*, passim; Wyatt, "Three Petersburg Theatres," pp. 83-110; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim. The Douglass company seems to have performed at Dumfries in a large assembly room in 1771. Here George Washington saw *The Recruiting Officer*.

95. Riley, "*The Ancient City*": *A History of Annapolis*, pp. 146-148; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 40, 161-164, passim. See also McNamara, "David Douglass and the Beginnings of American Theater Architecture," pp. 112-135, who discusses Lewis Hallam as well as Douglass in theater architecture.

96. McNamara, "David Douglass and the Beginnings of American Theater Architecture," pp. 112-135, with illustrations; Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century*, passim; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim.

97. *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Morton, frontispiece, pp. 66-67. The building burned in 1705, in 1859, and in 1862.

98. Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, passim; Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Morton, passim; *Virginia, A Guide*, pp. 316-320.

99. Key, "Notice of Some of the First Buildings . . . [of Annapolis]," p. 264; Eddis, *Letters from America*, ed. Land, p. 77; *Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State*, (New York, 1940), pp. 99-100, 184-185.

100. Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.*, pp. 2, 28-29, 38-39, 46, 47, 48; Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History*, pp. 70-71; Corry, "The Houses of Colonial Georgia," pp. 185-189. The brick foundation rising several feet above the ground may have caused Bartram to remember the whole as brick.

101. Reps, *Tidewater Town*, passim; Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Morton, passim; Eddis, *Letters from America*, ed. Land, passim; Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 105.

102. William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chapel Hill, 1962), pp. 58-59, 240-241; Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, passim, for plats; Lawson, *A New Voyage*, ed. Lefler, pp. xxii-xxxii.

103. Cumming, *The Southeast*, passim; Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, opp. p. 364 for Crisp city plan; *De Brahm's Report*, ed. De Vorse, pp. 90, 98-99; Ivers, *Colonial Forts of S.C.*, pp. 24 ff.

104. Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.*, pp. 10-15, 17-20 (Ebe-

nezer, Frederica, Brunswick bear some resemblance in plan to Savannah); *De Brahm's Report*, ed. De Vorsey, pp. 143, 155, 158 for illustration and pp. 152-155 for description of Savannah.

105. The standard study of Buckland's work is Beirne and Scarff, *William Buckland, 1734-1774, Architect of Virginia and Maryland*. Others who concur in assigning most of the houses mentioned to Buckland in whole or in part, are Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*; and Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, pp. 18 ff.

106. Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 244-248, 406-408, etc. and *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 57-66. In the latter book (p. 58) Waterman points out that one now destroyed church can definitely be documented as Ariss's.

107. Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, and *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, passim. Also Whiffen, *The Eighteenth Century Houses of Williamsburg*, pp. 126, 214, who dates the Wythe house by Taliaferro at 1750; and Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, passim.

108. Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 53-57, and *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 145-150, 160-163, etc. Byrd writes of the Dutch (German?) joiner who is working on his house.

109. Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, pp. 32-33, 63, etc.

110. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 63-67; Lilly and Legerton, comps., *Historic Churches of Charleston*, pp. 16-17; Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston*, pp. 3-36, 54-56; Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, pp. 32-46; Stoney, *Plantations*, pp. 51-53, 106-111; *South Carolina, A Guide*, pp. 141-142.

111. Waterman, *Dwellings of Col. Amer.*, p. 6; Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.*, pp. 31-36. The Nichols-Johnston book is excellent for the national period but bears out Waterman's remark that there is little left to discuss for the colonial era.

112. For studies of the varying concepts implied in the word *garden* in colonial America, see Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, pp. 75-81, who sees Beverley using "garden of the world," Virginia, in the language of myth and the man-made gardens as pastoral. Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind*, pp. 33-52, sees William Byrd and John Lawson looking at the New World as pastoral vision. And Fritzell, "The Wilderness and the Garden: Metaphors of the American Landscape," pp. 16-22, sees the southern concept of the New World as pastoral-pagan, a potential paradise or garden, and the New England concept as biblical-Calvinist, a howling wilderness.

113. Hedrick, *History of Horticulture*, pp. 138 ff., states that southern ornamental gardens were fewer than historians have indicated, but the archaeological work of Forman in Maryland and several others at Williamsburg and on Virginia and South Carolina country estates would suggest that he is wrong.

114. George Percy, *Observations Gathered out of "A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 1606,"* ed. David B. Quinn (Charlottesville, 1967), p. 17, and Lyon G. Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625* (New York, 1907), p. 16.

115. For *Nova Britannia* (London, 1609) see Force, *Tracts*, I, vi, 22; for Smith, Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 3-5; for Strachey, Louis B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609* (Charlottesville,

1964), p. 80; for Whitaker, his *Good Newes from Virginia* (London, 1613), p. 43.

116. See "William Byrd Title Book," *VMHB*, XLVIII (1940), 36n, for Menefie's garden. For others, Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, passim, and Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 55 ff. *A New Description of Virginia* (1641), lists orchards and vineyards and herb gardens then scattered through the colony (Force, *Tracts*, II, viii, 4, 14-15).

117. Caywood, "Green Spring Plantation," 77-80. The curved garden wall Caywood found was built over cellars of the Old Manor House of Berkeley's time, though it cannot be entirely ruled out as having been present in his time. See also Dutton, *The Flower World of Williamsburg*, pp. 32 ff., who does not cite her authority.

118. *The History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), pp. 298-299. There is a William Byrd I 1683 letter mentioning English anemones, crocuses, iris, and tulips (see Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 27).

119. *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, passim, and *Old Buildings, Gardens, and Furniture of Tidewater Maryland*, passim, esp. under "Gardens"; Hedrick, *History of Horticulture*, pp. 106-109; Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 132, 137-141 for Wye House records.

120. Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, p. 145; Stoney, *Plantations*, pp. 47-49.

121. The Palace garden is pictured and described in Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 70 (in general terms); Christian and Massie, *Homes and Gardens in Old Virginia*, pp. 281-287; Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, pp. 85-93; passim; Hedrick, *History of Horticulture*, pp. 109-110; Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 56-59; Goodwin, *Report Concerning Williamsburg*, passim; and Hume, *Archaeology and the Colonial Gardener*, pp. 19-22; Dutton, *The Flower World of Colonial Williamsburg*, pp. 29-32, etc.

122. There is much on the finds in the Custis "square" in Hume, *Archaeology and the Colonial Gardener*, passim. For the fullest discussion of Custis and his plants, see "Brothers of the Spade: Correspondence of Collinson and Custis," ed. Swem, pp. 17-190. See also Kocher and Dearstyne, *Colonial Williamsburg*, pp. 39-40. Custis bewailed the loss of his Dutch box edgings, proof in itself of his interest in beds (knots or parterres).

123. Hume, *Archaeology and the Colonial Gardener*, passim, and Christian and Massie, *Homes and Gardens in Old Virginia*, pp. 287-297, 301-305.

124. Stanard, *Col. Va.*, pp. 69 ff.; and Hedrick, *History of Horticulture*, pp. 106-111.

125. *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover . . .*, ed. Maude Woodfin and Marion Tining (Richmond, 1942), p. 361.

126. Pierre Marambaud, *William Byrd of Westover, 1674-1744* (Charlottesville, 1971), pp. 145, 158-159; Shippen, *Westover Described in 1783*, p. 12; *Travels in North America . . . by the Marquis Chastellux*, ed. and trans. Rice, II, 430-433; Christian and Massie, *Homes and Gardens in Old Virginia*,

pp. 255-257; Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 148-150; Collinson to Bartram, n.d., *WMQ* (2), VI (1926), 311; Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 89-99; *Another Secret Diary*, ed. Woodfin and Tinling, passim.

127. For these gardens, see Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 58-88; Christian and Massie, *Homes and Gardens in Old Virginia*, passim; and Carolyn Miller, "Recapturing the Charm of a Colonial Garden [Mount Vernon]," *Americana*, I (Mar. 1973), 18-21.

128. *Journal and Letters of Fithian*, ed. Farish, passim.

129. Bevan, "Gardens and Gardening in Early Maryland," pp. 243-270; Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 113-160; Davis, *Annapolis Houses*, passim; *Maryland, A Guide*, passim; Forman's volumes on Maryland in the chapter bibliography above; Hammond, *Col. Mansions of Md. and Del.*, passim; and Charles Scarlett, "Governor Horatio Sharpe's Whitehall," pp. 8-11.

130. Allcott, *Col. Homes in N.C.*, pp. 9-25, etc.; Johnston and Waterman, *Early Arch. N.C.*, passim; and Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 260.

131. Briggs, *Charleston Gardens*; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 66-70; *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney*, ed. Pinckney, pp. 36 ff.; *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle*, ed. Walter B. Edgar (2 vols., Columbia, 1972), I, passim; *Papers of Henry Laurens*, ed. Hamer, Rogers, et al., III, 458-459, etc.; Bowes, *Culture of Early Charleston*, pp. 113-114; and Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 200-220.

132. Stoney, *Plantations*, passim; Shaffer, *Carolina Gardens*, passim; Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 197-259.

133. Nichols and Johnston, *Early Arch. of Ga.*, pp. 36-38, etc.; Lockwood, comp. and ed., *Gardens of Colony and State*, II, 263-311; Francis Moore, *Voyage to Georgia*, passim; Candler, ed., *Col. Rec. Georgia*, II, V, VII, XXII, XXIV, passim, on public gardens; Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, 1956), pp. 31-32.

134. Lorant, ed., *New World*, passim; Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, passim; see also LeMoyné and White in Hariot's *A brief and true report* (1590) and in Hulton et al., eds., *Drawings of John White*; Bilodeau, *Art in South Carolina*, passim, which uses LeMoyné's color illustration as cover.

135. Letters of Mrs. William S. Portlock of the Sargeant Memorial Room of the Norfolk Public Library, December 14, 1973, etc. to the author; Weddell, *Virginia Historical Portraiture*, passim; Stanard, *Col. Va.*, pp. 314-319; Bolton, *The Founders*, I, 175-189, for the Moseleys. The fullest account of the Moseley portraits appears in a monograph by Daniel H. Giffen in the mimeographed *Art in Early Virginia* (n.d., copy in Norfolk Public Library). Mrs. Philip A. Bruce is quoted as saying that before 1860 one of the sights of Norfolk was the great collection of Moseley portraits, all hung in the house of Burwell Bassett Moseley, a direct descendant. Mrs. Bruce owned the only known surviving portrait (of William II) a generation ago, and since that time it has been owned by her daughter, Mrs. Archibald B. Shepperson of Charlottesville.

The wills of several generations of the family quoted by Giffen note family pictures. For Sandys' portraits, see Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer*, frontispiece and passim.

136. Giffen, "The Mysterious Moseley Portraits," *Art in Early Virginia*, 1-5. The date of the letter from Mrs. Moore is not given.

137. Bolton, *The Founders*, I, 99-105, 139-145 (he notes two portraits of Herrman); Rutledge, "Portraits Painted before 1900 in . . . the Maryland Historical Society," pp. 11-50. A letter of May 31, 1974, from Ms. Eugenia Calvert Holland tells of the Herrman portraits. For the Calverts, see James W. Foster and Beta K. Manakee, *The Lords Baltimore: An Account of the Portraits of the Founder and Five Proprietaries of the Colony of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1961), pp. 1-10.

138. See reproduction of portrait in [Robert Bolling], *A Memoir of a Portion of the Bolling Family in England and Virginia* (Berryville, Va., 1964), opp. p. 12, and pp. 20-21.

139. "William Dering, a Mid-Eighteenth Century Williamsburg Portrait Painter," p. 56; Bruce, *Social Life in Va.*, pp. 161-162; and Ruth C. Chambers, "Provincial Portrait Painters of Virginia," *Art in Early Virginia*, 6 pp.

140. *William Fitzhugh*, ed Davis, pp. 362, 367; Doud, "The Fitzhugh Portraits by John Hesselius," pp. 159-173.

141. This other copy was believed to have burned some time before 1950 when a Fitzhugh descendant's home was destroyed. The tradition as to the deteriorated portrait is in Bolton, *The Founders*, pp. 615-617, who mentions the original portrait of Colonel William as in poor condition and in 1919 owned by Mrs. Edward C. Mayo of Richmond, and he reproduces the c. 1750 Hesselius copy inscribed "Colonel William Fitzhugh, aged 40 [48?], 1698." Perhaps John Hesselius made two copies of the immigrant's portrait in the 1750's. The 1698 date fits exactly William Fitzhugh's order for materials to set up a painter. Bolton's work is a provocative and valuable but uncritical antiquarian survey. As for the six pictures of Fitzhugh relatives and that of his wife, their whereabouts are unknown. Evidently Hesselius *copied* none save William I's and II's.

142. Hesselius—if he did these copies—shows the same skill he did in the William Fitzhugh portrait of faithful copying. The curators of the Virginia Historical Society have no idea of the identity of the painter of these Randolph portraits.

143. Pleasants, "Justus Engelhardt Kühn," p. 276, for description and ascription to Kühn.

144. Rutledge, "Artists in the Life of Charleston," pp. 110-111; Wilson, "Art and Artists in Provincial South Carolina," p. 137. There is also a late portrait of Mazyck in Bilodeau, *Art in South Carolina*, p. 32.

145. Stanard, *Col. Va.*, pp. 316-317, and Bruce, *Social Life in Va.*, passim. Though the word *print* is usually used to denote woodcuts or copper-plate engravings, obviously some "pictures" such as those of "the senses" were not oil paintings.

146. See Parke Rouse, *James Blair of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1971), after

p. 146, for Blair. ["The Byrd Portraits of Westover"], *Art in Early Virginia*, p. 10 [of section on Byrd]. Whether a Kneller or no, this early portrait of Byrd was given to the fourth earl of Orrery and was purchased and brought to this country in 1927. The Parke portrait appears in Weddell, *Virginia Historical Portraiture*, p. 138.

147. Stanard, *Col. Va.*, p. 317.

148. Belknap, *American Colonial Painting*, pp. 309, etc., had already suggested the remarkable resemblance between the unknown New York artist's work and the Jacquelin-Brodnax pictures. See Mary Black, "The Case of the Red and Green Birds," 8 pages, and "The Case Reviewed," 10 pp. (unnumbered); Richardson, *Painting in America*, pp. 42-43; and Colt, "Unknown Virginia 'Primitives,'" pp. 10, 20-21. The two portraits this artist may have done which are not with the Jaquelin-Brodnax group are those of Sally Cary Fairfax and Frances Parke Custis, both of Williamsburg.

149. The *Judith Carter Page* at the College of William and Mary is not included in the checklist of Wollaston paintings in Bolton and Binsse, "Wollaston, an Early American Portrait Manufacturer," pp. 50-52. The two Page and two Carter pictures are reproduced with the inscriptions here noted in Weddell, *Virginia Historical Portraiture*.

150. The eleventh picture (not discussed by Pleasants) is, like three of the others, the property of the Maryland Historical Society and was in 1960 on exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art (see *American Painters of the South* [Washington, D.C., 1960], p. 10). See also Pleasants, "Justus Engelhardt Kühn," pp. 243-280; Flexner, *American Painting: First Flowers*, pp. 91-95, and Richardson, *Painting in America*, p. 33.

151. The latest and perhaps best study is Fleischer, "Gustavus Hesselius," pp. 127-158. See also Pleasants, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland*, who believes Hesselius traveled and painted for twenty years in Maryland and Virginia; McCoubrey, *American Art, 1700-1960*, who notes James Logan's remarks that Hesselius was not popular as a painter of women; Richardson; Flexner; Merceau, "The Last Supper by Gustavus Hesselius," pp. 11-13; Ted Dell, "Gustavus Hesselius," *Art in Early Virginia*, 3 pp.; Sawitzky, *Catalogue of the Paintings and Miniatures in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, pp. 61-72.

152. These portraits have all recently been reproduced in Bilodeau, *Art in South Carolina*, pp. 31-33. See also Wilson, "Art and Artists in Provincial South Carolina," pp. 137-138.

153. Bilodeau, *Art in South Carolina*, pp. 31, 33, 36; *American Painters of the South*, p. 10; Richardson, *Painting in America*, pp. 38-39; Flexner, *American Painting: First Flowers*, pp. 90-93; Rutledge, "Artists in the Life of Charleston," pp. 111, 171; Middleton, *Henrietta Johnston of Charles Town*, passim.

154. *American Painters of the South*, p. 10. The portrait is in the Baltimore Museum of Art.

155. *Md. Gaz.*, Oct. 12, 1752, quoted in Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina*, p. 7.

156. Doud, "John Hesselius, Maryland Limner," pp. 129-153, which includes catalogs of his signed and ascribed Maryland portraits; Priscilla Anne Nicholson, "John Hesselius, Colonial Painter," *Art in Early Virginia*, 4 pp.; *American Painters of the South*, p. 13, which lists in its exhibition portraits of Colonel and Mrs. Samuel Washington and the children of Philip and Mary Grymes of Virginia; Doud, "The Fitzhugh Portraits," pp. 165-166. There seems to be no thorough study of Hesselius in Virginia.

157. Bolton and Binsse, "Wollaston, Early American Portrait Manufacturer," pp. 30-33, 50-52; Groce, "John Wollaston (fl. 1736-1767): A Cosmopolitan Painter in the British Colonies," pp. 132-149; *American Painters of the South*, pp. 12-13; Pleasants, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland*, p. 10; [Phillips et al.], *Catalogue of American Painting in the Corcoran Gallery of Art*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20, with two interesting plates; Ellen Parsons, "Foreign Fashions in the Colonies: A Comparison of John Wollaston and Joseph Blackburn," *Art in Early Virginia*, 7 pp. The Mann and Elizabeth Page picture recently acquired by the Virginia Historical Society is reproduced in *An Occasional Bulletin of the Virginia Historical Society*, no. 28 (Apr. 1974), p. 4.

158. Warren, quoted in Ruth N. Chambers, "Provincial Portraits in Virginia," p. 3; the York County Inventories and Wills of May 16, 1737, and Feb. 16, 1756, in Va. St. Lib. Keef, in *Va. Gaz.*, May 15, 1752. For the Custis will, see photostat in Va. St. Lib. 22983 (1-6) from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury dated Nov. 14, 1749.

159. By far the best study of Bridges is Foote, "Charles Bridges," pp. 3-55. See also Richardson, *Painting in America*, p. 39; Weddell, *Virginia Historical Portraiture*, passim, where a number of portraits are mistakenly attributed to Bridges by their owners; Flexner, *American Painting: First Flowers*, pp. 103-108, 293-294, who states that Bridges did have a few imitators, including John Hesselius.

160. Pleasants, "William Dering," pp. 56-63; Watkins, *The Cultural History of Marlborough, Virginia*, pp. 16, 32; Richard B. Davis, ed., *The Colonial Virginia Satirist* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 15. The Watkins and Davis reproductions appear to be of similar but different portraits in certain details of dress. The Davis-version figure has a paper rather than a book in the right hand. See also Chambers, "Provincial Portrait Painters in Virginia," p. 3, which quotes directly from Mercer's account book of his payment of £9.2 for "drawing my picture."

161. Now in the galleries of the Va. Hist. Soc., this portrait was at one time in the collections of William Randolph Hearst. See *Occasional Bull. Va. Hist. Soc.* 28, pp. 1-3.

162. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 49-57, passim; Wilson, "Art and Artists in Provincial South Carolina," Appendix, pp. 137-147; Rutledge, "Artists in the Life of Charleston," pp. 112-117; Richardson, *Painting in America*, p. 39, plate 13; Middleton, *Jeremiah Theus*, passim.

163. Davis, *The Fledgling Province*, pp. 188-189.

164. Richardson, *Painting in America*, p. 46 and passim; Prime, *The Arts*

and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina, pp. 7-8; Bilodeau, *Art in South Carolina*, p. 22; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, p. 54.

165. Mason, *Col. Churches of Tidewater Va.*, pp. 249, 252.

166. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 53-55; E.G. Swem, "Views of Yorktown and Gloucester Town, 1755," 99-105, and *Va. Hist. Soc. MSS* 7: 1, G 2364-1; York County Inventories, *Va. St. Lib.*, May 1752, etc.; Univ. South Carolina, Charleston County Inventories 1751-1753, A 80 Pt. I (for Wragg). For Spotswood's inventory, *VMHB*, VIII (1900), 108-109.

167. Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 62-64, 110; John A. H. Sweeney, *Winterthur Illustrated* (Winterthur, Del., 1963), pp. 26-27.

168. Waterman, *Mansions of Va.*, pp. 76-81; Little, *American Decorative Wall Painting*, p. 9; Edward B. Allen, *American Decorative Wall Painting, 1710-1850* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 8-12, who explains the figures in the picture in imaginative detail.

169. Little, *American Decorative Wall Painting*, pp. 17, 64-66. Little mentions a recently found seascape on a panel at Woodlawn, Washington's wedding gift to Nellie Custis. The house was not completed until 1805.

170. For Bond Castle and Holly Hill, see the various books on Maryland architecture by Forman, and Little, *American Decorative Wall Painting*, pp. 18-20. For photographs of the Holly Hill paintings, I am indebted to the present owner, Brice M. Clagett, and Frick Art Reference Library. For Gray's Inn Creek, see Little, p. 64, and Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens, and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland*, pp. 81-85.

171. Hamer, Rogers, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Laurens*, II, 335, dated Oct. 12, 1756. Laurens also gave the exact dimensions and advised as to how the pictures should be packed. Elias and John Coming Ball owned Kensington and Hyde Park plantations on the Cooper, which they had named after the London suburbs of these same names. The B. Roberts advertisement is in the *S.C. Gaz.* of July 23, 1737.

172. See the colored plates of Charleston interiors in *Antiques*, XCVII, no. 4 (Apr. 1970), 540-583. A London painter named Warwell was in Charleston in 1766 advertising his landscapes, sea pieces, and altar pieces (Rutledge, "Artists in the Life of Charleston," p. 118).

173. *S.C. Gaz.*, Dec. 1743, quoted in Dolmetsch, *Prints in Colonial America*, p. 53.

174. Quoted in Dolmetsch, *Prints in Colonial America*, p. 54, from Louis Pecquet der Bellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families* (2 vols. Lynchburg, Va., 1907), II, 791.

175. For most of this, see Dolmetsch, "Prints in Colonial America," passim; also letterbook of Joseph Ball in LC; York County Inventories in *Va. St. Lib.*; Univ. South Carolina. A 69, Pt. 1, vol. 73 (1741-1743), and A 80, Pt. I (1751-1753), and South Carolina Arch. Film no. JR 4377 (1758-1761). Mrs. Dolmetsch presents illustrations of many of the prints. For the Elliott letter, see Rutledge, "Artists in the Life of Charleston," p. 116.

176. *The London Diary*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Lon-

don, 1958), pp. 62-288; *Another Secret Diary*, ed. Woodfin and Tinling, pp. 178-183.

177. For most of this, see Chap. II. The 1730 delegation picture, painted by Markham and engraved by Isaac Basire, is reproduced in Bilodeau, *Art in South Carolina*, p. 24.

178. Nicholas Joost, "'Plain-Dealer' and Free-Thinker: A Revaluation," *AL*, XXIII (1951-1952), 31-37; Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, pp. 114-116. The *Free-Thinker* essay did not include the poems in the "Plain-Dealer."

179. *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton*, 1744, passim.

180. *Ibid.*, frontispiece, etc.; Bilodeau, *Art in South Carolina*, p. 70.

181. For the 1702 portrait, see *VMHB*, XXXV (1927), 371, and for the others Foote, "Charles Bridges," pp. 26-27, 41-42. See also, "The Byrd Portraits," *Art in Early Virginia*, 14 pp.

182. For the letters to Mrs. Taylor and Lord Egmont, *VMHB*, IX (1902), 229, and XXXVI (1928), 219. For the pictures of Westover, see Constance Carey Harrison, "Colonel William Byrd of Westover, Virginia," *Century Magazine*, XLII (June 1891), 168-178; W.S. Morton, "The Portraits at Lower Brandon and Upper Brandon, Virginia," *WMQ* (2), X (1930), 338-340; ["The Byrd Portraits at Westover,"], *VMHB*, XXXVIII (1930), 146-181. All the Byrd portraits have by no means been identified as to either subject or artist. See "The Byrd Portraits," *Art in Early Virginia*, 14 pp.

183. *The London Diary*, ed. Wright and Tinling, pp. 49-333, passim.

184. George Percy, *Observations Gathered out of "A Discourse of the Plantation of . . . Virginia by the English, 1606,"* ed. David B. Quinn (Charlottesville, 1967), p. 13; Smith's *A Map of Virginia* in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter* (2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1969), II, 362-363; Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London, 1953), pp. 85-87.

185. Maurer, "The 'Professor of Musick' in Colonial America," pp. 511-524; Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," p. 65; "Minutes of the Council and General Court, 1622-1624," *VMHB*, XIX (1911), 374-377; Stanard, *Col. Va.*, p. 308.

186. Bruce, *Social Life in Virginia*, p. 164; *Archives of Md.*, LIII, 13, 14; LIV, 591; LX, 1-11; LXV, 41. Jews'-harps from Cherokee archaeological sites are among the items on display in the McClung Museum of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

187. *A Huguenot Exile in Virginia*, ed. Gilbert Chinard (New York, 1934), p. 158. For the other references see Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," pp. 64-65; Bruce, *Social Life in Virginia*, passim; and Annie L. Jester, *Domestic Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, Jamestown 350th Anniv. Hist. Booklet no. 17 (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 72; Phelps, "History and Practice of Chamber Music," I, 98-100; and John L. Cotter and J. Paul Hudson, *New Discoveries at Jamestown* (Washington, D.C., 1957), p. 84.

188. Most of this information comes from a report on "Military Bands" by the Research Division, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, through the courtesy of Dr. Ed. M. Riley. See also Swem, *Va. Hist. Index*, passim.

189. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, p. 92; Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*, p. 9; G.M. Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church* (2 vols., Richmond and Philadelphia, 1947, 1952), I, 465 (notes the folio psalters, at least two in each church, one being used by the clerk in the singing of hymns).

190. "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701–December 1, 1702," ed. and trans. W.J. Hinke, *VMHB*, XXIV (1916), 126–134. The passage is quoted in Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play*, pp. 200–202. By "bugle" at this early date probably was meant the military trumpet.

191. *Va. Gaz.*, November 26, 1736, quoted in Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South*, p. 24. For the next year, *Va. Gaz.*, Oct. 7, 1737, and Dec. 9, 1737.

192. "Diary of John Blair," *WMQ* (1), VII (1898/1899), 134–142.

193. *The Diary of Landon Carter*, ed. Greene, II, 618; Helen Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (Charlottesville, 1974), pp. 14–15; Louis Morton, *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall* (Williamsburg, 1945), pp. 49, 219; "The Eighteenth Century Orchestra," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Report, Research Division, 20 pp., esp. 11, 17–18 for probable layout of Virginia orchestra of c. 1760. Also Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," p. 84.

194. Quoted in full in Goodwin, *Report Concerning Williamsburg*, pp. 58–59, from *WMQ* (1), XVI (1908), 174–180.

195. Darling, *A Little Keyboard Book: Eight Tunes*, pp. v–vi. These tunes are selections from the Bolling Family Papers in the Southern Historical Collections of the Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. For Tayloe's orchestra, see *Virginia, A Guide*, p. 549, and *Journal and Letters of Fithian*, ed. Farish, passim. For the Carter group, see Maurer, "A Musical Family in Colonial Virginia," pp. 358–364.

196. *Journal and Letters of Fithian*, ed. Farish, passim. In 1752 "a proper method for singing Psalms" was taught at the College of William and Mary and Bruton Parish Church (Stanard, *Col. Va.*, p. 313).

197. Quoted from a letter of Mar. 2, 1756, in Pilcher, *Samuel Davies*, p. 112.

198. Breslau, "An Early American Musical Society," pp. 436–437, and Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, pp. 188–189, 251, 335.

199. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, passim, and Keefer, *Baltimore's Music*, pp. 6–26; also *Md. Gaz.*, Dec. 19, 1754.

200. One version is printed in Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.*, VI, 62–64. A corrected edition from the manuscript in the Public Record Office, London, appears in Richard B. Davis, ed., "Three Poems from Colonial North Carolina," *NCHR*, XLVI (1969), 40–42. For Macdowell, see *Col. Rec. N.C.*, VI, 728, and S.P.G. Book "B" 5, "North and South Carolina," letters of June 15, Oct. 15, and Feb. 23, 1763.

201. Adelaide L. Fries, "The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North

Carolina," *NCHR*, VII (1930), 1-14, and Maurer, "Music in Wachovia," pp. 214-217.

202. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 92-106, discusses the music from 1732 and gives the first notices of musical performances. Bowes, *Culture of Early Charleston*, pp. 105-108, provides also an interesting summary. Several articles by George W. Williams noted in this chapter's bibliography are most revealing. Willis, *The Charleston Stage*, p. 48, and Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, p. 99, give the first published concert program of 1765. See also Benson, "Itinerant Dancing and Music Masters," pp. 115-169, 390-392, for Charleston and South Carolina.

203. Davis, *The Fledgling Province*, pp. 190-192 and passim; Williams, "Eighteenth-Century Organists of St. Michael's, Charleston," pp. 150-151; Broucek, "Eighteenth Century Music in Savannah, Georgia," pp. 5-49, 87-210.

204. There are many accounts of Bacon: for our purposes by far the best is in Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, passim, which includes something on Bacon's music. The Tuesday Club music was incorporated in the "Minutes" and "History" by Hamilton and may be seen in the manuscripts at Johns Hopkins, the Md. Hist. Soc., and the LC. See also Keefer, *Baltimore's Music*, pp. 8-9, 16-17, and Chs. V and VI of the present book. Robert Carter of Nomini Hall owned a copy of Malcolm's *Treatise on Music*.

205. Maurer, "The Library of a Colonial Musician," pp. 39-52, and Molnar, "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia," pp. 150-162. For a list of the itinerant music teachers, see Benson, "Itinerant Dancing and Music Masters," pp. 46-74. For Schneider and two or three itinerants of 1769-1779 see Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," pp. 79, 80.

206. Pelham's "Minuet" is the second tune in Darling's book (note 195 and bibliog.). For Pelham, see Maurer, "Peter Pelham: Organist-Jailer," pp. 6-13; and "The Gaoler Played the Organ," pp. 18-19, and "The 'Professor of Musick' in Colonial America," pp. 513, 523; Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," pp. 66, 76-79. For Pelham in South Carolina, see *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney*, ed. Pinckney, p. 59, and Benson, "Itinerant Dancing and Music Masters," pp. 75-79.

207. Mason, *Col. Churches of Tidewater Va.*, p. 251. For the other organs, see below.

208. Governor to Bishop, May 26, 1735, copy in Research Division, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, 1931), pp. 36, 108, 204, 322-323; *Tyler's Q.*, VIII (1927), 286. Byrd's letter of Jan. 21, 1735/1736 is in *VMHB*, IX (1902), 241.

209. Cripe, *Jefferson and Music*, passim; *Journal and Letters of Fithian*, ed. Farish, passim.

210. For the South Carolina teacher-musician-composers see Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 92-106; Redway, "Charles Theodore Pachelbel, Musical Emigrant," pp. 32-36; Bowes, *Culture of Early Charleston*, pp. 105-108; Williams' three essays (see bibliography for this chapter). Gaetano Franceschini (fl. 1774), employed by the St. Cecilia Society, composed at least one work (now in the

Eastman School of Music). See Phelps, "History and Practice of Chamber Music," I, 94. For the spelled-out duties of the organists at St. Michael's, see the *Minutes of St. Michael's Church of Charleston, South Carolina: 1758-1797*, ed. Mrs. C.G. Howe and Mrs. Charles F. Middleton (Charleston, 1948), pp. 167-168. The New York Public Library has sponsored publication of Pachelbel's *Magnificat*, ed. Hans T. David (New York, 1959).

211. There are two known copies of this hymnal, which was edited with an excellent introduction and notes by Frank Baker and George W. Williams from the one perfect copy and published in London and Charleston in 1964 as *John Wesley's First Hymn-Book: A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*.

212. Keefer, *Baltimore's Music*, pp. 7-11; Dean, "The Organ in Eighteenth Century English Colonial America," p. 177; Maurer, "Colonial Organs and Organists," pp. 24-25. In 1763 the St. Anne's Parish vestry voted forty shillings a year for a man to blow the bellows.

213. Howard, *Our American Music*, p. 17; Mason, *Col. Churches of Tidewater Va.*, pp. 183, 241, 251, 301, 341; Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," pp. 74, 101; Cripe, *Jefferson and Music*, p. 42; Maurer, "Colonial Organs and Organists," pp. 24-25; Dean, "The Organ in Eighteenth Century English Colonial America," pp. 176 ff.

214. McCorkle, "Moravian Music in Salem," p. 73; Maurer, "Colonial Organs and Organists," pp. 24-25; Dean, "The Organ in Eighteenth Century English Colonial America," pp. 179-181.

215. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 93, 100-106; Williams, "Charleston Church Music," p. 35-40.

216. Broucek, "Eighteenth Century Music in Savannah, Georgia," pp. 40-49; Davis, *The Fledgling Province*, pp. 190-192 and passim; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 170-174.

217. Cripe, *Jefferson and Music*, pp. 10, 12-19, 43-47; Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the Virginian* (Boston, 1948), pp. 159, 209-210. For Fitzhugh, the Fitzhugh Letterbooks (Ms. Div., Duke Univ. Lib.), II, 7. Curiously, violins were being shipped from the Accomack area to Boston in 1768 (Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," p. 74).

218. Keefer, *Baltimore's Music*, pp. 4, 6-9, 11-20; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 93, 100-106; Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," pp. 73-74 100-101; Cripe, *Jefferson and Music*, pp. 48-55; Morton, *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall*, pp. 218 ff.; *Journal and Letters of Fithian*, ed. Farish, pp. 39, passim; the Fitzhugh Letterbooks (Ms. Div., Duke Univ. Lib.).

219. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, p. 98; Cripe, *Jefferson and Music*, passim; *Journal and Letters of Fithian*, ed. Farish, pp. 39, 49, 208, 239; Keefer, *Baltimore's Music*, pp. 17, 73; Carter Letterbook, May 23, 1764, photostat Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

220. For Ogle, Maurer, "The Library of a Colonial Musician," pp. 39-52, and Molnar, "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: the Ogle Inventory," pp. 150-162. For Byrd's psalm singing, *The Secret Diary*, pp. 272, 276.

221. *Journal and Letters of Fithian*, ed. Farish, passim; Molnar, "Art Music in Col. Va.," pp. 70-72.

222. Arranged by John W. Molnar.

223. Both the *Miscellany* and the *Keyboard Book* appeared in 1792 in Williamsburg. There are musical miscellanies in the library inventory of Paul Jenys of South Carolina in 1752 (Bowes, *Culture of Early Charleston*, p. 57).

224. See *Va. Gaz.*, Jan. 21, Feb. 4, 11, Oct. 22, Nov. 6, 1736; and July 28, 1738. Also R.D. Arner, "The Short Happy Life of the Virginia 'Monitor'" *EAL*, VII (1972), 130-147; Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South*, pp. 21-23; William H. Castles, Jr., "The Virginia Gazette: 1736-1766: Its Editors, Editorial Policy, and Literary Content" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1962), pp. 196-197; Lemay, *A Calendar of American Poetry*, items 440, 442, 447.

225. *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line*, ed. W.K. Boyd and Percy G. Adams (New York, 1967), pp. 282, 284.

226. Keefer, *Baltimore's Music*, pp. 3-11; J.A. Leo Lemay, "Hamilton's Literary History of the *Maryland Gazette*," *WMQ* (3), XXXIII (1966), 273-285.

227. Cripe, *Jefferson and Music*, pp. 91-93.

228. Smith, *Works*, pp. 572, 625.

229. Alexander Brown, ed., *Genesis of the United States* (2 vols., Boston, 1890), II, 604-616, etc., Brown quotes many details from contemporary accounts.

230. For text see Autrey Nell Wiley, ed., *Rare Prologues and Epilogues*, 1642-1700 (London, 1940), pp. 283-284.

231. Bruce, *Social Life in Virginia*, pp. 186-188; Ames, "Law in Action," p. 187; Quinn, *History of the American Drama to the Civil War*, pp. 1-5; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 9-11; Wright, *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies*, p. 177.

232. For the letter, see W.S. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Episcopal Church*, I (privately printed, 1870).

233. For his *Fool's Opera* and autobiography in a convenient reprint, see *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, Publications of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1938), III, pt. 1, 103-142. Also Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, p. 107; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 5-6 and passim; Richardson Wright, *Revels in Jamaica*, pp. 8-11.

234. Land, "The First Williamsburg Theater," pp. 359-374; Goodwin, *Report Concerning Williamsburg*, pp. 184-186, for text of 1716 contract between Levingston and the Staggs; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 8-21. Alice and Elizabeth Ives, both of whom died in the winter of 1722/1723, left an inventory of clothing and dress materials which suggests that they may have been the wardrobe mistresses of this theater. Hugh Jones mentions the theater building about 1722 (Rankin, p. 15). See also *The London Diary*, ed. Wright and Tinling (New York, 1958), pp. 522. Byrd says the play was acted "tolerably well."

235. Jones' letter in *VMHB*, XXVI (1918), 180-181. See also Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 19-20, and *Va. Gaz.*, Sept. 10, 17, 1736.

236. Letter in Joseph Jones Papers, LC; see also *VMHB*, XXVI (1918),

180. For the advertisement see Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 19-20, and Arner, "The Short, Happy Life of the Virginia 'Monitor,'" p. 137.

237. Land, "The First Williamsburg Theater," pp. 373-374.

238. The fullest account of the second theater, with documentary appendices, is Mary A. Stephenson, "The Second Theatre, Williamsburg," Rankin's chs. III and IV cover most of the material for the appearance of the Murray-Kean and Hallam companies in Williamsburg in 1751-1752. Published in the *Shakespeare Quarterly*, XV (1964), [16], is a facsimile of the playbill of Sept. 15, 1752, from the original in the NYPL. Stanard, *Col. Va.*, pp. 229-251, has a good ch. on the Williamsburg theater of these years.

239. Stephenson, "The Second Theatre, Williamsburg," pp. 18-28. Sarah Hallam may have been a first cousin rather than the wife of Lewis Hallam, Jr. See also Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim.

240. Thomas B. Rowland, "Norfolk Theatres in Olden Times," p. 102; and Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim, esp. p. 165.

241. Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 39, 90, 101, 200; Wyatt, "Three Petersburg Theatres," pp. 83-110; James G. Scott and Edward A. Wyatt, IV, *Petersburg's Story: A History* (Petersburg, Va., 1960), pp. 21, 23, 38, etc.; *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd et al., Volume I (Princeton, 1950), 7.

242. Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim. For Fredericksburg, see also Darter, *Colonial Fredericksburg*, p. 119. For all these towns, see Cappon and Duff, comps., *The Virginia Gazette Index*.

243. *The Toy-Shop, A Dramatic Satire* appeared Apr. 15 through Apr. 29 in the *Va. Gaz.* Since we know it was performed as an afterpiece in Maryland, it may have been in Virginia. The *S.C. Gaz.* printed it serially in 1736.

244. Keefer, *Baltimore's Music*, pp. 20-26; Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, pp. 306-308; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 154-168; Riley, "*The Ancient City*": *A History of Annapolis, Maryland*, pp. 146-148; Eddis, *Letters from America*, pp. 48-49, 55.

245. Stephen B. Weeks, "Libraries and Literature in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century," AHA, *Annual Report for . . . 1895* (Washington, D.C., 1896), pp. 238-240; A.H. Quinn, "Thomas Godfrey," in *DAB*; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 141, 218 (for the Halifax theater and Giffard).

246. Willis, *The Charleston Stage*, pp. 3-16; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 25-27; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 107-110, 115.

247. See Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, p. 27; Willis, *The Charleston Stage*, p. 27; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, p. 110 (who calls it a prologue); Lemay, *A Calendar of American Poetry*, p. 64, item 408. Lemay quotes a letter of Dale stating that this epilogue is his first attempt at rhyme in this country. See also Law, "A Diversion for Colonial Gentlemen," pp. 79-88; "Early American Prologues and Epilogues," pp. 463-464; "Thomas Dale, an Eighteenth Century Gentleman," pp. 773-774. Law is inclined to think Dale wrote all these early prologues and epilogues. He may not have seen the letter Lemay quotes.

248. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, p. 116; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 28-29; Willis, *The Charleston Stage*, pp. 32-33.

249. Willis, *The Charleston Stage*, pp. 37-50; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 101-103; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 117-118; Cohen, "Shakespeare in Charleston on the Eve of the Revolution," pp. 327-330.

250. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 118-119 (with a list of fifty-eight plays and dates); Willis, *The Charleston Stage*, pp. 57-77; Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 183-187, who gives the final newspaper summaries of the theatrical season.

251. *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell... 1774-1777* (New York, 1924), p. 23, entry for June 19, 1774.

252. Dolmetsch, "William Byrd II: Comic Dramatist?," *EAL*, VI (1971), 18-30; *The London Diary*, ed. Wright and Tinling, passim, and *Another Secret Diary* . . . , ed. Woodfin and Tinling, passim; the 1736 Statutes of the College from *WMQ* (2), XXIV (1914), 288. For the students, Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 18-19.

253. Baine, *Robert Munford, America's First Comic Dramatist*, passim. For Tucker, see Richard B. Davis, *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1964), passim.

254. W.H. Foote, *Sketches of Virginia Historical and Biographical*, 1st Ser. (rev. ed., Richmond, 1966), pp. 361-364, 369, for the period of Gordon. For Menzies, see E.L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia* (Milwaukee, 1927) p. 293. Menzies was minister of St. Stephen's parish in Northumberland County, 1758-1767.

255. *South-Carolina Gazette*; and Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 112, 116.

256. Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, passim; Frederick M. Litto, "Addison's Cato in the Colonies," *WMQ* (3), XXIII (1966), 431-449; Stanard, *Colonial Virginia*, pp. 239-240; Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, p. 314.

257. Litto, "Addison's Cato in the Colonies," pp. 440-449.

258. Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, pp. 189-201; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 107-120; Willis, *The Charleston Stage*, passim.

259. Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim, under *Charleston*. See also Willis, *The Charleston Stage*, pp. 63, 66. The warm praise, Willis indicates (p. 72), was in the *General Gazette*, May 30.

260. Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim, esp. pp. 155-157, under *Annapolis*; Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist*, ed. Jonathan Bouchier (Boston, 1925), p. 66; and Eddis' remarks in his letters regarding the quality of the performances may also be labeled dramatic criticism. Either Eddis or Sterling probably wrote the encomium on Nancy Hallam and the remarks signed "Y.Z." (Keefer, *Baltimore's Music*, p. 24). It makes the same sort of critical observations as Eddis does in his *Letters from America*.

261. For prologues and epilogues, see Rankin, *Theater in Col. Amer.*, passim, under these subjects; Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 107-120; Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, pp. 307-308; Lemay, *Calendar of American Poetry*, items 352, 354, 356, 408, 1087, 1543, 1732, 1733, 1760, 1848, especially for listings of Dr. Dale's verse.

CHAPTER NINE: LITERATURE,
PRINCIPALLY BELLETRISTIC

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The literature of the colonial South is in more than one sense still in process of forming. Every year more and more manuscripts come to light which are in some sense belletristic writing, and more and more rapidly they are being printed and edited into the body of the literature of the region. Similarly once lost or quite rare printed materials, known earlier only to their owners or librarian custodians, are being reprinted and widely disseminated so that they too become for the first time segments of the body of southern literature. Perhaps keeping pace with these new elements are the critical and historical studies which interpret and measure them, though much remains to be done before the significance of the writing in certain genres and of certain colonies is competently assessed.

A list of *secondary general studies* which are useful and pertinent begins with some of the criticism of English literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among them are James Sutherland, *English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century* (New York and Oxford, 1969) and Bonamy Dobrée, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century, 1700-1740* (Oxford, 1959); Robert A. Aubin, *Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England* (New York, 1936); and Richmond P. Bond, *English Burlesque Poetry, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932). Not dated by period but highly useful are Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, 1957), and Edward A. Richards, *Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition* (New York, 1938).

Old World influences in America and the southern colonies are evident in Richard Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Comparative Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), and *Seven Wise Men of Colonial America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Agnes M. Sibley, *Alexander Pope's Prestige in America, 1725-1835* (New York, 1949); Leon Howard, "Early American Copies of Milton," *HLB*, no. 7 (1935), 170-172, and "The Influence of Milton on Early American Poetry," *HLB*, no. 9 (1937), 63-89; George F. Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America* (Princeton, 1964); and Josephine K. Piercy, *Studies in Literary Types in Seventeenth Century America (1607-1710)* (New Haven, 1939).

General historical and critical surveys of or including the colonial period must begin with Jay B. Hubbell, *The South in American Literature* (Durham, N.C., 1954), which has fine studies of some individuals of the period. J.Q. Anderson, "Trends of Thought in Southern Writing, 1607-1750" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State Univ., 1948) is interesting. And Moses Coit Tyler, in *A History of American Literature, 1607-1765* (2 vols. in one, New York, 1895 ed.), the pioneer investigation, is still valuable. Howard M. Jones, *O Strange New World: American Culture: The Formative Years* (New York,

1964), is stimulating and suggestive. One should see also his "American Prose Style: 1700-1770," *HLB*, no. 6 (1934), 115-151, and *The Literature of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (rev. ed., Charlottesville, 1968). Louis B. Wright's *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763* (New York, 1957) is general, but more specifically to the purpose of this study are his *The First Gentleman of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class* (San Marino, Calif., 1940), "Literature in the Colonial South," *HLQ*, X (1947), 297-315 [also in *LHUS*, I], and "Intellectual History and the Colonial South," *WMQ* (3), XVI (1959), 214-217. See also Sidney E. Bradshaw, *On Southern Poetry Prior to 1860* (Richmond, Va., 1900); Edd W. Parks, *Southern Poets: Representative Selections* (New York, 1936); Kenneth Silverman, ed., *Colonial American Poetry* (New York, 1968), an anthology with good texts and sometimes insufficiently informed critical introductions; Vincent Buranelli, "Colonial Philosophy," *WMQ* (3), XVI (1959), 343-362; Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (New York, 1964), especially its early chapter; and William L. Sachse, *The Colonial American in Britain* (Madison, Wis., 1956).

Concerned with particular colonies are J.A. Leo Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* (Knoxville, 1972), the kind of study needed for each southern colony; Derrick N. Lehmer, "The Literary Material in the Colonial Records of North Carolina," *Univ. of Calif. Chronicle*, XXX (1928), 125-139; James S. Purcell, Jr., "Literary Culture in North Carolina before 1820," (Ph.D. diss., Duke Univ., 1950); Richard Walser, *Literary North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1970); George A. Wauchope, *The Writers of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1910); and Harold E. Davis, *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1776* (Chapel Hill, 1976). More specific studies are listed under the respective colonies below.

Some general printed collections are Charles H. Firth, ed., *An American Garland, Being a Collection of Ballads Relating to America, 1563-1759* (Oxford, Eng., 1915); Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers. Relating Principally to the Origins, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies of North America to the Year 1776* (4 vols., rpt., Gloucester, Mass., 1963); W. Noel Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1574-1736* (42 vols. to date, London, 1860-1953); Ola E. Winslow, ed., *American Broadside Verse from Imprints of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New Haven, 1930); W.S. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, I, Virginia* ([Hartford], 1870), and *IV, Maryland and Delaware* ([Hartford], 1878); Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690* (New York, 1915); and Richard B. Davis, C. Hugh Holman, and Louis Rubin, eds., *Southern Writing, 1585-1920* (New York, 1970).

Manuscript primary materials, even the few of those which have appeared in print, have been examined and used from repositories from the Henry E. Huntington Library in California to the Universities of Edinburgh, Oxford, and Cambridge, and the London collections. The British Museum for some years held the Wyatt Papers here referred to, and hundreds of other items are

there, including some on William Byrd. The Public Record Office has other Byrd papers, Sandys materials, Dobbs letters and poems, Gooch letters, and much more. The Fulham Papers and others in the Lambeth Palace Library are almost as useful in the study of belles lettres as of ecclesiastical records and documentary letters, and the same holds true for the correspondence of southern colonial missionaries in the Library of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Public Record Office in Belfast and the National Library of Scotland have colonial manuscripts, as do a number of smaller and some private libraries in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. In the United States the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the Morristown (N.J.) National Historical Park, and the state libraries of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia all have varied belletristic materials. In Baltimore the John Work Garrett Library of Johns Hopkins University and the Maryland Historical Society (including the Maryland Diocesan Library), and in Annapolis the U.S. Naval Academy Library, have valuable materials. In Virginia the College of William and Mary and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation hold many literary manuscripts, including Waller, Dawson, and Tucker. The University of Virginia's great manuscript collections have a large amount of material on the Carter family, including letters and Landon Carter's diary, the letterbooks of John Allen and John Hook and Robert Anderson (all pre-1764), and much more. The Virginia Historical Society in Richmond is especially rich in colonial belletristic materials, including more Carter letterbooks and other papers and the greatest collection of William Byrd II materials gathered anywhere. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has much of the scant North Carolina material which is not in the Department of History and Archives in Raleigh or in the Duke University Library in Durham.

Also at Chapel Hill is a William Byrd II diary, and at Winston-Salem are Moravian manuscripts. In South Carolina the state collections are supplemented by interesting items in the University South Caroliniana Library in Columbia, in the Charleston Library Society and in the South Carolina Historical Society, also in Charleston. The Phillips and De Renne collections of the University of Georgia are probably of more value for belles lettres than are the state archives in Atlanta, and the Georgia Historical Society of Savannah has held and published a number of items. Some known manuscripts are in private hands, such as certain Carter and Bolling papers, but usually their owners have graciously permitted them to be microfilmed or xeroxed for public use. The *Survey Reports* of the Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Colonial Records Project (1956-) are available on microfilm through the Virginia State Library and other major Virginia repositories, which cooperated in the filming and calendaring of materials in the British Isles and in France. As references in this chapter occasionally indicate, a number of quoted or referred-to materials in manuscript are also in print, but careless editing or reproduction, especially in the last century, makes the printed records unreliable.

There are several *bibliographies* of value, as Evans et al., Sabin et al., and

others listed in the bibliography for Chapter I, which are highly pertinent here. Others which should be emphasized are Richard B. Davis, *American Literature through Bryant*, Goldentree Bibliographies (New York, 1969); Thomas D. Clark, *Travels in the Old South* (2 vols., Norman, Okla., 1956); J.A. Leo Lemay, *A Calendar of American Poetry in the Colonial Newspapers and Magazines and the Major English Magazines through 1765* (Worcester, Mass., 1970), an absolutely indispensable guide; J.C. Frank, "Early American Poetry to 1820. A List of Works in the New York Public Library," *NYPL Bulletin*, XXI (1917), 517-518; William W. Manross, *The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library: American Colonial Section, Calendar and Indexes* (Oxford, Eng., 1965); William Matthews, *American Diaries in Manuscript, 1580-1954: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Athens, Ga., 1974), designed as a supplement to his *American Diaries* (Berkeley, 1945, 1959), which latter is concerned with printed diaries; and Oscar Wegelin, *Early American Poetry: A Bibliography, 1650-1820* (New York, 1930). Louis D. Rubin, Jr., *A Bibliographical Guide to the Study of Southern Literature* (Baton Rouge, 1969), includes descriptive bibliographies for the period in general and for major individual figures, and an appendix by J.A. Leo Lemay listing the little which has been done on sixty-odd other southern colonial writers, some of whom may well emerge eventually as major figures. The individual colonies have been treated in several bibliographies: Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland: A Bibliography* (Baltimore, 1949), and Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922); Earl G. Swem et al., *A Selected Bibliography of Virginia, 1607-1699*, Jamestown 350th Anniv. Hist. Booklet no. 2 (Williamsburg, 1957), the *Virginia Historical Index* (2 vols., Roanoke, 1934-1936), and William C. Torrence, *A Trial Bibliography of Colonial Virginia*, Va. St. Lib., Annual Reports, nos. 5 and 6 [1907-1909] (2 vols., Richmond, 1908-1910); Douglas C. McMurtrie, "A Bibliography of North Carolina Imprints, 1761-1800," *NCHR* XIII (1936), 47-88, 143-166, 219-254, and *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints, 1749-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1938), and William S. Powell, "Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints: a Revision and Supplement to McMurtrie" *NCHR* XXXV (1958), 50-73, and Mary Lindsay Thornton, *A Bibliography of North Carolina, 1589-1956* (Chapel Hill, 1958); Hennig Cohen, *Articles in Periodicals and Serials on South Carolina Literature and Related Subjects, 1900-1955* (Columbia, 1956) and Robert J. Turnbull, *Bibliography of South Carolina, 1563-1950* (6 vols., Charlottesville, 1956-1960).

Letters and Letter Writing. The British letter manuals were popular in the southern colonies, among them Nicholas Breton, *Poste with a Packet of Madde Letters* (London, 1602); Angel Day, *The English Secretorie, Or, plaine and direct Method, for the enditing of all manner of Epistles or Letters . . .* (London, 1586, first ed.); and J. Hill, *The Young Secretary's Guide* (London, orig. ed. c. 1687). For studies of the art, see Katherine L. Hornbeak, *The Complete Letter-Writer in English, 1568-1800*, *Smith College Studies in Mod. Languages*, XV, nos. 3-6 (Apr.-July, 1934); William Irving, *The*

Providence of Wit in the English Letter Writers (Durham, N.C., 1955); Jean Robertson, *The Art of Letter Writing, An Essay on the Handbooks Published in England during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1943); and Harry B. Weiss, *American Letter-Writers, 1698-1943* (NYPL, New York, 1945). See also the surveys of the period by Bonamy Dobrée and James Sutherland, mentioned under general secondary studies above. For Virginia, Howard M. Jones, "The Letter Writers of Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Shenandoah*, VIII (1957), 16-23, and his *Literature of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*; and Richard B. Davis, "The Gentlest Art in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *TSL*, II (1957), 51-63, and *Literature and Society in Early Virginia, 1608-1840* (Baton Rouge, 1963).

Humor and Satire. English background studies for colonial satire, or books on English and colonial American verse satire, include Richmond P. Bond, *English Burlesque Poetry, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932) and Edward A. Richards, *Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition* (New York, 1937), both mentioned above; James Sutherland, *English Satire* (Cambridge, Eng., 1958), and Hugh Walker, *English Satire and Satirists* (London, 1923). For America, see Henry C. Carlisle, *American Satire in Prose and Verse* (New York, [1962]); and Bruce I. Granger, *Political Satire in the American Revolution, 1763-1783* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960). Also for pertinent introductions, Richard B. Davis, ed., *The Colonial Virginia Satirist: Mid-Eighteenth-Century Commentaries on Politics, Religion, and Society* (Philadelphia, 1967). Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, includes some interesting and significant comments on the nature of colonial humor and satire. Then see George F. Horner, "A History of American Humor to 1765" (2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Univ. of North Carolina, 1936); Thelma Louise Kellogg, "American Social Satire before 1800: Based on a Study of Representative Newspapers, Magazines, and Miscellaneous Works, with Special Reference to Social Satire in the Early American Almanac" (Ph.D. diss., Radcliffe College, 1929); Kenneth S. Lynn, *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor* (Boston, 1959); Louis D. Rubin, Jr., ed., *The Comic Imagination in American Literature* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1973); and Willie T. Weathers, "William Byrd, Satirist," *WMQ* (3), IV (1947), 27-41. The major studies of American humor by Walter Blair and Constance Rourke really have nothing significant for the southern colonial period and region.

The Elegiac Tradition. Among background or general discussions of the elegy in English, valuable are T.P. Harrison, ed., *The Pastoral Elegy* (Austin, 1939); John W. Draper, *A Century of Broadside Elegies* (London, 1928), and *The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism* (New York, 1929). For New England elegies, Robert Henson, "Form and Content in the Puritan Funeral Elegy," *AL*, XXXII (1960), 26-27; and Kenneth B. Murdock, *Handkerchiefs for Paul, Being Pious and Consolatory Verses of Puritan Massachusetts including Unpublished Poems by Benjamin Tompson . . . Reprinted from Rare Originals* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927). Kenneth Silverman, ed., *Colonial America Poetry* (New York, 1968), has a large section on the Puritan elegy (pp. 121-172) but states categorically (p. 259) that there was no

southern colonial elegiac tradition. He presumably had not seen Jack D. Wages, "Southern Colonial Elegiac Verse" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1968), or any of the southern colonial newspapers.

The Periodical and Belletristic Writing. The southern colonial newspaper was the principal vehicle for the publication of both native verse and prose, and other colonial newspapers and magazines and British journals carried a considerable amount of material from south of the Susquehannah. Lemay, *A Calendar of American Poetry*, locates almost all the verse so published. The principal southern periodicals for the materials of this study were the *Maryland Gazette* 1727-1734, 1745-1763; the *South-Carolina Gazette* 1732-1776+; the *Virginia Gazette*, 1736-1766+; the *North Carolina Gazette*, 1751-1763 (a few issues extant); and the *Georgia Gazette*, 1763 only. New England and middle colony periodicals, such as the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and several short-lived Philadelphia magazines, also carried scores of southern poems, essays, and speeches. Among the principal British magazines carrying southern colonial writing were the *Gentleman's*, the *Scot's*, the *London*, the *Universal*, and the *Imperial*. General studies of American periodicals and their contents are Elizabeth C. Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers*, 1704-1750 (New York, 1912); F.L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 1741-1850 (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); and Lyon N. Richardson, *A History of Early American Magazines*, 1741-1789 (New York, 1931). These are books and essays on the periodical materials of individual colonies. For Maryland, see A.O. Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the *Maryland Gazette*," *MdHM*, XLIV (1949), 177-189, and a reply to Aldridge by Nicholas Joost, "Plain Dealer' and Free-Thinker: A Revaluation," *AL*, XXIII (1951), 31-37; Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland*, which includes chapters on Parks, Green, and Dr. Hamilton; *Two Hundred Years of the Maryland Gazette, 1727-1927*, ed. Charles M. Christian and Thomas L. Christian ([Annapolis?], Sept. 29, 1927); Martha C. Howard, "The *Maryland Gazette*: An American Imitator of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*," *MdHM*, XXIX (1934), 295-298; and Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776*. For Virginia, L.J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, comps., *The Virginia Gazette Index* (2 vols., Williamsburg, 1950); Robert D. Arner, "The Short, Happy Life of the Virginia 'Monitor,'" *EAL*, VII (1972), 130-147; William H. Castles, Jr., "The *Virginia Gazette*, 1736-1766: Its Editors, Editorial Policy, and Literary Content" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1962); George H. and Judith D. Gibson, "The Influence of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* on the 'Monitor,'" *Furman Studies*, n.s. XIV, no. 1 (Nov. 1966), 12-23; R.M. Myers, "The Old Dominion Looks to London: A Study of the English Literary Influences on the *Virginia Gazette*, 1736-1766," *VMHB*, LIV (1946), 195-217. For the Carolinas, D.L. Corbett, "The *North Carolina Gazette*," *NCHR*, XII (1936), 45-61; and Hennig Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* (Columbia, 1953), the only published comprehensive study of a southern colonial newspaper.

Verse and Prose in General by Colony. There are a number of studies by individual colonies and individual authors of verse and prose other than those already described. For Virginia, among these are the "Burwell Papers," *PMHS*,

IX (1866), 299-342, including texts; E.M. Counsell, "Latin Verse presented by Students of William and Mary College to the Governor of Virginia 1771 . . . 1774," *WMQ* (2), X (1930), 269-274; Richard B. Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer* (London and New York, 1955), *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830* (Chapel Hill, 1964), *Literature and Society in Early Virginia, 1608-1840* (Baton Rouge, 1973), and as editor, *Collected Poems of Samuel Davies, 1723-1761* (Gainesville, Fla., 1968), and *The Colonial Virginia Satirist*; A.C. Gordon, Jr., *Virginian Writers of Fugitive Verse* (New York, 1923); Jay B. Hubbell, "The Smith-Pocahontas Literary Legend" and "John Cotton: The Poet-Historian of Bacon's Rebellion" in *South and Southwest: Literary Essays and Reminiscences* (Durham, N.C., 1965); Barbara A. Larson, "Samuel Davies and the Rhetoric of the New Light," *SM*, XXVIII (1971), 207-216; William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1857); J.A. Leo Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," *EAL*, VI (1971), 99-142; Kenneth B. Murdock, "William Byrd and the Virginia Author of the *Wanderer*," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVII (1935), 129-136. Numerous diarists and other prose writers appear in the text and notes.

For *Maryland*, the items by Lemay and Wroth have been noted above. The several items on such individual poets as Ebenezer Cook, Thomas Cradock, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, Richard Lewis, and James Sterling, as well as on the Tuesday Club, are recorded in the notes to the present chapter below. Others of some use are Joseph J. Wheeler, "Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders 1700-1776," *MaHM*, XXXVIII (1943), 37-55, 167-180; Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulany's of Maryland* (rpt., Baltimore, 1968), more useful for prose; Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore: Seventeenth Maryland Rivers* (New York, 1944), containing some verse not otherwise available; E.D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland* (Albany, N.Y., 1876); Bernard C. Steiner, ed., *Early Maryland Poetry* (Baltimore, 1900), with reprintings of verses by Cook and Lewis; and Raley Loker, *300 Years: The Poets and Poetry of Maryland* (New York, [1937]).

For North Carolina, perhaps the two most important studies are those by Purcell and Walser given under general historical and critical surveys above. Primarily for prose W.K. Boyd, *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1927). See also Stephen B. Weeks, "Libraries and Literature in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century," *AHA, Annual Report for the Year 1895*, pp. 169-261. Richard B. Davis, "Three Poems from Colonial North Carolina," *NCHR*, XLVI (1969), 33-41; and A.S. Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York, 1941).

For South Carolina there is a great deal of both prose and poetry. See Cohen's bibliography of secondary materials above and his *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*. See also B.R. Carroll, ed., *Historical Collections of South Carolina . . .* (2 vols., New York, 1836), principally for pamphlets; *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden, 1746-1805*, ed. Richard Walsh (Columbia, 1966); *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, ed. Philip M. Hamer, George C. Rogers, Jr., et

al. (5 vols. to date, Columbia, 1968-1976); *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney*, ed. Elise Pinckney (Chapel Hill, 1972); *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle*, ed. Walter B. Edgar (2 vols., Columbia, 1972); *Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions by Governor James Glen and Doctor Milligen-Johnston*, ed. Chapman J. Milling (Columbia, 1951); and Joseph I. Waring, *History of Medicine in South Carolina, 1670-1825* (Columbia, 1964), which contains much on prose and verse. *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill, 1953), and Claude E. Jones, "Charles Woodmason as Poet," *SCHM*, LIX (1958), 189-194, tell about the province as well as the man in literature. Other individual writers and the studies of their work, especially poets and epistolarians, are documented in the notes.

For Georgia, besides items mentioned in the notes below, see R.C. Boys, "General Oglethorpe and the Muses," *GaHQ*, XXXI (1947), 19-30; Hennig Cohen, ed., "Two Colonial Poems on the Settling of Georgia," *GaHQ*, XXXVII (1953), 129-136, and "Two Poems from English Magazines on the Naming of Georgia," *GaHQ*, XXXV (1951), 319-323; Rudolf Kirk, "A Latin Poem by James Edward Oglethorpe," *GaHQ*, XXXII (1948), 29-31; [Edward Kimber], *Georgia: A Poem, Tomo Chachi, An Ode, A Copy of Verses on Mr. Oglethorpe's Second Voyage to Georgia*, ed. John C. Stephens, Emory Univ. Lib. Series VI, 1950 (Atlanta, 1950); *A Pair of Odes Commemorating . . . 1757* (Darien, Ga., Ashantilly Press, 1960). The letters and journals and other prose of James Habersham, Martin Bolzius, William Stephens, Edward Kimber, and Sir Robert Montgomery, among others, are documented and discussed in preceding chapters as well as in some notes to the present chapter.

It should be recalled that much southern colonial prose, most of it possessing some belletristic qualities, has been discussed and listed in preceding chapters. The principal printed repositories are the Browne et al., eds., *The Archives of Maryland*; the McIlwaine et al., *Journals of courts and legislative bodies of colonial Virginia*; Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina* and the new edition just getting under way; Easterby et al., eds., *The Colonial Records of South Carolina*; and Candler and Knight, eds., *The Colonial Records of Georgia*. The abbreviations and full citations for these are to be found at the beginning of this book.

NOTES

1. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 206.
2. *Ibid.*, I, 314, 317-322, 382-387. The dedicatory phrases are from the 1588 edition.
3. C.C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), pp. 115-117.
4. For descriptions of these books, see Hornbeak, *The Complete Letter-Writer in English, 1568-1800*; Robertson, *The Art of Letter Writing*;

Weiss, *American Letter Writers*, 1698-1843; and Davis, "The Gentlest Art in Seventeenth Century Virginia," pp. 51-63. There is a good collection of these manuals in the Folger Shakespeare Lib.

5. This letter is printed to Smith, *Works*, I, xxxviii-xxxix, and in Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages*, I, 104-106. For other letters mentioned here without documentation, see Swem, *Va. Hist. Index*, passim. For most of the seventeenth-century letters now in Britain or on the European continent, see the *Survey Reports*, Va. 350th Anniv. Celeb., available as mentioned in the bibliography for this chapter.

6. Smith's dedicatory epistles appear in the Bradley-Arber edition of his *Works* and in Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages*, II, 329. Strachey's is in the Wright-Freund edition of the *Historie*, pp. 3-5; Hamor's, in the Richmond, Va., 1957 facsimile edition of *A True Discourse*, signatures A2 and A3; Rich's, in the Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints edition of New York, 1937, signatures A3^{r&v}. Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660* (2d. ed. rev., Oxford, 1962), pp. 187-189, clearly thinks highly of Smith's rhetoric.

7. Alexander Brown, ed., *Genesis of the United States* (2 vols., Boston, 1897), I, 173-177; Perkins, in Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages*, I, 158-162; Wynne in *ibid.*, I, 245-256 (Wynne's addressee was Sir John Egerton).

8. For text of letter see Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages*, I, 241-245; for "Hotspur rhetoric," see Tyler, *History of American Literature*, 1607-1765, p. 29; for the types of letters, Day, *The English Secretorie*.

9. This text appears in several reprints, but here it is taken from the appendix to Hamor's *A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, ed. Rowse, p. 63. Whitaker is discussed in several chs. above. Strachey's "True Reportory" is discussed in Ch. I and elsewhere and in Jones, *Lit. of Va. Seven. Cent.*, pp. 57-62, which includes much on its rhetorical devices. A recent easily accessible text of the "True Reportory" is included in Louis B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609* (Charlottesville, 1964).

10. Kingsbury, ed., *Rec. Va. Co.*, III, 417-418.

11. September 30, 1619, in *ibid.*, III, 222. William S. Powell has just published *John Pory, 1572-1636: The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts* (Chapel Hill, 1977).

12. "A familiar letter to a friend in the Country," (London, 1620 ed.).

13. All his letters are reproduced in Kingsbury, ed., *Rec. Va. Co.*, III and IV, and in Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer*.

14. in *VMHB*, V (Jan. 1898), 327-329.

15. For Berkeley letters, see Swem, *Va. Hist. Index*, and the *VMHB*; for Effingham's, the Lord Monson Papers in LC and the Blathwayt Papers of Colonial Williamsburg; for Spencer, Swem, *Va. Hist. Index*, and the *VMHB*; Thomas Ludwell's letters are also best located in Swem.

16. Philip Calvert, *A Letter from the Chancellour of Mary-land . . .* (London, 1682); John Yeo, May 25, 1676, MS. Bodleian Tanner 114 f. 79; Hill to Baxter, Apr. 3, 1669, in Dr. Williams' Library III, f. 261, and *MdHM*, XXV (1930), 49-52; Nicholson, Mar. 27, 1696/7, *Archives of Md.*, XXIII, 83.

17. Several of these Carolina letters are in A.S. Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina* (New York, 1911), passim, and in Sainsbury, ed., *Cal. St. Papers, Col.*, volumes covering 1670-1700. N. Mathews' letter is in the Lib. of the Univ. of Edinburgh, La. II, 718/1, dated May 18, 1680. He is probably the Mathews whose 1670 letter is excerpted in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, pp. 114-116.

18. For Ludwell's letters, see Swem, *Va. Hist. Index*, and the VMHB.

19. Letter of Apr. 22, 1686, in *William Fitzhugh*, ed. Davis, p. 177. For the second letter see *ibid.*, pp. 51 ff.

20. For the northeastern writing, see Daniel B. Shea, Jr., *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (Princeton, 1968), which is concerned with New England worthies, though as will be shown there were in the eighteenth century some southern expressions in this genre and a good deal in the other forms of journal and autobiography. For the most famous example of the New England diary, see *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, ed. M. Halsey Thomas (2 vols., New York, 1973).

21. The manuscript, owned in 1661 by a William Griffith, M.A., is published in E.D. Neill, *Founders of Maryland* (Albany, N.Y., 1876), pp. 19-37. See also Elizabeth Hawes Ryland, comp., "The English Ancestry of Lieut. Col. Henry Fleete of Maryland and Virginia, With a Copy of His Journal" (Va. Hist. Soc., Typescript MSS 6:1 F 62217:1, Richmond, Va. [1952?]); and Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, passim.

22. Written at "James River, Va." and included in Sainsbury, ed., *Cal. St. Papers, Col.*, 1699. *Addenda 1621-1698*, p. 390, item 711.

23. Property of Mr. William Langley of Brentwood, Tenn., photostat in Va. St. Lib., nos. 22587 and 22597, and Va. Hist. Soc., Steel File no. 3, Pocket no. 11.

24. A later edition of Fox, edited from the manuscripts by Norman Penney, is 2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1911. There is a good selection from Fox's southern itinerary in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), pp. 393-406, covering the years 1672 and 1673. See also Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York, 1960), passim, and W.W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York, 1942) passim. John Blair's North Carolina narrative is in the letterbooks of the S.P.G. and is reprinted in Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.*, I, 600-603, and Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, pp. 213-218.

25. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*, p. 14.

26. *A Journal of the Life . . . of . . . William Edmundson* (London, 1712), pp. 61-62.

27. A copy of the Story large folio edition of 1747 is in the Duke Univ. Lib. Portions of Eder Pratt's diary, 1695-1701, are printed in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, pp. 194-200.

28. Jane Carson, ed., "The Will of John Rolfe," VMHB, LVIII (1950), 58-65. Abbreviations have been spelled out.

29. For Syms' will, see Edgar W. Knight, *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860* (5 vols., Chapel Hill, 1949-1953), I, 203-205;

for Peyton's, *NEHGR*, XXXV (Apr. 1881), 148-149. There are a number of other interesting wills establishing schools or bequeathing books, as mentioned in Chs. III and IV above. See, e.g., the will in *VMHB*, I (Jan. 1894), 326-327.

30. Meade, *Old Churches*, I, 256-257. This was Hungar's Parish.

31. A photocopy of Sherwood's will is in the Ambler Papers, MSS1, Am 167699, Va. Hist. Soc. Fitzhugh's appears in Stafford County Will Book, Liber Z, 1699-1701, Wills and Codicils, pp. 92-102, and is printed in full in *William Fitzhugh*, ed. Davis, pp. 373-382.

32. Abbreviations have been expanded. For Calvert's will, see *MdHM*, I (1906), 363-364.

33. The will is among the muniments of the Univ. of Glasgow. Printed in *NEHGR*, XXIX (1875), 298-300.

34. The literature of folklore and the traditional ballad found in the South is enormous, including that in the *Journal of Southern Folklore*. Among the more significant collections with useful introductions are those of Cecil Sharp, Alton C. Morris, Arthur Palmer Hudson, Reed Smith, and Arthur Kyle Davis, Jr. In the bibliography of one of Davis' later books, *More Traditional Ballads of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1960) are most of the pertinent scholarly items. But see also Davis' *Folk-Songs of Virginia: A Descriptive Index and Classification* (New York, 1965), and Richard M. Dorson, *American Folklore* (Chicago, 1959), the latter being quite general and concerned more with matters other than traditional ballads. Hudson points out in his chapter on "Folklore" in the *LHUS*, II, 703-727, especially 722, several useful characteristics and references. See the folk-ballad tunes appearing with verse in Lemay, *Calendar*, passim.

35. Text published in Firth, ed., *American Garland*, pp. 9-16 and 86n; Gordon, *Virginian Writers of Fugitive Verse*, pp. 138-143; and (in part) in Davis, Holman and Rubin, eds., *Southern Writing, 1585-1920*, pp. 84-85. Rich claimed he was returning to Virginia permanently, though there is no proof either way. There is a *Last Newes from Virginia* (presumably a broadside ballad) mentioned by Firth (p. 86) as entered in Edward Arber, ed., *Stationers Register* (5 vols., London, 1875-1877), III, 463.

36. For facsimile reproduction and criticism of this poem see Robert C. Johnson, ed., "A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia by Christopher Brooke," *VMHB*, LXXII (1964), 259-292. See discussion of his "Epitaph," within the ballad, under "The Southern Elegiac Tradition" below.

37. Facsimile of broadside in *A Selection of Extremely Rare and Important Printed Books and Ancient Manuscripts*, Catalogue 77, William H. Robinson, Ltd. (London, 1948), opp. p. 103, and reprinted in *WMQ* (3), V (1948), 351-358, with facsimile of title and woodcuts.

38. Firth, *American Garland*, pp. 46-50; broadsides in Roxburghe Coll., BM, and Douce Coll., Bodleian, among others. A Pepys Coll. copy has the imprint 1685, though Firth believes it was originally printed in 1676. The 1685 copy was printed by J. Clarke, William Thackeray, and T. Passenger.

39. Firth, *American Garland*, pp. 51-53. Printed by and for W.O. and for A.M. and sold by C. Bates, in Pye-Corner. Original in Douce Coll., Bodleian, and elsewhere. One of Burns' songs was inspired by this ballad (see Firth, *American Garland*, p. 88). *VMHB*, IV (1896), 218-220, prints a variant found in the collection of old black-letter ballads of the BM. Punctuation and some wording differ. The editor of the latter version points out that there were colonial laws against indentured white women performing labors required of this one.

40. Firth, *American Garland*, pp. 54-59. Printed by F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, n.d., from broadside in the Rawlinson Coll. of the Bodleian. Another version is "The Woman Outwitted" in the Roxburghe Coll., in the Ewing Coll. of the Univ. of Glasgow, etc.

41. Firth, *American Garland*, pp. 69-71, 72-73. *The Betrayed Maiden* is in twelve quatrains, Pitts printer, Toy and Marble Warehouse, 6 Great St. Andrew Street, 7 Dials, n.d. *The Lads* is in seven stanzas of varying length. Both these were in Firth's personal collection.

42. The ballad, with a good introduction and bibliography by Jennings, is printed in *VMHB*, LVI (1948), 180-194.

43. Philip L. Barbour, ed., "Two 'Unknown' Poems by Captain John Smith," *VMHB*, LXXXV (1967), 157-158, and in Everett Emerson, *Captain John Smith*, TUSAS (New York, 1971), pp. 92-93.

44. See *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), eds. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (Hakluyt Society, London, 1953), p. 6, and S.G. Culliford. *William Strachey, 1572-1621* (Charlottesville, 1965), passim, for other poems by Strachey. *For the Colony: Lawes Divine*, ed. David H. Flaherty (Charlottesville, 1969), p. 2.

45. Force, *Tracts*, III, xiii, 33-35.

46. I read through the Wyatt Papers while they were in the BM. The Va. Hist. Soc. has photostats made in 1925 of several of the pieces in the collection. The *Survey Reports*, Va. 350th Anniv. Celeb., are accompanied by microfilm copies of some of this material.

47. Martha W. Hiden, ed., "John Gibbon's MS. Notes Concerning Virginia," *VMHB*, LXXIV (1966), 20.

48. Smith, *Works*, II, 922; Everett Emerson, *Captain John Smith*, p. 115; and Jones, *Lit. Va. Seven. Cent.*, pp. 56-57.

49. Ashmole MS. 781 f. 135, Bodleian, a manuscript compiled 1620-1621. It is printed in full in Culliford, *William Strachey*, pp. 140-141.

50. Edition of London, 1615, p. 167.

51. It appears in the 1636 *Paraphrase*, pp. 240-244 and later.

52. See essay on the Davisons in *NEHGR*, XXXI (Apr. 1877), 151-153. Davison's father William was a secretary of state.

53. On p. 105 of *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land*, ed. John G. Shea, Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Publ. no. 15 (Baltimore, 1880). See also Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 48-69. The letters are in an appendix to *A Character*.

54. Philip L. Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (Boston, 1964), pp. 358-360. See also Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition*, pp. 31-36.

55. *Historie of Travell*, ed. Wright and Freund, pp. 138, 150; Culliford, *William Strachey*, p. 51; Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition*, pp. 27-29, etc. Gummere points out the classical backgrounds of the earlier Virginians such as Whitaker and Wingfield.

56. In Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer*, pp. 85-88, see the list of authorities and authors used.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-200; Fredson Bowers and Richard B. Davis, *George Sandys, A Bibliographical Catalogue* (New York, 1950), p. 26; and Richard B. Davis "In Re George Sandys' Ovid," *SB*, VIII (1956), pp. 226-230.

58. Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition*, pp. 25-26, and Richard B. Davis, "America in George Sandys' 'Ovid,'" *WMQ* (3), IV (1947), 297-304.

59. Smith, *Works*, I, 24-26, 30.

60. Smith, *Ibid.*, I, 113; II, 929, the latter from his 1631 *Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New-England, or anywhere. . .* For more on southern satire as characteristic of the region, see Charles A. Barker, *American Convictions . . . , 1600-1850* (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 199-200.

61. For letter, see above, note 8; for the latter quotation, *Works*, I, 104.

62. In Smith, *Works*, I, cxiv.

63. Kingsbury, ed., *Rec. Va. Co.*, III, 221 (Pory); III, 438 (Powell); IV, 74 (Sandys). Both Pory and Powell wrote before the massacre, Sandys after. Contractions in Kingsbury have been expanded.

64. For the best discussion of Hammond, see Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 28-47, 354-356. The most useful texts of *Leah and Rachel* are Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 277-308, and Force, *Tracts*, III, xiv.

65. For Alsop's *A Character* see note 53 above. For the best printed commentary on the book, Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 48-68, 356-357. The unpublished fully annotated Pennsylvania State Univ. Ph.D. diss., Harry H. Kunesch, Jr.'s "George Alsop's *A Character of the Province of Maryland: A Critical Edition*" (Ann Arbor, Univ. Microfilms, Inc., 1970; and *Dissertation Abstracts*, 31 [1971], 7775-A) should be seen. Some of the earlier "characters" written in Britain were, like Alsop's, concerned with regions instead of individuals or human types.

66. For the text, Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections*, pp. 43-98. The most recent of Jay B. Hubbell's several essays on John Cotton and his authorship is "John Cotton: The Poet-Historian of Bacon's Rebellion," in Hubbell's *South and Southwest: Literary Essays and Reminiscences* (Durham, N.C., 1965), pp. 205-227. A more extensive and quite perceptive account is in Wilber H. Ward, "Bacon's Rebellion in Literature to 1861" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1971), pp. 61-88, and his "To Caesar, Friend or Foe?: The Burwell Papers and Bacon's Rebellion," in *Essays in Early Virginia Litera-*

ture Honoring Richard Beale Davis, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York, 1977), pp. 73-90. There are a number of other essays on the authorship, but there is little more genuine criticism of the text.

67. Ward, "Bacon's Rebellion in Literature," pp. 84-88, and his essay just noted, are the most perceptive and well-argued criticism of the function of the two poems. See also Hubbell, "John Cotton," pp. 212-218. The full texts of both poems have been frequently reprinted (e. g., Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections*, pp. 212-218). Cotton says, "There were many coppes of Verses made after [Bacon's] departure, calculated to the Lattitude of there affections who composed them: as a relish from both appetites I have here sent you a couple." Admitting that Cotton wrote both of these, one may still be sure there were many polemical verses floating about in the colony in this period, both pro and con.

68. For the record of Gray's "Dialogue between A. and B." see McIlwaine, ed., *Journals H.B. Va.* (1693-1702) (Richmond, 1913), pp. 183-184, and Sainsbury, ed., *Cal. St. Papers, Col.*, 1698-1699, items 1031, 1032, pp. 570-571; and *Addenda*, 1699 [published with *Papers of 1621-1628*], p. 295, when the Reverend John Gordon was accused of persisting in the "publication" of Gray's libels. Both clergymen were apparently alumni of Cambridge Univ. Philip A. Bruce (*Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 213-214) shows Gray to have been a choleric man who had already treated a slave cruelly. Bruce notes that the libellous verse dialogue "satirized the King, the late Queen Mary, the Governor of the Colony, several eminent citizens, and the College of William and Mary." Gordon and Gray may have been scapegrace young clergymen, though Meade (*Old Churches*, I, 359) gives a less tolerant picture of Gray. McIlwaine, ed., *Exec. Journ. Council Col. Va.*, I (Richmond, 1925), 269, records the episode and the pardon issued.

69. The only known copy of this broadside is in BM, P. 20872, C. 20 f (224). For a more recent printing and commentary, see William S. Powell "A Swift Broadside for the Opposition," *VMHB*, LXVII (1959), 164-169. Bond, *English Burlesque Poetry, 1700-1750*, pp. 445-446, assigns it to Swift with a question mark, but A.H. Scouten's revision of Teerink's bibliography of Swift (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1963), proves it is not his (Teerink no. 822). The imprint and allusions in the poem seem to warrant further investigation. The Williamsburg rectorship changed hands in 1702, from D'Oyly to Whately, and either may be referred to instead of Blair as the "rector" in the poem.

70. The version I have is a photostat of the copy in PRO, C.O. 5/1314. For a printed modern text with names filled in see Gordon, *Virginian Writers of Fugitive Verse*, pp. 152-154. In BM MS. 8365 b 9 [1705?] is a defense of himself by Blair dated in Virginia in 1704, amusing to us, in which the Commissary doth protest too much. There are also other items on this affair in Sainsbury, ed., *Cal. St. Papers, Col.*, 1703-1705, item 284, pp. 111-113, also dated 1704, and in the Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library some printed in Perry, ed., *Hist. Coll. Col. Ch.*, I, 124-126, passim. For Beverley in England in 1703-1705 see *The History and Present State of Virginia*,

ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. xxvii, and his hatred of Nicholson, pp. xxix, 99-100, 103-105. For Beverley as author, see Parke Rouse, Jr., *James Blair of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1971), p. 164.

71. Cook(e) is spelled most frequently without a final *e*. The best single and comprehensive study of Cook's life and work is Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 77-110. Also useful are Lawrence C. Wroth, ed., *The Maryland Muse and Ebenezer Cooke, A Facsimile . . .* (Worcester, Mass., 1935), which includes "The History of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's Rebellion" and "The Third Edition" of "The Sot-Weed Factor"; Steiner, ed., *Early Md. Poetry*, for text of "The Sot-Weed Factor," "Sot-weed Redivivus," and "Elegy upon Nicholas Lowe, Esq.," all by Cook; the broadside *An Elogy on the Death of Thomas Bordley, Esq.* (Annapolis, 1726). For Fox's verses "To the Honourable Thomas Bordley Esquire," see the MS. in the Md. Hist. Soc., Bordley Papers. See also James T. Pole, "Ebenezer Cooke and *The Maryland Muse*," *AL*, III (1931), 296-302; Edward H. Cohen, "The 'Second Edition' of *The Sot-weed Factor*," *AL*, XLII (1970), 289-303, and "The Elegies of Ebenezer Cooke," *EAL*, IV (1969), 49-72, including texts; and *Ebenezer Cooke: The Sot-Weed Canon* (Athens, Ga., 1975); Walter B. Norris, "Some Recently Found Poems on the Calverts," *MdHM*, XXII (1937), 112-135; Robert D. Arner, "Clio's Rhymes: History and Satire in Ebenezer Cooke's 'History of Bacon's Rebellion,'" *SLJ*, VI (1974), 91-106, and his comprehensive and suggestive review of Cohen's book in *SLJ*, VIII (1975), 153-164. Cook was admitted to the bar of Prince Georges County in 1728 (Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, p. 94), though the poem to Bordley of 1718-1721 would indicate he was performing legal business at least a decade earlier. From Fox's poem, one may guess that legal training came fairly late in Cook's life.

72. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 90-93, thinks this is surely a quality of Cook's work. For one version of "The New England Ballad" see "A West-Country Men's Voyage to New England" in Firth, ed., *An American Garland*, pp. 32-34, 87.

73. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 127-130; Bond, *English Burlesque Poetry, 1700-1750*, pp. 219-221; Steiner, ed., *Early Md. Poetry*, pp. 57-102, for text and notes of *The Mouse-Trap*.

74. The poem is to be found in a footnote in David Ramsay, *A History of South Carolina from Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808* (Charleston, 1809). It has been reprinted with notes by Hennig Cohen, ed., "An Early Example of French Poetry . . .," *MLN*, LXVII (1952), 187-188.

75. All date references are to the issues of the *South-Carolina Gazette*. Lemay, *Calendar*, includes most of these verses, but he missed a few. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 181-229, gives generous samples of some of the verses. The Meddler's Club essays beginning in 1735 will be discussed with other group club essays below.

76. Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 215-217, and issues of the *S.C. Gaz.*

77. Several studies touch on the Monitor series: Castles, "The Virginia Gazette," pp. 191-202; Myers, "The Old Dominion Looks to London," pp. 195-217; the Gibsons, "The Influence of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* on the

'Monitor,' pp. 12-23; Arner, "The Short, Happy Life of the Virginia 'Monitor,'" pp. 130-147. In an appendix Arner cites a number of William and Mary students who may possibly have made contributions to the essay series; he does not think the pieces sufficiently sophisticated to be the work of faculty members. The classical essays, poems, and other "exercises" in the Dawson Papers at LC and William and Mary contain signed work by a number of college students of this period, most of it undated. In fact, to the present writer Lemay suggests that if Thomas Dawson was in America when the essays appeared, he was the probable author. A letter from the Rev. Henry Addison to Dawson comments on the latter's innumerable writings and asks to borrow some, but see also Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers*, pp. 179-207.

78. *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh Lefler (Chapel Hill, 1967), passim; John Brickell, p. 217; Beverley, pp. 204-205. See also Dorson, *American Folklore*, pp. 17-20.

79. This intent is borne out in part by the fair copy in the Westover Manuscripts in the Va. Hist. Soc., which is, not in Byrd's hand but contains his interlinear "final" corrections.

80. For an expanded form of this discussion of Byrd, see my "William Byrd: Taste and Tolerance," in *Major Writers of Early American Literature*, ed. Everett Emerson (Madison, Wis., 1972), pp. 151-177.

81. See Castles, "The *Virginia Gazette*, 1736-1766," pp. 75-299.

82. See Craig Gilborn, "Samuel Davies' Sacred Muse," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, XLI (1963), 63-78, and Davis, "Samuel Davies, Poet of the Great Awakening," in *Lit. and Soc. in Early Va.*, pp. 133-148.

83. Richard B. Davis, "James Reid: Colonial Virginia Poet and Moral and Religious Essayist," in *Lit. and Soc. in Early Va.*, pp. 168-191, and Reid, "The Religion of the Bible and of K[ing] W[illiam] County Compared," in *The Colonial Virginia Satirist*, ed. Davis, pp. 43-71. For more on Reid, especially his non-satiric verse, see below.

84. The Waller-Wood manuscripts of Colonial Williamsburg also include verses on the death of Benjamin Waller's uncle in Britain, Dr. Edmund Waller. And in one letter to Waller, Wood mentions Waller's ancestor the poet. Waller's biographical sketch of Charles Hansford was published in the first printing of Hansford's *Poems* (ed. James A. Servies and Carl Dolmetsch [Chapel Hill, 1961]), pp. 73-74, and concludes with an eight-line elegiac tribute to Hansford by Waller. See also Hansford's *Poems*, pp. 69-70, for a letter to Hansford from Waller in 1750 and another set of commendatory verses by Waller, though none of these is satiric.

85. See my *Colonial Virginia Satirist*, pp. 15-16, and Lemay's review of it in *VMHB*, LXXV (1967), 492.

86. *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, ed. R.A. Brock, Coll. Va. Hist. Soc., IV (2 vols., Richmond, 1884), II, 481. For Hedgman, see Swem, *Va. Hist. Index*. The many references given in Swem reveal him only as a planter, burgess, and estate executor. In the Stafford county records he appears as a friend of one William Fitzhugh and others of the Potomac River group

of Virginians just named. He might just possibly have been the disseminator of copies of the poem(s) in Williamsburg.

87. *The Colonial Virginia Satirist*, ed. Davis, text and notes (of both original author and editor), pp. 5-42. One should not forget that the Rev. Mr. Menzies' satiric play, "found" in a Northern Neck courthouse yard, was read aloud in the ordinary during court day, was for "the people" against the great planters, and was considered scandalous. See under "Theater" in Ch. VIII above.

88. I am indebted to Miss Anne Freudenberg of the Alderman Lib. for xeroxes of two Landon Carter political poems. She also called to my attention several of the pseudonyms Carter used in his published metrical and prose attacks. One of Carter's poems is published in slightly garbled form in Lucille Griffith, *The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774* (Northport, Ala., 1963) pp. 85-87. *The Diary of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall*, ed. Jack P. Greene (2 vols., Charlottesville, 1965) has much on the controversies of the time. And one should not forget among humorous satires the verses of Richard Bland's "Epistle" to Carter in 1758 urging him to stand for the House of Burgesses. A garbled text appears in Moncure D. Conway, *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock* (New York, 1892), pp. 137-141, and what is probably the original manuscript is bound into a copy of Conway's *Barons* now in the collections of the Morristown National Park.

89. Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," pp. 99-142, includes Bolling poems with full annotation in an appendix. The essay considers the whole situation. Lemay has also written for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation an extensive discussion of *The Contest* and its background and his reasons for believing Hewitt was its author (letter to Edward M. Riley dated August 10, 1971). Richard Walser, ed., *The Poems of Governor Burke* (Raleigh, N.C., 1961), includes texts and annotations for some of the Burke verses.

90. The accounts of the Tuesday Club are numerous, even not including the three original sets of manuscripts mentioned in the text and below. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, in his discussions of several of its members, including residents Jonas Green and Alexander Hamilton and honorary members James Sterling and Thomas Bacon, gives the most detailed account of the literary activities of individuals, including bibliographies of their writings (see pp. 371-372). See also Carl Bridenbaugh's introduction to Hamilton's *Itinerarium* (Chapel Hill, 1948); Robert R. Hare, "Electro Vitrifrico in Annapolis: Mr. Franklin Visits the Tuesday Club," *MdHM*, LVIII (1963), 62-66; J.A. Leo Lemay, "Franklin's 'Dr. Spence' the Reverend Archibald Spencer (1698?-1760), M.D." *MdHM*, LIX (1964), 199-216; John G. Morris, "The Tuesday Club," *AHR*, II (1873), 149-155; Sarah Elizabeth Freeman, "The Tuesday Club Medal," *The Numismatist*, LVIII (1945), 1313-1322; Elihu S. Riley, "*The Ancient City*," *A History of Annapolis, in Maryland, 1649-1887* (Annapolis, 1887), pp. 122-148; Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders, 1760-1776," *MdHM*, XXXVIII (1943), 37-55, 167-180; and anon., "The Tuesday Club of Annapolis," *MdHM*, I (1906), 59-65, an interesting selection from the manuscript "His-

tory." Hamilton's contemporary manuscripts on the club are in LC ("Record of the Tuesday Club," Vol. II); the Md. Hist. Soc. ("Record of the Tuesday Club," Vol. I, and two fragments of manuscript volumes in the Dulany Papers from the "Record" and the "History"); and Johns Hopkins Univ. ("Annapolis, Md. Tuesday Club Record Book," being the minutes taken in and shortly after the meetings of the club and the three volumes of "The History of the Ancient and Honourable Tuesday Club," which contains in Vol. III a portion of the earlier draft of the "History").

Since the previous part of this note and the text above was written, an essay by Elaine G. Breslaw, "Wit, Whimsy, and Politics: The Uses of Satire by the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, 1744 to 1756," *WMQ* (3), XXXII (1975), 295-306, has appeared which argues rather persuasively that the actual "Sederunts" or meetings of the Tuesday Club were usually parodies of sessions of the General Assembly, satires on Proprietary prerogative, or other caricatures of political situations or events in the colony. In other words, Hamilton and others recognized the dangerous potentialities of Maryland's "disorderly political life." The author feels that thus the club was able to examine political issues without committing itself to party or faction and without feelings being hurt. It was also thus in part an attempt to bring harmony through satire, a characteristic Enlightenment ideal. This is a most interesting but for this reader not yet entirely convincing argument. It is another example of the need for publishing the Tuesday Club papers.

91. The best edition is *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, by Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill, 1948) with a useful introduction and notes. The most extensive critical discussion is in Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 218-229. The present known manuscript has survived in Italy, a fair copy given Hamilton's friend Onorio Razolini, who returned from Maryland to his native country.

92. *Jeffersonian America . . . Notes on the United States by Sir Augustus John Foster . . .*, ed. Richard B. Davis (San Marino, Calif., 1954), p. 64; Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 218-231.

93. The manuscript of Callister's poem is in the Mercer Papers, Va. Hist. Soc., and the identification of authorship is by Lemay.

94. The manuscript of the poem is in the Callister Papers, Md. Diocesan Lib., Md. Hist. Soc. See also Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 329-331.

95. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 76 and passim, did not have the opportunity to examine all the Cradock manuscripts, which have come to light since his book was published. David C. Skaggs, through whose activity the manuscripts came to the Diocesan Lib. and the Md. Hist. Soc., is preparing a study of the sermons and all the poems and may publish an edition of Cradock's work. Skaggs has already edited "Thomas Cradock's Sermon on the Governance of Maryland's Established Church," *WMQ* (3), XXVII (1970), 630-653, and has written "Thomas Cradock and the Chesapeake Golden Age," *WMQ* (3), XXX (1973), 93-116. He has been kind enough to supply the present writer with typescripts of the "Maryland Eclogues" and other verse probably by Cradock. Of the several brief biographies of Cradock perhaps

the best is Ethan Allen's in the series "American Ecclesiastical History. Sketches of the Colonial Clergy of Maryland," in *Church Review*, LXXVII (1845), 302-312. For Cradock's sermons and paraphrases published by Green, see Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, items 122, 189. Cradock's sermon on religion and mirth is reprinted in Davis, Holman, and Rubin, eds., *Southern Writing, 1585-1920*, pp. 136-140. Some of Cradock's other verse will be noted below.

96. The text of Boucher's poem and author's notes have been reprinted in Davis, Holman, and Rubin, eds., *Southern Writing, 1585-1920*, pp. 227-231. There are several studies of Boucher, among the more recent being Ralph E. Fall, "The Rev. Jonathan Boucher, Turbulent Tory (1738-1804)," *HMPEC*, XXXVI (1967), 323-356. Especially significant is Anne Young Zimmer and Alfred H. Kelly, "Jonathan Boucher: Constitutional Conservative," *JAH*, LVIII (1972), 897-922.

97. "A Rhapsody on Rum" is in Cohen, *The S.C. Gaz.*, p. 199, and Davis, Holman, and Rubin, eds., *Southern Writing, 1585-1920*, p. 193. "The Paper Mill" has been reprinted in *VMHB*, VII (1900), 442-444, and in Davis, Holman, and Rubin, eds., *Southern Writing, 1585-1920*, pp. 190-192. See also Hennig Cohen, "The Poems of Joseph Dumbleton, 1740-1750," *BB*, XX (Sept.-Dec. 1952), 220. For the Dumbleton family, see *Publications of the Harleian Society... Vol. XXI {1885} The Visitation of the County of Gloucester Taken in the Year 1673...*, ed. Sir John Maclean and W.C. Heane, p. 195, or *A Calendar of Wills... Gloucester... II... 1660 to 1800*, ed. E.A. Fry and W.P.W. Phillimore (London, Brit. Rec. Soc., 1907) or the *Index Library Gloucester Wills... 1660 to 1800*, Brit. Rec. Soc., [XXXIV], where there are scores of references to Dumbleton or Dimbleton.

98. Manuscript in Univ. South Caroliniana Lib., Columbia, and printed in Silverman, ed., *Colonial American Poetry*, p. 257.

99. Rugeley's periodical verse is cited in Lemay, *Calendar*, passim. For the Rugeley family, some of whom seem to have been Loyalists, see note 272 below.

100. The copy I used is in LC.

101. The best edition is that edited by Clarence Ver Steeg (Athens, Ga., 1960). Force, *Tracts*, I, iv, is also a good text. The Dedication is included in Davis, Holman, and Rubin, eds., *Southern Writing 1585-1920*, pp. 132-136.

102. Silverman, ed., *Colonial American Poetry*, pp. 122, 259.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

104. Ashmole MS. 781, f. 135, Bodleian Lib., reproduced in Culliford, *William Strachey*, pp. 140-141.

105. On signature B4v. The entire poem is reproduced in *VMHB*, LXXII (1964), 259-292.

106. Quoted in *Va. Hist. Reg.*, II (1849), 209.

107. Quoted in Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore: Seventeen Maryland Rivers* (New York, 1944), pp. 275, 316. There are others in this book, usually quatrains.

108. As printed in Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections*, pp. 75-77.

109. Oakes' poem has been reprinted a number of times, as in Silverman, ed., *Colonial American Poetry*, pp. 147-160. For the elegiac tradition, see *ibid.*, pp. 121-131; Henson, "Form and Content in the Puritan Funeral Elegy," pp. 11-27. Recently, however, T.G. Hahn has argued (in *AL*, XLV [1973], 163-181) that Oakes' verse is typical of that composed in England during the seventeenth century and is not especially Puritan.

110. Also reprinted in Steiner, ed., *Early Maryland Poetry*, pp. 53-55.

111. Unique original in John Carter Brown Lib. Reprinted in reduced facsimile in Parke-Burnet Galleries, Inc., *Catalogue No. 1385*, "Important Americana" (New York, 1952).

112. Printed in *MdHM*, XIV (1919), 172-173, and in a better text in Cohen, "The Elegies of Ebenezer Cooke," pp. 49-72.

113. Printed in Walter B. Norris, "Some Recently Found Poems of the Calverts," pp. 127-128, where it is attributed to Cook. For a time Lemay thought it to be the work of Richard Lewis, but was convinced of Cook's authorship by Cohen, "The Elegies of Ebenezer Cooke," pp. 57-60. Cohen also reprints it with a better text, pp. 67-68. Wages, "Southern Colonial Elegiac Verse," p. 122, attributes it to Lewis, probably following Lemay's earlier argument.

114. Norris, "Some Recently Discovered Poems on the Calverts," p. 124; see also Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 161-164.

115. For Tompson's poem, see Murdock, *Handkerchiefs for Paul*, p. 912. For text of this poem and that on Peggy Hill, see Wages, "Southern Colonial Elegiac Verse," pp. 32-34, 44-46.

116. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 176-179, and "Richard Lewis and Augustan American Poetry," *PMLA*, LXXXIII (1968), 89-100.

117. Discussed in Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 300-301, 378.

118. Lemay, *Calendar*, no. 1734, and *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 308-309, 380.

119. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 295-299, 378.

120. Lemay, *Calendar*, no. 793; text in Wages, "Southern Colonial Elegiac Verse," pp. 43-44.

121. Sibley, *Alexander Pope's Prestige in America, 1725-1835*, esp. pp. 9-19, 83-84, 105-110. See also Wages, "Southern Colonial Elegiac Verse," pp. 59-62.

122. For Kirkpatrick, see Joseph I. Waring, "James Kirkpatrick and Smallpox Inoculation before 1914 in Charlestown," *Annals Med. Hist.*, n.s. X (1938), 301-308.

123. For Fortesque and Godin, see *S.C. Gaz.* for Nov. 30, 1747, and Henry A.M. Smith, "Goose Creek," *SCHM*, XXIX (1928), 15, 16, 22, 71-74, 78, and 83. The scholarly Anglican cleric Samuel Quincy (see Ch. V) had married into the Hill family and was probably capable of writing such verse.

124. Wages, "Southern Colonial Elegiac Verse," p. 92n.

125. Lemay, *Calendar*, no. 1791. Lemay evidently did not see the earlier South Carolina printing.

126. E.g., see Sidney A. Kimber, "The 'Relation of a Late Expedition to St. Augustine,' with Bibliographical Notes on Isaac Kimber and Edward Kimber," *PBSA*, XXVIII (1934), 81-96. The most recent edition of *Itinerant Observations in America*, ed. Trevor Reese, is published by the Beehive Press (Savannah, 1975).

127. The *Md. Gaz.* contained even more of these borrowings from English periodicals. See Wages, "Southern Colonial Elegiac Verse," pp. 187-208.

128. I am indebted to the Univ. South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S.C., for a xerox of this poem, which concludes "Written March 10th 1766 at Charlestown in South Carolina by Geo: Milligen Johnston."

129. This is one that Wages missed, though Lemay, *Calendar*, no. 236, lists it. The poem fills the whole front page of the Philadelphia paper and extends half a column into page two. There are 148 lines. See also *Letters of Robert Carter, 1720-1722: The Commercial Interests of a Virginia Gentleman*, ed. Louis B. Wright (San Marino, Calif., 1940), for a selection of Carter's epistles. Wright points out Carter's alleged overbearing haughtiness, pride, and violent fits of temper as well as an occasional demonstration of humility and piety and kindness.

130. See Wages, "Southern Colonial Elegiac Verse," pp. 138-141, for texts and notes. For Philip Ludwell Lee, see Stanard, *Col. Va.*, p. 293, and *WMQ* (1), XVII (1908/9), 136-139, 147, 153. Thomas Lee, the only native-born Virginian to be appointed governor by royal authority, died before his commission reached the colony. See M.P. Andrews, *Virginia, The Old Dominion* (Richmond, 1949), pp. 187, 208-209, and *WMQ* (1), VII (1899), 200-203.

131. Quoted in full in Meade, *Old Churches*, I, 244-245.

132. Quoted in A.P. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, Va., 1953), p. 271 from *WMQ* (1) II (1893/1894), 223.

133. For text of the whole poem, see *Collected Poems of Samuel Davies*, ed. Davis, pp. 26-27. The introduction discusses Davies as poet.

134. For text, see *ibid.*, pp. 144-153. It was printed originally with Samuel Finley's *A Sermon Preached at Fogs-Manor on [the] Occasion of the Death of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Blair . . .* (Philadelphia, 1752), pp. 25-34.

135. In *Collected Poems*, ed. Davis, p. 159 (where a line was inadvertently omitted from the second epitaph), and in *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad, The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland, 1753-1755* (Urbana, 1967), pp. 26-27.

136. Lemay, *Calendar*, item 2000.

137. MS. in LC, Personal Papers, "R. B." was also responsible for "Madrigal on the Death of an Infant" in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* of January 1, 1767. Professor Lemay informs me that several hitherto unidentified poems in the *Virginia Gazette* of the period may now be identified as Bolling's.

138. My xerox copy of the poem is through the courtesy of the BM.

139. See bibliography for this chapter above. Entirely too few studies of

the epistolary art in earlier eighteenth-century Britain and America have been done. Useful in varying degree are the books by Weiss, Hornbeak, Sutherland, and Dobrée noted in the bibliography. See also Irving's *The Providence of Wit in the English Letter Writers*. The books by Sutherland and Dobrée contain also some discussion of the English diary and journal and travel account. Hornbeak points out that Samuel Richardson's *Familiar Letters* (1741) was not rhetorical but ethical in its interest, though its immediate predecessors showed consciousness of the theory of the art of letter writing. Weiss shows that *The Young Secretary's Guide*, a popular seventeenth-century epistolary manual, was copied in America into the nineteenth century. This manual was represented in Charleston at least as early as 1718, in Boston as early as 1703.

140. For a Davies bibliography, see George W. Pilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville, 1971), pp. 202-208. James Blair's letters are quoted frequently in Rouse, *Blair*. For scattered printed letters see Swem, *Va. Hist. Index*. Four volumes of Robert Dinwiddie's letter-books are in the Va. Hist. Soc., 1751-1758 (printed in Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, n.s. III (1883) and IV (1884)).

141. Now in LC. Ball lived at Stratford in Essex, England. He was the son of Colonel William Ball of Lancaster County, Virginia, and had married in England. His sister Mary was the mother of George Washington.

142. The copy of the LC letterbook from which Professor Maude Woodfin intended to edit the whole group of epistles is now in the Va. St. Lib. Microfilm copies of these letters are also in the Col. Williamsburg Foundation and the Va. Hist. Soc.

143. Dated from Rappahannock, Mar. 3, 1720/21, in the HEH original. Printed in *Letters of Robert Carter, 1720-1727*, ed. Wright, p. 84. For other Carter correspondence including that of grandson Councilor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, see Louis Morton, *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall* (Williamsburg, 1941), Bibliography, pp. 295-296. Also see Walter R. Wineman, *The Landon Carter Papers in the University of Virginia Library: A Calendar and Biographical Sketch* (Charlottesville, 1962), pp. 5-36. Letters of another Robert Carter from Williamsburg to Landon and Charles Carter and Francis Fauquier, Jr. also exist, and there are other "King" Carter letters in the Va. Hist. Soc. and the Alderman Libr. of the Univ. of Virginia.

144. Conway, *Barons*, pp. 27-31, dated May 1742. For the Fitzhughs' especially William, see *ibid.*, passim, and the Tuesday Club manuscripts. See also three of his manuscripts 1747-1769, in *A Guide to the Manuscript Collections, Morristown National Historical Park* (Morristown, N.J., n.d.), p. 41.

145. Corbin Letterbook, Archives of Colonial Williamsburg. There are nineteenth-century copies of Col. Corbin's letters in the Va. Hist. Soc., most of them written in 1758.

146. Royal Society of Arts, London, Guard Book VII, 15. A picture of the Charles Dick house (still standing) in Fredericksburg is in Oscar H. Darter, *Colonial Fredericksburg and Neighborhood in Perspective* (New York, 1956), p. 78.

147. The letter is in a "Bundle of Letters," PRO, H.C.A. 30/258, dated

June 11, to Mrs. Susanna Williams of Nasby Hall, Leicestershire. By Nov. 4 he wrote that he was now his own man.

148. To the Earl of Orrery, 1726, in *VMHB*, XXXII (1924), 27.

149. To "Irene," in *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*, ed. B.J. Lossing (New York, 1860), p. 29.

150. August 12, 1774, in *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774*, ed. H.D. Farish (Williamsburg, 1943), pp. 211 etc. The long letter is extremely significant not only as a personal characterization but as a delineation of pre-Revolutionary southern society. Fithian discusses the greater wealth of Virginia families, relative degrees of learning, materials to be taught, and law, holidays, gambling, even manners or modes in eating, drinking, and farming.

151. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland*, and the Dulany Papers in the Md. Hist. Soc. See both Land and Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, passim, for references to the Bordley family. Also see Nelson Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore, 1956) and Bordley letterbooks, Md. Hist. Soc. Carrolls, both Catholic and Protestant, are represented in many repositories, as the Dr. Charles Carroll letterbook in the Md. Hist. Soc.

152. August 4, 1750, printed in Perry, ed., *Hist. Coll. Col. Ch.* IV, 324-326, and Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1967), I, 281-282. The letter to Anthony Bacon, dated March 28, 1750, found its way into the Bishop of London's archives. For the best bibliography of Bacon, see Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 382-387. See also Bacon to Callister, Oct. 26, 1756, Md. Dioc. Lib. There are good letters from Bacon to Commissary Dawson in Williamsburg (as July 24, 1753), in the Dawson Papers, LC. For the *Independent Whig* see Chs. IV, etc. above.

153. Callister Papers, Md. Dioc. Lib., Md. Hist. Soc. Printed in Tilghman, *Hist. Talbot County, Md.*, I, 92-93. His letters to Bacon are usually more facetious than this one.

154. The Hamilton letterbook in the Dulany Papers is in Md. Hist. Soc. See Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 215-225. The letters should be included in any collected edition of Hamilton's work.

155. Numerous Boucher letters have been printed in volumes of *MdHM* VII (1912), VIII (1913), etc.; *NEHGR*, LII (1898) 57, 169 ff., 329 ff., 457; LIII (1899), 303 ff., 417 ff., 426; LIV (1900), 32-38, edited by W.C. Ford; *HMPEC*, XIX (1950), 366. See also James E. Pate, "Jonathan Boucher, an American Loyalist," *MdHM*, XXV (1930), 305-318, and Fall, "The Rev. Jonathan Boucher, Turbulent Tory (1738-1804)," 323-356. The letter to Mrs. James here quoted is printed in *MdHM*, VII (1912), 4. For letters to Addison, see Boucher's *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist*, pp. 82-91. Fall cites in his notes many sources for Boucher materials. See also Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, pp. 163-164; *DNB*; etc.

156. Letters of Lawson to Petiver, BM Sloane 4064, ff. 214, 249-250, 267, 271; Maule to Lawson in Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.*, I, 727-728; Urmstone to Sec. SPG, Saunders, I, 763-772; II, 125-128, 138; Graffenreid to Governor

Hyde, BM, Lansdowne MSS 1032, Bishop Kennett's Commonplace Book, ff. 108v-116r; various letters in SPG "A" Vol. VII, 418, etc., and Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace Lib., V, VII; and letters from the Rev. Giles Rainsford scattered through *Col. Rec. N.C.*, I, II.

157. For Everard, Oct. 12, 1729, Edenton to London, in Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.*, III, 48; for Burrington, March 15, 1731/2, in *ibid.*, III, 339-340. A Johnston letter is in Univ. of Edinburgh Lib., La. II, 647, 225, and Dobbs' are in PRO, Belfast, with microfilm in Univ. of North Carolina Lib. Versions of most of Dobbs' are in Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.*

158. See notes in Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esquire, 1689-1765, Surveyor-General of Ireland, and Prospector, and Governor of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1957). The S.P.G. Papers, the Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace, XIII, 312, etc., and the Belfast PRO documents are the most valuable.

159. For governors' letters, Easterby, ed., *Col. Rec. S.C.* For the clergy, *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis LeJau, 1706-1717* (Berkeley, 1956), and *Carolina Chronicle: The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716* (Berkeley, 1946), both edited by Frank J. Klingberg.

160. Richard Hill letterbook, Duke Univ. MSS 1743; Garden and Josiah Smith in references and notes in Chs. V and VI above; Woodmason in *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, ed. Hooker, pp. 165-296.

161. *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762*, ed. Pinckney; *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden*, ed. Walsh; *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle*, ed. Edgar; and *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, ed. Hamer, Rogers, et al. There are others letters of Eliza Pinckney in the LC and the Duke Univ. Lib., among other places.

162. *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney*, ed. Pinckney, p. 48.

163. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95, 101.

164. For other letters and Pringle's journal, see *SCHM*, XXV (1924), 21-30, 93-112; *L* (1949), 91-100, 144-155; and *PMHB*, LXXXVIII (1964), 52-69.

165. *Papers of Henry Laurens*, I, xviii. The thousands of items are described in I, xxvii-xxviii.

166. *Papers of Henry Laurens*, IV, 208-209, [Charleston] March 13, 1764. For maps of the North Carolina Moravian communities, see *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, I, ed. Adelaide Fries (Raleigh, 1922), passim.

167. Trans. and ed. George F. Jones, Wormsloe Foundation Series no. 8 (Athens, Ga., 1966).

168. *The Letters of James Habersham, 1756-1775*, Coll. Ga. Hist. Soc., VI (Savannah, 1904). For pertinent extracts from these, see Spencer B. King, Jr., ed., *Georgia Voices: A Documentary History to 1872* (Athens, Ga., 1966), pp. 43-44 (for his use of "cracker," see p. 157).

169. Matthews, *American Diaries in Manuscript, 1580-1954*. Matthews' earlier *American Diaries* (1959) is essentially a list of printed material.

170. Printed in *AHR*, XII, no. 2 (Jan., 1907), 327-340, from BM Sloane MS. 2291, f. 1.

171. The title of this book varies. It was first published in 1745. My own

edition is of London, 1785. There is an Oxford, 1931 edition edited by C.H. Wilkinson as *King of Beggars Bampfylde Moore-Carew*. Moore-Carew (1698-1770?) is discussed in DNB.

172. Kimber's *Itinerant Observations in America*, Coll. Ga. Hist. Soc., IV, pt. 2 (Savannah, 1878), 3-64, and separately printed. For the Maryland section see *MdHM*, LI (1956), 315-336. For the Kimbers, father and son, see Sidney A. Kimber, "The 'Relation of a Late Expedition to St. Augustine,' with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes on Isaac and Edward Kimber," *PBSA*, XXVIII (1934), 81-96; Frank G. Black, "Edward Kimber: Anonymous Novelist of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVII (1935), 27-42.

173. *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill, 1948). One should recall that Hamilton's Tuesday Club friend Witham Marshe kept a journal of his journey to the momentous Indian treaty conference at Lancaster in Pennsylvania at the same time (see Ch. II above and Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, p. 218n).

174. *Archives of Md.*, XXXI, 174-179, Nov. 29, 1756.

175. Edited by his grandson Jonathan Bouchier (Boston, 1925).

176. BM Add MSS 28620 and PRO., C.O. 5/1322, ff. 30-50 etc.

177. MS. Va. Hist. Soc., Old File, Claiborne Family Papers. Published in part in *PMHB*, I, (1877), 117-132, 233-249, 404-419; II (1878), 40-49.

178. VSL, Rose Diary, no. 21207, and Archives Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

179. Va. Hist. Soc., MSS 5:1 B 5754:1 and printed in *WMQ* (1), VII and VIII.

180. I have used the facsimile edition published by the Newberry Lib. in Chicago in 1958. J.C. Fitzpatrick edited the general diaries of 1748-1799 (Boston and New York, 1925). For the original manuscript, see Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington* (7 vols., New York, 1948-1957), II, 420, etc. See also the "Critique of Washington's Journal of 1754" in Freeman, *Washington*, I, 540-545 and II, 236-237.

181. For the writings of Byrd, see preceding chapters and text and bibliography for the present ch. above. For Davies, *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad: The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland, 1753-1755*, ed. G.W. Pilcher (Urbana, 1967), pp. 106, etc.

182. Richardson's MS. is in the Sou. Hist. Coll., Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, though there is also "An Account of My Proceedings . . ." in MS. in the NYPL. For more on Richardson, see Pilcher, ed., *Samuel Davies*, pp. 106-107, 117n-118. The original of Mercer's daily journal and account book is in the Bucks County (Pa.) Hist. Soc., with a photostatic copy in the Va. Hist. Soc. For more on Mercer see text of this ch. above and below and Ch. VIII above.

183. *Diary of Landon Carter*, ed. Greene, especially Greene's "Introduction," I, 3-61. For letters of Landon Carter, see Freeman, *Washington*, II, 416 etc.

184. "A Journal of the Proceedings of the Commissioners for Running the Line betwixt Carolina and Verginia," along with original proposals of

Spotswood and Eden, letters from the Virginia commissioners, and other pertinent materials are in Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.*, II, 730-799, with a letter from John Lovick of December 12, 1728, in *ibid.*, III, 1-5. There is also material for this period in Sainsbury, ed., *Cal. St. Papers, Col.*

185. Evans' diary is in LC, Acc. 4884A. A mimeographed copy of Hart's (the original in private hands in 1949) is now in the Duke Univ. Lib.

186. *A New Voyage* was reprinted in *Coll.*, Ga. Hist. Soc., II (Savannah, 1842) and Moore's *Voyage to Georgia* in the same, I (Savannah, 1840).

187. Candler, ed., *Col. Rec. Georgia*, IV, 188-189, and Spencer B. King, Jr., ed., *Georgia Voices, A Documentary History to 1872* (Athens Ga., 1966) p. 16. The Coulter-edited Stephens Diary was published at Athens in 1958. There is a sketch of Stephens in *DNB*.

188. Copy in Va. Hist. Soc., Carter Papers. Apparently it was originally made out in 1726 and several codicils were added later.

189. It has been reprinted several times, most conveniently in George Brydon, "The Antiecclesiastical Laws of Virginia," *VMHB*, LXIV (1956), 262-263. Brydon himself makes the statement quoted here concerning the halfway-house nature of the deism of the time.

190. Spotswood's will, or a copy, is in the Spotswood Papers, Duke Univ. Lib. A photostat of Custis' will, taken from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury listings in Britain, is in Va. St. Lib., 22983 (1-6).

191. Moseley's will is in J.B. Grymes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories* (Raleigh, 1912), pp. 313-320, and Dobbs' in the same, pp. 145-146.

192. Abstract in *SCHM*, V (1904), 222-226.

193. Dobrée, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century*, 1700-1740, p. 75.

194. For a discussion of these essays, see Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.* pp. 115-118; Joost, "'Plain-Dealer' and *Free-Thinker*: A Revaluation," pp. 31-37; Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the *Maryland Gazette*," pp. 177-189, and Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers, 1704-1750*, p. 159. Cook believes the "Plain-Dealer" essays are simply imitations of the *Tatler-Spectator*.

195. Among the several comments on the series the ablest is probably Arner, "The Short Happy Life of the Virginia 'Monitor,'" pp. 130-137. Also see George H. and Judith C. Gibson, "The Influence of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* on the 'Monitor,'" pp. 12-23.

196. Castles, "The *Virginia Gazette*," pp. 191ff. Castles points out possible sources for the idea of the group of female reporters used as a frame for a group of the pieces. The "Monitor" ran well into 1737.

197. Ford, "Washington and Centinel X," *PMHB*, XXII (1898), 436-451, and Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, p. 210n. I am indebted to Professor Lemay for calling my attention to several printings of particular numbers of the "Centinel" and for his investigations of possible authors.

198. For some of Maury's letters, see Ann Maury, ed., *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family . . .* (New York, 1853), pp. 379-442. Lemay believed for a time he saw clues pointing to James Maury as author but has since changed his

mind as suggested. As I note, I am not yet fully convinced of Davies as author. John R. Alden (in *Robert Dinwiddie: Servant of the Crown* [Williamsburg, 1973], p. 103) discusses Washington and No. X and his officers' letter.

199. See also Freeman, *Washington*, II, 208-231, "Such Dastardly Debauches (September-December, 1756)."

200. See microfilm files of the *South-Carolina Gazette* and Cohen, *The S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 225-227.

201. Cohen, ed., *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 213-219.

202. Castles, "The *Virginia Gazette*," pp. 143, 148, 150ff. See also Myers, "The Old Dominion Looks to London," pp. 195-217.

203. Several were taken from other American papers such as the *New York Mercury* of 1754 and 1755, and from the *London Magazine* in 1755. See Castles, "The *Virginia Gazette*," pp. 160-161.

204. Reprinted from the *Md. Gaz.* in the *Pa. Gaz.* of February 11, 1755, no. 1364.

205. "Virginia Miscellany, William and Mary College," LC, dated from the 1720s to the Revolution. A number of others also wrote Latin essays, as Johannes Rawlings, Edmund Brewer, Thomas Gibson, and Johannes Atkinson, all with surnames familiar in the colony.

206. *Va. Gaz.* April 28, 1738. For essays on tobacco, see Cappon and Duff, comps., *Va. Gaz. Index*, and Castles, "The *Virginia Gazette*," pp. 170-173.

207. "Personal Papers," LC. Bolling's "A Collection of Diverting Anecdotes . . ." is among his manuscripts from the Brock Coll., HEH.

208. Gooch's *A Charge* is reproduced in facsimile in L.C. Wroth, *William Parks, Printer and Journalist of England and Colonial America* (Richmond, William Parks Club, 1926), pp. 31-34. *A Dialogue*, recently identified as Gooch's through his admission of authorship in a 1732 letter to the Board of Trade, exists in two known copies, in the John Carter Brown Library and the PRO. For a discussion of the *Dialogue*, see Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, II, 516-517. One of these copies, that in the PRO, is of the first edition, the other of a third edition.

209. *An Essay*, ed. Louis B. Wright (San Marino, Calif., 1945). For the attribution to Wormeley, see Virginia White Fitz, "Ralph Wormeley: Anonymous Essayist," *WMQ* (3), XXVI (1969), 586-595; to Harrison, see Carole Shammas, "Benjamin Harrison III and the Authorship of *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations in America*," *VMHB*, LXXXIV (1976), 166-173. L.C. Wroth agreed with Wright that Robert Beverley might have written it.

210. *Another Secret Diary*, ed. Woodfin and Tinling, pp. 246-247.

211. As noted in chs. above, the Dobbs Papers are in the Belfast PRO, Northern Ireland, and a microfilm copy in the Univ. of North Carolina Lib., Chapel Hill. Many official letters and other papers have been printed in Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.* For a list of "Writings of Arthur Dobbs," see Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs Esquire, 1689-1765*, pp. 222-223. For miscellaneous pamphlets see Boyd, ed., *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*.

212. For the present see L. Lynn Hogue, ed., "An Edition of 'Eight Charges Delivered, at So Many General Sessions, & Gaol Deliveries: Held at Charles Town . . . 1703 . . . 1707 . . . by Nicholas Trott, Esq; Chief Justice of the Province of South Carolina'" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1972).

213. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 251-253.

214. See also Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 225-228, and in this chapter above under Essay Series in Periodicals.

215. *Collected Poems*, ed. Davis, pp. 27-29.

216. See Castles, "The *Virginia Gazette*," pp. 201-202.

217. Richard B. Davis, "Arthur Blackamore: The Virginia Colony and the Early English Novel," *VMHB*, LXXV (1967), 22-34. There are other indications of probable Virginia influence on qualities of these writings.

218. Copies of this book are in LC and the De Renne Coll. of the Univ. of Georgia. The LC edition is the second, the De Renne the first, both of the year 1759. Actually there are two variant printings in the De Renne Library. Thomas Stephens wrote several purely polemical pieces attacking Oglethorpe and the Trustees, published as early as 1742 and 1743.

219. For an excellent reprint edition with an introduction on the author and the novel, see the U.S. Catholic Hist. Soc., Monograph Series XVIII (New York, 1943), eds. Robert H. Elias and Thomas J. McMahon.

220. William Marshall's story appears in *Archives of Md.*, XXXI, 174-179. See Ch. II above.

221. The most complete treatment of these poets is in Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, who devotes whole chapters and extensive bibliographical appendages to each of the major ones and has something to say about the others. Lemay earlier published "Richard Lewis and Augustan American Poetry," which he revised and corrected as a chapter in his book. George Sherburn, Bernard C. Steiner, Robert A. Aubin, and Richmond P. Bond are among those who have written on Lewis (see Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 366-368), and also C. Lennart Carlson, "Richard Lewis and the Reception of His Work in England," *AL*, IX [1937/1938], 301-316. For Cook see various essays cited by Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 359-361.

222. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 140-143, and his "Richard Lewis and Augustan American Poetry," pp. 86-89, points out Lewis' effective use of initial spondee and medial trochee (or pyrrhic) for iambs in certain lines, his unusual antitheses, his surprisingly early imitation of Thomson's *Seasons* (first part not printed until 1726), and his significant emblematic and symbolic uses of certain words.

223. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 150-157.

224. *Ibid.*, p. 157n.

225. Lemay, *Calendar*, passim, and *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, passim; Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers*, pp. 150-173. In the issue of March 11, 1728/9 is a "moral" extremely scatological poem on a pastry cook (from Sheridan and Swift's Dublin paper *The Intelligencer*—see Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, p. 118).

226. From the Callister Papers, Md. Dioc. Lib., Md. Hist. Soc., but printed in Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore: Seventeen Maryland Rivers*, p. 214.

227. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 274-280, 375-376. The *Monthly Review* appraisal was in VI (1752), 237.

228. Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 303-306, and *Calendar*, passim.

229. David C. Skaggs, "Thomas Cradock and the Chesapeake Golden Age," *WMQ* (3), XXX (1973), 111-112.

230. Skaggs, "Thomas Cradock and the Chesapeake Golden Age," pp. 110-111. For text of Psalm LXXXIV see Ethan Allen, "Rev. Thomas Cradock" under "American Ecclesiastical History," *American Quarterly Church Review*, VII (July 1854), 306-307. The "Sacramental Hymn," "The Hymn for Christmas," and the "Hymn for Whitsunday" are all printed in Allen, pp. 306-309. "Resignation" is on p. 311.

231. For its ascription to Sterling, see Lemay, *Men of Letters in Col. Md.*, pp. 377, 288-293.

232. *Ibid.*, pp. 300-303. *American Mag. & Monthly Chronicle*, I (October, 1758), 642.

233. Fairfax Downing, "The Governor Goes A-Wooing," *VMHB*, LV (1947), 6-9.

234. For this and other Byrd poems see *Another Secret Diary*, ed. Woodfin and Tinling, pp. 202, 248, 403. These commonplace books are in the Univ. of North Carolina. Professor Carl Dolmetsch's study of Byrd, with proof that several *Tunbriglia* poems hitherto unasccribed are Byrd's, and a perceptive analysis of Byrd's verse, is *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, IX, no. 2 (1976), 69-77.

235. Lewis Leary, ed., "A William Byrd Poem," *WMQ* (3), IV (1947), 357.

236. *Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. R.L. Rusk, was reprinted in 1930 by the Facsimile Text Society. For other attributions to Dawson, see Lemay, *Calendar*, Index. For a brief assessment of Dawson as poet, see Hubbell, *The South in American Literature*, pp. 33-35. One poem is reproduced in Edd W. Parks, *Southern Poets* (New York, 1936), p. 7. In a letter of August 7, 1732, to the Bishop of London, Dawson quoted six lines, probably his own verse, which are better than most of those included in his collection. As already noted, it is possible that many verses in the LC manuscripts are by Thomas Dawson. See also Fulham Papers, XII, Virginia, 1724-1743, Lambeth Palace Lib. A [William?] Dawson published in London in 1735 *Miscellaneous Poems on Several Occasions*, which have been assumed by some to be the work of the Virginia college president. A careful reading of these poems fails to convince the present writer that the 1735 English poems are by the same man who published others in Virginia the next year.

237. Little is known of Dr. Thomas Thornton. W.B. Blanton's *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, 1931) does not mention him, nor does the Berkeleys' recent life of Dr. John Mitchell, whom he visited. For most of the above-mentioned poems and those listed in British journals below, see Lemay, *Calendar*, and Castles, "The Virginia Gazette." For Waller,

see in text above and James A. Services and Carl Dolmetsch, eds., *The Poems of Charles Hansford* (Chapel Hill, 1961), pp. xxvii-xxix, and 78.

238. For Bolling, see Swem, *Va. Hist. Index*, for scattered references; *A Memoir of a Portion of the Bolling Family*, ed. T.H. Wynne (Richmond, 1868); and Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," pp. 99-142. Professor Robert Arner has recently been editing Bolling's manuscripts, one volume of which is in the HEH and the other in the hands of descendants. The present writer had gathered many notes from the Huntington volume, including drafts of essays and poems, before Professor Arner came upon it. Lemay's essay just noted shows that Bolling, though born within the Virginia establishment, was among those who fought against it politically on several occasions.

239. No one repository seems to have a complete file on this journal, but the Univ. of Tennessee Lib. has gathered on microfilm all known issues from various sources in the United States and Great Britain.

240. See Lemay, *Calendar*, no. 1830A, for various printings of the poem.

241. *Imperial Mag.*, II (Aug. 1761), 436, 437, not included in Lemay, *Calendar*, though many other *Imperial Mag.* pieces are.

242. In his copy of the *Imperial Mag.* (now in HEH), Bolling identifies Delia as "Nancy Miller." See also Lemay, *Calendar*, no. 1873C, for another version.

243. Lemay, *Calendar*, index under Bolling, e.g., items numbered 1561 and 2049A.

244. Besides the MS materials on and of Robert Bolling of Chellow(e), there is a translation from the French of his own personal memoir by his relative the son of William Robertson, annotated by another relative, John Randolph of Roanoke, and edited and published in fifty copies as *A Memoir of the Bolling Family in England and Virginia* (Richmond, 1868, and reprinted in Berryville, Va., 1964). Notes and texts explain the relation of the poet to most of the ladies he addresses in his verses. It is alleged that he "left behind him two volumes of poetry in the Horatian style." Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," pp. 127-142, gives two of Bolling's significant political pieces with annotations explaining them. The College of William and Mary has part of the printed poem *The Contest*, which was probably written by the Reverend Richard Hewitt, an item in the same political quarrel in which Bolling's two pieces just mentioned were prominent. *The Contest* contains references to a number of political satiric poets, as Bolling, Landon Carter, Thomas Burke, and Benjamin Grymes.

245. For Lowe, see DNB; R. Cromeck, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (Lind, 1810), pp. 342-370; and Thomas Murray, *Literary History of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1822), pp. 239-253.

246. *Collected Poems*, ed. Davis, p. 53.

247. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-68.

248. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

249. *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 161-162. For the poems of Davies appearing in various periodicals, see the notes for this edition.

250. John Gwilym Jones, *Goronwy Owen's Virginian Adventure: His Life, Poetry, and Literary Opinions. With a Translation of His Virginian Letters*, Botetourt Bibliographical Society, Publications, no. 2 (Williamsburg, 1969). The letters indicate he had some Welsh friends in the colony.

251. *The Poems of Charles Hansford*, ed. James A. Servies and Carl Dolmetsch (Chapel Hill, 1961); J.A. Leo Lemay, ed., "A Poem Probably by Charles Hansford," *VMHB*, LXXIV (1966), 445-448, reprinted from the *Boston Post Boy* of October 7, 1745, from a lost issue of the *Va. Gaz.* The poem is in subject and stylistic qualities much like the lines in the volume of Hansford. The poem is signed "By an honest Tar."

252. Richard B. Davis, "James Reid, Colonial Virginia Poet and Moral and Religious Essayist," *VMHB*, LXXIX (1971), 3-19. Excerpts and complete poems are reprinted in this essay. Conway, *Barons*, pp. 86-87, gives another poem on Christmas Day by either the Rev. John Moncure or the Rev. James Marye.

253. Lemay, *Calendar*, items 1288, 1289, 1290, 1292.

254. Printed in Conway, *Barons*, pp. 137-141, in a garbled version. The original MS. is in the collections of the Morristown (N.J.) National Historical Park, bound into a copy of Conway's *Barons*.

255. The poem has been reprinted separately with an introduction by Earl G. Swem, by the Attic Press of Richmond, Va., in 1960.

256. See Gordon W. Jones, "Ramsay the Poet Immortalizes a Virginia Physician," *Va. Medical Monthly*, LXXXVII (Nov. 1960), 1-5.

257. Earl G. Swem wrote an introduction for a facsimile edition of *Typographia* (published in Roanoke, Va., in 1927). J.A. Leo Lemay has edited the separate *A Poem by John Markland of Virginia*, William Parks Club (Williamsburg, 1965), with useful introduction on Markland. I am indebted to Professor Lemay for calling my attention to the pre-American poems of Markland, and to Mr. David Foxon of Oxford for prepublication copies of his *Calendar* listing them. Harvard owns the first two and the HEH the third, though there are other copies in the United States as well as in Great Britain.

258. Page 5. Burnaby's *Juvenile Poems*, a rare volume, may be found in the Library of the University of Virginia.

259. The three poems, including both German and English versions of the Moravian hymn, have been republished with commentary by Davis, ed., "Three Poems from Colonial North Carolina," pp. 33-41.

260. Richard Walser, *Literary North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1970), p. 8 (which includes a photograph of Godfrey's gravestone in St. James' churchyard in Wilmington). For a reprint of the text of the Masonborough and some other poems, see Silverman, ed., *Col. American Poetry*, pp. 398-399, 449.

261. Lemay, *Calendar*, item 1756: also Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, p. 190.

262. *The Poems of Governor Thomas Burke of North Carolina*, ed. Richard Walser (Raleigh, 1961). Included are useful notes on the texts of poems, though Lemay, *Calendar* and "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel

Chiswell," has been able to add to our knowledge of Burke and his Virginia poems.

263. Hennig Cohen, "An Early American Example of French Poetry," *MLN*, LXVII (1952), 187-188; Edward Marston's twelve-page pamphlet with no real title page addresses the duke of Beaufort with a severely critical account of the politics within the Anglican church in South Carolina, striking out at Gideon Johnston, schoolmaster Samuel Thomas, and Nicholas Trott and concluding by asking the Lords Proprietors which of the rectories in Carolina was his by right. A copy of his pamphlet is in the John Carter Brown Lib.

264. *S.C. Gaz.*, March 11 and 18, 1732; Lemay, *Calendar*, items 209, 211. "Belinda" replied to "Secretus" in the issue of February 25.

265. For Dr. James Kilpatrick, Killpatrick, or Kirkpatrick see Joseph I. Waring, "James Killpatrick and Smallpox Inoculation," pp. 301-308, and the American poems listed under his name in Lemay, *Calendar*. See also Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 40-44, 158, 164. Waring gives a partial bibliography of the physician's writings.

266. Jones, "Charles Woodmason as Poet," pp. 189-194. Several other poems in the *Gazette* seem also to be his. See in text below.

267. The poem was published by J. Brundley and C. Corbett and is a handsome example of typography.

268. See bibliography of Kirkpatrick in Waring, "James Killpatrick and Smallpox Inoculation," pp. 307-308.

269. For *The Sea-Piece*, see Aubin, *Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England*, pp. 111-114, 283-284, and 214-215 (for a list of sea poems from 1711-1838). For seapieces in painting or drawing, see Ch. VIII above.

270. Jones, "Charles Woodmason as Poet," pp. 189-194.

271. Lemay, *Calendar*, item 1380; Hennig Cohen, "A Colonial Poem on Indigo Culture," *Agricultural History*, XXX (1956), 42-44, and Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 210-211.

272. A good deal of scattered information exists on Rugeley, especially in the *SCHM* and (in somewhat garbed form) in Arda T. Allen, *Twenty-One Sons for Texas* (San Antonio, 1959). The Harris Collection at Brown Univ. and Princeton Univ. Libr. have copies of his *Miscellaneous Poems*, and LC has his *Aeneas and Dido Burlesqued*. The *S.C. and Amer. General Gaz.* in its death notices devotes considerable space to Rugeley (see *SCHM*, XVII [1916], 123). I am indebted to Professor Lemay for some of this information. See also Lemay, *Calendar*, passim, under "Rugeley" in the index. Most of Rugeley's poems published in British periodicals 1759-1760 are to be found in *Miscellaneous Poems*.

273. Cohen, ed., "Two Colonial Poems on the Settling of Georgia," 131-134. See Lemay, *Calendar*, items 245 and 256 and 300. The "Address" was reprinted in the *Pa. Gaz.* April 4, 1734, from the *S.C. Gaz.* See Lemay, *Calendar*, item 329, and Kirk, "A Latin Poem by James Edward Oglethorpe," pp. 29-31. Also see the bibliography for the present chapter above.

274. For "Georgia" and the other occasional poems of 1736, see bibliography for this chapter above.

275. *A Pair of Odes Commemorating . . . 1757. By an Unknown Hand.* For full reference, see bibliography for this chapter. Apparently the MSS once belonged to Governor Ellis and were found in Ireland. They are now in the Univ. of Georgia Libr.

276. Lemay, *Calendar*, includes it as item 1922A. It appears in the fourth issue of the *Georgia Gazette*.

CHAPTER TEN: THE PUBLIC MIND: POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, LAW AND ORATORY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The politics and economics of the colonial South have been more frequently written about than any subject noticed in any one of the preceding chapters, perhaps as much as the subjects of all the preceding chapters taken together. The political structure and development have received an impressive amount of attention. Economic matters have been written upon frequently, though perhaps not quite so often as politics. On the other hand southern colonial legal history from any point of view is still in its infancy. And oratory south of Pennsylvania has for the period before 1764 been almost totally ignored.

Despite the extensive materials on politics and economics, their relation to or part in intellectual history has been noticed consciously by only a few scholars. The recent illuminating legal histories of the New England and middle colonies published as "American legal history" sometimes make a bow in the direction of the South, though almost all their authors note the eminence and significance of the Chesapeake colonies' bar in the middle and later eighteenth century. And a very few southern orators before 1764 are beginning to be examined and their speeches occasionally reprinted. With the material of the present chapter the author claims no great familiarity. But he has examined several hundred books and essays, rarely on intellectual history per se, and will list such as he found pertinent to his subject or believes might be of use to others who may wish to explore these four aspects of the southern colonial public mind.

Secondary general and political historical studies come first to mind. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vols., New Haven, 1934-1938) is principally a study of origins, with a leaning toward economic determinism, but as one historian has said, it barely gets the settlers across the Atlantic, especially, I may add, the southern settlers. Sometimes useful in any of our four categories of mind is Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (3 vols., New York, 1904-1907) and *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (4 vols., New York, 1924 [1930]); Clinton Rossiter, *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty* (New York, 1953); and Max Savelle, *Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind* (New York, 1948). Bernard Bailyn, *The*

Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) and his *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776. Volume I. 1750-1765* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), presents the confessedly rather old-fashioned view that the Revolution was above all an ideological, constitutional, political struggle, illustrating it in the pamphlets printed in his 1965 edition. Jack P. Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776* (Chapel Hill, 1963) and his essays "Changing Interpretations of Early American Politics," in *The Reinterpretation of Early American History*, ed. Ray A. Billington (San Marino, Calif., 1966), pp. 151-184, and "The Flight from Determinism," *SAQ*, LXI (1962), 235-259, is useful in a variety of ways, the book as a comprehensive political study and the two essays as analyses of political historiography. Wesley F. Craven's *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689* (Baton Rouge, 1949, 1970) and *The Colonies in Transition, 1660-1713* (New York, 1968) are among the best political-economic studies for the period covered, and the bibliography of the 1970 printing of the former volume is especially valuable. The former volume also points up the need for its companion volume on the eighteenth century colonies in *The History of the South* series promised for a quarter of a century and the only section missing in the projected ten-volume survey. Stimulating and challenging in several respects is Clarence Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic: Studies in Early Carolina and Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1975). Howard M. Jones, *O Strange New World: American Culture The Formative Years* (New York, 1964), "American Prose Style, 1700-1770," and "The Drift to Liberalism in the American Eighteenth Century," the latter two reprinted in *Ideas in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944) is enlightening and suggestive on several aspects of the public mind. See also Lawrence H. Leder, *Liberty and Authority: Early American Political Ideology, 1689-1763* (Chicago, 1968) and "The Role of Newspapers in Early America: 'In Defense of Their Own Liberty,'" *HLQ*, XXX (1966), 1-66; Roy N. Lokken, "The Concept of Democracy in Colonial Political Thought," *WMQ* (3), XVI (1959), 568-580; Helen Hill Miller, *The Case for Liberty* (Chapel Hill, 1965), Gilman Ostrander, *The Rights of Man in America, 1606-1861* (Columbia, Mo., 1960); Clarence L. Ver Steeg, "Historians and the Southern Colonies," in *The Reinterpretation of Early American History*, pp. 81-100; and A.E. Dick Howard, *The Road from Runnymede: Magna Carta and Constitutionalism in America* (Charlottesville, 1968). Cyrus H. Karraker, *The Seventeenth-Century Sheriff: A Comparative Study of the Sheriff in England and in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1607-1689* (Philadelphia, 1930) touches on law as well as political institutions.

Closer to intellectual history than most of these are several studies of British and European political theorists and their potential vogue and significance in the southern colonies. Among these are H. Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1965), which goes far back into the earlier eighteenth century. The several studies and editions of Peter Laslett, *Locke: Two Treatises on Government: A Critical Edition* . . . (2d ed., Cambridge, Eng., 1967);

"Sir Robert Filmer: The Man *versus* the Whig Myth," *WMQ* (3), V (1948), 523-546, which shows that Boucher's *A View* is pure Filmerism; *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1965); and *Patriarcha and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer* (Oxford, 1949) are most important in any study of the colonial southern public mind. Also W.G.A. Pocock, "Machiavelli, Harrington, and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century," *WMQ* (3), XXII (1964), 549-583; Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development, and Circumstances of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961); and Paul M. Spurlin, *Montesquieu in America, 1760-1801* (Baton Rouge, 1940), obviously largely after our period.

General studies including southern colonial economics are in some instances the same as those mentioned regarding colonial politics, as the histories of Osgood and Andrews and Craven and the two books of Bailyn. To these should be added Merle Curti's *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943); Marc Egnal, "The Economic Development of the Thirteen Continental Colonies," *WMQ* (3), XXXII (1975), 191-222; David H. Flaherty, "Law and the Enforcement of Morals in Early America," in *Law in Early American History*, ed. Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 203-256, which discusses the economic element; Oscar and Mary Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," *WMQ* (3), VII (1950), 199-222, the statistics and conclusions of which have been attacked by some later writers; Marcus W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America* (New York, 1965), a reprint of a classic pioneering work; E.A.J. Johnson, *American Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1961); Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1606-1865* (Vol. I, New York, 1946); Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968); Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *JSH*, XXXIII (1967), 469-485; "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *Journ. Econ. Hist.*, XXV (1965), 639-654; and his edition of *Bases of the Plantation Society* (Columbia, 1969); Arthur P. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, 1953); Jacob M. Price, "The Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and the European Market 1697-1775," *Journ. Econ. Hist.*, XXIV (1964), 496-511; and Abbot E. Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Gloucester, Mass., 1947).

Legal history in America has been studied generally and regionally, most of the work being pioneer rather than conclusive. Though the title is promising, Anton-Herman Chroust's *The Rise of the Legal Profession in America. Vol. 1. The Colonial Experience* (Norman, Okla., 1965) must be used with care. Several works noted under general or political history are quite significant

for legal as well, among them the essay by Flaherty, "Law and the Enforcement of Morals," A.E.D. Howard's, Winthrop D. Jordan's, C.H. Karraker's, Bailyn's two, and Ostrander's. Richard B. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1959) is a pioneer work still useful as is his "The Sources of Early American Law: Colonial Period," *W. Va. Law Qu.*, XL (1934), 212-223. Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York, 1973) is valuable, as is Charles Warren, *A History of the American Bar* (New York, 1966). David H. Flaherty, ed., *Essays in the History of Early American Law* (Chapel Hill, 1969), contains studies by specialists in various phases of colonial law, as does George A. Billias, ed. [*Selected Essays: Law and Authority in Colonial America* (Barre, Mass., 1965)]. Three essays by George L. Haskins should be noted: "Court Records and History," *WMQ* (3), V (1943), 547-552; "Law and Colonial Society," *AQ*, IX (1957), 354-364; and "The Beginnings of Partible Inheritance in the American Colonies," in *Essays in the History of American Law*, ed. Flaherty, pp. 204-244. Other general studies include: Charles J. Hilkey, "The Unpublished Sources for Early American Legal History," *W. Va. Law Qu.*, XL (1934), 224-229; Herbert A. Johnson, "American Colonial Legal History: A Historiographical Interpretation," in *Perspectives on Early American History: Essays in Honor of Richard B. Morris*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan and George A. Billias (New York, 1973), pp. 250-281; Stanley N. Katz, "The Politics of Law in Colonial America: Controversies over Chancery Courts and Equity Law in the Eighteenth Century," in *Law in Early American History*, ed. Fleming and Bailyn, pp. 257-286; and the essays by others in Stanley N. Katz, ed., *Colonial America* (Boston, 1971), especially on lawyers educated at the Inns of Court; Joseph H. Smith, *Appeals to the Privy Council from the American Plantations* (New York, 1950); and Erwin C. Surrency, "The Courts in the American Colonies," *Am. Journ. Leg. Hist.*, XI (1967), 253-276, 347-376. Also see Clement Eaton, "A Mirror of the Southern Colonial Lawyer," *WMQ* (3), VIII (1951), 520-534; and J.G. deRoulhac Hamilton, "Southern Members of the Inns of Court," *NCHR*, X (1933), 273-286.

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Century South" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minnesota, 1967), passim; Jones, "American Prose Style, 1700-1770," and Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 218, 250, IV, 149, 201ff.

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For *Maryland*, there are published studies pertinent to each of our four areas of the public mind. For *politics*, see: Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940); Lois G. Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution in Government, 1689-1692* (Cornell, 1974); Lady Matilda R. Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland: Horatio Sharpe and His Times, 1753-1773* (London, 1912); Michael G. Hall, Lawrence H. Leder, and Michael G. Kammen, eds., *The Glorious Revolution in America: Documents on the Colonial Crisis of 1689* (Chapel Hill, 1964); Thomas O'Brien Henley, "Young Mr. Carroll and Montesquieu," *MdHM*, LXII (1967), 394-418; Michael G. Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland

Revolution of 1689," *MdHM*, LV (1960), 293-333; Cyrus H. Karraker, "Deodands in Virginia and Maryland," *AHR*, XXXVII (1932), 712-717; Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (rpt. Baltimore, 1968); David C. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753-1776* (Westport, Conn., 1973). For *economics*, see: Barker, *Background of the Revolution*; Aubrey C. Land, "A Land Speculator in the Opening of Western Maryland," *MdHM*, XLVIII (1953), 191-203, "Genesis of a Colonial Fortune: Daniel Dulany of Maryland," *WMQ* (3), VII (1950), 255-269, and *The Dulanys of Maryland*; Eugene I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820*, *JHU Stud. Hist. & Pol. Sci.*, ser. XXII, nos. 4-5 (Baltimore, 1904); Abbot E. Smith, "The Indentured Servant and Land Speculation in Seventeenth Century Maryland," *AHR*, XL (1935), 461-472; and Vertrees J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulations in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1936). For *law* see: Barker, *Backgrounds of the Revolution*, "Property Rights in Provincial System of Maryland: Proprietary Policy," *JSH*, II (1936), 43-68, and "Property Rights in the Provincial System of Maryland: Proprietary Revenues," *JSH*, II (1936), 211-232; Carroll T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland: A History* (Baltimore, 1928); Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government*; C.C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910); Richard B. Morris, ed., "The Maryland Toleration Act, April 1649," in *Basic Documents in American History* (Princeton, 1956), pp. 21 ff.; Morris L. Radoff, *The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland* (2 vols., Annapolis, 1960-1963); Kate M. Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832* (2 vols., New York, 1898); St. G.L. Sioussat, *The English Statutes in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1903); J.H. Smith, "The Foundations of Law in Maryland: 1634-1715," in *Law and Authority in Colonial America*, ed. Billias, pp. 92-115, and "The Provincial Court and the Laws of Maryland 1675-1715," in *Essays in Legal History in Honor of Felix Frankfurter*, ed. M.D. Forkoszsch (Indianapolis, 1966), pp. 387-402; Smith and Crowl, eds., *Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland, 1696-1699*, the introduction to which is our best survey of Maryland colonial law and lawyers; and Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulations*. For *oratory*: Jonathan Boucher, "On Civil Liberty, Passive Obedience, and Nonresistance," in *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), pp. 495-560, and reprinted in Potter and Thomas, *The Colonial Idiom*, pp. 552-577; Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland*; Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 425-434; Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922); many speeches in *Archives of Maryland*, as those of many governors.

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town 350th Anniv. Hist. Booklet no. 4 (Williamsburg, 1957); Warren M. Billings, "The Growth of Political Institutions in Virginia 1634 to 1676," *WMQ* (3), XXXI (1974), 225-242; Robert E. and B. Katherine Brown, *Virginia, 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?* (East Lansing, 1964); Philip A. Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., New York, 1910); Moncure D. Conway, *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock* (New York, 1892); Wesley F. Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (New York, 1932) and *The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624*, Jamestown 350th Anniv. Hist. Booklet no. 5 (Williamsburg, 1957); Percy S. Flippin, "William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia," *WMQ* (2), V (1925), 225-258, VI (1926), 1-38, and *NCHR*, IV (1927), 37-49; Jack P. Greene, "The Attempt to Separate the Offices of Speaker and Treasurer in Virginia, 1758-1766," *VMHB*, LXXI (1963), 11-18, "The Case of the Pistole Fee: The Report of the Hearing on . . . [in the] Privy Council . . .," *VMHB*, LXXVI (1958), 399-422; "Character, Persona, and Authority: A Study of Alternative Styles of Political Leadership in Revolutionary Virginia [on R.H. Lee, Edmund Pendleton, and George Mason]," typescript to be published in festschrift in honor of John R. Alden in 197?; "Foundations of Political Power in the Virginia House of Burgesses 1720-1776," *WMQ* (3), XVI (1959), 485-506; (ed.) "Not To Be Governed or Taxed, But by . . . Our Representatives": Four Essays in Opposition to the Stamp Act by Landon Carter," *VMHB*, LXXVI (1968), 259-300; "The Opposition to Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood 1718," *VMHB*, LXX (1962), 35-42; Lucille Griffith, *The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774* (Northport, Ala., 1963); Hugh Blair Grigsby, *The Virginia Convention of 1776: A Discourse Delivered . . . 1855* (Richmond, 1855); Michael G. Kammen, ed., "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke," *VMHB*, LXXIV (1966), 141-169; Homer D. Kemp, "The Pre-Revolutionary Virginia Polemical Essay: The Pistole Fee and Two-Penny Acts Controversies" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1972); Arthur [and Richard Henry?] Lee and John Dickinson, *The Farmer's and Monitor's Letters to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (Williamsburg, 1769); J.A. Leo Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," *EAL*, VI (1971), 99-142; Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard, "Operation Checkmate: The Birth and Death of a Virginia Blueprint for Progress, 1660-1676," *WMQ* (3), XXIV (1967), 44-74; Jackson T. Main, "The One Hundred," *WMQ* (3), XI (1954), 354-384; McIlwaine items listed under *Primary source materials*; Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (2 vols., Chapel Hill, 1960); Stanley M. Pargellis, "The Procedure of the Virginia House of Burgesses," *WMQ* (2), VII (1927), 73-86, 143-157; J.R. Pole, *The Seventeenth Century: The Sources of Legislative Power*, Jamestown Essays in Representation (Charlottesville, 1969); John C. Rainbolt, "The Alteration in the Relationship between Leadership and Constituents in Virginia, 1660 to 1720," *WMQ* (3), XXVII (1970), 411-434, *From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Eighteenth Century Virginia Economy* (Port Washintgon, N.Y., 1974), and "A New Look at Stuart 'Tyranny':

The Crown's Attack on the Virginia Assembly, 1676-1689," *VMHB*, LXXV (1967), 387-406; W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., *Mother Earth: Land Grants . . . 1607-1699*, Jamestown 350th Anniv. Hist. Booklet no. 12 (Williamsburg, 1957); William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," in *Seventeenth-Century America*, ed. Smith, pp. 119-142; Arthur H. Shaffer, ed., *Edmund Randolph: History of Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1970); Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Parties in Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1952); J. Mills Thornton, III, "The Thrusting Out of Governor Harvey: A Seventeenth-Century Rebellion," *VMHB*, LXXVI (1968), 11-26; William S. Van Schreeven and George H. Reese, eds., *Proceedings of the General Assembly of Virginia, July 30-August 4, 1619 . . . [by] Mr. John Pory* (Jamestown, Va., 1969); Alden T. Vaughan, "The Evolution of Virginia History: Early Historians of the First Colony," in *Perspectives on Early American History*, ed. Vaughan and Billias, pp. 9-39; Manning C. Voorhis, "Crown Versus Council in the Virginia Land Policy," *WMQ* (3), III (1946), 499-514; Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Law and Authority in Colonial Virginia," in *Law and Authority in Colonial America*, ed. Billias, pp. 116-135; and Washburn's *Virginia under Charles I and Cromwell, 1625-1660*, Jamestown 350th Anniv. Hist. Booklet no. 7 (Williamsburg, 1957); Julius S. Waterman, "Thomas Jefferson and Blackstone's Commentaries," in *Essays in the History of Early American Law*, ed. Flaherty, pp. 451-488; Stephen S. Webb, "William Blathwayt, Imperial Fixer: From Popish Plot to Glorious Revolution," *WMQ* (3), XXV (1968), 3-21; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Give Me Liberty: The Struggle for Self-Government in Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1958), and *The Government of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, Jamestown 350th Anniv. Hist. Booklet no. 16 (Williamsburg, 1957); [Ralph Wormeley?], *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America (1701) . . . , With Two Memoranda by William Byrd*, ed. Louis B. Wright (San Marino, Calif., 1945); Louis B. Wright, "William Byrd's Opposition to Governor Francis Nicholson," *JSH*, XI (1945), 68-79. For *economics*, some useful works are Philip A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., New York, 1935); Craven, *The Virginia Company of London*; Emory G. Evans, "Planter Indebtedness and the Coming of the Revolution in Virginia," *WMQ* (3), XIX (1962), 511-533; [Sir William Gooch], *A Dialogue between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoco, Planters . . . and Justice Love-Country . . . RECOMMENDED To the Reading of the Planters . . .* (3rd ed., Williamsburg, 1732); John M. Hemphill, ed., "John Wayles Rates His Neighbors," *VMHB*, LXVI (1958), 302-306; R.L. Hildrup, "A Campaign to Promote the Prosperity of Colonial Virginia," *VMHB*, LXVII (1959), 410-428; Harold L. Hitchens, "Sir William Berkeley, Virginia Economist," *WMQ* (2), XVIII (1938), 158-173; Sister Jean de Lourdes Leonard, "Operation Checkmate . . ."; Jackson T. Main, "The One Hundred"; A.J. Morrison, "The Virginia Indian Trade to 1673," *WMQ* (2), I (1921), 217-236; Morton, *Colonial Virginia*; Jacob M. Price, "The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707-1775," *WMQ* (3), XI (1954), 180-199; Robinson, *Mother Earth . . .*; John C. Rainbolt, "The Absence of Towns in Sev-

enteenth Century Virginia," *JSH*, XXV (1969), 343-360, and *From Prescription to Persuasion*; William H. Seiler, "Land Processing in Colonial Virginia," *WMQ* (3), VI (1949), 416-436; James H. Soltow, *The Economic Role of Williamsburg*, Williamsburg Research Studies (Charlottesville, 1965); Voorhis, "Crown Versus Council in the Virginia Land Policy." For law, Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia" (Bacon's Laws); R.T. Barton, ed., *Virginia Colonial Decisions. The Reports of Sir John Randolph and Edward Barradall of Decisions of the General Court of Virginia, 1728-1741* (2 vols., Boston, Mass., 1909); Bemiss, *The Three Charters of the Virginia Company; The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758 . . .*, ed. R.A. Brock (2 vols., Richmond, 1883-1884); Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*; Oliver P. Chitwood, *Justice in Colonial Virginia*, JHU Stud. Hist. & Pol. Sci., ser. XXIII, nos. 7-18 (Baltimore, 1905); George L. Chumbley, *Colonial Justice in Virginia: The Development of Judicial Systems, Typical Laws and Cases of the Period* (Richmond, 1938); William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701, ed. Richard B. Davis (Chapel Hill, 1963); A.C. Gordon, "Some Lawyers in Colonial Virginia," in *Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Meeting of the Virginia State Bar Association . . . 1921* (Richmond, 1921), pp. 140-159; Greene, "Foundations of Political Power"; Grigsby, *The Virginia Convention of 1776*; Henning, ed., *Statutes at Large*; C. Ray Keim, "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," *WMQ* (3), XXV (1968), 545-586; Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell"; McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes and Journals*; Morton, *Colonial Virginia*; Hugh F. Rankin, *Criminal Trial Proceedings in the General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1965) and "The General Court of Colonial Virginia: Its Jurisdiction and Personnel," *VMHB*, LXX (1962), 142-153; Kate M. Rowland, *The Life of George Mason, 1725-1792* (2 vols., New York, 1964); Arthur P. Scott, *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia* (Chicago, 1930); Alan McK. Smith, "Virginia Lawyers, 1680-1776: The Birth of an American Profession" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins Univ, 1967); St. George Tucker, *Blackstone's Commentaries: with Notes of Reference to the Constitution and Laws, of the Federal Government of the United States, and of the Commonwealth of Virginia* (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1803); Washburn, "Law and Authority in Colonial Virginia"; Julius S. Waterman, "Thomas Jefferson and Blackstone's Commentaries," in *Essays in the History of Early American Law*, ed. Flaherty, pp. 451-488; George Webb, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace . . .* (Williamsburg, 1736). For oratory, Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections: 1675-1690* (New York, 1915) (for Nathaniel Bacon); Clifford Dowdey, *The Golden Age: A Climate for Greatness: Virginia, 1732-1775* (Boston, 1970); William Fitzhugh, ed. Davis, passim; Jack P. Greene, "Character, Persona, and Authority"; Grigsby, *The Virginia Convention of 1776*; McIlwaine, ed. *Executive Journals of the Council and Journals of the House of Burgesses*; *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, ed. Brock; Pargellis, "The Procedure of the Virginia House of Burgesses"; William Wirt,

Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry (ed. of Hartford, 1650; orig. 1817); others in notes.

For *North Carolina* colonial studies are in our time growing rapidly, but earlier material is scarce. For *politics*, there are several useful books and essays: Florence Cook, "Procedure in the North Carolina Assembly, 1731-1770," *NCHR*, VIII (1931), 258-283; Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina: A History* (New York, 1973); Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (new 3rd ed, Chapel Hill, 1973); Paul M. McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina before 1750* (Durham, N.C., 1954); Harry R. Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography* (Chapel Hill, 1964); Mattie E.E. Parker, ed., *North Carolina: Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698* (Raleigh, 1963) and *North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1670-1696* (Raleigh, 1968), the first two volumes of the new Colonial Records series; and Saunders, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*.

For *economics*, Lefler and Newsome, Lefler and Powell, and Merrens listed just above are all useful, as are several of the general colonial studies noted near the beginning of this bibliography.

For *law*, see Julian P. Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," *NCHR*, V (1928), 151-180; J.B. Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories . . .* (Raleigh, 1912); Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*; McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina before 1750*; E.H. Alderman, *The North Carolina Colonial Bar* (Chapel Hill, 1913); Parker's and Saunders' editions of the Colonial Records. For *oratory*, see Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, IV, ch. ix; Saunders' edition of the Colonial Records, for addresses of governors, etc., especially Dobbs, Johnston, and Barrington.

For *South Carolina* there is more than for its neighbor to the north, especially because of Charleston's early preeminence as a political, economic, and cultural center. For *politics*, see Jack P. Greene, "South Carolina's Colonial Constitution: Two Proposals for Reform," *SCHM*, LII (1961), 72-81, and *The Quest for Power*; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York, 1897) and *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York, 1901); A.S. Salley, Jr., *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, August 25, 1671-June 24, 1680* (Columbia, 1907) and other *Journals* of the Commons House of Assembly, *Proceedings of the Council*, etc., 1905-1916; Richard P. Sherman, *Robert Johnson, Proprietary and Royal Governor of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1966); M. Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill, 1966) and "Politicians and Planters: The Bull Family of Colonial South Carolina," *S.C. Hist. Assoc. Proc. for 1962* (1963), 32-41; Charles Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill, 1953); and the colonial records noted above edited by Easterby et al. and by Gregorie, and in the

Collections and SCHM. For *economics*, see Sherman, *Robert Johnson*; Warren B. Smith, *White Servitude in Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia, 1961); Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*; and Francis Yonge, *A View of the Trade of South-Carolina* (London, 1722). For *law*, see Gregorie, ed., *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina*; Salley, ed., *Journals and Proceedings*; L. Lynn Hogue, ed., "An Edition of 'Eight Charges Delivered at So Many Several General Sessions, & Gaol Deliveries: Held at Charles Town . . . 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707 . . . by Nicholas Trott Esq., Chief Justice of the Province of South Carolina'" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1972) and "Nicholas Trott: Man of Law and Letters," *SCHM*, LXXVI (1975), 25-34; Sherman, *Robert Johnson*; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*; Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry*. For *oratory*, see Easterby et al., ed., *Colonial Records*; Hogue, ed., "An Edition"; "Charles Johnson" (Daniel Defoe), *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the most notorious Pirates* (London, 1724; reprinted London, 1955), which includes Trott's speech sentencing Stede Bonner; Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry*; speeches of governors, chief justices, speakers of the Commons House of Assembly in *S.C. Gaz.* and Easterby et al.

For *Georgia*, as the youngest of the colonies, there is not a great deal. For *politics* there are some pertinent studies or edited documents: W.W. Abbot, "A Cursory View of Eighteenth-Century Georgia," *SAQ*, LXI (1962), 339-344, and *The Royal Governors of Georgia, 1754-1775* (Chapel Hill, 1959); Candler and Knight, eds., *The Colonial Records of Georgia*; John P. Corry, "Procedure in the Commons House of Assembly in Georgia," *GaHQ*, XIII (1929), 110-127; E. Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History* (Chapel Hill, 1947); James R. McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province: The Execution of a Trust* (Boston, 1917); Trevor R. Reese, *Colonial Georgia: A Study in British Imperial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens, 1963); Kenneth Coleman, *Colonial Georgia: A History* (New York, 1976).

For *economics*, useful are Abbot, *The Royal Governors*, and David M. Potter, Jr., "The Rise of the Plantation System in Georgia," *GaHQ*, XVI (1932), 114-135. For *law*, see Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History* and Reese, *Colonial Georgia*, as well as the general studies noted above such as Warren, *A History of the American Bar* (pp. 125-127), Smith, *Appeals to the Privy Council* (passim), and Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law* (passim); also McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province* (pp. 213-214). For *oratory*, there is material in Candler and Knight, eds., *The Colonial Records of Georgia*; in the sermons of George Whitefield printed in various colonial gazettes, many homilies having been first preached in Georgia; in Bohman, "The Colonial Period," in *American Public Address*, ed. Brigance, which mentions (p. 32) Henry Ellis, James Habersham, and James Wright as persuasive speakers, and later J.J. Zubly (p. 38) and Joseph Wood (p. 51). A few others are mentioned in the text of the present chapter.

NOTES

1. Van Schreeven and Reese, eds., *Proceedings of the General Assembly of Virginia*, 1619, esp. "Introduction," pp. 7-10. On the origins of representative government in Virginia, see Michael Kammen, *Deputies & Liberties: The Origins of Representative Government in America* (New York, 1969).

2. *William Fitzhugh*, ed. Davis, pp. 110-113n.

3. "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," p. 91; Kingsbury, ed., *Records Va. Co.*, IV, 110-111.

4. Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," pp. 96-98; Washburn, *Virginia under Charles I and Cromwell*, pp. 20-28; E.D. Neill, *Virginia Carolorum* (Albany, 1886), p. 86; Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, I, 139-144, who shows how Harvey on his return in 1636 began seizing property; Richard B. Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer* (London and New York, 1955), pp. 261-265. The ablest and fullest discussion to date is Thornton, "The Thrusting Out of Governor Harvey: A Seventeenth-Century Rebellion," pp. 4-26. For development of new forms of government after 1634 and before 1677 see Billings, "The Growth of Political Institutions in Virginia, 1634 to 1676," pp. 225-242, who may overstate the case for the growing power of county courts in this period as the most significant governmental units, at least as far as future developments are concerned.

5. For studies of the general assemblies and lower houses, see the bibliography for this chapter; for the question of evolving local power, the same, but especially Carr and Jordan, "Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692"; Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689"; and Hall, Leder, and Kammen, eds., *The Glorious Revolution in America*; various essays by Jack P. Greene on Virginia; Griffith, *Virginia House of Burgesses*; Kammen, ed., "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century"; Pargellis, "Procedure of the Virginia House of Burgesses"; Rainbolt, "Alteration in the Relationship between Leadership and Constituents in Virginia, 1660 to 1720," and his "A New Look at Stuart 'Tyranny'"; [Ralph Wormeley? Benjamin Harrison III?], *Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations*; Cook, "Procedure in the North Carolina Assembly, 1731-1770"; Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*; Corry, "Procedure in the Commons House of Assembly in Georgia"; and Reese, *Colonial Georgia*. For the most comprehensive treatment of the 1689 revolution and its effect on colonial governments, see David Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (New York, 1972), esp. Chs. 18 and 19.

6. Rainbolt, "Alteration in the Relationship between Leadership and Constituents in Virginia, 1660 to 1720," pp. 411-434. See also the Browns, *Virginia*, 1705-1786, esp. Chs. II, III, VII-X.

7. *The Quest for Power*, p. 7. See also other essays by Greene listed in the bibliography, especially "Foundations of Political Power in the Virginia House of Burgesses," pp. 485-506, and "The Role of the Lower Houses of Assembly in Eighteenth-Century Politics," *JSH*, XXVII (1966), 451-474. See also Griffith, *Virginia House of Burgesses*, 1750-1774.

8. Greene, "Foundations of Political Power in the Virginia House of Burgesses," pp. 485-506, and Main, "The One Hundred," pp. 354-384. But for a change of tune in Main's conclusion, see his later "Government of the People: The American Revolution and the Democratization of the Legislatures," *WMQ* (3), XXIII (1966), 391-407.

9. As Lemay points out (p. 121, note 11), Bolling's position undercuts Carl Bridenbaugh's assumption ("Violence and Virtue in Virginia, 1766: or, The Importance of the Trivial," *PMHS*, LXXVI [1964], 27-28) that the members of an aristocracy always present "a solid silent phalanx to the rest of society whether their cause be just or unjust, good or bad, right or wrong." For Greene's four types of colonial political forms see his "Changing Interpretations of Early American Politics," pp. 176-177. For the Robinson affair, see also Joseph A. Ernst, "The Robinson Scandal Redivivus: Money, Debt, and Politics in Revolutionary Virginia," *VMHB*, LXXVII (1969), 146-173.

10. Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, pp. 67ff. But see fresh material on South Carolina attitudes toward the Negro in its early period in Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic*, pp. 103-107.

11. See Sherman, *Robert Johnson*.

12. See Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*; Greene, *The Quest for Power*, passim; and Chapman J. Milling, introduction to *Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions . . . by Governor James Glen and Doctor George Milligen-Johnston* (Columbia, 1951), pp. ix-xvii, 39-58, passim.

13. Milling, ed., *Col. S.C.*, p. 134, and Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, p. 228.

14. Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History*, pp. 81-132; Corry, "Procedure in the Commons House of Assembly in Georgia," pp. 110-127; Reese, *Colonial Georgia*; and Abbot, *The Royal Governors of Georgia, 1754-1775*. Kenneth Coleman, *Colonial Georgia: A History* (New York, 1976), is useful. Greene, *The Quest for Power*, passim, shows that in the colonial period usually the governors dominated politics, partly because of the legislative inexperience of the members of the Commons House of Assembly. That is, the Georgia Commons never played the major role before the Revolution that the lower houses of the other southern royal provinces did. There are a number of studies of colonial governors, usually by states, though none in any depth save that of W.W. Abbot on Georgia governors just referred to. See Beth G. Crabtree, *North Carolina Governors, 1585-1958: Brief Sketches* (Raleigh, 1958), for mere outlines of the careers of this state-colony's executives. The two essays referred to here are Louise B. Dunbar, "The Royal Governors in the Middle and Southern Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution: A Study in Imperial Personnel," in *The Era of the American Revolution: Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene*, ed. Richard B. Morris (New York, 1939), pp. 214-268, and Leonard W. Labaree, "The Early Careers of the Royal Governors," in *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by His Students* (New Haven, 1931), pp. 145-168. Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (New York, 1968), probably gives the best general appraisal of the powers, salaries, instructions, patronage, and other qualities or attributes of colonial governors.

Among studies of individual governors not elsewhere mentioned in this chapter are Stephen S. Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," *WMQ* (3), XXIII (1966), 513-548, other studies noted in other chapters (see index) of Nicholson, Spotswood, Glen, Sharpe, etc., and Robert Alden, *Robert Dinwiddie: Servant of the Crown* (Williamsburg and Charlottesville, 1973).

15. The essay from among Locke's papers is printed in *VMHB*, LXXIV (1966), 141-169.

16. *An Essay* has been edited by Louis B. Wright (San Marino, Calif., 1945), who was inclined to think that Robert Beverley the historian or his brother-in-law William Byrd II was the author. Virginia White Fitz, in "Ralph Wormeley: Anonymous Essayist" (*WMQ* (3), XXVI [1969], 586-595) argues that Wormeley was the probable author. Among other things she shows that Wormeley's official position in the colony would have enabled him to know what the author knew, and that Wormeley's library is known to have contained the books to which the author refers, books by John Selden, Sir Edward Coke, Richard Hooker, and Francis Bacon, and Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*. *An Essay* is considered more briefly in Ch. IX just above. Carole Shammas gives reasons for thinking that Benjamin Harrison III was the author (*VMHB*, LXXXIV [1976]), 166-173.

17. For the Dulanys' and Carroll's essays, see Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience*, pp. 134-142, and Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland*, passim; for the *Md. Gaz.* essays see Leder, *Liberty and Authority*, p. 90, and the *Md. Gaz.*; for Carroll see also Rowland, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, I, 97-139. There is a new edition of the Antilon-First Citizen letters, Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Maryland and the Empire, 1773: The Antilon-First Citizen Letters* (Baltimore, 1974).

18. Kemp, ed., "The Pre-Revolutionary Virginia Polemical Essay: the Pistole Fee and the Two-Penny Acts Controversies."

19. "'Not To Be Governed or Taxed, But by . . . Our Representatives': Four Essays."

20. Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," pp. 99-142; *The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1792*, ed. Robert A. Rutland (3 vols., Chapel Hill, 1970), passim; Griffith, *Virginia House of Burgesses*, passim. There were certainly other of these essayists, perhaps including Benjamin Waller and members of the General Assembly, both upper and lower houses.

21. Jefferson to William Wirt, August 5, 1815, quoted in Colbourn, *Lamp of Experience*, p. 145 (see also here reference to Bland's library and reading). See *ibid.*, "The Saxon Myth Dies Hard," pp. 194-198.

22. Colbourn, *ibid.*, pp. 134-157, 185-193, 194-198. Colbourn's lists of libraries are of little use in a study of the southern sources for ideology; he includes only a few samples from Virginia and a trifle from South Carolina advertisements with one library list. Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, and most of South Carolina, all rich in books, except perhaps North Carolina, are ignored.

23. *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, ed. W.K. Boyd (Raleigh, 1927).

24. For all three S.C. Gaz. references, see Cohen, *S.C. Gaz.*, pp. 217-218. The speeches themselves, usually occupying front-page space, have also been examined.

25. *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, ed. Hooker, pp. 162-246. See also Richard M. Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

26. *A True and Historical Narrative* is reprinted in a number of places, including Force, *Tracts*, I, iv, and edited by Clarence Ver Steeg for the Univ. of Georgia Press (Athens, 1960).

27. Davis, *George Sandys, Poet Adventurer*, pp. 185-187 including notes. See also Nell M. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800* (5 vols., Richmond, 1934-), I, passim.

28. Land, ed., *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 30, 35, etc. For eighteenth-century Maryland practices, see the essays by Land listed in the bibliography of this chapter. For early Maryland land inducements under Lord Baltimore, see *A Relation of Maryland* (1635) in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 81-92, etc.

29. Edited with introduction and notes by William Peden (Chapel Hill, 1955), pp. 96, 281n.

30. The most complete overall study is still Abbot E. Smith's *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776*. Most useful generally is Land, *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 49-56. For particular colonies, McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820*, and Abbot E. Smith, "The Indentured Servant and Land Speculation in Seventeenth Century Maryland," pp. 461-472; Bruce, *Econ. Hist. Va.*, Chapters IX and X; and Warren B. Smith, *White Servitude in South Carolina* (Columbia, 1961), written because Abbot E. Smith has too little on South Carolina.

31. The story of the Negro in America has been told recently by Jordan in *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro*, which presents nothing new in facts or attitude for the colonial period but sums the situation up succinctly. Far more useful not only for Virginia but as representative of the black in the whole tobacco-growing economy is Bruce's *Econ. Hist. Va. William Fitzhugh*, ed. Richard B. Davis (Chapel Hill, 1963), offers a representative instance of the degree of interest in and attitude toward the black in the later seventeenth century in the Old Dominion. Incidentally, though Fitzhugh appears to consider them only as commodity (at least until he wrote his will), his contemporary William Byrd I refers specifically to their human qualities, anticipating his son's attitude toward the slave trade and his recognition of New England hypocrisy if not immorality in its traffic in slaves. Then one should see Alden T. Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade," *WMQ* (3), XXIX (1972), 469-478, which sums up the evidence for an inferior status for Negroes from the beginning. Henning's *Statutes*, though somewhat fragmentary, indicates both changing and ambiguous qualities in Chesapeake attitudes toward black servants. For documents from several

colonies including Maryland, see Land, *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 58-72. For the relative unimportance of blacks in seventeenth-century North Carolina economy, see Lefler and Powell, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 89, 180-182.

32. Both the latter quoted in Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, p. 24.

33. Though usually the references are to the eighteenth century, Land, ed., in *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 63-67, shows how the South Carolinians were from the beginning least doubtful of all the southern colonists as to the value of slavery to the economy. See also Merrens, *Col. N.C. Eighteenth Cent.*, pp. 13-14; Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, pp. 4, 14, 24, 60, 64-66, 74; and especially Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), which shows the enormous importance of blacks in South Carolina cattle and rice industries, and Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic*.

34. Johnson, *American Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 86, 106, 113, 212.

35. Land, ed., *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 99-167, and William Fitzhugh, ed. Davis, *passim*.

36. John F. Dorman, "Governor Samuel Mathews, Jr.," *VMHB*, LXXIV (1966), 429-432.

37. Egnal, "Econ. Dev. Thirteen Colonies," pp. 191-222; Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*, ed. H.D. Farish (Williamsburg, 1940), pp. 8-16; and Land, ed., *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 23-31. For the upsurge in tobacco value from 1745 to 1770 see Egnal, "Econ. Dev. Thirteen Colonies," p. 211, and for rice and indigo, pp. 209-210.

38. Price, "Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and European Market," pp. 496-511.

39. For the Lees, e.g., see *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*, ed. Lois Mulkearn (Pittsburgh, 1954), and for Byrd Chs. IX and others above. Also William Eddis, *Letters from America*, ed. Aubrey C. Land (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), *passim*.

40. See the petition signed by John Hanbury, addressed to the King in Council (PRO, C/O5:1327), printed in Land, ed., *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 44-47. For protest against inequities, see p. 48, a petition of 1702.

41. Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History*, pp. 78-79, 82; and Candler, *Col. Rec. Georgia*, I, *passim*; Spencer B. King, Jr., ed., *Georgia Voices: A Documentary History to 1872* (Athens, 1966), pp. 16-17.

42. See Chapter IX for a discussion of Gooch's *Dialogue*. For Dr. John Mitchell's writings, see Chapter VIII above and Edmund and Dorothy Berkeley, *Dr. John Mitchell, the Man Who Made the Map of North America* (Chapel Hill, 1974), *passim*. Pertinent quotations on tobacco, rice, and indigo from Mitchell's *The Present State* and the anonymous *American Husbandry* are included in Land, ed., *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 73-76. See also *Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762*, ed. Elise Pinckney (Chapel Hill, 1972), *passim*.

43. See Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs Esquire, 1689-1765, Surveyor-General of Ireland, Prospector, and Governor of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1958), passim, and a portion of his text in Land, ed., *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 97-98. Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.*, V, includes many of Dobbs' perceptive reports. See also Merrens, *Col. N.C. Eighteenth Cent.*, pp. 85-102, passim, for naval stores, and also John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Dublin, 1737), pp. 265-267.

44. Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, pp. 133-134. The 1761 and 1770 accounts by James Glen and George Milligen-Johnston reproduced in *Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions*, ed. Chapman J. Milling (Columbia, 1951) discuss in detail the economics of rice and indigo cultivation and Glen gives considerable space to the annual maritime trade of the province. See also Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic*.

45. See, e.g., among the multitudes of books, Jordan, *White over Black, American Attitudes toward the Negro*, pp. 99 ff.; Saunders Redding, *They Came in Chains* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 11-39; James Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of the Fathers: A Study of the Atlantic Slave Traders, 1441-1807* (New York, 1968), passim, and Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969), pp. 127-162.

46. See Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, passim; Land, ed., *Bases of the Plantation Society*, pp. 225-230, and Wood, *Black Majority*, passim, for South Carolina and Maryland problems with slaves in the 1730s and 1740s. Thomas Bacon's sermons to masters and slaves are discussed in Ch. V-VI above.

47. Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, p. 317.

48. Rowland, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, I, 38-42, and *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, ed. Thomas M. Field (New York, 1902), pp. 33-34, the latter for the long quotation.

49. Howard, *The Road from Runnymede*, pp. 23-84; Friedman, *A History of American Law*, pp. 16-22; Washburn, "Law and Authority in Colonial Virginia," pp. 116-118; Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, pp. 13-17; Bemiss, ed., *The Three Charters of the Virginia Company*, passim.

50. Ed. Farish, p. 40. Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 469, notes that Fitzhugh pointed out in 1684 to Ralph Wormeley that "the Laws of England are in force here, except where the Acts of Assembly have otherwise provided, by reason of the Constitution of the place & people." Bruce points out five acts of 1662 which Governor Berkeley acknowledged were "repugnant to the laws of England" but were essential to the prosperity of the colony. For text of Fitzhugh's letter see *William Fitzhugh*, ed. Davis, p. 107. Many others were contrary to the laws of England. The question boiled down to whether the King had given his assent to the colonial statute. In South Carolina in 1739 Maurice Lewis took what was later to become a familiar colonial position when he resolved that "the common Law and the Principles of our Constitution immediately take Place upon the forming of a new Colony of British Subjects, and . . . no Usage or Royal Instructions can take away the Force of it in America." Lewis maintained that privilege of the House of Commons extended to colonial Assemblies (Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, p. 204).

51. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland*, pp. 83-85; Sioussat, *The English Statutes in Maryland*, Chapter III; *Archives of Md.*, XXXV, passim; Smith, "The Foundations of Law in Maryland, 1634-1715," pp. 92-115; Washburn, "Law and Authority in Colonial Virginia," p. 131, who feels the "long concealed" seventeenth-century cases must be published before any valid conclusions can be drawn as to the origins of colonial law. Waterman, "Thomas Jefferson and Blackstone's Commentaries," pp. 451-458, discusses Jefferson's theories as to the relation of the Common Law, Magna Carta, and American Law. *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations* (1701) discussed above points out that the confusion existing in colonial law is a fruitful source of trouble.

52. Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 478ff.; Chitwood, *Justice in Colonial Virginia*, pp. 19-123; Chumbley, *Colonial Justice in Virginia*, passim; Greene, "The Opposition to Lieutenant Governor Spotswood," pp. 35-42 (on oyer and terminer courts); Scott, *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia*, passim; "Proceedings of Court of Chancery, 1661-1679," *Archives of Md.*, LI (Baltimore, 1934), passim.

53. The southern colonial chancery court, or court of equity, obviously modeled on the better-known English tribunal of the same name, is little discussed in legal histories or records of the provinces. Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina*, has edited the records of the most distinctive and active of these southern colonial courts. This court was composed of the governor and Council, which also made up the provincial Court of Appeals or General Court. Effingham's chancery court placed the Council in an advisory capacity, with the governor himself as high chancellor appropriating all the fees (Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 705-706). The Dulanys practiced frequently in the Maryland chancery court, which consisted of a chancellor or keeper of the great seal assisted by several commissioners, often Council members. Acts of 1697 and 1699 provided that it was not to hear cases involving less than 1,200 pounds of tobacco or £5 and that judgment of county courts was final, a somewhat ambiguous pair of acts, although the county courts considered lesser amounts or values. Elsewhere acts of assembly state positively that the chancery court was to be appealed to from county courts with a possible appeal from chancery court to Court of Appeals (Smith and Crowl, "The Maryland Judicial Establishment," in *Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland*, pp. xviii-xxii, etc., and Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland*, passim).

54. Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, pp. 251, etc.; Gregorie, ed., *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina*, passim; Smith and Crowl, eds., *Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland*, pp. xviii-xxii; Morton, *Col. Va.*, passim; Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 647-689. See also Surrency, "The Courts in the American Colonies," pp. 260-276, 347-376. New York may have been the only American colony other than Maryland to have had a probate or prerogative court (see Herbert A. Johnson, "The Prerogative Court of New York, 1686-1776," *Am. Journ. Leg. Hist.*, XVII [1973], 95-144).

55. Smith, *Appeals to the Privy Council from the American Plantations*, p. 663, passim.

56. Force, *Tracts*, III, xiv, 15.

57. Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, p. 251; Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 478-479; McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina before 1750*, pp. 9-12, 24. Charles Woodmason in his "Remonstrance" written for the South Carolina Regulators in 1767 requested circuit or county courts and parish courts for the backcountry, for the people of that area were unable to obtain justice regularly. See *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, ed. Hooker, p. 230. That such courts had not existed is borne out by reference to courts "as in the neighbouring Provinces."

58. Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 292-294, *passim*, offers a good discussion of the early development of the southern county court.

59. For county clerks, see Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 588-601; Rankin, *Criminal Trial Proceedings*, pp. 58-59, 85, 90. For sheriffs there is much more, e.g.: Rankin, *passim*; Bruce, I, 592-601; Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," pp. 151-180; Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, p. 70; Karraker, *The Seventeenth Century Sheriff*, *passim*.

60. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, pp. 69-125, quite clearly had not studied southern cases or instances in much detail. But see Hening, *Statutes*, IV, 398-400, V, 414, 415; and Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, II, 633. See Friedman, *A History of American Law*, p. 53, on Georgia's early strange system of indivisible land grants in *tail male*.

61. Pp. 545-586.

62. "The Unspecialized Lawyer," in *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York, 1958), p. 197. For agreement, see Friedman, *A History of American Law*, p. 81, and Ostrander, *The Rights of Man in America*, p. 56, who sees the legal profession rising from despised obscurity to prominence and honor in the generation just before the Revolution. Warren, *A History of the American Bar*, pp. 6-7, admits the prejudice to be a strongly Puritan one, though he quotes a South Carolinian as noting the colonist's abhorrence of the inequities he had generally observed in English courts. But actually even in 1939 Paul M. Hamlin (*Legal Education in Colonial New York* [New York, 1939]) notes a rather firmly established bar in that colony. And George L. Haskins (*Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts* [New York, 1960]) shows that a great deal of the common law was early introduced into the Massachusetts legal system. The terms *attorney*, *barrister*, and *lawyer* are here used loosely without the formal distinction made in Britain.

63. See also Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 570-587; *William Fitzhugh*, ed. Davis, *passim*; Smith, "Virginia Lawyers, 1680-1776," pp. 8-28, etc.

64. See *William Fitzhugh*, ed. Davis, *passim*; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution in Government, 1689-1692*, pp. 236-243, etc.; Alan F. Day, "Lawyers in Colonial Maryland, 1660-1715," *Am. Journ. Leg. Hist.*, XVII (1973), 145-165; Hall, Leder, and Kammen, eds., *The Glorious Revolution in America*, pp. 143-213.

65. Day, "Lawyers in Colonial Maryland," pp. 147-159.

66. Smith and Crowl, eds., *Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland*, pp. xxviii–xxxiii.

67. Warren, *A History of the American Bar*, pp. 118–127; Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, passim.

68. L. Lynn Hogue, "Nicholas Trott: Man of Law and Letters," pp. 25–34, and ed., "An Edition of 'Eight Charges Delivered . . .'" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1972), passim; Theodore Jervey on Trott in *DAB*; Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, pp. 105 ff.

69. *Georgia: A Short History*, p. 83; Reese, *Colonial Georgia*, passim, who speaks of magistrates; McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province*, pp. 213–214, who mentions two lawyers in the colony during the Trustees period, one Williamson claiming he had the permission of the Trustees, the other named Watson doing a thriving surreptitious business among the Indian traders.

70. These and other English-educated attorneys are identified by law court and year in Ch. III above, as are those for the other southern colonies.

71. Mary Haldane Coleman, *St. George Tucker, Citizens of No Mean City* (Richmond, 1938), p. 23.

72. Barton, ed., *Virginia Colonial Decisions: The Reports of Sir John Randolph and Edward Barradall*, I, passim. For southern lawyers educated at the Inns of Court, see Ch. III above and Jon Murrin, "The Legal Transformation: The Bench and Bar of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," in *Colonial America*, ed. Katz, p. 446n.

73. *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist*, ed. Jonathan Bouchier (Boston, 1925), p. 61. The quotation is part of one of the epigraphs heading this chapter.

74. Richard B. Davis, "James Ogilvie, an Early American Teacher of Rhetoric," *QJS*, XXVIII (1942), 289–297, and *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790–1830* (Chapel Hill, 1964), pp. 351–386, passim.

75. Warren Guthrie, "The Development of Rhetorical Theory in America," *Sp. Mon.*, XIII (1946), 14–22, 38–54. Guthrie says very little specifically about southern use of available books of rhetoric. There were American manuals of rhetoric, as *The Young Secretary's Guide*, (6th ed., 1727) and especially George Fisher's *The American Instructor, or Young Man's Best Companion* (9th ed., 1748), which notes that Rhetoric is the *art of speaking* in the most elegant and persuasive manner" (italics mine).

76. See the 1612 *A Map of Virginia* printed in Smith, *Works*, I, 133–138.

77. Printed in *VMHB*, I (1892/1893), 75–76.

78. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals. H. B. of Va. 1659/60–1693* (Richmond, 1914), pp. 147–149, 215–216, 251–252, 482.

79. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals H. B. of Va. 1702 . . . 1712* (Richmond, 1912), pp. 240–241. There are many other speeches of Spotswood. An excellent one, dated November 6, 1713, appears in McIlwaine, ed., *Journals . . . 1712 . . . 1726* (Richmond, 1912), pp. 47–48. Spotswood's last speech to the assembly, in which he said that he planned to spend the rest of his life in Virginia and he warned that "as a Rib taken from Britain's Side" Virginia would thrive as

long as her Adam flourished, but if she allowed any serpent to tempt her to go astray it could multiply sorrow and cause the husband to rule more strictly over her, is, as Osgood says (*The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 250), worthy of comparison with Winthrop's better-known "little speech" at the close of his famous trial in Puritan Massachusetts.

80. McIlwaine, ed., *Journ. H. B. of Va. 1727 . . . 1740* (Richmond, 1910), pp. 53, xvii.

81. *William Fitzhugh*, ed. Davis, pp. 110-113, 319. Fitzhugh was also surely the author of a speech sent by the burgesses to the Council on Nov. 13, 1693. Also his long petition and letter to the County Court of June 10 and Nov. 10, 1691, are almost as much oral discourse as written (*ibid.*, pp. 294-299).

82. McIlwaine, ed., *Journ. H. B. of Va. 1727 . . . 1740*, pp. 175-176, 241-242.

83. Grigsby, *The Virginia Convention of 1776*, pp. 9-168. From William Wirt to Robert Douthat Meade and Richard R. Beeman (the last in 1974), Patrick Henry has received an enormous amount of attention.

84. To appear in a festschrift for John R. Alden, *The South during the American Revolution* (Durham, N.C., 1972). See also David J. Mays, *Edmund Pendleton* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1952), and *The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton*, ed. David J. Mays (2 vols., Charlottesville, 1967); *The Papers of George Mason*, ed. Rutland, passim, and Helen Hill Miller, *George Mason, Gentleman Revolutionary* (Chapel Hill, 1975).

85. *Archives of Md.*, XXVII, 62-66, 267-269.

86. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 370-371.

87. A xerox copy of this book of printed documents of 1739 has been supplied to this writer through the courtesy of the Md. State Lib. According to Wroth, there are two known copies of the work. For the politics involved, see the essay on Ogle in *DAB*.

88. Edgar, *A Colonial Governor of Maryland . . .*, passim; *Archives of Md.*, XXXI, etc., letters to Sharpe, and 3 vols. of his letters (VI, IX, XIV). One speech of Sharpe was given in full in the *Pa. Gaz.*, Oct. 18, 1753.

89. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 425-448.

90. Originally printed in Boucher, *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), pp. 495-560, it is reprinted in Potter and Thomas, eds., *The Colonial Idiom*, pp. 552-557. There are in this latter collection gubernatorial and other political addresses from not only Maryland but Massachusetts, South Carolina, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New Jersey, a number of Indian speeches, and discourses from Assembly debates. The Marylanders, or the newspaper editors, seem to have been much interested in the rhetoric of the red men.

91. Osgood, *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, IV, 201-221; Saunders, ed., *Col. Rec. N.C.*, V, passim; Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esquire, 1689-1765*, passim.

92. A.S. Salley published brief and generally unsatisfactory editions of Council, House, and Court proceedings of the seventeenth century in a series beginning in 1907. Easterby and Oldsberg's edition of *The Journal of the*

Commons House of Assembly (1736 through 1751 to date) contains a wealth of documents with highly useful annotation.

93. *S.C. Gaz.*, issues of 1733; Sirmans, *Col. S.C.*, pp. 181-182.

94. Easterby and Oldsberg, eds., *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly*, IV, 514; for other speeches by Glen, see V, 208-209; VI, 11-12; VII, 17-18, 396-397; VIII, 14, 168-169, 180-181; IX, 17-18, 285-287, etc.; X, 14 ff. One should not leave South Carolina without noticing Charles Woodmason's backcountry sermon on Chief Justice Skinner, who died "a Martyr to the Liberties of the Back Country" (*The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, ed. Hooker, p. 289).

95. Bohman, "The Colonial Period," in *American Public Address*, ed. Brigrance, I, 29. See also Bohman, "Political Oratory in Pre-Revolutionary America," pp. 243-251, especially on William Henry Drayton. Josiah Quincy described the South Carolina Assembly in session. Always supercilious and critical of the southern colonies, he was most impressed by the House's informality (quoted in Bohman, "The Colonial Period," pp. 28, 31, from the "Journal," *PMHS*, XLIX, 451ff., Mar. 19, 1773).

96. Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History*, passim; for Jones and Walton, see *DAB*; and see Bohman, "The Colonial Period," pp. 32ff. Candler, *Col. Rec. Georgia*, VIII, IX, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, has included many of the legislative speeches of Governors Ellis and Wright, and some of theirs to the Indians. For more, see Abbot, *The Royal Governors of Georgia*, passim, esp. Chs. VI-VIII on Wright and the Assembly and Liberty Boys.

97. Smith and Crowl, eds., *Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland*, passim. The highly useful introduction gives sketches of the practicing attorneys but makes no attempt to assess their forensic legal abilities, though Criminal Procedure is considered (pp. lxxii-lxxxii) and Civil Procedure (pp. lxxxiii-cxiv), the latter including the declaration that the *Liber* yields virtually no information as to the trial stage.

98. Printed under the pseudonym of Charles Johnson, it was frequently reprinted. A modern facsimile edition appeared in New York in 1972, with an introduction by William Graves. The Bonnet material appears on pp. 60-86 and Trott's sentencing on pp. 81-86.

99. See Hogue, ed., "An Edition of 'Eight Charges Delivered . . .,'" pp. 216-224 (its pp. 155-165), and Hogue, "Nicholas Trott: Man of Law and Letters," pp. 27-28.

100. Reproduced in facsimile in Lawrence C. Wroth, *William Parks, Printer and Journalist of England and Colonial America* (Richmond, 1926), pp. 30-34. See also Rankin, *Criminal Trial Proceedings*, p. 84n.

101. *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, ed. Brock, I, 11, 34, 35, 355; II, 235, 527, 608, 705. Rankin, *Criminal Trial Proceedings*, pp. 83-84, quotes from the 1755 charge and outlines the whole grand jury process. Later, in the shorter charges, sensing that he was unpopular, Dinwiddie was brusque and irritated.

102. Bruce, *Inst. Hist. Va.*, I, 604-609. As already noted, the Virginia and Maryland records are available in Richmond and Annapolis. Those of indi-

vidual countries for particular periods have been printed, but the great majority have not.

103. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections*, pp. 119-140.

104. Robert Arner, "Westover and the Wilderness: William Byrd's Images of Virginia," *SLJ*, VII (1975), 111, 119-120, 121, etc. Arner does little with the speeches, merely suggesting that they may be conscious elements of the epic in *The Secret History*.

105. *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, ed. W.K. Boyd and Percy G. Adams (New York, 1967), pp. 31, 63-64, 123-125, 299-301.

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