COLONIAL LIFE IN VIRGINIA
1650 TO 1700

BY

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THESIS

FOR THE

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

IN

HISTORY

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1918
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Maj. 2. 9. 1918

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COLONIAL LIFE IN VIRGINIA.

I. THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA.

After almost fifty years of existence, Virginia was in 1650 a prosperous little colony of some fifteen thousand people. The settled area lay between Chesapeake Bay and the Fall Line and between the Potomac River and the James. A pamphlet of unknown authorship entitled "A Perfect Description of Virginia" published in London in 1649 gave an interesting Utopian picture of the colony. "They in Virginia shall be as happie a people as any under heaven for there is nothing wanting there to produce them, Plenty, Health, and Wealth. They yearly plow and sow many hundred acres of Wheat, as good, and faire, as any in the world. Their Maize, it yeelds them five hundred for one, increase, ('its set as we doe garden Pease) it makes good Bread and Furmitie, will keep seven years and ripe in five Monthes. They have fifteene kinds of Fruits, pleasant and good and with Italy they will compare; they have potatoes, turnips, carrots, parsnips and store of Indian pease better than ours. Their tobacco is everywhere much vented and esteemed, yet the quantities so

2. Fiske, Old Virginia and her Neighbors, II., Map.
great that the price is but three pence a pound. The land produceth
with very great increase whatever is committed into it. The great
Labor in Virginia is to fell Trees and to get up the Roots. They
have twenty Churches and Ministers to each; the Government is after
the Lawes of England. The Planters resolve to make further Discovery
into the Country "est and by South up above the Fall and over the
Hills."

By 1700 the population had increased to about seventy thou-
sand, the area of settlement had broadened, and the colony had made
considerable progress. Advance was not the dizzy pace that we of
the twentieth century know, for Virginia, the truly pioneer colony,
found many problems to solve and paid dearly for her experience.
In 1697 an Englishman returned from Virginia told a tale less enthu-
siastic in which he recognized the obstacles to successful coloniza-
tion. "The few plantations and cleared grounds bear no proportion
to the rough and uncultivated. Perhaps not the hundredth part of
the country is yet cleared from the woods and not one foot of swamp
drained. As fast as the ground is worn out with tobacco and corn,
it runs up again in underwoods. If we inquire for well-built towns,
for convenient markets, for well educated children, it is certainly
one of the poorest and worst countries in all America. Yet," he
continued referring to the natural advantages, "If it be looked upon

1. A Perfect Description of Virginia. Force, Tracts, II., No.3, 1-10
2. Based on the fact that the number of titheables was 20,000.
Bruce, Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. 20. John
Fiske estimated the population at 60,000. Old Virginia, II., 101.
as it came out of the hand of God it is certainly one of the best countries of the world. It is impossible to reckon up all the improvements which might be made in such a country, where many useful inventions would present themselves to the industrious."

Several institutions had become definitely established. England dominated the political situation yet allowed the colonies considerable freedom in local matters. The plantation system worked by indentured and slave labor was established as the most satisfactory disposition of the economic question. The Episcopal form of worship was almost unchallenged. The people, settled in comfortable homes developed a peculiar type of aristocratic society and had some time for diversions; social prestige was concentrated in a few wealthy families. During the last ten years education came to be considered as a colonial movement and William and Mary College was founded.

The colony of Virginia was peopled almost entirely by Englishmen whose lives were dominated by a very strong affection for the mother country. They clung to the habits and customs, the institutions and diversions of that beloved land of kindred and memory so far away across the ocean's blue; and by the plantation fireside, they saw again in the flickering lights and shadows, the charming meadows and green hedges, the stately church and the sacred home and they told the story to their children. England was "home" to one and all. It was so in documents and wills, in business letters and friendly notes; William Fitzhugh wrote in 1690, "Sir, this year I was designed to have sent home my eldest son to school." There was

2. Fiske, Old Virginia. III., 6, 117.
a happy exchange of gifts going on constantly: on one occasion William Fitzhugh received a quantity of claret from some friends in England and showed his appreciation by sending them cider made from the apples of his own orchard. Bequests to relatives in Virginia were made in England and wills remembering kinsmen in England were drawn up in Virginia.

The traditions and customs of England were lived over again in Virginia. The seal of the colony bore the Latin motto, "En unit Virginia quintum", which translated is, "Behold, Virginia gives the fifth", signifying that Virginia ranked equally with the king's other dominions - "England, Scotland, France, Ireland and Virginia."

The planter was the English squire, lord of vast estates; the parish, county court, and court-house of Virginia were the parish, quarter-session, and shire town of England. There were in Virginia, the James River, York County, and Essex Lodge, all suggesting old familiar sounds and scenes. Social life was marked by the English charm of manner and easy refinement, and amusements were played in the English way with the English spirit.

2. Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families, II., 137.
3. English sovereigns called themselves "Kings of France" following a precedent dating back to the thirteenth century.
5. Bruce, Social Life, 155.
II. POLITICAL BACKGROUND.

The period from 1650 to 1700 was, in England the time of several political upheavals. In 1649 Charles was beheaded and Oliver Cromwell inaugurated his Commonwealth which was overthrown in 1660 when Charles II. restored the old monarchy. The people of England however, could not endure the notoriously bad government of Charles II. and his brother, James II. and in 1689 Parliament called William and Mary over from Holland to be their rulers. With the establishment of a liberal government the century waned in political peace.

The mercantile policy of England involved a very definite colonial policy which included all of the American colonies—Virginia no less than the others—and this plan was not materially altered through all the vicissitudes which shook the country. The colonies were to be managed so that the mother country might derive the greatest possible economic benefit. Trade and industry were to be so regulated as to make English shipping and English merchants supreme. Sir Edward Seymour showed his English materialism when he said to James Blair who had remarked that the people of Virginia had souls, "Damn your souls! Grow tobacco!" James Logan, a leading statesman, tersely expressed the same attitude when he wrote to William Penn, "Take care you injure not the revenue and other matters ought to be

1. Fiske, Old Virginia, II., 117.
left to your own satisfaction." As a part then of a clear-cut plan, not merely in a spirit of hostility- the Navigation Acts with their ever widening scope were enacted from time to time. The colonists were Englishmen retaining the rights and privileges of English subjects. Why should they not pay taxes and help maintain the glory of England?

There were four Navigation Acts which effected colonial trade. The Act of 1651 limited the commerce of the colonies to trade with England carried on in English ships only; the Act of 1660 enumerated colonial products which, if destined for European ports must be landed first in England; the Act of 1663 required that all colonial importations come through English ports; the Act of 1673 required ship captains to give bond to land enumerated articles in England. Although these laws were easily and often evaded, the effect in Virginia was more serious than in the other colonies. The price of tobacco was lowered and as tobacco was the chief circulating medium in the colony, depression of currency followed, and at the same time inflated prices on imported articles. Similar maddening restrictions regulated colonial manufactures and English merchants grew rich in supplying the colonies with necessities and luxuries.

Except in relation to industry and trade, there was very little interference in the affairs of Virginia. The controlling powers in England were generally animated by fair motives and what friction existed was due to a lack of sympathy with the seemingly radical

1. Egerton, A Short History of British Colonial Policy, 2. Although these words were written sometime in the eighteenth century, they express the same attitude which prompted the enactment of the Navigation Acts one hundred years earlier.
political ideas of the colonists. Control was made doubly difficult by the distance between England and the colonies and the slow means of communication then in use; Robert Beverley in his History of Virginia relates that a law having been enacted in the colony was "Sent to the King by the next Shipping." Mail was usually entrusted to captains of sailing vessels and was two or three months in reaching its destination.

The government of Virginia was a two-sided affair. In London there was the supreme authority in the king himself, which power however, was almost entirely vested in a commission having charge of trade and foreign plantations, the personnel and duties of which were slightly changed from time to time. The members of the various governing boards included some of the most prominent English merchants and statesmen of the seventeenth century; their most important duties were to consider practical means of increasing the prosperity of the colonies, to investigate the soil and products, to summon witnesses in order to secure information about colonial affairs, to regulate trade, to report to the king the results of their observations, and to examine the laws and reports sent over by the governors of the colonies.

In Jamestown there was the colonial government consisting of administrative, judicial, and legislative departments and exercising local control under the supervision of the governor. According to Governor William Berkeley's commission issued in 1641, the governor and his advisory council were given power to direct and govern, correct and punish the colonists and to order all affairs of peace and war.

3. Barr, Social Contact of Virginia with the Mother Country, 8.
4. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, II., 268-70.
obeying only such orders as were by the Lord Commissioners of Plan-
tations; this involved both administrative and judicial duties. The
General Assembly was the legislative body, the upper house of which
was the appointed governor's council, and the lower house of which
was elective; it was authorized to make laws but only such as were
similar to the laws of England.

The royal governor appointed by and representing the king
but living and discharging his duties in the colony was the connect-
ing link between London and Jamestown. As a personal representative
of the king, he granted lands, appointed a large number of executive
officers, called the general assembly and either approved their law
or rejected them by veto, acted as commander of the army and fortifi-
cations and as vice-admiral of the Virginia seas, had general over-
sight of ecclesiastical matters, affixed the seal of the colony to
all public documents, and controlled the payment of public money,
for as Beverley said, "All Issues of public Revenue must bear his
Test." He was required to send to England a yearly report on the
general progress of the colony which was examined by the controlling
board on colonial affairs. As president of the Council, which was
also the general court of the colony, the governor exercised some
judiciary power. The governor had in his control the maintenance
or disturbance of the balance between the mother country and the

2. Ecclesiastical authority was vested by the king in the bishop of
London who was represented in the colony by the governor and after
1690 by a commissary.
3. The Present State of Virginia, 1697. Massachusetts Historical
Collections, Ser.1, V., 139.
5. Bruce, Institutional History,II., 319-29.
colony and the case of friction which characterized the relations between the two was due largely to his own character and convictions and varied from time to time.

Virginia was a stronghold of loyalist sentiment throughout the seventeenth century. Loyalty to the king, intense almost to the point of reverence, was shared alike by all people from the governor and the wealthy planters down to the poor indentured servant. The punishment imposed upon any one for having spoken scandalous words about the king and queen was banishment from the colony. When news reached Virginia that Charles I. had been beheaded the General Assembly denounced "the treasonable principles and practices" of the powerful party in England responsible for that crime. Many accomplished Cavaliers took refuge in Virginia after 1649 and exercised a great influence in the history of the colony. After the Restoration neither misgovernment nor economic distress caused by the low price of tobacco cooled the ardor of the people. Thomas Ludwell speaking in London in 1667 said, "There are but three influences restraining the landowners of Virginia from rising in rebellion namely, faith in the mercy of God, loyalty to the king, and affection for the government. There was a constant interplay between the feelings of the people of England and those of the colonies.

1. Bruce, Institutional History, II., 276-7.
2. Fiske, Old Virginia, II., 22.
3. Philip A. Bruce recognized this interplay on the governmental side when he divided the history of Virginia in the latter seventeenth century into these periods:

1651-1660. Virtually all political power was centered in the House of Burgesses and there was a high degree of popular freedom.
1661-1676. The Long Assembly remained undissolved and the influence of English reactionary forces was at work in the colony.
1676. Berkeley's power was overthrown and Nathaniel Bacon held temporary control.
1689-1700. A period ruled by a more rational spirit. Institutional 1182.
There was no sympathy in Virginia with the Cromwellian regime which was established in England in 1649. Governor Berkeley wrote in 1651 his "Appeal of a Loyal Governor" which set forth his staunch fidelity. "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? Hundreds of examples shew us that Industry and Thrift in a short time may bring us to as high of it as the country and our Conditions are yet capable of. We can only fear the Londoners, who would faine bring us to poverty, would take away the liberty of our consciences and tongues, and our right of giving and selling our goods to whom we please." Likewise the Assembly at first forbade any defense of the execution of Charles I. and acknowledged his son as the rightful ruler of England. Nevertheless, the colony submitted to the rule of the Commonwealth as a matter of policy when a squadron of English vessels sailed into the harbor at Jamestown. Robert Beverley has described the incident; "Afterward in the Year 1651 by Cromwell's Command, Capt. Dennis, with a Squadron of Men of War, arriv'd there; from the Carribbee Islands. The Council at first held out vigorously against him; and Sir William Berkeley, by the assistance of such Dutch vessels as were then there, made a brave Resistance. But at last Dennis contriv'd a Stratagem, which betrayed the Country. He had considerable Parcel of Goods aboard, which belonged to two of the Council; and informed them of it. By this means they were reduced to the Dilemma either of submitting, or losing their Goods. This occasion'd Factions among them;

2. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, III., 111
3. John Burk states that the force was commanded by Sir G. Askew. The History of Virginia, II., 81.
so that after the Surrender of all the other English Plantations, Sir William was forced to submit to the Usurper on the Terms of a General Pardon.

The treaty by which the colony finally surrendered to the Commonwealth in 1652 was a pretty piece of diplomacy; the surrender was declared to be voluntary on the part of Virginia and the Assembly retained considerable power especially in regard to taxation. Soon afterward, Governor Berkeley retired to his estate near Jamestown and the Cavaliers making the best of the inevitable accepted the new government quietly in order that Virginia might be saved from strife and bloodshed. After 1652 Cromwell paid little attention to Virginia. The House of Burgesses assumed the position of authority and chose a new governor. The period of the Commonwealth was one of great prosperity in Virginia and when Richard Cromwell became Protector his position was not challenged in the colony.

When Charles II. was restored however, Virginia joyfully declared allegiance and Sir William Berkeley reassumed his position as governor. But matters did not run smoothly. Government was bad in England and it was not satisfactory in Virginia. There were several evils which angered the people; the House Assembly which was composed of members in sympathy with Governor Berkeley's aristocratic ideas sat from 1661 to 1676, because he refused to issue writs for a new election; the Indians caused considerable trouble by raiding the frontier plantations; the Navigation Laws together with an alarming

5. Fiske, Old Virginia, II., 20.
overproduction lowered the price of tobacco and at the same time taxes seemed to be unfairly imposed, so that in Surry county a number of planters considered refusing to pay their taxes; local administration was corrupt; in 1673 Charles II. made a grant of land in Virginia to Lord Culpeper and the Earl of Arlington which was soon afterward revoked because of a rain of protests; and Sir William Berkeley had become so passionate, arrogant, and peevish that he outran his popularity as a governor.

Discontent culminated in 1676 in Bacon's Rebellion. The spark of dissatisfaction kindled by the evils of misgovernment burst into flame when the Indians began a series of atrocities; on a single day in January, 1676, thirty-six people were murdered within a circle of ten miles radius and even then Governor Berkeley stubbornly refused to send out the militia. Nathaniel Bacon, a young man of high birth and education with distinctly democratic principles, knew how to use his oratory to create popular enthusiasm. Then his plantation was attacked by the Indians in May, he gathered a body of armed planters and defeated the marauders. Governor Berkeley, recognizing the unrest in the colony, issued writs for the election of a new House of Burgesses and some abuses were corrected. Meanwhile, Bacon had organized an army of six hundred men with which he entered James-town, burned the city and put the governor to flight. But just at that time the young leader died of a malarial fever and the rebellion collapsed for want of a leader.

1. Fiske, Old Virginia, II., 53-58.
Governor Berkeley executed so many of Bacon's followers that Charles II. recalled him in 1679. A number of inefficient and corrupt governors were appointed by Charles II. and his brother, James II. and Virginia grew restless. After the Revolution of 1689 however, under the rule of Sir Francis Nicholson and of Sir Edmund Andros, the colony became tranquil again.

"There is no place in the world where justice is to be had more speedily or at smaller charge" said an enthusiastic writer in 1656 referring to Virginia. The Council in its capacity as General Court, met twice a year and had original jurisdiction in civil cases involving more than fifteen pounds sterling and in criminal cases punishable by loss of life. According to the law of 1661 it was declared that "Appeals shall lye open on anything of what value soever." Until about 1670, the General Assembly exercised the right to review the decisions of the Court but later the only appeal was to the king. The county court had the widest sphere of judicial action. The court was made up of eight justices of the peace appointed by the governor upon the nominations of the court itself and chosen from among the "most able, honest and judicious" citizens of the county. Meetings were held every two months. The jurisdiction of the county court embraced criminal actions not involving life or limb, civil suits in which the sum at stake exceeded twenty-five shillings, care

5. Henin, Virginia Statutes at Large, II., 65.
7. Henin, Statutes, II., 70.
of roads and bridges, administration of wills, county records, assessment of county taxes and appointment of constables.

The county was the unit of representation in the General Assembly, each county being entitled to two burgesses. County administration was largely in the hands of two officials; the sheriff was appointed by the governor each year from among the members of the county court and his duties were to execute the judgments of the county court, to preside over the elections for burgesses, and to collect the taxes which were usually paid in tobacco; the county lieutenant, as deputy to the governor, had charge of military matters. Local affairs were administered by the parish vestry which body had more ecclesiastical than political duties.

Virginia elections were confined to choosing burgesses for the General Assembly and were regulated by laws. Writs of election were issued by the governor to the county sheriff. People were informed of the coming election either by a personal visit from the sheriff or by hearing the writ read from the pulpit on Sunday. The election was held at the sheriff's house or at the county court-house. Suffrage qualifications varied from time to time.

The government of Virginia was managed almost entirely by the wealthy planters. They enjoyed holding office and there were no legal limits on the number of positions which one man might hold. From 1670 to 1691 every office in Henrico county was occupied by a member of the Randolph, Cocke, or Farrer family.

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1. Fiske, Old Virginia, II., 39.
2. Ibid., II., 40-1.
3. Hening, Statutes, I., 411, III., 82.
4. Bruce, Social Life, 150.
III. ECONOMIC LIFE.

The story of the economic life of Virginia was told by the plantation system and the culture of tobacco. The soil was peculiarly adapted to raising a kind of tobacco valued in Europe and the demands of its culture founded the plantation system with its broad acres, its corps of white and negro laborers and its aristocratic master.

The size of an average plantation was about one thousand acres, always fronting on a stream for several miles and comprising both cleared land and untouched forest; as the cultivated soil lost its virgin fertility, the fields of tobacco were moved to new areas and the old tracts were abandoned to weeds. Each plantation was a unit in itself with its own wharf, blacksmith shop, school, and food supply; each planter was an entrepreneur who managed the production and shipment of his crops, the making of such needed supplies as were not imported from England, and who exercised a potent influence in political affairs.

Indentured white servants supplied the greatest amount of labor in the seventeenth century. They were English people whose passage to the colonies was undertaken by some ship captain; upon their arrival in America their services for a certain number of years were sold to a planter in payment for their ocean fare. They were

2. Indentured servants were most numerous in Pennsylvania and Virginia; their time of service varied from four to seven years.
poor, honest people who wished to come to the colonies but did not possess sufficient money, political offenders belonging to a rebellious party and prisoners of war sent over by the English government, and convicts, some of whom had been sentenced for such crimes as stealing a joint of meat and others for murder or highway robbery. In Virginia indentured servants were protected by laws of the General Assembly which provided that a master should allow his servant sufficient food, clothing, shelter, and religious instruction; in case of neglect a complaint might be filed with the county court. On the other hand, rebellious servants might be punished by lashing or imprisonment.

The relations between the master and his servants were usually friendly and not infrequently the master aided a favorite servant in gaining an independent position when the stipulated time of service had expired. In 1656 John Hammond wrote, "The labor servants are put to, is not so hard nor of such continuance as Husbandmen are kept at in England, I said little or nothing is done in winter time, none ever work before sun rising nor after sun set, in the summer they rest, sleep or exercise five hours in the heat of the day, Saturday after noon is always their own, the old Holidays are observed and the Sabbath spent in good exercises. Those Servants that will be industrious may in their time of service gain a competent estate before their Freedom and they gain esteem that arises so industrious." Some few indentured laborers advanced to plantation ownership but the largest number became small farm proprietors:

1. Piske, Old Virginia, II., 121-5.
3. Ibid, 16.
inferior convicts were a troublesome class and became the ancestors of the so-called "mean whites."

Although indentured labor was most used in the seventeenth century, there was during the last years a decline in the number of available servants due to protests against the sending of criminals and a growing sentiment in favor of negro slaves; by 1700 there were six thousand negroes in the colony. As early as 1682 William Fitzhugh bargained for some slaves with Mr. Jackson of Piscataway in New England: "As to your proposal about the bringing in Negroes, I will deal for so many as shall amount to 50,000 pounds of Tobo and cash at the ages and prices following, to say, to give 3,000 pounds of Tobo for every Negro boy or girl that shall be between the age of 7 and 11 years and to give 4,000 pounds of Tobo for every youth or girl that shall be between the age of 11 and 15 years and to give 5,000 pounds of Tobo for every man or woman that shall be above 15 years of age and not to exceed 24." Evidently he was anxious to obtain some slaves. The negro was well treated and cared for by his master in a personal rather than a purely sordid way and the slave felt a family pride in "Messa's" possessions and honor. John Page of York provided in his will that his negroes should receive as much food and clothing in their old age as in the days when their labor was profitable. The will of Daniel Parke read, "For the true and faithful service of one of my negroes, known as Virginia Will, Leave him his freedom, and also fifteen bushels of clean shelled corn, and fifty pounds of dried beef annually as long as he lives; also one kersey

1. Piske, Old Virginia, II., 188.
cost and breeches, a hat and two pair of shoes, two pair of yarn stockings, two white and blue shirts, one pair of blue drawers, one axe and one hoe, the same to be delivered annually." There seemed to be no incidents in which the negroes were badly treated except for running away.

Tobacco was the only important product and it was "much vented and esteemed in all places." The culture of tobacco occupied a season lasting from January fifteenth to the first of October; a sandy soil having some nitrous salt yielded tobacco that had the "richest Scent and that shortly became the most pleasant Smoak." The excellence of the seed was tested by the brilliancy with which it flashed when cast into fire. The seed was planted in a bed of rich mould about the middle of January and the bed was strewn with leaves and boughs for protection against the hot sun and the depredations of insects. Transplanting was begun in May and the tiny plants were set out in hills "the bigness of a common mole-hill" and about four feet apart. Hoes were used almost entirely in the cultivation of tobacco. When ripe the plants were cut down, hung on pegs in barns.

1. Bruce, Social Life, 171.
2. James C. Ballagh declared that the people did not want negro slaves and that the large number living in Virginia in 1700 as due to the protection afforded slave traders by the English government. He cited as proof the twenty shillings import duty on slaves, three fourths of which was rebate when the negroes were taken out of the colony. A History of Slavery in Virginia, John Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXIV., II-4. There was a duty also of fifteen shillings on the importation of every other servant not born in England or Wales and the revenues in both cases was to be devoted to the erection of a "Capitol" building in Jamestown. More, III., 195. Philip A. Bruce on the other hand, said that the people preferred slaves because they performed more labor at a lower cost of maintenance, but that they were not supplied as fast as was desired. Economic History, II., 197. Mr. Bruce's attitude is supported by the fact that the slaves were kindly treated; it would seem the sounder of the two since the economic motive is always before any other.
and left to dry for five or six weeks; then the leaves were packed in casks for shipment.

The overproduction of tobacco so glutted European markets that prices became alarmingly low. In 1664 Virginia raised one and one-half hogsheads of tobacco to each individual of the population and in 1667 and in 1682 tobacco sold for one-half penny per pound. Currency depreciated and many of the planters fell deeply in debt. Repeated attempts were made to curtail the amount of tobacco produced.

By an act of the Assembly passed in 1657, it was unlawful to plant tobacco after July tenth. In 1663 a commission of representatives from Virginia and Maryland held a joint conference concerning the advisability of a legal prohibition of the planting of tobacco for one year; they could not come to an agreement however, and no laws were passed. The planters of Surry county in 1673 expressed their discontent when "a company of seditious and rude people did unlawfully assemble at ye pish church of Lawnes Creek wth Intent to declare they would not pay their publicq taxes" because the colony refused to order a cessation of planting as a means of restoring a reasonable price level. In 1682 the inhabitants of New Kent, Gloucester, and Middlesex became desperate and united in the Plant Cutter's Rebellion; bands of men went from place to place destroying "in an hour's time as much tobacco as twenty men could bring to perfection in a summer;" the ravages went on until the zeal of the plant cutters

1. Bruce, Economic History, I., 438-42.
2. Ibid, 394.
3. Hening, Statutes, I., 438.
4. Records of Surry Co. William and Mary College Quarterly, III., 123.
flagged and the movement came to an end. Within the next year the price of tobacco rose and the colony became more contented.

Many of the planters believed that the planting of other crops ought to be encouraged in order to create a more wholesome economic situation. Every tithable person was required by law to cultivate two acres of maize or one acre of wheat for foodstuffs. By a law passed in 1657, premiums of ten thousand pounds of tobacco were offered for the production of "so much silke, flax, hopps, or other staple commodity except tobacco as was worth two hundred pounds sterling " or for making "two tunne of wine raized out of a vineyard " in Virginia. In 1662 Governor Berkeley received instructions "That all possible endeavors be used and encouragement given to advance the Plantation of Silk, Flax, Hemp, Pitch, and Potashes for which we are well assured that climate and soil are very proper. William Fitzhugh wrote to Capt. Francis Partis in London,"I would have you be very careful of my flax, hemp, and hayseed, two bushels of each of which I have sent for because we have now resolves a cessation of making Tob next year." Again in 1684 he wrote to Mr. Samuel Hayward, "Sir, I have a great mind to try if 6lives would not thrive as far in the Northern Latitude as we are. Therefore I will desire you to procure for me some of them with directions how to manage them."

An English idealist wrote some glowing arguments in favor of diversified production in "The Reformed Virginia Silke-Worme."

2. Hening, Statutes, II., 123.
3. Ibid, I., 470.
There are nine things that appear, are of no or small difficulty to you and the Savages to enterprize, and yet gain and wealth to be produced from these Commodities.

1. This Silke, so easie, speedy and profitable a thing.
2. The Silk-grasse naturally there growing, which to the Indians the onely labor is of putting it up; a rich Commodity.
3. The planting Vines, small labor, little cost, long endurng.
4. The multiplying of Cuney-warrens, so easie a thing, the wool of a skin now worth 8 pence; the wool is and will be very vendible for fine, light hats and making stockings of it as fine as those of silk.
5. The increase of abundance of Bees for wax and honey.
6. The planting of Sugar-canes.
7. That of the Cotton tree, gathering cuds of woll from them as we do Roses from the Rosebushes.
8. That of Ginger soon done, the planting and gathering of it.
9. That of grafting your Crab-trees with Apples and Pears for Sider anderry."

An unusual decree of attention was given to the culture of the silk-worm especially on the part of English enthusiasts who were interested in having a new industry established. There was, in Virginia, an abundance of mulberry trees, "the proper food for Silke-wormes, some so large that one tree contains as many leaves as will feed Silke-wormes that will make as much Silk as may be worth five pounds sterling money." The "Reformed Virginia Silke-orme" told of a "Rare and New Discovery of a speedy way and easie means, for

2. The agitation concerning silk cultures was not well supported in Virginia because tobacco was so profitable.
the feeding of silke-wormes in the woods on mulberry-tree leaves in Virginia: who after forty daies time, present their most rich, golden-coloured silken fleece to the planters there, requiring from them neither cost, labour or hindrance in any of their other employments whatsoever. Edward Digges of Denbigh and Bellefield actually experimented with silk culture in the colony and imported two skilled Armenians to superintend operations; in 1654 he wrote that he had extracted eight pounds of silk from four hundred pounds of Bottoms but his efforts failed to create interest.

Considerable commerce was carried on between Virginia and the mother country, trade with other European nations being restricted by the Navigation Acts. Naturally, tobacco was the chief article of export from Virginia while all kinds of manufactured goods were imported. Every autumn ships from England sailed into the rivers, and went from one plantation wharf to the next unloading the variety of articles which had been ordered from English factories. William Fitzhugh's orders were extensive and varied; from time to time he sent for a pair of cart wheels, harness for three horses, a pack saddle, a feather bed, some curtains and vallens, five dozen gallon stone jugs, one hundred pounds of Sundried Sugar, three Latin grammars, Dutch nails and tacks, a pair of silver candlesticks, a pair of snuffers and a small Dish, and thirty ells of holland sheeting. At the same time the ship captains engaged tobacco for their return.

2. Bruce, Economic History, I., 365.
3. Letters of William Fitzhugh March 30, 1681. Virginia Magazine I., 35; June 2, 1681, I., 36; May 22, 1683, I., 122; June 1, 1683, II., 17; July 10, 1690, III., 39; March 30, 1684, I., 260; July 19, 1687, II., 140; July 23, 1683, IV., 179.
cargoes bargaining directly with the planter; the homeward voyage was begun in the spring. In England the tobacco was handled by merchants who, after deducting their commissions placed the balance to the credit of the planter to be used in payment for goods ordered. The slowness of intercourse between London and Jamestown prevented the planter from knowing his exact financial status and he sometimes ordered more articles than he could pay for. William Fitzhugh wrote to Mr. Cornelius Sergeant, Tobacconist, "I have now sent for nothing because I know not what my effects may answer. If there is anything coming, sort in coarse goods." And again to Mr. John Cooper, London factor, "I desire you Sr. to send my Account Currant by the first ships and send me two or three duplicates for not knowing how my account stands I dare not send for goods."

Money as a medium of exchange was almost unknown. In 1685 the House of Burgesses declared that they could not pay their quit rents in coin as was demanded by Lord Howard's instructions. Tobacco was the currency used to pay taxes, the salaries of ministers and officials, and in business transactions.

Manufacturing was frowned upon by the English government and the colonists were quite content to buy as many articles abroad as they were financially able to bargain for. Robert Beverley, the historian, heartily disapproved of their attitude when he wrote, "They have their Clothing of all sorts from England, as Linen, Woolen, Silk, Hats and Leather: Yet Flax and Hemp grow nowhere in the

2. Ibid, I., 564-73.
World better than there. Their Sheep bear good Fleeces but they shear them only to cool them. The very Furs their Hats are made of, perhaps go first from thence. Nay, they are such abominable Ill-husbands that though their Country be over-run with Wood, yet they have all their wooden Ware from England." A considerable amount of coarse cloth for servant's clothing was made in each plantation home; Edward Jones of Henrico owned four spinning wheels, Joseph Croshaw of York had three woolen wheels, and William Parker had a loom. Such tradesmen as the carpenter, wheelwright and blacksmith were necessary adjuncts of every plantation.

"This Liberty of taking up Land and the Ambition each Man had of being Lord of a vast, though unimproved Territory, together with the Advantage of the many Rivers, which afford a commodious Road for Shipping at every Man's Door has made the Country fall into such an unhappy Settlement and Course of Trade, that to this Day they have not any one Place of Cohabitation among them that may reasonably bear the name of Town," explained Robert Beverley with reference to the peculiar absence of towns in Virginia. There was no place where markets, schools, and churches might be established and where tradesmen might locate themselves. Many of the people recognized the serious handicap of such a situation and attempted to legislate the colony out of the difficulty. An act passed in 1662 provided that thirty-two brick houses be built in Jamestown and that all the tobacco crown in the counties of James City, Charles City, and Surry be sent to Jamestown for shipping. In 1680 the Cohabitation Act attempted to establish

2. Ibid, 46.
3. Hening, Statutes, II., 172.
a town in every county and William Fitzhugh wrote to Capt. Partis, "We are going to make towns and if you meet with any tradesmen that will come in and live at the town they may have good privileges and immunities." The founding of towns however, gave no particular advantages to the planters hence the laws remained unheeded and in 1700 Virginia could boast of only two or three towns.

The country store admirably supplied all the functions of the town that were desired by the planter; in fact it was thought by some people to be the most powerful influence in repressing the growth of towns. Some of the stores were owned by foreign merchants through the agency of a factor while others were the property of the planters themselves. The stock was imported and made up of an endless variety of articles. An inventory of the Hubbard store in York county taken in 1667 valued the contents at six hundred fourteen pounds sterling and listed such things as canvas, blue linen, kersey, flannel, full suits for adults and youths, bonnets, laces, shoes, gloves, hammers, locks, sickles, saws, needles, candlesticks, raisins, brandy, and wine.

The economic life of the Virginia planters was prosperous despite the hard times caused by the low prices and the peculiar means of disposing of their tobacco. They enjoyed some luxuries even though they lacked some comforts. William Fitzhugh wrote in 1686 to his mother, "raised be God I neither live in poverty nor pomp, but in a very good indifferency and to a full content."
IV. RELIGION.

In 1696 an Englishman who had traveled in Virginia wrote, "The inhabitants do generally profess to be of the church of England which accordingly is the religion and church by law established." The law, "That there be uniformity in our church as near as may be to the canons in England, both in substance and circumstance, and that all persons yield ready obedience unto them under pain of censure" was passed in 1623 and continued in force throughout the century.

The Bishop of London had jurisdiction over the churches in all the American colonies. In Virginia before 1690, he was represented by the governor; after 1690 by a Commissary who visited all of the churches regularly and acted as overseer of the religious affairs of the colony; the governor however, retained the rights of issuing marriage licenses, probating wills and inducting ministers.

There were in Virginia about fifty parishes in 1696; as a rule each parish fronted on a stream and was shaped by the boundaries of the plantations within its area. The governing body was the ves-

2. Hening, Statutes, I., 128.
3. The people of Virginia however, took exception to a few of the practices of the English church; surplices were not worn, communion was received in the pews, and the management of ecclesiastical affairs was taken over by the political government, thus breaking the entirety of church control as it was in England.
4. The first commissary was Dr. James Blair who was instrumental in founding the college of William and Mary.
5. The Present State of Virginia, 1697. Massachusetts Historical Collections, Ser. 1, V., 162.
try, made up of twelve members " usually discreet farmers so distributed through the parish that every part of it may be under the eye of some one of them"; at first the people of the parish elected their vestrymen but in 1662 the vestry obtained the right to fill their own vacancies. The duties of the vestry were to appoint the clergyman for the parish, investigate such offenders as were accused of drunkenness and other misdemeanors, apportion the parish tax, oversee the poor and find homes for orphan children, keep up the church repairs, and "procession lands"; that is, every four years each member of the parish was visited and his landmarks were renewed. Every year two of the vestrymen were elected as church wardens to act as representative executors of the orders of the vestry.

An act passed in 1623 provided, "That there shall be in every plantation, where the people use to meete for the worship of God, a house or room sequestered for that purpose, and not to be for any temporal use whatsoever, and a place empaled in, sequestered only to the burial of the dead." Later in 1656 an act of the Assembly ordered that every person residing in a parish lacking a church, pay annually fifteen pounds of tobacco toward the erection of a house of worship. And so it was that in 1696 an English writer declared that in most of the fifty parishes of Virginia there were two or three churches. As a rule, churches were simply and substantially built,
but possessed handsome and costly furnishings, usually gifts from some of the wealthy members.

Virginia persons were noted, not for their piety, but for their frivolity and inefficiency. The religious tone of the English church, both before and after the Puritan Revolution, was very low and it was customary to send to Virginia such poor clergymen as would not be tolerated in the mother country. The impiety and utter lack of responsibility of the clergymen were indicated in several ways. An act of the Assembly passed in 1631 and continuing in effect, referred to their deportment: "Ministers shall not give themselves to excess in drinking or riott, spendinge their tyme by day or night, playinge at dice, cards, or any other unlawfull game; but at all tyme convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scripture, or shall occupie themselves with some other honest study or exercise, always doinge the things which shall apperteyne to honesty, and endeavor to profitt the church of God, always havinge in mynd that the ought to excell all others in puritie of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christicallie." Other acts prescribed the duties of clergymen concerning teaching the children the catechism, administering the sacraments, and visiting the sick. Governor Berkeley wrote in 1671 that the ministers would be "better if they would pray oftener and preach less." Stories were told of the misdemeanors of different parsons; one was president of a jockey club; an-

1. The properties of one St. Mary's church included a silver communion cup, two silver chalices, one white damask communion cloth, and several damask carpets with silk fringe. Bruce, Institutional History, I., I. 9
2. Piske, Old Virginia, II., 261.
3. Hening, Statutes, I., 177-8.
4. Too much emphasis must not be given to these laws for in Virginia there were statutes regulating a multitude of the details of life.
other floored his vestrymen in a fist fight and the next Sunday preached a sermon from the text, "And I contended with them and cursed them and plucked off their hair"; a third fought a duel within sight of his own church. In an address to the king and queen asking for permission to build a college, the General Assembly in 1691 mentioned the necessity of a college for affording the vacant parishes an opportunity to secure pious and learned men to fill the pulpits in order to assure "comfort and instruction to their congregations".

Philip A. Bruce believed that "whatever may have been the infirmities of individual clergymen, the great body were men who performed their duties in a manner entitling them to the respect and reverence of their parishioners". He cited as proof of his belief the hostility of the ministers to dissoluteness as a means of preserving the high position of the clergy, the force of public sentiment which manifested itself in the indictment of all persons guilty of immorality, and the dependence of the minister on the vestry for a living.

Very probably the clergymen officiating in Virginia during the first seventy-five years of its existence, being the inferior members sent over from England, were too devotedly attached to sports and revelry. Because of the lack of educational facilities in the colony, the church was obliged to depend entirely on English clergymen, some of whom were distinctly irreligious; such was the sentiment of the people toward the mother country that they would have uttered no complaint anyway and the so-called "force of public sentiment" would have been less strong. But it also seems probable that as the colony developed

1. Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families, I., 18.
2. Bruce, Institutional History, I., 784.
and increased in numbers, the character of the clergy was somewhat improved.

The condition of the church was at no time satisfactory during the seventeenth century. The people seemed to lack a deep, inward religious spirit permeating through all their lives; yet some sentiment was manifested in their laws. The penalty for absence from worship on Sunday without sufficient excuse was a pound of tobacco, and for a month’s absence, fifty pounds of tobacco; the transportation of goods by boat on Sunday was illegal; laws regulated the up-keep of roads leading up to the parish church; and there was a law "that no man dispose of his tobacco before the minister be satisfied". In a report made in 1661 to the Bishop of London the "unhappy State of the Church" was attributed to the fact that people lived on widely distant plantations; scattered homes made for a lack of "Christian Neighborhood, of brotherly admonition, of holy Examples of religious Persons, of the Comfort of theirs and their Minister’s Administration in Sickness, and Distresses, of the Benefit of Christian and Civil Conference and Commerce".

Tolerance was not considered. In 1660 a law was passed against the Quakers as an "unreasonable and turbulent sort of people" who taught and published "lies and miracles, false visions, prophecies, and doctrines"; they were imprisoned until they took oath to leave the country. Puritans and Catholics were also placed under the ban.

V. EDUCATION.

Pioneer communities find little time for anything except providing for the real necessities of life and so it was in Virginia. Only a few schools were established before 1700. The youth of the colony were instructed in an irregular way according to the financial standing and wishes of their parents. It was deemed satisfactory for the boys to learn how to "read, write, and cast accounts" and for the girls to read "true English". Higher education was not considered at all until the last few years of the seventeenth century.

The lack of schools was not due to any hostile sentiment toward education on the part of the planters. The situation was considered lamentable by many people for they said it rendered a large number of children "Unserviceable for any Great Employment in Church or State". The planters themselves had been well educated in England and had transferred their culture to Virginia so that the children had the advantages of living in enlightened and refined homes.

The universal interest in education was illustrated in several ways. In a great many wills elaborate provisions and ample means were left to be devoted to the education of the youthful heirs and heiresses. Clement Thresh of Rappahannock requested in his will that his entire estate be made liable in providing instruction for his step-daughter at Mrs. Peacock's school and John Custis of North-

amptondirected that the proceeds from the labor of fourteen slaves be devoted to his grandson's maintenance and tuition in Virginia and later in England. In the vestry book of Petsworth Parish there was a contract wherein Ralph Bevis agreed to "give George Petsworth, three years' schooling, and carefully to Instruct and Learn him such Lawfull way or ways that he may be able, after his Indented time expired, to gitt his own Liveing, and to allow him sufficient meat, Drink, Washing, and apparill, until the expiration of ye s d time &c., and after ye finishing of ye s d time to pay ye s d George Petsworth all such allowances as ye Law Directs in such cases". There was careful supervision of the education of orphans and apprentices. In 1646 a compulsory primary education law for children of parents "who by reason of their poverty are disabled to maintain and educate them", was passed requiring government provision for them. A college was projected in 1660 "to afford instruction in the higher branches of knowledge", but through the failure of the Long Assembly to give financial support, it never materialized. Later, the people heartily sanctioned the founding of the College of William and Mary. In nearly every plantation home there was a library made up of a few well-chosen books.

The entire absence of towns and the large plantations located far apart were the causes of the scarcity of elementary schools. There were no natural meeting places other than the parish church and the county court-house, both usually several miles distant.

2. Fiske, Old Virginia, II., 247.
4. Bruce, Institutional History, I., 375.
from the plantations. Parents hesitated to send their children long distances on horseback because of the poor roads and the dangers sometimes encountered along the way.

Elementary education was provided in one of two ways. The wealthiest planters kept tutors to instruct their children. Sometimes the youth of three or four families were gathered together under the supervision of one tutor at the most central plantation; the boys rode horseback to and from school and the girls boarded in the family where they received instruction. The subjects taught were not varied and depended on the abilities of the tutor. Then, there were the "Old Field Schools" established in a place most convenient to several plantations; it was usually an isolated spot with dense forests all around which echoed with sounds of gay laughter through the day but were black and lonely at night. Little more than the three R's were taught but it was in one of these humble institutions kept by "Hobby, the sexton", that George Washington learned to read, write, and cipher nearly a hundred years later.

The Free Schools offered a grade of instruction roughly comparable to our secondary schools and were always ably managed. Being endowed by some wealthy benefactor, the maintenance of the school presented no problems and the handsome living offered to the masters attracted the most talented men of the colony. English, Grammar, and Latin made up the course of study. 2 The Symes school founded in 1676 was alluded to by an Englishman writing of Virginia in 1649, "I may

2. Fiske, Old Virginia, I., 247.
not forget to tell you we have a Free-Schoole, with two hundred Acres of Land, a fine house upon it, forty milch Hine, and other accomoda-
tions; the Benefactor deserves perpetuall memory; his name, Mr. Ben-
jamin Symes, worthy to be chronicled". The other Free Schools were
Capt. Moon's founded in 1655, Richard Russell's in 1667, Mr. King's
in 1669 and the noted Eaton School.

Virginia schoolmasters were a motley class with varied quali-
fications. Oftentimes the clergyman was also a tutor and was the
most efficient of all. Then there were indentured servants, redemp-
tioners, public school-masters who had been given royal bounties for
their passage to Virginia and even convicts, some of whom were remark-
ably well educated. In 1666 Governor Howard issued an interesting
proclamation bearing on the qualifications of teachers; they were re-
quired to appear in Jamestown with testimonials of competency from
the leading citizens as to learning, uprightness and conformity to
the church of England. Remuneration was made in goods, usually tobac-
co; in 1665 William Reynolds made an agreement with his tutor to fur-
nish him with "meat, drink, lodging, and washing" and at the end of
the contract to grant him for three years without rent, ground in
which to plant tobacco and corn and barns in which to store the har-
vested crops.

For university training the Virginians were obliged to go
to England. Oxford was the favorite institution because of its

2. Vicker, Old Virginia, II., 246.
4. Convicts of the seventeenth century were often charged with small
offenses; "Stealing a cornelian ring set in gold" made a convict of
Sir Charles Burton who was transported to Virginia in 1722.
5. Bruce, Institutional History, I., 334.
royalist traditions. William Fitzhugh wrote in 1690 about sending his son to England: "This year I was designed to have sent home my eldest son to school there but accidentally meeting with a fr. Minister, a sober, learned, and discreet General whom I persuaded to board and tutor him, which he hath undertaken, in whose family nothing but French is spoken which by continual converse will make him perfect in that tongue and he takes a great deal care and pains to teach him Latin." In England the young men, mingling with their social equals acquired the forms of polite society and learned the traditions of the country; when they returned to Virginia their influence was toward perpetuating the culture of their fathers and they usually assumed positions of leadership.

Agitation concerning a college to be founded in Virginia commenced about 1690 under the leadership of Dr. James Blair, commissary of the Bishop of London. Governor Francis Nicholson was anxious to have the scheme materialize and at his instigation the matter was taken up in the General Assembly in 1691. A board of trustees was appointed and Dr. Blair was chosen to bear a memorial to the king asking for a charter. The petition was considered and in 1693 the charter for "Their Majesty's Royal College of William and Mary" was bestowed upon the colony of Virginia.

2. The records of some of the Virginia students of Oxford are interesting: Ralph Wormley, ormincer, of Rosesill, Oriel, matric. 1665, secretary of state, president of council.
   Bartholomew Yates, cler., Brasenose, B.A. 1699, Professor of Divinity.
   John Lee, ormincer, educated at Queens, B.A. 1662, burgess.
   Stanard, Virginians at Oxford. "William and Mary Quarterly," II., 22, 149.
According to the plan of the Assembly which was accepted in the charter, a board of trustees of eighteen or twenty members—the lieutenant governor, four councilors, four clergymen and the rest to be selected from the House of Burgesses—were empowered to build, govern, and visit the college; they had the "Nomination of the President and Masters of the College and all other Officers belonging to it; and the Power of making Statutes and Ordinances, for the better Rule and Government thereof." The trustees elected a chancellor as presiding officer and had the power to fill its own vacancies. The biggest problem was that of maintenance. Money was raised by subscriptions, Governor Nicholson heading the list with a liberal donation, and bequests made by wealthy planters. Besides, the king and queen set apart certain parts of the public revenue for the college—a sum taken out of the quit rents, fees from the office of surveyor general, twenty thousand acres of land in Pamunkey Neck and south of Black Water swamp, and a penny per pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland; the General Assembly added a duty on exported furs.

The site chosen by the General Assembly for the college was on the south side of the York River in Williamsburg and covered an area of three hundred acres. The formal laying of the foundation stone took place on August 8, 1695. The first building was designed by Sir Christopher Wren and was a rectangular structure with two wings.

4. Bruce, Institutional History, I., 385, 393.
5. Ibid, 393.
and was one and one-half stories high; the walls were built of brick, three feet wide at the base. The recitation rooms were in the first two stories and the hall which served as dining room and assembly hall was in one of the wings; the sleeping rooms were in the garret. The charter provided that the college be made up of three schools: the Grammar School teaching Greek and Latin, the School of Philosophy and Mathematics, and the School of Divinity and Oriental Languages. Provision was also made for five chairs but at first the teaching staff was composed of: President, James Blair; Grammar master, Mungo Ingles; Usher, James Hodges; and Writing master, James Allen.

By the end of the seventeenth century only the Grammar School had been opened yet it attracted considerable attention. In 1699 Governor Nicholson adjourned the House of Burgesses to attend the May Day exercises of the college; the burgesses declared that it was "an unspeakable blessing to have their children brought up in so fair a way of being rescued from barbarian ignorance". The first commencement in 1700 was a gala day for the whole colony. In the eighteenth century when more students attended the college, an interesting set of rules regarding conduct was prescribed. The College of

1. Tyler, Williamsburg, 123.
2. The natural philosophy of the day was just beginning to recognize that the earth revolved around the sun.
3. The need for trained clergy was one of the arguments most emphasized in favor of founding the college.
4. Bruce, Institutional History, I., 393-400.
5. The matron was instructed to have "both fresh and salt Meat for Dinner" with "Fuddings or Pies" twice a week and on Sunday; a proper "Stocking Mender" was to be procured; students were forbidden to play billiards, keep race horses or to go to the "Mill Pond" without express leave. See William and Mary Quarterly, II., III.
William and Mary, begun in such a small way in the seventeenth century had, during the next one hundred fifty years, an influence far in advance of its size or numbers. It brought about a larger culture among the people of the southern colonies; it lessened the prestige of English traditions; it introduced a number of innovations in teaching and administration; and it educated such men as Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and James Madison.

In every plantation home there were a few well known and helpful books—"Don Quixote", some English classics, and books on divinity, law, and farming. Some of the planters had large libraries containing volumes on a wide variety of subjects. The books were not those of extremely scholarly and literary men but they indicated thought, breadth of interest, and practicability. Among the books possessed by Ralph Wormley of Rosegill (educated at Oxford) were Burnet's "History of the Reformation", Lord Bacon's "History of Henry VIII. and his "Natural Philosophy", "Plutarch's Lives", some medical treatises, "The Office of Justice of the Peace", a large number of law books, Taylor's "Holy Living and Holy Dying", Virgil, Horace, Seneca, English and Latin Grammars, "A Looking Glass for the Times", Howell's "Familiar Letters", Herbert's poems and so on.

The library of William Byrd of Westover, comprising three thousand

1. Eiske, Old Virginia, II., 245.
2. Nearly every planter was an office holder and in the absence of professional lawyers was often called upon to perform legal duties, hence the popular interest in law. William Fitzhugh wrote in 1682, "I can assure you that my County Court fees came to above 2,000 pounds of Tobacco." Letter of William Fitzhugh, June 5, 1682. Virginia Magazine, I., 49.
six hundred twenty-five volumes was classified as follows: - History, seven hundred; Classics, six hundred fifty; Law, three hundred fifty; Divinity, three hundred; Medicine, two hundred; French, five hundred fifty. Books were all imported. William Fitzhugh ordered some books from London in 1690; "The French Rudiments of the Latin Grammar, 3 of them, 3 French common prayer books, a French and Latin Dictionary which I desire you will please send me by the first convenience.

Printing was not allowed. Governor Berkeley wrote in 1671, "But I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" Governor Berkeley seemed to ignore the four "Free Schools" of Virginia in 1671 but his statement concerning printing is correct. In 1690 John Buckner imported a printing press and printed the acts of the General Assembly but later was forced to refrain from using the machine pending an inquiry sent to England; Charles II. desired that no one in Virginia operate a printing press and the people acquiesced.

Belief in superstition and witchcraft was prevalent. There is an interesting story by an unknown author of the omens which preceded Bacon's Rebellion. "About the year 1675 appear'd three prodigies in that country which from th' attending disasters, were look'd upon as ominous presages. The one was a large comet every evening

1. Fiske, Old Virginia, II., 244-5.
4. Bruce, Institutional History, I., 403.
for a week, or more at southwest: 35° high streaming like a horse
tail westwards. Another was, flights of pigeons in breadth with a
quarter of the mid hemisphere and of their length no visible end; this
sight put the old planters under the more portentous apprehension, be
cause the like was seen in the year 1640 when the Indians committed
the last massacre. The third strange appearance was swarms of flies
about an inch long, and big as the top of a man's little finger, ris-
ing out of spigot holes in the earth which eat the new sprouted leave
from the tops of the trees. ¹ The punishments for witchcraft were
nothing more severe than a flogging or ducking. In 1655 the court of
Lower Norfolk ordered that any one bringing a charge of witchcraft
without being able to support it by oath should forfeit one thousand
pounds of tobacco.

Notwithstanding the irregular and faulty system of educa-
tion in Virginia, the people were cultured. " They possessed an en-
lightened understanding and a thorough knowledge of the world that
furnished them with an ease of manner and conversation and were ac-
tually the most agreeable companions, friends, and neighbors that
need be desired."

2. Bruce, Institutional History, I., 279.
VI. SOCIETY.

"It was merry England transported across the Atlantic and more merry, light, and gay than England had ever thought of being." Virginia was a land of social distinctions in which "gentlemen" and "squires", the proud possessors of "coats of arms" played their roles with pomp and dignity; they used elaborate silver plate, drank imported claret, and wore embroidered waist-coats. In 1673 the county court of York county decided that horse racing was a "sport for gentlemen alone." An act of the Assembly declared that persons of quality should not be subject to corporal punishment but only to imprisonment and fine in case they violated the law.

Although the plantations were located miles apart, the people traveled about a good deal and often went twenty miles for an evening's entertainment. The young Virginian was an expert in handling a sail boat and youths and maidens delighted in a sail down the river or a brisk gallop through the woods.

Hospitality was lavish and the planter delighted in entertaining his friends. "Virginia wants not good victuals, wants not good dispositions, and as God has freely bestowed it, they as freely impart it." The food supply was especially varied due to the abun-

1. Fisher, Men, Women and Manners, I., 72.
2. In 1686 William Fauntleroy of Rappahannock had in his cellar ninety gallons of rum, twenty-five gallons of lime juice and twenty dozen bottles of wine. Bruce, Social Life, 177-8.
3. Ibid, 184.
4. Ibid, 102-34.
dance of wild animals, fowl, and fruits; a single bill of fare sometimes included ham, venison, fowl, oysters, several kinds of vegetables, honey, fruits, and wine. Nor was entertainment confined to friends alone; Robert Beverley declared that a traveler in Virginia had but to inquire the way to the nearest plantation to find at his disposal the best room and the best wine in the house; according to the law of 1663 even an innkeeper could not charge for entertainment unless he notified the guest in advance.  

Special occasions were always marked by elaborate celebrations. A wedding gave the opportunity for a frolic lasting several days. Even the funeral was relieved of its gloom by feasting the guests who were likely to have come long distances; a typical bill of funeral expenses contained these items:-----

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pounds of tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral sermon</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a briefe</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 turkeys</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For coffin</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 geese</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hog</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bushels of flour</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 pounds of butter</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressing the dinner</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 gallon sider</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 gallon rum</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2. Hening, Statutes, II., 192.
3. Fiske, Old Virginia, II., 237.
Dancing was a favorite pastime and many were the gay steps tripped to the tunes of the fiddler's string. An impromptu dance held at the home of Rev. Thomas Teakle by his daughter, Margaret, during his absence lasted from Saturday night until eleven o'clock Sunday morning and was the cause of considerable gossip in the neighborhood. But was the card game best liked and ten-pins was played in alleys built especially for the games in the plantation homes. There were no theatres in the colony until the eighteenth century but amateur plays were acted in the home; the Accomac county records for 1665 told the story of several persons being reported to court for acting a play called "Ye Bare and ye Cubb"; the actors were required to appear before the court in costume and repeat the lines, but nothing objectionable was discovered.

Every one went to church on Sunday morning quite as much to enjoy a social meeting with their neighbors as to listen to the minister's sermon. The latest news and gossip were told, courtships were begun, and costly finery was exhibited; ties of sympathy were drawn closer and the influences of culture and refinement were indelibly stamped on the youth at the parish church.

One of the most popular diversions was horse racing and nearly every county had a race track. All of the "gentlemen" were interested and they were so fond of their racers that they often appealed to the courts to save a favorite horse from defeat. The Henrico county records for 1678 told the story of a race. "Capt. Tho:

2. Tyler, Williamsburg, 224.
Chamberlaine being at ye end of ye race, he asked whether both horses were ready to run, young Tho: Cocke saying yes, and that Abraham Childers being ordered to start the horses he bid them goe. Tho: Cocke's horse went about four or five lengths from ye starting place, run out of ye way, and Tho: Cocke rained him in and cryed it was not a faire start and Capt. Chamberlaine calling ye other young man back Joseph Tanner made answer ye start is faire, only one horse run out of ye way and further yo'r Deponent saith not." In 1693 at Willoughby's Old Field, Mr. John Gardiner of Westmoreland county challenged any one to race against his own pure white Young Fire, for a stake of one thousand pounds of tobacco and twenty shillings in coin; Daniel Sullivant accepted but the matter ended in a dispute which was finally settled in court.

When Charles II. was proclaimed king, York county held a joyful celebration in his honor for which the following expenses were incurred:-

"Att the proclaiming of his sacred Majesty:

To ye Noble Gouv'r p a barrell powdr, 113 lbs. .00996
To Capt. ffox six cases of drams .00900
To Capt. ffox for his great sunnes .00500
To Mr. Philip Malory 3 .00500
To ye trumpeters .00800
To Mr. Hansford, 176 Gallons Syd r at 15 and 35 gall at 20.03604

2. Bruce, Social Life, 199.
3. Mr. Philip Malory was a clergyman.
4. Tyler, Virginia under the Commonwealth. William and Mary Quarterly, I., 158.
The Virginians delighted in elaborate and fashionable clothes and imported from London the best and latest styles. The typical gentleman's costume consisted of a coat and breeches of plush or red broadcloth, embroidered waistcoat, long silk stockings, shiny buckles, lace ruffles about the neck and wrists, and a flowing wig; his lady wore a crimson satin bodice trimmed with point lace, black petticoat, silk hose, a lace headdress secured with a gold bodkin and jewels. The wardrobe of Mrs. Edward Dyeres included a scarlet waistcoat with silver lace, and a sky-colored bodice. Mrs. Francis Pritchard had a printed calico gown lined with blue silk, a pair of scarlet sleeves with ruffles, and a Flanders lace band. Nor were jewels lacking; Nathaniel Branker of Lower Norfolk county owned a sapphire set in gold, three gold rings with blue, green and yellow stones, a diamond ring of several sparks, and a beryl set in silver.

The people of colonial Virginia lived a happy life. They had a wide variety of interests and the peculiar characteristics of their economic and social institutions made for a development of leadership hence we have the long list of illustrious "Virginia Fathers" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

1. Bruce, Social Life, 166.
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I. SOURCE MATERIAL.

   A letter written in England about 1697 by an anonymous author who had evidently been in Virginia, and who was thus able to enumerate the natural advantages of the country and to describe the institutions and mode of life in the colony.

   A book written in a simple yet most interesting style dealing with the details of Virginia life.

   A collection of source material on a wide variety of subjects connected with all of the English colonies. The papers used in this work were:
   (a) A Perfect Description of Virginia, 1649. Vol. II., No. 8.

The source material used in this work was taken from:-


The laws of the colony and state of Virginia, 1619-1792.


William Fitzhugh was a native of England who moved to Virginia in 1670. He was a well educated man with a variety of interests, agriculture, law, trade who had considerable land and wealth. His letters are full of interesting details concerning the economic, commercial, and social life of Virginia.
II. SECONDARY MATERIAL.

7. ________, Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. Richmond, Virginia, 1907.


