

MUSIC IN COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

by

Bethany Donahue

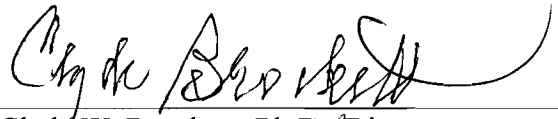
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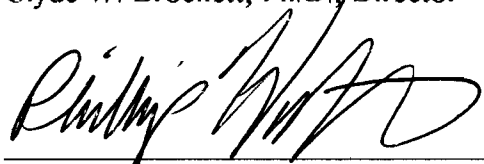
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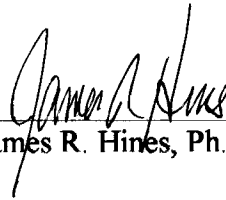
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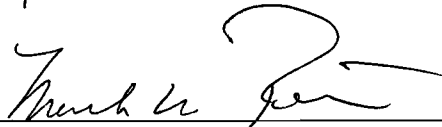
Clyde W. Brockett, Ph.D., Director

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Phillip F. Hamilton, Ph.D., Reader

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "James R. Hines", written over a horizontal line.

James R. Hines, Ph.D., Reader

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mark U. Reimer", written over a horizontal line.

Mark U. Reimer, D.Mus., Reader

Abstract

This thesis examines musical activities in and around eighteenth-century Williamsburg, Virginia. The study sheds light on musical trends in colonial America, especially in Southern cities, where scholarship and research has not matched that of Northern areas. In addition, a discussion of musical life in colonial Williamsburg illuminates broader cultural and social aspects in order to paint a more complete picture of daily life in that era.

Research has been conducted using both primary and secondary sources, as well as oral interviews and archaeological reports. Primary sources include period diaries and excerpts from the Williamsburg newspaper, the *Virginia Gazette*. Extensive quotation of primary source material serves to illustrate the breadth of musical activity and the way in which it affected daily life, as well as place music in a broader and more accurate social and cultural context. The use of secondary sources reflects previous scholarly research and a look at the position of Williamsburg with respect to colonial America as a whole.

Available primary and secondary sources have revealed that music was a profoundly important aspect of culture and society in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, especially in home music-making and in education. Music deeply affected religious life and was key to dancing. In addition, music was present in the theatre and in public and private performances, and music's pervasiveness is evidenced in the extent to which music was present in the material culture of the era.

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In order to give credit where it is due, I would like to thank the scholars and experts that made the research for this thesis possible: without the reference staffs at Christopher Newport University's Captain John Smith Library, the College of William and Mary's Earl Gregg Swem Library, and Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, I could not have had knowledge of and access to the documents that formed the basis for this study. In addition, I would especially like to thank Susan Riggs of Swem Library's Special Collections Department, whose knowledge of the library's holdings and interest in the project I could not have done without and proved invaluable. In addition, I would like to thank the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation scholars and experts that assisted me, especially Marcia Wright, Wayne Moss, William Pittman, John Watson, and James Darling. Finally, I would like to express my deep gratitude for the expertise and mentorship of Dr. Clyde W. Brockett, Jr., whose guidance profoundly shaped my approach to scholarly research and whose ideals I have strived to realize.

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Introduction

As the capital of Virginia from 1699 to 1780, Williamsburg was a prime cultural, intellectual, and political center in colonial America. The presence of the government, coupled with the establishment of the College of William and Mary, gave Williamsburg a powerful position in American intellectual and cultural life. Indeed, Williamsburg and Charleston dominated cultural life in the South. Scholarship in American music has thus far focused on New England culture; however, art music thrived in the South far ahead of more northern areas, because there was no Puritan or Quaker presence constricting cultural life.¹ Study of Williamsburg's musical activity sheds light on America's musical history as a whole, as well as providing a broader picture of society and culture in eighteenth-century Virginia.

As English subjects, residents of eighteenth-century Williamsburg followed trends from England in music, dancing, and education. Similarly, many of Williamsburg's elite were likewise scholars of the Enlightenment, and music filled an artistic, intellectual, and scientific role in their lives. Many of America's Founding Fathers, such as Washington and Jefferson, walked the streets of Williamsburg and participated in the town's musical life. Indeed, Jefferson referred to music as "the favorite passion of my soul."² Williamsburg inhabitants closely followed musical developments in Europe, importing European instruments and

¹ See Kate van Winkle Keller, "Secular Music to 1800," *The Cambridge History of American Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 55-6.

² Thomas Jefferson to Giovanni Fabbroni, Williamsburg, 8 June 1778, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 2, ed. Julian P. Boyd et. al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 196.

sheet music, and musical activity flourished in religious life, concerts, the theatre, the home, and education.

This thesis will discuss music, in the context of cultural and intellectual movements, in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, and by extension in Virginia, focusing especially on social, cultural, and intellectual aspects. Because of the nature of existing records, as well as the close link between the upper classes and elite with the art music of Europe, the study concentrates on European traditions and movements active in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, Virginia. Because of this work's focus on European cultural and musical ties, as well as the nature of the documents available, Native American and African-American musics, as well as the military music of the Revolution, have not been included. Music was an important part of the period's culture and society, and musical activity thrived through concerts, private gatherings, dancing, religious activity, and the theatre. Liberal quotation of primary source documents has been included not only to illustrate musical examples, but also to bring back to life the spirit and character of those whose musical lives have been examined; oral history being relegated to interviews in the present day, the quotations here should fill a void that time and mores have regrettably left us.

Chapter 1: Music and Religion

Of prime significance to the musical activity in Williamsburg was music in the church. Indeed, much of the church music-making taking place in Williamsburg had a direct influence on music outside of church, for the musicians who were mainly responsible for music in the church also were some of the main supporters of secular musical activities. Church music probably made up a sizeable portion of musical exposure to many eighteenth-century Williamsburg residents. Similarly, religious music set the stage for music-making at home, and psalm tunes and hymns were a good way for amateur musicians to study.

As British subjects, the inhabitants of Williamsburg would have been expected to attend services at least each month;¹ this meant significantly that most Williamsburg residents would have regular exposure to English church music, which touched churchgoers regardless of social class. As the Great Awakening spread more radical Protestant teachings throughout Virginia in the middle of the eighteenth century, evangelical congregations and itinerant preachers created a significant portion of the population dissenting from the Anglican Church. New religious philosophies and forms of worship challenged the old, and musical practices were among the affected aspects of life. Although not much is known about the dissenting Protestant movement in Williamsburg, and Williamsburg was less touched by the upheaval of the Great Awakening than other areas further west and south, it

¹ Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 58.

may be surmised that radical Protestant practices in music would have also applied to those dissenters in town. In the years preceding the Revolution, religious fervor sometimes culminated in the mass singing of hymns,² and evangelicals such as the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists helped to spread the tradition of hymnody throughout the American colonies.³

In spite of growing dissent and the rising popularity of evangelical Protestantism, most Tidewater Virginians remained faithful Anglicans.⁴ In Williamsburg, Bruton Parish Church was the center of Anglican worship and organization. In the earlier part of the eighteenth century, most Anglican churches did not have a strong choral tradition. Bruton was no exception, and psalms were sung through the practice of lining out.⁵ In addition, students from the College of William and Mary were probably trained in psalmody and would have helped to lead the singing.⁶ Toward the end of the eighteenth century, as hymnody was becoming more popular, Williamsburg publisher William Rind produced, in 1773, a volume of *Hymns and Spiritual Songs Collected from the Works of Several Authors; In Three Books; I On Baptism; II On the Lord's Supper; III On Various Occasions*, probably based on a volume of the same title published several years earlier in Newport, Rhode Island.⁷

² Irving L. Sablosky, *American Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 37.

³ Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 44-5.

⁴ Tidewater Virginia refers to the area of Virginia near the Chesapeake Bay, i.e. Williamsburg and Norfolk, as opposed to the Piedmont, etc.

⁵ James S. Darling, *Let the Anthems Swell: Musical Traditions at Bruton Parish Church* (Williamsburg, VA: Bruton Parish Church, 2003), 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷ John Randolph Barden, "Innocent and Necessary": Music and Dancing in the Life of Robert Carter of Nomony Hall, 1728-1804," M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1983, 59. In the same year, Rind also published a collection of the "newest" songs. See Maurer Maurer, "A Musical Family in Colonial Virginia," *The Musical Quarterly* 34 (1948), No. 3: 363.

Arguably, the most important musical development for the congregation was the acquisition of an organ and a musician to play it, for the presence of an organ would continue musical traditions in English churches of the period.⁷ The organ would have, most importantly, facilitated the singing of hymns through accompanying the congregation and providing the harmonization. There were numerous difficulties in the effort to procure the instrument, and it took two and a half decades before the objective could be realized. The first request for an organ was made in 1729 by the royal governor, William Gooch, who addresses either the Lord Bishop of London or the Duke of Newcastle:

I am prevailed upon by Gentlemen of the Country to Beg the favor of your Lordship to intercede with His or Her Majesty for an Organ for our Church at Williamsburgh, one of £200 value would be large enough. As such gifts my Lord have sometimes been made by royal Bounty to other places in America; the Subjects here most humbly presume to hope, that they may have as just a claim, and would think themselves as highly engaged and I dare say it bear as ample testimony of their gratitude, as any people in any part of his Majesty's Dominions.⁸

Governor Gooch interestingly alludes to organs in other parishes in the American colonies, probably in New England. In addition, he points out that, as the seat of the government of arguably the most powerful English colony in America, the parish in Williamsburg would be distinguished by the presence of an organ. Apparently, Gooch's request was unfulfilled, for calls for an organ persisted, continuing to rely upon the argument of Williamsburg's prestige and significance. In 1744, the congregation resolved to petition the General Assembly,

⁷ Churches near Williamsburg which boasted organs by the end of the eighteenth century included Petsworth Parish, Gloucester, and St. Luke's (Newport Parish), Isle of Wight. See Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 250-1.

⁸ William Gooch, Governor of Virginia, to Lord Bishop of London or Duke of Newcastle, 29 June 1729, Gooch Transcript Papers, Vol. I, p. 135, Virginia Historical Society, quoted in *The Organ of Bruton Parish Church* (hereafter *The Organ*), Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, Williamsburg, 1939, 1.

requesting funds for repairing the church building, “and that they will be pleased to take into their Consideration [to purchase] an organ, to be bought by the Public and Appropriated for the use of the Church of the Parish, where the Governor resides, and the General Assembly and Courts are held.”¹⁰

In addition to requesting an organ in order to distinguish the parish and the Virginia government further, Bruton’s parishioners had more spiritual objectives; they recognized the aesthetic value of such an instrument, as well as the ways in which it would enhance the music in their liturgical practice. For example, in their petition to the General Assembly, they point out that the instrument would be “Ornamental and useful in the Divine Service.”¹¹ Similarly, when dealing with the petition, the House of Burgesses recorded that it would be considering that an organ would “add greatly to the Harmony of Praise to the Supreme Being.”¹² Significantly, these arguments for the organ place great weight on aesthetic concerns in that it would be ornamental and harmonious, evidencing the continuation of Anglican church music practices rather than the plainer psalmody of the more radical Protestant sects.

Despite their eloquent requests for funding the organ, the General Assembly rejected the proposal, yet the question was again raised in 1752 when Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie again approached the Assembly about purchasing an organ. At last, the request was approved, and an organ was sent for, not to exceed £200 in cost.¹³ The actual cost of the organ apparently exceeded the allotted £200, and as a result, an additional £100 was

¹⁰ Rev. John C. McCabe, Notes from the first Vestry Book, *The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*, Vol. VII, 1855-6 (New Haven, CT: 1856), 614, quoted in *The Organ*, 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, Vol. 1742-1749, 102, quoted in *The Organ*, 1-2.

¹³ *Hening’s Statutes at Large*, Vol. 6, 230-31, quoted in *The Organ*, 5. See Darling, *Let the Anthems Swell*, 9.

raised by subscription, and the estate of Armistead Burwell was granted £120 “out of the public Money...to reimburse [him] for the Charge of an Organ, purchased by him for the Church in the City of Williamsburg, in Pursuance of an Act of Assembly, passed at a former Session, over and above what he received for that Purpose.”¹³ According to Colonial Williamsburg Foundation consultant and current Bruton Parish organist James Darling, the organ was a one-manual English instrument with 10 stops, approximately 600 pipes, and no pedals.¹⁴ The organ’s stops were as follows:

Open Diapason:	8
Stopped Diapason:	8
Principal:	4
Flute:	4
Twelfth:	2 2/3
Fifteenth:	2
Sexquintia:	II
Cornet:	III
Trumpet:	8
Vox Humana:	8 ¹⁵

The same act of the House of Burgesses that reimbursed Armistead’s estate also called for men of the church “to build a Loft for an Organ in the Church in the City of Williamsburg, and to set up the same. Mr. Peter Pelham is unanimously appointed Chosen Organist of the Church in the City of Williamsburg.”¹⁶ The location of this organ loft within the church is uncertain and has become a topic of debate among Williamsburg researchers. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation scholar Mary Goodwin points out that the standard place

¹³ Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1752-8, Vol. 8, 8 November 1775, 330, quoted in *The Organ*, 6.

¹⁴ Darling, *Let the Anthems Swell*, 9-10.

¹⁵ Benjamin Crowinshield to Dr. B.L.Oliver, Salem, MS, Williamsburg, 30 May 1804, Virginia State Library Archives Transcript, Special Collections Department, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary (hereafter Swem Special Collections). See Darling, *Let the Anthems Swell*, 35.

¹⁶ Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1752-8, Vol. 8, 330, quoted in *The Organ*, 6.

for an organ in an English church would have been at the west end, and the fact that no accounts from the period comment on any irregular placing of the organ suggests that the west gallery was indeed its location.¹⁷ However, the House of Burgesses specifically called for a new loft to be built and set up, implying that the organ was not placed in an existing gallery. In addition, according to the parish vestry book, there had long been complaints that the west gallery was too crowded with students from the College of William and Mary and other church-goers, resulting in the eventual enlarging of the gallery and limiting the area to students only.¹⁸ These circumstances suggest that there was no room for a new loft to be built to house the organ in the west gallery and that it may have instead been located at the front, or east, end of the church. Darling conjectures that the loft referred to in the House of Burgesses act may not have been a new gallery, but rather merely the clearing of a designated space and preparation for the installation of the instrument.¹⁹

In addition to determining the funds for purchasing and means for setting up the new organ, the 1755 House of Burgesses legislation established another circumstance that was to have a profound impact on Williamsburg's musical future. In designating Peter Pelham, Jr., as church organist, the act secured for the town of Williamsburg one of its most important and influential musicians. Alexander MaCaulay of Yorktown, VA, in a letter relating several different aspects of the town of Williamsburg, described Bruton Parish, "fam'd for its noble

¹⁷ Mrs. Rutherford Goodwin to James S. Darling, Williamsburg, 12 May 1970, Swem Special Collections.

¹⁸ Cotesworth P. Lewis to Norman G. Beatty, undated (ante 18 April 1973, post 21 March 1973). Swem Special Collections.

¹⁹ James S. Darling to Cotesworth P. Lewis, 18 April 1973. Swem Special Collections.

Organ of one hundred tones, touch'd by the modern Orpheus—the inimitable Pelham.”²⁰

St. George Tucker praised Pelham thus:

In this church there is a well toned Organ; and among the ancient inhabitants of the place, who neither migrated to more prosperous places in the union, nor yet set out for ‘that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns,’ is the organist; whose skill in his profession still secures him a small subscription from his fellow villagers, as well as a competent number of pupils for his support....The ancient organist...perform[s] upon this instrument; and often is the passenger invited into the place, in a fine evening, by hearing “The pealing anthem swell the note of praise.”²¹

Pelham arrived in Williamsburg sometime after 1749;²² The first documentary evidence of his being there exists in the 1751 diary of John Blair, who describes “Peter Pelham, organist of Bruton Parish, in Williamsburg.”²³ Born in 1721 in London, Pelham arrived in Boston with his father in 1726. There, he had studied under Carl Theodor Pachelbel, the son of the renowned Johann Pachelbel. Significantly, Johann Pachelbel had strong ties to the Bach family, making it likely that Carl Theodor Pachelbel studied and played the organ works of Johann Sebastian Bach and that he would have passed the great German organ tradition onto Pelham. Peter Pelham may have performed such works in public concerts or during church services.²⁴ During Pelham’s career as Bruton’s organist, he was required to petition the House of Burgesses annually in order to receive a salary, which consisted of between £20 and £30 per year; in 1756, the Assembly even rejected his petition

²⁰ Journal of Alexander MaCaulay, Yorktown, 25 February 1783, quoted in *The Organ*, 13.

²¹ Lyon G. Tyler, ed., “A Letter to the Rev. Jedediah Morse, A.M. Author of the American Universal Geography” (St. George Tucker), *William and Mary Quarterly* Ser. 1, Vol. 2 (1894): 191-2. See *The Organ*, 14.

²² Dr. Carlton S. Smith, Chief of Music Division, New York Public Library, to Mrs. Helen Bullock, Department of Research, Colonial Williamsburg Inc., Williamsburg, VA, New York, 25 April 1938, quoted in *The Organ*, 4-5. First internal quotation from Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, III.i.87-8. Second internal quotation Tucker’s own composition.

²³ Lyon G. Tyler, ed., Diary of John Blair, January 1751, *William and Mary Quarterly* Ser. 1, Vol. 7 (1899): 134-5.

²⁴ Smith to Bullock, quoted in *The Organ*, 5.

to raise his salary from £20 to £25 for that year.²⁵ However, as St. George Tucker noted, Pelham was required to take in students and to rely on a subscription in order to fully support himself financially. Still in need of money, he eventually became the town jailer, and in 1773, the House of Burgesses granted him a salary of £40 for the year for his services as “keeper of the public Gaol,” in addition to the £25 salary as organist.²⁶ According to local oral tradition, Pelham brought prisoners from the jail to pump the organ bellows whenever he wanted to play.²⁷

As Pelham continued to play Bruton’s organ both inside and outside of church services, he became increasingly responsible for its upkeep and repair. Pelham petitioned the House of Burgesses, “setting forth that the Organ in Williamsburg had been much out of Order, and almost unfit for Use, and that he has with great Labour and Expense repaired and tuned the same,” and requested compensation; the Burgesses examined the claims and, deeming them accurate, granted Pelham a sum of £50 in addition to his salary for repairing the organ.²⁸ As Pelham aged and time passed, the organ again fell into disrepair. In around 1802, Pelham moved to Richmond, probably following the move of the state capital, and his daughter succeeded him as organist at Bruton Parish.²⁹ Benjamin Crowinshield reported that, since Pelham’s removal,

²⁵ Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1752-8, Vol. 8: 330, 358-59, 395-397, 452, 482, 489, 492. Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1758-61: 35, 43, 45, 165, 167. Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-5: 216. Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, Vol. III: 1320. Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-1765: 221-2, 355, 361, 364. Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1766-1769: 174. Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1770-1772: 191, 212, 317. All quoted in *The Organ*, 6-12.

²⁶ Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1773-1776: 17, quoted in *The Organ*, 13.

²⁷ Darling, *Let the Anthems Swell*, 16.

²⁸ Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-1765: 355, quoted in *The Organ*, 10-11.

²⁹ It is interesting that Pelham’s successor would have been a woman, in a time in which both public performances by women and women actively taking part in church services were rare. She presumably

The organ has been falling into ruin. The students in their last insurrection broke into the Church, beat the windows down and nearly completed the destruction [*sic*] of the organ. Such frequent behavior has discouraged the inhabitants and they have abandoned both the organ and the church. When I first came here I attempted to repair it, but finding it impossible I gave over the intention, till two German musicians happening to pass through town gave everything a new turn. They gave a public concert, which excited the public feelings, and next day, by the assistance of the Bishop, there was a generous subscription for putting the organ in complete repair.³⁰

Crowninshield reports that the German musicians labored for two weeks, resulting in the removal of the coronet, vox humana, and sexquintia stops. It is interesting that it was a public concert given by traveling German musicians who excited the concern of the town in order to repair the organ, perhaps showing a strong public interest in both secular music and in the sacred music of their church.

The combination of music and religion was not confined to the church; it would have been a standard part of one's religious education as a child to study psalm tunes. For example, in 1752, Mister John Tompkins advertises in the *Virginia Gazette* to teach "ALL Persons inclinable to learn a true Method of singing Psalms, at the College of *William & Mary*, or at the Church in *Williamsburg*."³¹ Contained in a list of educational and household products such as fishing hooks, quills, and primers, one printer advertises "WATT's HYMNS" for sale.³² Hymns and Psalms were also important in the daily lives of eighteenth-

studied with her father and must have inherited some of his virtuostic talent in order to have been able to follow in his wake.

³⁰ Crowninshield to Oliver, Swem Special Collections.

³¹ *Virginia Gazette*, 3 November 1752, 1, Pastportal Digital Archive, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, <www.pastportal.com> (hereafter Pastportal). N.B. The *Virginia Gazette*, originally published in Williamsburg 1736-1780, existed under several different editorialships, including periods in which rival editors published separate papers under the same title. Subsequent references to the *Virginia Gazette* published during these periods will include the editor's name; otherwise, no editor's name will appear. *Ibid.* has been used only if the editor(s) have remained the same.

³² *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Dixon, 6 July 1773, 3, Pastportal.

century Virginians. For example, the 1738 edition of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter was listed in Jefferson's 1783 inventory as "Playford's Book of Psalms."³³ Similarly, the printers of one edition of the *Virginia Gazette*, just before listing a lengthy stock of books for sale, also announce that they have "a few of WATTS' and WESLEY's HYMNS for sale."³⁴ In like fashion, *Gazette* publisher Rind advertises his volumes of hymns as three books of "HYMNS and SPIRITUAL SONGS" to be "SOLD, wholesale and retail," in three volumes: Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and "various occasions."³⁵ The importance of psalm singing in daily religious life is evident in the want of teachers of psalmody, for the *Gazette* lists an advertisement for a "sober man, of good character, that reads and sings well, and understands teaching psalmody" who will be "met with encouragement."³⁶

In collecting psalm tunes and hymn books for daily use, Williamsburg residents also found creative ways in which to perform this religious music. The family of Colonel Robert Carter, who had a house in Williamsburg and divided his time between town and his Northern Neck plantation, Nomini Hall, was an avid connoisseur of music that he could enjoy with his family. Philip Vickers Fithian, the Carters' Presbyterian tutor from New Jersey, recalls in his diary, "The Colonel shew'd me a book of vocal Musick which he has just imported, it is a collection of psalm-Tunes, Hymns, & Anthems set in four parts for the Voice; He seems much taken with it & says we must learn & perform some of them in their

³³ Cynthia Zignego Stiverson, *Colonial Williamsburg Music: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Printed Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music in the Collections of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 1988), 22.

³⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Dixon, 20 December 1776, 4, Pastportal.

³⁵ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, 14 January 1773, 3, Pastportal.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16 June 1774, 2, Pastportal.

several parts with our voices & with instruments.”³⁷ The four-part setting of the hymns and psalm tunes, and especially the use of instruments in order to perform them in the home, may have been somewhat startling to Fithian’s Presbyterian upbringing.³⁸

In addition to daily life, religious music often played into the intellectual side of spirituality. For example, a 1773 edition of the *Gazette* contains a hymn, “Whatever is, is Best” of Alexander Pope’s *Essay on Man*, submitted as an editorial to be printed by an anonymous “customer.” The final stanza reads,

Before thee, Father, Lord of all!
Let men and angels prostrate fall,
And silently adore.³⁹

The preceding eleven stanzas are formed in similar fashion. Although the hymn was not written for use as a standard piece in liturgical practice,⁴⁰ it does bring to light the importance of such poetry and music in daily spiritual life of Williamsburg’s residents.

³⁷ Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed., *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion 1773-1774* (hereafter Farish), 27 June 1774 (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1957), 127.

³⁸ Farish suggests that Carter’s volume may be Lyon’s *Urania, or a choice collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems and Hymns*. See p. 247, note 143. See also James Lyon, *Urania: A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns*, reprint of 1761 edition (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974).

³⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, 28 January 1773, 4, Pastportal.

⁴⁰ Alexander Pope, a Roman Catholic, composed lyrical poems on sacred themes and labeled them hymns. He may have intended them to be set to standard tunes, but he probably did not aim for their widespread liturgical use. See G.A.C., “Pope, Alexander,” *A Dictionary of Hymnology, Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations*, ed. John Julian, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 901.

Chapter II: Music in Public

Especially in the upper-class elements of Williamsburg society, music was an integral part of social gatherings and public life. Contrary to modern ideas of public musical performances, eighteenth-century Williamsburg gatherings would have mainly been in theaters, taverns, churches, dances, and outdoor gatherings as opposed to organized, formal evening concerts, because the town would have been too small to support a class of regular, professional musicians. Instead, resident musicians would have mainly been teachers, and performers would have been primarily skilled amateurs rather than full-time musical tradesmen. Thus, the line between public and private performances of the period is often blurred. In addition, Williamsburg's public life varied greatly depending on the time of year. As the seat of Virginia government from 1699 to 1780, Williamsburg was bustling during the "Publick Times," typically spring and fall, when the Burgesses were in session, with government officials and their families. For example, the well-known planter Robert Carter resided in Williamsburg with his family when he was serving in the House of Burgesses, but the family spent much of the year at their Northern Neck plantation, Nomini Hall. During the public times, music would have been a focal point of social gatherings and public events and would have mirrored contemporary practices in England.

One prominent location for public musical performances would have been in the church. After the installation of the organ at Bruton, Williamsburg residents were treated to

frequent recitals by the talented organist, Peter Pelham. According to St. George Tucker, “A week rarely passes in which a number of the inhabitants do not assemble for the purpose of passing an hour or two at church, while the ancient organist, or some of his pupils perform upon this instrument; and often is the passenger invited into the place, in a fine evening, by hearing ‘The pealing anthem swell the note of praise.’”¹ Interestingly, Tucker hints that these public evening gatherings would have included not only secular music, but also sacred music performed outside of a liturgical setting. Similarly, Anne Blair writes in a letter that the doors to the church are left open, and “scarce an Evening...but we are entertain’d with the performances of Felton’s[,] Handel’s[, and] Vi-vally’s [Vivaldi’s].”² After Pelham removed to Richmond, “his daughter took his place, and was the last public performer,”³ probably giving concerts similar to those her father had given.

In addition to the church, Pelham performed in venues throughout Williamsburg. For example, he was the recipient of funds produced through a benefit concert, and it is likely that he was also the performer. Diarist Ebenezer Hazard noted that the citizens of Williamsburg were invited to attend “a musical Entertainment & Ball at the Capitol this Evening for the Benefit of Mr. Pelham, the organist of the Church.” The next night, he reports that “The Entertainment last Night was very fine, the Music excellent, the Assembly large & polite, & the Ladies made a brilliant Appearance. A Mr. Blagrove (a Clergyman), his

¹ Tyler, “A Letter to the Rev. Jedediah Morse,” 191-2.

² Anne Blair to Martha Braxton, Williamsburg, 21 August 1769, transcript, Blair-Banister Papers, Swem Special Collections.

³ Crowinshield to Oliver, Swem Special Collections.

Lady, & a Mrs. Neal, performed the Vocal parts; His Lady played excellently on the Harpsichord. After the Entertainment was over, the Company went up Stairs to dance.”⁴

Another setting for public music making was in the form of impromptu gatherings at which people sang and played instruments. Tavern keepers usually owned instruments, such as fiddles and flutes, with which to accompany singing.⁵ Anne Blair describes one evening of singing on her father’s doorstep with a passer-by spontaneously joining in:

Mrs. Dawson’s Family stay’d the Evening with us, and the Coach was at the door to carry them Home, by ten o’clock; but every one appearing in great Spirits, it was proposed to sit at the Step’s and Sing a few Song’s, wch. was no sooner said then done; while thus we were employ’d a Candle & Lanthorn was observed to be coming up Street....no one took any notice of it—till we saw, whoever it was, stop’d to listen to our enchanting Notes—each Warbler was immediately silenced: whereupon, the invader to our melody, call’d out in a most rapturous Voice, Charming! Charming! proceed for God sake, or I go home directly—no sooner were these words utter’d, then all as with one consent sprung from their Seats, and the Air ecco’d with pray Walk in my Lord; No—indeed he would not, he would sit on the Steps too; so after a few ha, ha, ha’s and being told what all knew—that it was a delightfull Evening, at his desire we strew’d the way over with Flowers, &c. &c. till a full half hour was elaps’d, when all retir’d to their respective Homes.⁶

“His Lordship” was the royal governor, Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt.⁷

In similar fashion, Fithian describes a large group singing at a ball at Lee Hall, a plantation on the Northern Neck: “There were parties in Rooms made up, some at Cards; some drinking for Pleasure; some toasting the Sons of America; some singing ‘Liberty Songs’

⁴ Fred Shelley, ed., “The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in Virginia, 1777,” 4-5 June 1777, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 62 (1954), No. 4, 409. Pelham was apparently unable to support his family on his meager musician’s income and supplemented it by teaching music lessons and acting at different periods as the town jail keeper, a printer of money, and as a clerk and accountant to several different royal governors. See Darling, *Let the Anthems Swell*, 16.

⁵ Helen Bullock. “On Music in Colonial Williamsburg.” *On Music in Colonial Williamsburg* (hereafter *On Music*), Williamsburg, 1938, Colonial Williamsburg Research Report Series, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, 2.

⁶ Blair to Braxton, Swem Special Collections.

⁷ Bullock, “On Music in Colonial Williamsburg,” *On Music*, 7.

as they call'd them, in which six, eight, ten or more would put their Heads near together and roar, & for the most part...unharmonious.”⁸ The songs publicly sung ranged from Revolutionary cries to folksongs and numbers from popular ballad operas. Spontaneous public musical gatherings also included instruments, and many Williamsburg amateurs were well-known for their talents. For example, a *Virginia Gazette* article notifies readers that “Mr. Francis Russworm, of Nansemond County, who played such a sweet Fiddle, and was a worthy good-tempered Man, had the Misfortune to be drowned a few Days ago in crossing over some Ferry.”⁹ Russworm must have been widely-known as a fiddler, so that the reader would have immediately identified him upon learning of his death.¹⁰

In addition to providing amusement, music played an important role in official functions and ceremonies. In Williamsburg's 1702 ceremony to proclaim the accession of Queen Anne, governor Francis Nicholson ordered an elaborate ceremony lasting several

⁸ Farish, 18 January 1774, 57.

⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 24 June 1773, 3, Pastportal.

¹⁰ Russworm, also a well-known teacher in Williamsburg was eulogized thus:

On Tuesday, the 15th of June, unfortunately was drowned Mr. Francis Russwurm, of this County, P. M. a man so universally distinguished for his social Virtues that every feeling heart must drop a Tear, and sigh at the Name of *Russwurm*.

O *Handel!! Handel!!* Could'st thou now but hear
Thy second self angelick Sounds to clear;
Wrapt in what Harmony! By what Muse inspir'd!
To thrill the Soul with Admiration fir'd.
Great let me call him! For he charm'd the Ear,
And pleas'd with Ease admiring Crouds to cheer.
Oh, *Nansemond!* to thee I now appeal,
Hast thou not lost him whom thou dost bewail?
Was he not gay and generously free,
A Brother, Mason, and a Friend to thee?
Unnumber'd Comforts may his Soul maintain,
And join in Comfort with the heavenly Train.

(Samuel Nelson, *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 9 September 1773, 3, Pastportal.)

days that included the whole town of Williamsburg in the festivities.¹¹ As Swiss traveler

Francis Louis Michel describes,

As can be seen from the drawing, the college has three balconies. On the uppermost were the buglers from the warships, on the second, oboes and on the lowest violinists, so that when the ones stopped the others began. Sometimes they all played together. When the proclamation of the King's death was to be made they played very movingly and mournfully.

As the queen's accession was announced, "the musicians began to play a lively tune."¹²

Years later, at the funeral of Governor Botetourt, "an anthem was sung, accompanied on the organ, CONDUCTED BY Mr. Woolls." The organist marched in the procession as well.¹³

Music also played an important role in public social gatherings. The *Gazette* advertises in Williamsburg:

from *Hanover* County, that on *Tuesday* next, (being *St. Andrew's Day*,) some merry-dispos'd Gentlemen of the said County, design to celebrate that Festival, by setting up divers Prizes to be contended for in the following Manner,...A fine *Cremona* Fiddle to be plaid for, by any Number of Country Fiddlers, (Mr. Langford's Scholars excepted:) With divers other considerable Prizes, for Dancing, Singing, Foot-ball-play, Jumping, Wrestling, &c.¹⁴

Planning the same fair for the following year, the *Gazette* proposed,

3. That a Violin be played for by 20 Fiddlers, and to be given to him that shall be adjudged to play the best: No Person to have the Liberty of playing, unless he brings a Fiddle with him. After the Prize is won, they are all to play together, and each a different Tune; and to be treated by the Company.
7. That Drums, Trumpets, Hautboys, &c. will be provided, to play at the said Entertainment.

¹¹ See Graham Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1991), 75-8.

¹² Hinke, trans. and ed., "Report of the Journey of Michel," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* XIV (1907): 296, quoted in Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1989), 89-90.

¹³ *Virginia Gazette* Supplement, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 18 October 1770, Pastportal.

¹⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, 26 November 1736, 4, Pastportal.

9. That a Quire of Ballads be sung for, by a Number of Songsters; the best Songster to have the Prize, and all of them to have Liquor sufficient to clear their Wind-Pipes.¹⁵

Describing the fair after it took place, the paper relates that “Drums were beating, Trumpets sounding, and other Musick playing, for the Entertainment of the Company, and the whole...gave as great Satisfaction, in general, as cou’d possibly be expected.”¹⁶

By far one of the most widespread and accessible forms of public musical performances in Williamsburg was in the theatre, and Williamsburg’s theatrical activity had strange origins. In September 1717, merchant William Levingston released a dancing master and his wife, Charles and Mary Stagg, from their term of indentured servitude. The Staggs and Levingston together endeavored to “Obtain a Patent or Lycence from the Governour of Virga: for the Sole Priviledge of Acting Comedies, Drolls or Other Kind of Stage Plays within any part of the sd Colony not only for the Three Years next Ensueing the date hereof but for as much longer time as the sd Governour Shall be pleased to grant.” Levingston arranged “with all convenient Speed to cause to be Erected & built at his own proper Costs 7 Charge in the City of Wmsburgh One good Substantiall house commoduious for Acting Such Plays as shall be thought fitt to be Acted there.”¹⁷ The structure was completed between November 5, 1716 and May 29, 1721¹⁸ and is mentioned in Reverend Hugh Jones’ account, *The Present State of Virginia*, published in 1724, as “a play house” near Bruton Parish

¹⁵ *Virginia Gazette*, 7 October 1737, 3, Pastportal.

¹⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, 9 December 1737, 4, Pastportal.

¹⁷ York County Records, Orders, Wills, etc., XV (1716-1720): 2-54, quoted in Robert H. Land, “The First Williamsburg Theater,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., Vol. 5, No. 3, 361-2.

¹⁸ Robert H. Land, “The First Williamsburg Theater,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., Vol. 5, No. 3, 362.

Church, “a large area for a market place,” and “a good bowling green,”¹⁹ which would probably place the theatre on Williamsburg’s Palace Green. The theatre was apparently not a successful venture, and Levingston eventually mortgaged and lost the theatre and his other properties to Archibald Blair, a Williamsburg merchant.²⁰ The Staggs continued to give dance lessons in town and were probably involved in later theatrical ventures. The theatre property changed hands several times and was eventually bought by the city in 1745 after the city’s officials petitioned the owners “that they bestow their ‘present useless house on this Corporation’ for use as a public building.”²¹ Within six years, another theatre had been constructed near the back of the Capitol.²²

Theatrical events in Williamsburg were a combination of local amateur performances and those given by traveling companies. Many of the former were benefit concerts. For example, on April 24, 1752, a production to benefit one Mrs. Beccely was to be given, including “a Comedy, called the Constant Couple: or a Trip to the Jubilee. The Part of Sir Harry Wildair to be perform’d by Mr. Kean, Colonel Standard, by Mr. Murray, and the Part of Angelica to be perform’d by MRS. BECCELY.” The evening did not end with *The Constant Couple*, for there was also “Entertainment of Singing between the Acts: Likewise a Dance called the Drunken Peasant. To which will be added a Farce, called the Lying Valet.”²³ Traveling theatre troupes such as the American Company performed ballad operas, popular in England and the colonies at the time: “By Authority. By the American

¹⁹ Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia, From Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina*, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, for The Virginia Historical Society, 1956), 70.

²⁰ Land, 366.

²¹ York County Records, Deeds, V (1741-1754), 153-4. Quoted in Land, 373.

²² Land, 373.

²³ *Virginia Gazette*, 17 April 1752, 3, Pastportal.

Company. At the Theatre in Williamsburg...An English Comick Opera called Love in a Village...The Orchestra to be conducted by Mr. Hallam. To which will be added a Farce called The Buck: or, The Englishman in Paris.”²⁴ The Hallams, also performing under the name of London Company of Comedians, first arrived in America at Yorktown in 1752, marking a shift in the level of professionalism and quality in American musical theatre. They toured between various colonial cities but enjoyed special success in the South.²⁵

In addition to the works of Thomas Arne, John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera* was exceedingly popular in Williamsburg, for in 1770, an advertisement tells that “Mr. Douglass, with his company of comedians, arrived in town from Philadelphia; and, we hear, intend opening the theatre in this city, on Saturday, with the Beggars Opera, and other entertainment.”²⁶ Two years earlier, *The Beggar’s Opera* premiered in Williamsburg, as announced by Purdie and Dixon in their edition of the *Virginia Gazette*: “For the Benefit of Mrs. Parker. On *Friday* the 3d of June next will be presented The Beggar’s Opera. The part of Captain Macheath by Mr. Verling, being his first appearance in that character; and the part of Miss Polly Peachum [Peacham] by Mrs. Parker. After the opera a dance, called the Drunken Peasant, by Mr. Godwin. To which will be added a farce, called The Anatomist, or Sham Doctor. The musick of the opera to be conducted by Mr. *Pelham*, and others.”²⁷

Purdie’s and Dixon’s competitor, Rind, also ran an advertisement describing a production “For the Benefit of Mrs. Parker. By Permission *Of the Worshipful the Mayor of Williamsburg*,

²⁴ Bullock, “Appendix of Data from Williamsburg and Related Virginia Records of Music, Musical Instruments, Musicians and Musical Performances,” *On Music*, 27. Original playbill in Special Collections Department, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

²⁵ Sablosky, 27.

²⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 14 June 1770, 3, Pastportal.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 26 May 1768, 2.

At the old Theatre near the Capitol, By the Virginia Company of Comedians, on *Friday* the 3d of *June*, will be presented, The Beggar's Opera and The Anatomist, or Sham Doctor."²⁸

Similarly, a play was advertised "By the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF COMEDIANS...a TRAGEDY, CALLED VENICE Preserved, or a Plot Discovered....To which will be added a ballad OPERA, called Damon and Phillida....N.B. No [persons] whatever can be admitted behind the scenes."²⁹ In 1772, the American Company advertised on April 28th "A Comedy (never performed there) written by Arthur Murphy, Esquire, called the Way to Keep Him. To which will be added, The Oracle. Singing by Mrs. Stamper."³⁰ A week earlier, the same company performed "A Comedy called the Provok'd Husband: Or, a Journey to London. To conclude with the Farce of Thomas and Sally: Or The Sailor's Return."³¹ During public times, the theatre must have enjoyed a great deal of patronage. For example, "The American Company of Comedians intend for this Place by the Meeting of the General Assembly, and to perform till the End of the April Court. They then proceed to the Northward, by Engagement, where it is probable they will continue some Years."³² Although theatrical productions were a standard part of social and artistic life, not everyone enjoyed them. The sometimes cynical planter and Burgess Landon Carter reported in his diary that "Charles Carter and the Attourney dragged me to the Play, and there I was surfeited with Stupidity and nonsense delivered from the mouths of Walking Statues."³³

²⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, 26 May 1768, 2, Pastportal.

²⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 7 April 1768, 2, Pastportal.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 23 April 1772, 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 16 April 1772, 3.

³² *Ibid.*, 23 January 1772, 3.

³³ Jack P. Greene, ed. 15 April 1752, *The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778* (hereafter Green) (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, for The Virginia Historical Society, 1965), v.1, 103.

Carter's diary entry is in the same month as the Virginia Company's advertisements, and it is likely that the production he saw was *Venice Preserved*.

In addition to plays and ballad operas, more unusual musical performances were given in Williamsburg's theatre. One Mr. Gardiner advertised that he would present

A Curious Set Of Figures, richly dressed, four feet high; they are to appear on the stage as if alive, and will perform a tragic performance, called Bateman and his Ghost. Likewise a Set of Waterworks, representing the Sea, and all manner of Sea Monsters sporting on the waves. With the taking of the Havannah, with ships, forts, and batteries, continually firing, until victory crowns the *British* forces; with the appearance of the two armies. To which will be added, a magnificent piece of Machinery, called Cupid's Paradise, representing seventy odd Pillars and Columns, with the appearance of Neptune and Amphratrie, and music suitable thereto. The whole to conclude with a magnificent set of Fireworks, such as caterine wheels, *Italian* candles, sea fountains, and sun flowers with the appearance of the sun and moon in their full lustre. Mr. Gardiner will extend himself between two chairs, and suffer any of the company to break a stone of two hundred weight on his bare breast. Tickets to be had at the Theatre, which are 3s 9. for the Box, Pit 2s 6, and Gallery 1s 3. The performance to begin at 6 o'clock. *Vivant Rex & Regina*. No person can be admitted behind the scenes. *N.B.* Between the acts will be instrumental music, consisting of *French* horns and trumpets.³⁴

Music played an important role in entertainment of all kinds; it formed a backdrop for more unusual performances, such as this one, and it also stood on its own between acts in the theatre, continuing the *intermezzo* practice of the Baroque.

Substantial records describing public concerts given by professional musicians have not survived. However, it is clear that they did take place. Cuthbert Ogle, who advertised music lessons in the *Virginia Gazette*, had been a prominent concert musician in London, performing on the harpsichord.³⁵ Although Ogle died a short time after arriving in

³⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, 19 November 1772, 3, Pastportal. See Appendix I.

³⁵ Darling, *Let the Anthems Swell*, 19.

Williamsburg, it is possible he may have given public concerts in order to bolster his teaching plans. Similarly, Carl Theodor Pachelbel traveled along the Atlantic coast between 1733 and 1737 giving concerts in cities such as New York and Charleston. It is feasible that Pachelbel included Williamsburg in his tour and gave public concerts.³⁶

Figures such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were frequent patrons of musical concerts and theatrical performances. For example, Washington records in his diary that, one evening, he “dined at Mrs. Campbell’s [tavern]. Went to the Concert and then to Mrs. Campbell’s again.” The month before, in the course of three days, Washington attended a ball and saw two different plays.³⁷ He also notes that, on May 2nd, 1765, he bought a ticket “to hear the [Glass] Armonica.”³⁸ Jefferson’s account books for the periods he spent in Williamsburg, as a student at William and Mary and later as he participated in government, indicate that he also was a frequent patron of the theatre and other musical concerts. In May 1769, Jefferson writes on the 5th that he paid “Peter Pelham for playing on organ,” and on the 11th, “Pd. at concert.”³⁹ Similarly, in 1772, he paid for a theatre ticket on April 21 to see the American Company’s performance of *The Provoked Husband* and *Thomas*

³⁶ Smith to Bullock, Swem Special Collections. Interestingly, Peter Pelham, who was studying with Carl Theodor Pachelbel during this period, probably accompanied him on this journey and therefore may have visited Williamsburg before relocating there several years later.

³⁷ John C. Fitzpatrick, *George Washington: Colonial Traveller 1732-1775* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1927), 9 March 1772 and 6 April 1772, 309-11. See Judith S. Britt, *Nothing More Agreeable: Music in George Washington’s Family* (Mount Vernon, VA: Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association of the Union, 1984), 11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 186. The glass harmonica was invented in 1763 and consisted of “a series of glass basins of graded sizes fixed on a horizontal spindle, which is made to revolve by a treadle operated by the player’s foot. The spindle is fitted into a trough filled with water so that the glasses are kept wet.” Music written for the instrument includes, among others, works by Mozart and Beethoven. See “Glass (h)armonica,” *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, ed. Don Michael Randel, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 352-3.

³⁹ James A. Bear, Jr., and Lucia C. Stanton, eds., *Jefferson’s Memorandum Books: Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826*, Vol. 1, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 2nd Ser. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 142.

and Sally.⁴⁰ On May 14th of the same year, Jefferson paid for both a theatre ticket and for “hearing musical glasses,” or a concert on the glass harmonica.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Bear, Vol. 1, 288.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 289.

Chapter 3: Music in Private

Just as public musical performances in eighteenth-century Williamsburg mirrored those in England, music in the home was part of a broader emulation of English society. Williamsburg elite would have gathered in each others' homes for balls and social calls. Music would have played a central role in these occasions, and such musical customs were similarly practiced by the gentry class who resided on the sprawling plantations of Tidewater Virginia. The gentry and the ruling elite made up the upper class of Virginia society, and both groups intermingled as planters, serving as Burgesses and other government officials, resided in Williamsburg during public times, and well to do Williamsburg residents visited friends and relatives at the massive plantations. The number of Williamsburg residents and nearby plantation holders who owned sheet music and musical instruments attests to the extent to which music was a part of daily life. Moreover, music was indispensable at social and family gatherings across the region. Musical performance abounded in so many Williamsburg households that Landon Carter, the uncle of Robert Carter, remarked, "I do suppose they must make a godly addition to the present modes of concerts, for I hear from every house a constant tuning may be listened to, from one instrument or another, whilst the vocal dogs will no doubt compleat the howl."¹

¹ Green, Vol. 2, 21 August 1771, 618.

One well-known family in which music played a major role was that of John Blair, founder and first president of the College of William and Mary. Blair's 1751 diary records instances of musical activity in his own household. He writes on January 17th, "Clear & very warm, had comp[any]. Mr. J.R. play'd on his violin & Dr. Hackerston on his G[erman] flute."² Later that year, he records that "Mr Bacon &c din[ed] here, we had fine musick."³ In addition to frequent musical performances in his own home, Blair was constantly presented with music in the homes of others. On July 10, 1751, he had "Fine Entert[ainment] of music at Braffert[on]"⁴ Later that month, he "din[ed] w[ith] Dr Gilm[er]. Fine Viol[in] Mr Pettit danced fine."⁵ In September, Blair "Dined at Col. Hunters & heard Harpsicor[d]."⁶

Just as Blair himself was active in musical pursuits, so too were his daughters. Anne Blair writes to her sister, Martha Braxton, "Governor Tryon, his lady, and Mr. Edward's was to drink Tea at our House the day we came to Town...The Lady had unfortunately scall'd three of her Fingers (I say unfortunately, for else she wou'd have play'd the Spinnet)."⁷ The next day, also in a letter to her sister, she sends

My Love to Mrs. Orrel, I wish she was winding for me with all my Heart, but why so silent? the Spinnet will grow so intollirably Lazy, with so much indulgence, that when Mr. Starke call's on you to set them in motion; am afraid they will not move with that active spring, which you from custom had made perfectly easy to them – during my stay at Newington. dear me I forgot to get those Song's I promised; well! I will to Pelham's on purpose for them this Evening.⁸

² Tyler, "Diary of John Blair," 135.

³ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁷ Blair to Braxton, Swem Special Collections.

⁸ *Ibid.*

The Blair sisters were not the only women in Williamsburg to especially enjoy music. In correspondence with Frances Bland Randolph,⁹ John Howell Briggs of Wales writes that he sends “most respectful compliments to Mrs. Randolph—he incloses her a piece of musick, which Mrs. Victor informed him she was in want of. He [with] the greatest pleasure will copy any piece of musick for Mrs. Randolph, if she will only favor him with her commands. A grateful remembrance of her past kindnesses to him he will ever retain, and wishes most ardently he had it in his power to make a suitable return.”¹⁰

Music in private was not confined to domestic settings. Men of the elite frequently met together, forming intellectual salons, and music was a common object of these gatherings. For example, a young Thomas Jefferson, studying law at the College of William and Mary, tells that two mentors, Dr. Small and Dr. Wythe

procured for me...the attentions of Governor Fauquier, the ablest man who ever filled the chair of government here....At their frequent dinners with the Governor, (after his family had returned from England,) he admitted me always, to make it a *partie quarree*. At these dinners I have heard more good sense, more rational and philosophical conversations, than in all my life besides. They were truly Attic societies. The Governor was musical also, and a good performer, and associated me with two or three other amateurs in his weekly concerts.¹¹

⁹ Mrs. Randolph, late in 1777, married St. George Tucker and was thereafter known as Frances Bland Randolph Tucker.

¹⁰ John Howell Briggs to Frances Bland Randolph, 15 May 1777, Tucker-Coleman Papers, Swem Special Collections.

¹¹ Thomas Jefferson to L.H. Girardin, Monticello, 15 January 1815, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Andrew A. Lipscomb, vol. 14. (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1903-4), 231-2.

In these salon concerts, Jefferson played second violin, with Fauquier or John Randolph playing first violin, Robert Carter harpsichord, and John Tyler cello.¹² In addition, the local Masonic Lodge chapter involved music in its proceedings. The account books of the Lodge in June 1773 call for a subscription to be raised “among the Brotherhood for the purpose of collecting a sum of Money to be laid out in an organ for the use of this Lodge,”¹³ and in December 1774, the Lodge recorded “cash paid [to reimburse Edward] Charleton...for French Horn.”¹⁴ At the 1773 funeral of *Virginia Gazette* printer and Masonic brother William Rind, “a solemn Dirge, suitable to the Occasion, was performed on the Organ [of Bruton Parish Church], by Mr. Peter Pelham, a Brother likewise.”¹⁵

Music as part of private gatherings had much to do with gender roles and social rituals, especially for women. Music was often one way in which women attracted eligible suitors. For example, in the “Poet’s Corner” column of the *Gazette*, an anonymous gentlemen pleads,

*Ah me! Mr. Dixon,
A dear little vixen
Has caught me! And I could for her die!
Those lines pray set
In your next Gazette,
I’m a friend, Sir, to you and to Purdie.*

On Miss Anne Geddy singing, and playing on the Spinnet.

When Nancy on the spinet plays
I fondly on the virgin gaze,

¹² Sandor Salgo, *Thomas Jefferson: Musician and Violinist*. (Stanford, CA: The Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc., 2000), 6.

¹³ “Williamsburg Lodge of Masons,” *William and Mary Quarterly* Ser. 1, Vol. 25, No. 3, 153. See “Masonic Lodge Historical Report,” Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series 1234, 1939, Pastportal.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 26 August 1773, 2, Pastportal.

And with that she was mine;
Her air, her voice, her lovely face,
Unite, with such excessive grace,
The nymph appears divine!

A smile or kiss, or amorous toy,
To me can give but little joy,
From any maid but she;
Corelli, Handel, Felton, Nares,
With their concertos, solos, airs,
Are far less sweet to me!

Ye fates, who cause our joy, or grief,
Oh! give my wounded heart relief,
Let me with her be blest;
Oh! Venus, soften the dear maid,
Oh! Cupid, grant thy powerful aid,
And pierce her youthful breast.¹⁶

Miss Geddy's suitor was no doubt attracted to her musical abilities as part of her beauty and charm. Similarly, musical talent was often seen as an indication of refinement and social grace and was used as part of the measure of a woman's accomplishments. Fithian describes several young women, and his depictions are based to a large extent on their musicality. For instance, on the morning after a ball, he writes that "After Breakfast the young Ladies [Three Miss Tayloes, Three Miss Ritches and Miss Fantleroy] favoured us with several Tunes on the Harpsichord—They all play & most of them in good Taste."¹⁷ A few days later, he writes that "Miss Betsy [Carter] plays the Harpsichord extremely well, better I think than any young Lady I have seen in Virginia."¹⁸

¹⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 22 December 1768, 4. This advertisement also appears in Rind's edition on the same day, with minor alterations. James Nares was an eighteenth-century English composer popular chiefly for his keyboard and church music. See Watkins Shaw, "Nares, James," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed., vol. 17 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 639-41.

¹⁷ Farish, 3 August 1774, 156.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 7 August 1774, 157.

In addition to the Blairs and other gentry families in the area, one particularly musical family was that of Colonel Robert Carter,¹⁹ one of the wealthiest men in Virginia, who owned a sprawling plantation, Nomini Hall, in the Northern Neck of Virginia, as well as a house in Williamsburg.²⁰ Carter owned numerous musical instruments, including a piano and guitar; Fithian's journal is full of descriptions of Carter and his children engaged in musical activities, and he frequently describes scenes where he "Spent most of the Day at the great House hearing the various Instruments of Music,"²¹ and "We spent the evening in Music Chat & pleasantry."²² According to Fithian, Carter had "a good Ear for Music; a vastly delicate Taste: and keeps good Instruments," including an organ, on which Carter was "indefatigable in the Practice."²³ Fithian explains that Carter's "main Studies are *Law & Music*, the latter of which seems to be his darling Amusement—It seems to nourish, as well as entertain his mind! And to be sure he has a nice well judging Ear, and has made great advances in the Theory. and Practice of music." The colonel did indeed study music theory in addition to practicing, for that evening he was reported as "busy in transposing Music."²⁴

One musical novelty which Carter possessed was his glass harmonica, an instrument invented by Benjamin Franklin that exciting interest in Francis Hopkinson and Thomas

¹⁹ See Maurer, "A Musical Family."

²⁰ Carter and his family resided primarily in Williamsburg 1761-1772. Presumably because of the changing political climate and the deaths of four of his children and two close friends, Governors Fauquier and Botetourt, the Carter family returned to Nomini Hall, his plantation on the Northern Neck of Virginia.

It may be assumed that musical activities at Nomini Hall would for the most part have been mirrored during residence in Williamsburg; similarly, events at Nomini Hall would have been representative of the kinds of activities taking place on the plantations surrounding Williamsburg. Therefore, the present study includes references to music at Nomini Hall, for example in Fithian's diary.

²¹ Farish, 28 December 1773, 42.

²² *Ibid.*, 18 October 1774, 207.

²³ *Ibid.*, 13 December 1773, 29.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 January 1774, 47-8.

Jefferson.²⁵ Carter acquired his harmonica after hearing news of the instrument through Peter Pelham: “Mr. Pelham of this Place [Williamsburg] is returned from New York. He heard on that journey Mr. B. Franklin of Philadelphia perform upon the Armonica. The Instrument pleased Pelham amazingly...[being] Formed into a complete Instrument, capable of Thorough-bass & never out of tune.”²⁶

Carter continued to perform on his glass harmonica when the family returned to Nomini Hall. On his first time hearing the harmonica, Fithian remarked, “The music is charming! He [Carter] play’d, Water parted from the Sea.²⁷ –The Notes are clear and inexpressibly Soft, they swell, and are inexpressibly grand; & either it is because the sounds are new, and therefore please me, or it is the most captivating Instrument I have Ever heard. The sounds very much resemble the human voice, and in my opinion they far exceed even the swelling Organ.”²⁸ Several months later, Carter performed on the harmonica for the household again, this time with his children’s music master: “Mr *Carter* & Mr *Stadley* performed both on the *harmonica* I am charm’d with the Sounds! The melody is swelling, grave & grand!”²⁹ The next day, Carter and Stadley “played on the Harpsichord & harmonica several Church Tunes & Anthems, with great propriety.”³⁰ Later that month, one “Evening after Coffee the C[o]lonel entertained us by playing on the Harmonica.”³¹

The Colonel was also proficient on instruments other than the glass harmonica, and he frequently played them as part of his domestic habits. Fithian reports one “Evening Mr

²⁵ See Thomas Jefferson to Francis Hopkinson, Paris, 23 December 1786, Lipscomb, Vol. VI, 20-23.

²⁶ Robert Carter to John M. Jordan, 23 May 1764, quoted in Barden, “Innocent and Necessary,” 12.

²⁷ From Thomas Arne’s *Artaxerxes*. See note 77, Farish, 243-4.

²⁸ Farish, 22 December 1773, 37.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11 August 1774, 158.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 12 August 1774, 158.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 29 August 1774, 181.

Carter at the Harpsichord,”³² another evening “the Colonel in the Parlour tuning his *Guitar*,³³ and “the Colonel in the evening busy at his Instrument of Music.”³⁴ Fithian also described on Christmas day, “While we supped Mr *Carter* as he often does played on the *Forte-Piano*. He almost never sups.”³⁵ Carter included his family in his own musical hobbies, for Fithian also notes “The Colonel and his Daughter busy at Music.”³⁶

Carter’s children were also very musical, and they performed music at home just as their father did. Carter’s eldest of five daughters, Priscilla, affectionately referred to by Fithian as “Miss Prissy,” “befor Breakfast, as it is her practising Day, gave us sundry Tunes on the *Forte Piano*.” She “plays well on key’d Instruments, and is upon the whole in the first Class of the female Sex.” Nancy,³⁷ the second eldest, “is only beginning to play the *Guitar*, She understands the Notes well.” Even Harriot, the youngest, “seems to have a Heart easily moved by the force of Music; She has learned many Tunes & can strike any Note, or Succession of Notes perfectly with the Flute or Harpsichord, and is never wearied with the sound of Music either vocal or *Instrumental*.”³⁸ One evening, Nancy “scratches her Instrument [guitar], after a long preparation, into the Air of ‘Water parted from the Sea.’”³⁹ Robert (“Bob”), Carter’s youngest of two sons, was also musical, and he “agreed for half a

³² Farish, 2 June 1774, 111.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1 January 1774, 45.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2 October 1774, 200.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 25 December 1773, 41.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 15 January 1774, 55.

³⁷ Née Ann Tasker.

³⁸ Farish, 4 January 1774, 47-9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1774, 132.

Bit a Week to play the Flute every Night, or read, for me, twenty Minutes after I [Fithian] am in Bed.”⁴⁰

Music in the Carters’ household was often produced in the form of informal family parlor concerts, frequently including Fithian and the Carter children’s music teacher, Mr. Stadley. Carter even proposed “to make the vacant End of [the] School-Room...a Concert-Room, to hold all his instruments of Music...& make it a place for Practice, as well as Entertainment.”⁴¹ Fithian records that, “Mr *Stadley* Miss Priscilla’s Music Master arrived this morning—He performed several peices [*sic.*] on the Violin.”⁴² The next day, “Miss Priscilla with her Music Master, they performed together to day.”⁴³ Stadley was “a man of Sense, & has great Skill in music. I [Fithian] spent the Evening in the Room in the midst of music.”⁴⁴ Similarly, “Mr Stadley spent the evening in playing several songs & Sonata’s on the Harpsichord & violin.”⁴⁵

Fithian and Ben, Carter’s eldest son, frequently performed a favorite Sonata for the colonel and the rest of the family: “The Colonel at Dinner gave Ben & I a Piece of Music to prepare on our Flutes, in which he is to perform the thorough Bass.”⁴⁶ Two nights later, “Evening the Colonel & I performed the *Sonata*. I had the Pleasure to hear the Colonel say that I have my part perfect.”⁴⁷ Again, a few nights later, “Evening we performed the Sonata

⁴⁰ Farish, 16 February 1774, 65.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 7 January 1774, p.51.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 7 December 1773, p.28.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 8 December 1773, p.28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 17 March 1774, p.79.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 15 June 1774, p.121.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 24 February 1774, p.68.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 26 February 1774, p.68.

I the first; Ben the second; & Mr Carter the thorough Bass on the *Forte Piano*.”⁴⁸ A few days later, on a rainy spring morning, “Mr Carter appointed to *Ben*, & I another *Sonata* to practise.”⁴⁹ After a few days practicing, “Evening we played in our small Concert our old *Sonata*; & besides Feltons Gavott⁵⁰, supp’d at nine.” The sonata received a final performance yet a few nights later in a concert given for Stadley: “Mr Carter sent for *Ben* & I to play over the *Sonata* which we have lately learn’d; we performed it, & had not only Mr Stadleys Approbation, but his praise; he did me the honour to say that ‘I play a good Flute.’ He took a Flute also and play’d....When compared to him, the beste that Ben or I can do, is like Crows among Nightingales.”⁵¹

Notwithstanding the Carter family’s extraordinary degree of musicality, it was common for youths in well to do families to perform music for their own families and visitors. While calling on other gentry family in the area of Nomini Hall, Fithian reports hearing at Colonel Tayloe’s “the young Ladies...in the Hall playing the Harpsichord.”⁵² On another visit to Colonel Tayloe’s, “the young Ladies played several tunes for us, & in good Taste on the *Harpsichord*.”⁵³

⁴⁸ Farish, 28 February 1774, 69. It is interesting that Carter chose to play the continuo on a forte-piano, since he did own an harpsichord at Nomini Hall.

⁴⁹ Farish, 5 March 1774, 71.

⁵⁰ According to Farish, “William Felton (1713-1769), an English clergyman, was well known in the eighteenth century as a composer, and performer on the harpsichord and organ. ‘Felton’s Gavot,’ which was long highly popular, had been introduced into Legrenzio Vincenzo Ciampi’s opera ‘Bertoldo in Corte’ in 1762. The music was written for the gavot, a lively dance of French peasant origin, in which the feet were raised in the step instead of being slidden.” See Farish, note 107, 245-6. See Gerald Gifford, “Felton, William,” *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 662-3.

⁵¹ Farish, 18 March 1774, 82.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 2 August 1774, 152.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 7 April 1774, 95.

In addition to members of the family circle, servants and slaves also participated in the musical activities of their masters. For example, music for informal dancing was almost always provided by servants.⁵⁴ Indeed, it was common practice for heads of household to seek out servants who also possessed musical abilities in order to augment their own musical ambitions. Jefferson proposed, “in a country where, like [Italy], music is cultivated and practised by every class of men I suppose there might be found persons of those trades who could perform on the French horn, clarinet or hautboy and bassoon, so that one might have a band of [several instruments] without enlarging their domest[ic] expences.”⁵⁵ Similarly, Cuthbert Hubbard advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that a “Young Man of good Character, who can take Care of Horses, and will travel with a single Person, may hear of good Encouragement by applying to Mr. Cuthbert Hubbard; near the College, in Williamsburg. If he can play upon the French Horn, it will be the more agreeable.”⁵⁶ In like manner, William Fearson advertised “to buy or to hire, An orderly Negro or Mulatto man, who can play well on the violin. Whoever has such a one may have good wages, or a good price, and ready money, if to be sold.”⁵⁷ In addition to servants and slaves, tradesmen often also had significant musical exposure, if not actual training. For example, Fithian describes an incident in which an intoxicated carpenter stumbles into his bedchamber: “My Flute was lying on the Table, he took it for a Trumpet & tooted in for two or three Minutes...But I left the Room glad to be free of his foolish Impertinence.”⁵⁸

⁵⁴ John C. Molnar, “Art Music in Colonial Virginia,” *Art Music in the South*, ed. Francis Simkins (Farmville, VA: Institute of Southern Culture Lectures, Longwood College, 1961), 69.

⁵⁵ Jefferson to Fabbro, Williamsburg, 8 June 1778, Boyd, 196.

⁵⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 25 November 1773, 2, Pastportal.

⁵⁷ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, 14 September 1769, 3, Pastportal.

⁵⁸ Farish, 7 October 1774, 202.

Not only did gentlemen seek out household servants who could augment their own musical activities and provide them with entertainment, but they also looked to their slaves for music. In 1767, there was “To be Sold, A Valuable young handsome *Negro Fellow*, about 18 or 20 years of age, has every qualification of a genteel and sensible servant....He shaves, dresses hair, and plays on the *French* horn. He lately came from *London*, and has with him two suits of new clothes, and his *French* horn, which the purchaser may have with him. Inquire at the Printing Office of Mess. *Purdie* and *Dixon*.”⁵⁹ In addition, slave traders often marketed the musical abilities of those they were selling; “*To be Sold, A Young healthy Negro fellow, who has been used to wait on a Gentleman, and plays extremely well on the French horn. For further particulars apply to the Printer.*”⁶⁰ Fithian describes scenes in which the Carter children and slaves made music and danced together. One evening, “the Negroes collected themselves into the School-Room, & began to play the *Fiddle*, & dance....I went among them, *Ben*, & *Harry* [Carter] were of the company—*Harry* was dancing with his Coat off—I dispersed them however immediately.”⁶¹ Later that week, Fithian writes, “in the School-Room, which is below my Chamber, several Negroes & *Ben*, & *Harry* are playing on a *Banjo* & dancing!”⁶²

Dozens of ads in the *Gazette* refer to runaway slaves who possess musical abilities, especially those who fiddle.⁶³ For example, Robert Whitfield advertised in 1745, “Ran away from the Subscriber’s Plantation, in the *Isle of Wight*, on the 17th Day of *November* last, a likely young Negroe Man, named *Tom*; he is a middle-fig[ure]d Fellow, Country-born, and plays

⁵⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 23 July 1767, 3, Pastportal.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 March 1766, 4, Pastportal. This exact advertisement also ran in Purdie & Dixon, 4 April 1766, 4.

⁶¹ Farish, 30 January 1774, 61-2.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 2 February 1774, 62.

⁶³ See Richard Crawford, *An Introduction to American Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 71.

very well on the Violin.”⁶⁴ Another slave, in 1746, “Ran away from the Subscriber, living near *James-Town*, last *Sunday*. . . . He is about 5 Feet 6 Inches high, thin visag’d, has small Eyes, and a very large Beard; is about 35 Years old; and plays upon the Fiddle.”⁶⁵ Many runaway slaves made sure they would still be able to make music away from their masters’ land; “Run away from the subscriber, on *Monday* the 20th of this instant, a Mulatto slave, named David Gratenread; he is an arch fellow, very well known by most people, plays the fiddle extremely well. . . . I believe he has carried his fiddle with him.”⁶⁶ An escaped slave named Peter “carried away a gun of an uncommon large size, and a fiddle, which he is much delighted in when he gets any strong drink, which he is remarkably fond of, and then very talkative and imprudent.”⁶⁷ Another runaway slave, Billy, “can play on violin, which he carried away with him, and is by trade a ship carpenter.”⁶⁸ Yet another slave, Jack, “is by trade a shoemaker, and once worked with Mr. Robert Gilbert in Williamsburg, is fond of the violin, and has taken with him a new one, which his master lately gave him.”⁶⁹

Although by far the most common instrument slaves played was the violin, many played others as well. For instance, a runaway slave in Hanover “speaks good *English*, was born in the *West Indies*, beats the drum tolerably well, which he is very fond of, and loves liquor.”⁷⁰ Another runaway slave “is a Native of *Africa*, speaks *English* tolerably, stoops when he walks, and plays on the *French Horn*.”⁷¹ A Mulatto runaway named Peter Brown “is

⁶⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, 5 December 1745, 4, Pastportal.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 27 March 1746, 4, Pastportal.

⁶⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 7 May 1767, 3, Pastportal.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 4 May 1769, 3, Pastportal.

⁶⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 4 August 1768, 3, Pastportal.

⁶⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, 20 May 1773, 2, Pastportal.

⁷⁰ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie & Dixon, 4 April 1766, 4, Pastportal.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1773, 3, Pastportal.

fond of Singing and sings well.”⁷² In January 1775, a slave named Charles “plays exceedingly well on the Banger [banjo], and generally carries one with him.”⁷³ Although these slaves cultivated music with primarily African and African-American roots for their own purposes within their culture, many slaves entertained their masters with their music and probably participated in domestic musical activities.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 16 June 1774, 3, Pastportal.

⁷³ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Dixon, 18 February 1775, 3, Pastportal.

Chapter 4: Dancing

Just as playing musical instruments and singing were an integral part of daily life in Colonial Virginia, dancing formed an overwhelming part of social interaction between gentry and upper-class families. Indeed, Philip Fithian wrote that, “*Virginians* are of genuine Blood—They will dance or die!”¹ Williamsburg, as the capital of the colony, was particularly alive with the balls and public events at which dancing would have been standard practice. Moreover, musical performance was integral in order to perpetuate the dancing. Williamsburg did indeed prove to be a center for dancing and social interaction. John Blair, president of the College of William and Mary said while showing the college chapel to a visiting Quaker, “This is the most useful place in the College for here we sometimes preach and pray, and sometimes fiddle and dance; the one to edify, and the other to divert us.”² Similarly, Governor Gooch reported that, “The gentlemen and ladies here are perfectly well bred, not an ill dancer in my government.”³

Dancing thrived at the Governor’s Mansion and the Capitol, which, as the centers of Williamsburg’s political and social scene, must have housed countless balls and other

¹ Farish, 23 August 1774, 177.

² *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1747), 387-388, quoted in Richard L. Morton, “Editor’s Introduction,” Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia, From Whence Is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina*, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, for The Virginia Historical Society, 1956), 11.

³ Governor William Gooch to his brother, 28 December 1727, Transcript copy in Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, quoted in Jones, note 246, 250. See Goodwin, “On Music in Colonial Williamsburg,” *On Music*, 7.

occasions where dancing was executed. Eighteenth-century historian Hugh Jones wrote that, “at the Governor’s House upon birth-nights, and at balls and assemblies, I have seen as fine an appearance, as good diversion, and as splendid entertainments in Governor Spotswood’s time as I have seen anywhere else.”⁴ William Byrd remarked that, in preparing for an impromptu ball at the Capitol, a doctor “secured two fiddlers and candles were sent to the capitol and then the company followed and we had a ball and danced till about 12 o’clock at night and then everybody went to their lodgings.”⁵ Balls at the Governor’s Palace were exceedingly grand by Colonial standards, for they usually employed six to eight musicians and required the hiring of numerous extra servants.⁶

In addition to formal balls and other official events at the Capitol and Palace buildings, dancing was commonplace in less formal situations, especially during public times. For example, in 1752, Alexander Finnie advertises “*To the LADIES and GENTLEMEN,*” that he “purposes to have a BALL, at the *Apollo*, [in Raleigh Tavern] in *Williamsburg*, once every Week, during the Sitting of the General Assembly and Court.”⁷ Balls also marked occasions for celebration. For instance, “Friday the eleventh instant being the birth day of his Excellency General Washington, it was celebrated by a discharge of thirteen round of cannon, and an elegant ball at the Raleigh....The entertainment was grand, and the countenances and manners of the whole company were expressive of their happiness upon the joyful occasion.”⁸

⁴ Jones, 70.

⁵ Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., 2 November 1711, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712* (hereafter *Secret Diary*) (Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 1941), 431.

⁶ Hood, 181.

⁷ *Virginia Gazette*, 27 February 1752, 1, Pastportal.

⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Dixon, 19 February 1780, 2, Pastportal.

Dancing was also a significant part of informal, private social gathering and spontaneous get-togethers. For example, as the Carters return to Nomini Hall, Fithian writes that

It is a custom here whenever any *person* or *Family* move into a *House*, or repair a house they have been living in before, they make a *Ball* & give a *Supper*—So we because we have gotten Possession of the whole House, are in compliance with Custom, to invite our Neighbours, and dance, and be merry.⁹

While on a ferry excursion with his pupil Ben Carter, Fithian records, “About Sunset we left the Ship, & went all to Hobb’s Hole, where a *Ball* was agreed on....The Ball Room—25 Ladies—40 Gentlemen—The Room very long, well-finished, airy & cool, & well-seated—two Fiddlers—Mr *Ritche* stalk’d about the Room...& appointed a sturdy two fisted Gentleman to open the Ball with *Mrs Tayloe*.”¹⁰

William Byrd II, a prominent Virginia planter and political leader and who divided his time between Williamsburg and his Westover Plantation, also described spontaneous dancing. He wrote in his diary, “We dined very late and I ate nothing but fowl and bacon. When that was over we went to Mr. David Bray’s where we danced till midnight.”¹¹ Similarly, while in Yorktown, Byrd recalled, “We walked in the garden about an hour; then we went to dinner and I ate boiled beef. In the afternoon we danced a minuet and then took our leave.”¹² In addition, dancing was common not just in the evening, but also in other parts of the day. For example, Byrd wrote, “Then we played several games of cricket and after a little rest played several more games till it began to rain. About 2 o’clock we went to

⁹ Farish, 31 December 1773, 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2 August 1774, 154.

¹¹ *Secret Diary*, 19 April 1709, 23.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4 May 1709, 30.

dinner and I ate boiled beef for dinner. In the afternoon we danced and were merry till the evening. Then we sat and talked till about 10 o'clock."¹³ Interestingly, after hearing of financial losses sustained as a ship sank, carrying a valuable shipment of tobacco down with it, Byrd and his friends "went to dance away sorrow,"¹⁴ attesting to the importance of dancing in daily life.

Dancing was of ultimate social importance, for it often provided the opportunity for matchmaking and courting. Balls and other occasions for dancing regularly proved the main means for young men and women to meet prospective mates.¹⁵ Fithian reflected at a ball, "It was indeed beautiful to admiration, to see such a number of young persons, set off by dress to the best Advantage, moving easily, to the sound of well performed Music, and with perfect regularity, tho' apparently in the utmost Disorder."¹⁶ Indeed, he was very aware of the role dancing played in romance, for he described a scene in which "Miss *Dolby Edmundson*...danced well, sung a Song with great applause, seemed to enter into the Spirit of the entertainment—A young Spark seemed to be fond of her; She seemed to be fond of him; they were both fond, & the Company saw it....The insinuating Roge waited on her home...the Moment he left the Ball-Room."¹⁷ As further evidence of dancing in daily life, Byrd referred to his routine of calisthenics each day in his diary as having "danced my dance."¹⁸

¹³ *Secret Diary*, 23 March 1710, 156.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 May 1709, 31.

¹⁵ See Isaac, 80-7.

¹⁶ Farish, 18 December 1773, 33.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2 August 1774, 154.

¹⁸ *Secret Diary*, 29 March 1710, 158. See also Maude H. Woodfin and Marion Tinling, eds., *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, For the Years 1739-1741* (Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 1942).

Dancing, in addition to musical performances, was one of the only opportunities women had to distinguish themselves to attract suitable mates. Byrd recalled one evening of dancing and flirtation: "About 4 o'clock we went to dinner and I ate nothing but beef. Then I took a walk and came to Mr. Bland's, from whence Mr. Will Randolph and I went to Colonel Bray's, where we found abundance of ladies and gentlemen dancing. We did not dance but got some kisses among them."¹⁹ Fithian recorded several instances in which he admired the charms he observed in women at balls. One evening, he writes that "Miss *Aphia Fantleroy* danced next, the best Dancer of the whole absolutely—And the finest Girl—Her head tho' was powdered white as Snow, & crap'd in the newest Taste—She is the Copy of the goddess of Modesty—Very handsome; she seemed to be loved by all her Acquaintances, and admir'd by every Stranger."²⁰ A few weeks later, he notes that "Miss *Lee* seems cheerful, dances well, sings agreeably, appears free of formality, & Haughtiness the Common foible here."²¹

The importance of dancing as a social tradition may be traced back to eighteenth-century Virginians' cultural ties with England. Indeed, nearly all of the dances performed in gentry and elite circles originated in England. For example, Charles Carter, the grandfather of Robert Carter, specifically instructed in his will for his sons to study dancing as a part of their education in England.²² Courtly dances included more formal couples dances, such as the gavotte, bourrée, and minuet, from European courts, mainly England and France.²³

¹⁹ *Secret Diary*, 26 April 1709, 26.

²⁰ Farish, 2 August 1774, 154-5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 26 August 1774, 178.

²² David Allen Nichols, "Music, Culture, and the Revolution in Eighteenth Century Virginia," M.A. Thesis, Roosevelt University, 1970, 31.

²³ See Crawford, 49.

However, the minuet seems to be the only courtly dance performed with great frequency.²⁴ Country dances included reels and jigs and were also popular in the English court at the time. Most were performed to English folk tunes, such as those listed with corresponding descriptions of the steps in Playford's *The English Dancing Master: or, Plaine and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance*.²⁵ Until long after the Civil War, Virginia balls traditionally ended with "Sir Roger de Coverley," better known as the Virginia Reel.²⁶

Both country and courtly dances were performed in genteel Virginia society. Fithian makes reference to several balls that included both varieties of dancing. For example, "There were several Minuets danced with great ease and propriety; after which the whole company Joined in country-dances." Later that evening, "When the candles were lighted we all repaired, for the last time, into the dancing Room; first each couple danced a Minuet; then all joined as before in the country Dances."²⁷ At a more formal ball at Lee Hall, after dinner "the Ladies & Gentlemen begun to dance in the Ball-Room—first Minuets one Round; Second Giggs; third Reels; And last of All Country-Dances; tho' they struck several Marches occasionally—The Music was a French-Horn and two Violins."²⁸ During a ball organized during a visit from the dancing master, "the Company danced after candle-light a Minuet round, three Country Dances, several Reels, when we were Rung to Supper after Supper we

²⁴ Isaac, 81.

²⁵ See Appendix III.

²⁶ Mary Newton Standard, *Colonial Virginia: Its People and Customs* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1917), 140-1.

²⁷ Farish, 18 December 1773, 33-4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 18 January 1774, 57.

sit til twelve drinking loyal Toasts.”²⁹ Byrd noted of a ball at the Capitol, “The Governor opened the ball with a French dance with my wife....Then we danced country dances for an hour and the company was carried into another room where was a very fine collation of sweetmeats. The Governor was very gallant to the ladies and very courteous to the gentlemen.”³⁰

The jig, one of the most popular and well-known dances among the social elite of Colonial Virginia, was imputed to have surprisingly unrefined origins. An English visitor to Virginia, Nicholas Cresswell, noted while attending a ball:

Betwixt the Country dances they have what I call everlasting jigs. A couple gets up and begins to dance a jig (to some Negro tune) others comes and cuts them out, and these dances always last as long as the Fiddler can play. This is sociable, but I think it looks more like a Bacchanalian dance than one in a polite assembly. Old Women, Young wives with young children in the lap, widows, maids and girls come promiscuously to these assemblies which generally continue till morning.³¹

Similarly, Andrew Burnaby wrote that, where dancing is concerned, Virginians

discover great want of taste and elegance....Towards the close of an evening, when the company are pretty well tired with country dances, it is usual to dance jiggs; a practice originally borrowed, I am informed, from the Negroes. These dances are without any method or regularity: a gentleman and lady stand up, and dance about the room, one of them retiring, the other pursuing, then perhaps meeting, in an irregular fantastical manner.³²

Fithian noted the way in which religion affected dancing and social interaction. New to the Carter household and to Virginia culture, Fithian was understandably mindful of the

²⁹ Farish, 24 June 1774, 125.

³⁰ *Secret Diary*, 6 February 1711, 297.

³¹ *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777*, 7 January 1775 (New York: The Dial Press, 1924), 53. See Hood, 180, Upton, 219, and Isaac, 84.

³² Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America, in the Years 1759, and 1760: With Observations upon the State of the Colonies*, Library of American Civilization 12158 (Chicago: Library Resources, Inc., 1970), 21-22. See Isaac, 84, and Upton, 219.

way in which religious perspectives and differing ideas could affect music and dancing.

Because of his Presbyterian upbringing, he himself was not taught to dance, a misfortune he often lamented; one evening at a ball, he was “strongly solicited by the young Gentlemen to go in and dance I declined it, however, and went to my Room not without Wishes that it had been a part of my Education.” Fithian rejected the more rigid teachings of Presbyterianism in that he considered dancing “innocent and...ornamental.”³³ Furthermore, Fithian observes the limitations placed on clergymen regarding dancing: “Parson Smiths, & Parson Gibberns Wives danced, but I saw neither of the Clergymen either dance or game.”³⁴

Similarly, Fithian describes a conversation with a Mr. Lane, who informs him that “the *Anabaptists* in *Louden County* are growing very numerous; & seem to be increasing in affluence; and as he thinks quite destroying pleasure in the Country; for they encourage ardent Pray’r; strong & constant faith, & an intire Banishment of *Gaming, Dancing, & Sabbath-Day Diversions*. I have also before understood that they are numerous in many County’s in this Province & are Generally accounted troublesome.”³⁵

³³ Farish, 17 December 1773, 33.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 January 1774, 57.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 March 1774, 72.

Chapter 5: Music and Education

Because music and dancing were such an important part of cultural and social life, it was necessary for them to be included in standard educational practices. Indeed, music was seen as a necessary part of any gentleman's upbringing. For example, Fithian laments not having been taught to dance because of his stricter Presbyterian upbringing: "I...went to my Room not without Wishes that it had been a part of my Education to learn what I think is an innocent and an ornamental, and most certainly, in this province is a necessary qualification for a person to appear even decent in Company!"¹ Similarly, he notes that "any young Gentleman travelling through the Colony...is presum'd to be acquainted with Dancing, Boxing, playing the Fiddle, & Small-Sword, & Cards."² Hugh Jones, in his description of the ideal academic community at the College of William and Mary, proscribes "for the accomplishments of musick, dancing, and fencing, they may be taught by such as the president and masters shall appoint at such certain times, as they shall fix for those purposes....The town masters must be such as occasion requires, for fencing, dancing, and musick."³ Apparently, music and dancing were so important to education at William and Mary that the school was conducting lessons in both before its academic faculty had been

¹ Farish, 17 December 1773, 33.

² Philip Vickers Fithian to John Peck, 12 August 1774, Farish, 161.

³ Jones, 111-1.

fully assembled.⁴ Poor dancing abilities made some gentlemen less socially desirable, and so it was important to cultivate this skill in order to maintain social status. Fithian recalls that “Captain Grigg (Captain of an English Ship) danced a Minuet...that he hobbled most dolefully, & that the whole Assembly laughed!”⁵

Although music was a less vital skill than dancing, both were signs of pedigree, culture, and status, making music and dancing fundamental parts of one’s education. Dancing, in particular, was viewed as so important to children’s education that it actually, on occasion, took precedence over academic subjects. Fithian describes numerous instances in which he is missing several or all of his students in their lessons because of music and dance lessons. For example, in December 1773, Fithian was required to dismiss his pupils for several days “on account of Mr Christian’s *Dance* [lessons].”⁶ No doubt this was in preparation of many balls and dance parties to be held for the Christmas holiday.⁷

Although more modest, familial demands were made of women, dancing and music comprised an important part of their education and upbringing as well. Music was an important part of a girl’s education because music was associated with feminine virtue and domestic tasks such as sewing and cooking.⁸ Similarly, dancing was one way in which a woman could socialize with men and be admired. Fithian notes the effects of a good or bad education in music and dance; of a Miss Jenny Washington, he records that she

has but lately had opertunity [*sic.*] of Instruction in Dancing, yet She moves with propriety when she dances a *Minuet* & without any *Flirts* or vulgar *Capers*,

⁴ Isaac, 81.

⁵ Farish, 8 January 1774, 52.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 December 1773, 32.

⁷ See Farish, 18 December 1773, 33-34.

⁸ Edmund S. Morgan, *Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, VA: Dominion Books, a division of The University Press of Virginia, 1952), 17-8.

when she dances a *Reel* or *Country-Dance*: She plays well on the Harpsichord, & Spinnet; understands the principles of Musick, & therefore performs her Tunes in perfect time, a Neglect of which always makes music intolerable, but it is a fault almost universal among young Ladies in the practice; She sings likewise to her instrument, has a strong, full voice, & a well-judging Ear; but most of the Virginia-Girls think it labour quite sufficient to thump the Keys of a Harpsichord into the air of a tune mechanically, & think it would be Slavery to submit to the Drudgery of acquiring Vocal Music.⁹

Although men were free to play any instrument they chose, women were generally restricted to more “feminine” instruments such as guitar, harp, and keyboard instruments. Ironically, however, it seems as though it was more expected that women learn to play an instrument, for accounts of the education of eighteenth-century women in and near Williamsburg are much more numerous than descriptions of men playing any instrument.

In Williamsburg, numerous schools of dance opened throughout the century. For example, William Dering announced in November 1737 that he had “opened his School at the College, where all Gentlemens Sons may be taught Dancing, according to the newest French Manner.”¹⁰ Similarly, Sarah Hallam announced that she “intends to open a DANCING SCHOOL...for young ladies; she therefore hopes the gentlemen and ladies will be kind enough to favour her with their daughters.”¹¹ It was also very popular for dancing masters to visit the homes of their more prominent pupils, especially those who were girls. For example, Francis Russworm promised to “wait upon young Ladies at their own Homes, to teach them to dance a Minuet after the newest and most fashionable Method.”¹² While he and his family resided in Williamsburg, Robert Carter took advantage of the ready

⁹ Farish, 24 June 1774, 123-4.

¹⁰ *Virginia Gazette*, 25 November 1737, 4.

¹¹ *Virginia Gazette*, ed., Pinkey, 17 August 1775, 3.

¹² *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie & Dixon, 16 May 1771, 31.

availability of dancing instructors; by 1771, four of his children were studying dance under William Fearson.¹³

Similarly to dancing, musical instruction thrived in eighteenth-century Williamsburg. In 1752, a Mr. Singleton “proposes to Teach the Violin in this City, and Places adjacent,”¹⁴ and Francis Russworm “Begs Leave to acquaint the young Gentlemen in and about *Williamsburg* that he shall open School..., at Mr. *Singleton*’s House, to teach the Violin, German and Common Flutes” and requests that “those Gentlemen who intend becoming Scholars will please to subscribe their Names.”¹⁵ In addition, William Attwood, in a 1771 edition of the paper, “Begs Leave to inform the Gentlemen of Williamsburg that he teaches the *French* HORN, HAUTBOY, AND *German* FLUTE; and has, for that Purpose, rented a Room near the College.”¹⁶ Robert Carter’s oldest son, Ben, studied the German flute with Attwood from December 1769 through February 1771.¹⁷ Attwood’s emphasis on the words “gentlemen” and “scholars” clearly points to the implications of refinement and influence that would have been characteristic of the boys privileged enough to subscribe to music lessons.

Music and dancing masters in colonial America came from a broad range of backgrounds. Certainly, many music masters did not have a complete knowledge of all of the instruments which were asked of them. For example, Fithian notes that “*Nancy* learns the *Guitar*, under the direction of her *Papa*, as Mr Stadley does not understand playing on the

¹³ Barden, 25-6.

¹⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, 12 June 1752, 22.

¹⁵ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 16 May 1771, 31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23 May 1771, 2.

¹⁷ Barden, 25.

Guitar.”¹⁸ Most were European-trained artists who journeyed to America because they could not compete with the level of virtuosity present in European courts and salons. However, these individuals commonly boasted of their talent and training once they arrived in America.¹⁹ On the other hand, many music masters may have come as indentured servants, not able to afford the cost of their passage but willing to use their training and talents to buy themselves the opportunity of relocating to the colonies. As an account of one such person describes,

A redemptioner by the name of Palfreman, who had been the victim of an unfortunate experience in London and had come to America, was bought by Colonel Preston, of Southwest Virginia, as a music teacher for his daughters. Colonel Preston, at the expiration of his term of service, invited him to join the family at dinner, and, shaking hands with him said: “Your term of service is ended, and we welcome you into our family circle as a gentleman and friend.”²⁰

Whether second-rate European artist or indentured servant, music masters brought European tradition and training with them, providing colonial America a level of musical expertise that would have otherwise been delayed in arriving.

In order to accommodate lessons in music, girls would likely have been taught in their own home, while boys could be taught in the home or in a school in town. In 1755, a well-known music teacher in Williamsburg, Cuthbert Ogle, “proposes to teach Gentlemen and Ladies to play on the Organ, Harpsichord or Spinett; and to instruct those Gentlemen that play other instruments, so as to enable them to play in Concert.”²¹ In 1775, an advertisement announced that “Ladies who are inclined to learn the GUITTAR may be

¹⁸ Farish, 17 March 1774, 79.

¹⁹ Maurer, “Professor of Musick,” 513.

²⁰ Robert M. Hughes, “Correspondence Genesis of the F.F.V.,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 2nd Ser., Vol. 6, No. 3, 233.

²¹ *Virginia Gazette*, 28 March 1755, 4.

instructed on that instrument by a lady lately arrived.”²² One 1777 paper announced that Mrs. Neill, who also advertised instruments for sale, “is now in *Williamsburg*, where she purposes teaching the GUITAR at one Guinea Entrance, and one Guinea for eight Lessons.”²³

In contrast to the ready availability of music and dancing lessons in town, gentry families living on the more isolated plantations relied on itinerant music and dance masters to make periodic stops along their routes. For example, Singleton promises he “will give Attendance at York, Hampton, and Norfolk, on the aforesaid Terms.”²⁴ Music education in the home was taken seriously by many, especially in the Carter family. In a letter to Reverend Enoch Green, Fithian describes Carter’s eldest of five daughters, Priscilla, “employed two days in every week in learning to play the Forte-Piana[sic.], and Harpsicord[sic.].”²⁵ On December 7, 1773, Fithian notes that “Mr *Stadley* Miss Priscilla’s Music Master arrived this morning—He performed several peices [sic.] on the Violin” and that the following day “Miss Priscilla [was] with her Music Master, they performed together to day.”²⁶ Later that week, Fithian also records that “Miss Nancy [Anne Tasker] is beginning on the *Guitar*.”²⁷ Fithian illustrates the importance of the girls’ musical training in that, in July, Miss Nancy is asked to perform on the guitar after dinner,²⁸ and Fithian mimics their father by writing, “Well, Nancy, I have tuned your Guitar; you are to practice to Day with

²² *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Pinkey, 30 March 1775, 3.

²³ *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, 4 July 1777, 2.

²⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, 12 June 1752, 22.

²⁵ Fithian to Reverend Enoch Green, 1 December 1773, Farish, 26.

²⁶ Farish, 7-10 December 1773, 28.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1774, 132.

Priscilla, who is to play the Harpsichord, till twelve o Clock.”²⁹ Dancing was also a serious matter; Fithian, after observing a dance lesson, recalled, “Mr Christian is punctual, and rigid in his discipline, so strict indeed that he struck two of the young Misses for a fault in the course of their performance, even in the presence of the Mother of one of them! And he rebuked one of the young Fellows so highly as to tell him he must alter his manner...or absent himself from the School—I thought this a sharp reproof, to a young Gentleman of seventeen, before a large number of Ladies!”³⁰

In contrast to the itinerant music teachers, many true masters worked in Williamsburg as well. Venetian-born Francis Alberti taught violin lessons to Jefferson in Williamsburg, and Jefferson thought highly enough of him to coax him to Charlottesville to teach Jefferson at Monticello.³¹ Jefferson rated Alberti’s talents above those of the well-known Italian composer Giovanni Battista Viotti.³² Williamsburg’s own master, Peter Pelham, also had a substantial impact on the town’s musical education. St. George Tucker references Pelham’s “competent number of pupils,”³³ and the mastery with which he assembled his 1755 copybook indicate that he was a highly capable educator.³⁴

²⁹ Farish, 7 July 1774, 133.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 18 December 1773, 33-4.

³¹ Cripe, 16.

³² Carolyn Galbraith Nolan, “Thomas Jefferson: Gentleman Musician,” M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1967, 15.

³³ Tyler, “Letter,” 191.

³⁴ H. Joseph Butler, “Harpsichord Lessons in the New World: Peter Pelham and the Manuscript of 1744,” *Early Keyboard Journal* 12 (1994): 69-70. See Appendix IV.

Chapter 6: Material Culture: Printed Music and Musical Instruments

Just as musical activity, education, and dancing formed integral parts of eighteenth-century culture and society, music's material culture made these activities possible; musical instruments and circulating sheet music provided the vehicle for music-making. Because of English Navigation Acts, any goods shipped to the American colonies were required to first go through England first. As a result, most music and instruments were of English origin, as tariffs and other taxes made Continental goods more expensive. Williamsburg residents, especially the more elite figures, actively sought the latest and most popular music from England. For example, sheet music from popular ballad operas was often available before the opera had arrived in the colonies, and Pelham's 1755 copybook contains several pieces that antedate it by only a few years, demonstrating Pelham's close observation of English musical life.¹

Libraries formed an important body of musical possessions for eighteenth-century Virginians. For example, the estate inventory of Cuthbert Ogle, a newly arrived music master, describes in detail the volumes of music he owned.² Ogle died just a few months after arriving in Williamsburg, and Peter Pelham may possibly have acquired part or all of his collection.³ One important library in Williamsburg was that of the College of William and

¹ Butler, 39.

² See Appendix VI.

³ Darling, *Let the Anthems Swell*, 19.

Mary. However, since the original library's contents burned in 1705 and no catalog can be located, it is not known what music was contained in it. The library was reconstructed partially through donations of wealthy residents and visitors, who may have contributed musical items.⁴ Robert Carter had "an overgrown library of Books,"⁵ including books of Italian music, opera music of Handel arranged for flute, seventeen volumes of music by various composers, Burney's *Present State of Musick in Germany*, and many additional volumes of music left in Williamsburg when he relocated to Nomini Hall.⁶

One method of acquiring both sheet music and instruments was to request specific items directly through an agent or merchant. For example, on April 17, 1771, Yorktown resident Cole Digges, Sr., writes to a London merchant and requests "Martini's Sonatas," "Campioni's Sonatas," "Lampugnani's Sonatas," and "Handel's Water Piece," declaring, "I shall be much Obligated to you if you'll send them by the first Opportunity."⁷ One such transaction went awry when a client died before the item could be delivered: "*Just imported from LONDON, A VERY neat HAND ORGAN, in a mahogany case, with a gilt front, which plays sixteen tunes, on two barrels; it has four stops, and every thing is in the best order. The first cost was 16 £ sterling, and the Lady being dead it came for, any person inclining to purchase it may have it on very reasonable terms.*"⁸

Shipments of various goods arrived regularly from England, often containing a variety of musical items. One such boatload was advertised thus:

⁴ See John Melville Jennings, "Notes on the Original Library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1693-1705," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 41 (1947): 239-267.

⁵ Fithian to Green, 1 December 1773, Farish, 26.

⁶ See Farish, 119, 152, 221-9.

⁷ Frances Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795* (Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 1937), 156-7.

⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 17 September 1767, 2, Pastportal.

By the *Virginia*, Capt. Robertson, PURDIE and DIXON have imported...German Flutes (some of a new Construction) Violins...Also the following Musick, namely, Instructions for the Harpsichord, Violin, and German Flute; *Pasquali's* Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord; *Boccherini* and *Burgess Senior's* Lessons for the Harpsichord; *Midas*, the Padlock, and Love in a Village, for the Harpsichord, Voice, German Flute, Violin, or Guitar; the Maid of the Mill, and Cunning Man, for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte, &c. eight *Italian* Sonatas for two Violins for Flutes, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord, by several eminent Composers; *Fisher's* Minuets, with Variations for the Harpsichord; *Arnold*, *Galuppi*, and *Mazzinghi's* Sonatas for the Harpsichord; *Pasquali*, *Campioni*, *Schobert*, *Just*, *Pugnani*, *Florio*, *Lates*, and *Richter's* Sonatas; *Stamitz's* Concertos, Duets, and grand Orchestra Trios; *Gasparini's* Trios; *Corelli's* Solos; *Vivaldi's* Cuckoo Concertos; *Barbella* and *Reinard's* Duets.⁹

Similarly, another shipment includes "Several choice Pieces of Musick. German Flutes and Violins. Violin Strings and Bridges. Musick Paper, of different Sizes."¹⁰ In addition, a description by Captain Clark of the arrival of a fleet of shipping vessel to the area meant the sale of "Tip-top VIOLINS, with elegant Screw Bows, at five Pounds a Piece."¹¹

Local Williamsburg shops regularly stocked music and musical accessories, as well as more portable musical instruments. For example, when Alexander Purdie announced that he would no longer continue to publish the *Virginia Gazette*, he mentions that, "Meanwhile, I have opened a large and valuable Collection of NEW BOOKS, amongst them a great Variety for the Use of Schools; which, together with a well chosen Parcel of MUSICK, for the Harpsichord, Violin, &c. and a Number of Stationary Articles, will be disposed of on the easiest and very best Terms."¹² Ann Neill "begs Leave to inform the Public in general, and her Friends in particular, that she has opened a Store...near the Market Square, where she purposes to sell all Kinds of European Goods on Commission....She has now on Hand...[a]

⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 August 1771, 3, Pastportal. See Appendix III.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10 June 1773, 3, Pastportal.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 16 May 1771, 2, Pastportal.

¹² *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 1 December 1774, 1, Pastportal.

German Flute [and] Guitar.”¹³ A selection of books and other items for sale at the post office included “Instructions for the Violin & Flute,” “The Beggars Opera set to Musick,” “A great Variety of other Musick, by the best Masters,” “Blank Musick Books,” “Musick Rolling Pens,” “*Cremona* and *Stainer’s* Violins, with the best Screw Bows,” “Silver Basses and best *Roman* Strings,” and “*German* and Common Flutes, of different Sizes.”¹⁴ John Greenhow’s store in Williamsburg boasted “spinnet wire, . . . fiddles, Roman strings, long fiddle sticks, bugle horns tipt and plain, bugles of various colours,”¹⁵ and a few years later for “Hunting Horns tipped and plain, *German* Flutes and Fifes, Spinnet Wire and Hammers.”¹⁶

It is clear that Williamsburg residents patronized the sources of music and musical instruments available to them. For example, on November 4, 1767, Washington records that he buys, in Williamsburg, “fiddle Strings for J. P. Custis.”¹⁷ Similarly, Thomas Jefferson reports on May 27, 1779, that he paid in Williamsburg “at Clarkson’s for music.”¹⁸ One service that Williamsburg residents took advantage of was the presence of a cabinet maker who also possessed the ability to repair musical instruments. Benjamin Bucktrout, who takes over the cabinet-making business of Anthony Hay, advertised in the *Gazette*: “Mr. Anthony Hay having lately removed to the Rawleigh tavern, the subscriber has taken his shop” and announced “spinets and harpsichords made and repaired.”¹⁹ A Colonial Williamsburg Foundation archaeological excavation of the streambed behind the site yielded, in a layer

¹³ *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Dixon, 14 November 1777, 3, Pastportal.

¹⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 3 January 1771, 4, Pastportal.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 September 1768, 2, Pastportal.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 April 1771, 3, Pastportal.

¹⁷ Fitzpatrick, 203.

¹⁸ Bear, 480.

¹⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 8 January 1767, 3, Pastportal.

with furniture parts and scrap wood, the following fragment of an oboe, presumably broken and replaced by the cabinet maker:²⁰



Because the artifact was in a streambed, it could be preserved. The fragment probably comes from the third joint in the instrument, and is made of boxwood with two brass-covered stops or keys.²¹ Bucktrout also filled other musical needs in Williamsburg; for example, in 1772, Robert Carter paid him to repair a music stand and to construct a case for packing Carter's harpsichord, in preparation for moving it to Nomini Hall.²²

Musical instruments were commonly owned by middle- and upper-class Williamsburg residents. For example, the schedule of losses of Governor Dunmore as a result of the Revolution included three organs, a harpsichord, a piano-forte, "other musical instruments," and sheet music.²³ The other Royal governors also apparently owned musical instruments

²⁰ William Pittman, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Archaeologist, Interview with author, 15 April 2003. Photograph by author, 15 April 2003, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Artifact Collection.

²¹ Pittman, 15 April 2003.

²² See Mary R.M. Goodiwn, *Musical Instruments in Eighteenth Century Virginia*, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, addendum, 29.

²³ Hood, 298.

and sheet music; Governor Fauquier owned “1 small collection of Books...Ditto of Music and Instruments,” valued at £10.²⁴ Similarly, everyday citizens of Williamsburg owned musical instruments. For example, dancing master Charles Stagg owned a violin, and tavern keeper Joseph Pullet had a trumpet and two French horns.²⁵ Fithian refers to Carter’s “good Instruments, he has here at Home [Nomini Hall] a *Harpsichord, Forte-Piano, Harmonica, Guittar, Violin, & German Flutes*, & at Williamsburg, has a good *Organ*.”²⁶ Carter most likely had all of these instruments with him in Williamsburg before moving to Nomini Hall.²⁷

One surviving instrument, in the collection of the Botetourt County Historical Society, is a 1720s spinet, the work of English instrument maker Hitchcock. The stand on which the instrument rests has been identified as the work of Peter Scott, an eighteenth-century cabinetmaker in Williamsburg, linking the instrument to the town. Most likely, the spinet was shipped from England to Williamsburg, where the owner commissioned the construction of the stand.²⁸

²⁴ York County Probate Inventories, Pastportal.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Farish, 13 December 1773, 30.

²⁷ In the late 1770s, Carter came under the influence of radical Protestant sects and began to see his musical activities as sinful. Albeit somewhat unsuccessfully, Carter attempted to sell most of his musical instrument collection. See Barden, 60-2.

²⁸ John Watson, Conservator of Instruments, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Telephone interview with author, 8 April 2005.

Epilogue

Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg embodied the essence of the height of the “Golden Age” of Virginia society and culture. Wealthy planters, scholars, government officials, and Founding Fathers all traversed the streets of Williamsburg and participated in cultural activity, of which music was an especially significant part. Music thrived in the homes, churches, concert halls, theatres, and educations of eighteenth-century Virginians. Important musical developments of musicological interest were reflected in the musical lives of Williamsburg inhabitants. For example, the rise of the piano-forte, the rise of ballad opera, the spread of hymnody, and the beginnings of concert life in America were all evident in Williamsburg’s musical scene.

The social, political, economic, and cultural upheaval caused by the Revolution marked a gradual decline in Virginia’s rich intellectual and musical heritage; no longer did the planter class have quite the level of funding with which to support their musical interests, and much of the splendor and gaiety of colonial culture had diminished. Jefferson wrote to an Italian friend after the Revolution, “If there is a gratification which I envy any people in this world it is to your country its music....Fortune has cast my lot in a country where it is in a state of deplorable barbarism.”¹ To make matters worse, the move of Virginia’s capital from Williamsburg to Richmond in 1780 spelled doom for Williamsburg’s musical life, for

¹ Jefferson to Fabbroni, Boyd, 196.

with it went the elite and government officials and the theatres, taverns, and concert halls.

Williamsburg returned to relative obscurity, and musical activity quieted, a sharp contrast to the lively and thriving goings-on during the eighteenth century. The town remained relatively quiet until its restoration by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, which has also resurrected the spirit and character of eighteenth-century Williamsburg's musical culture through research, reenactments, and period concerts.

Advertisement from *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, 19 November 1772.

BY AUTHORITY.

At the THEATRE in WILLIAMSBURG, on Monday
the 23d of this instant (November)

Will be exhibited, by Mr. GARDINER,

A CURIOUS SET OF FIGURES,

richly dressed, four feet high; they are to appear on
the stage as if alive, and will perform a tragic per-
formance, called

BATEMAN AND HIS GHOST.

LIKEWISE A SET OF

W A T E R W O R K S,
representing the S E A, and all manner of S E A
MONSTERS sporting on the waves. With the
taking of the

H A V A N N A H,

with ships, forts, and batteries, continually firing, un-
til victory crowns the *British* forces; with the ap-
pearance of the two armies. To which will be added,
a magnificent piece of MACHINERY, called

C U P I D ' S P A R A D I S E,

representing seventy odd PILLARS and COLUMNS,
with the appearance of NEPTUNE and AMPHITRITE,
and music fustable thereto. The whole to conclude
with a magnificent set of FIREWORKS, such as
caterinc wheels, *Italian* candles, sea fountains, and
sun flowers with the appearance of the sun and moon
in their full lustre.

Mr. Gardiner will extend himself between two
chairs, and suffer any of the company to break a stone
of two hundred weight on his bare breast.

TICKETS to be had at the THEATRE, which are
3/6 for the BOX, PIT 2/6, and GALLERY 1/3.
The performance to begin at 6 o'clock.

Vivant Rex & Regina.

. No person can be admitted behind the
scenes.

N. B. Between the acts will be instrumental music,
consisting of *French* horns and trumpets.


Advertisement from *Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 29 August 1771.

BY the *Virginia*, Capt. Robertson, PURDIE
 and DIXON have imported a fresh Assortment of all Kinds of
 Paper, fine large *Dutch* and *Hudson Bay* Quills, fine Japan Ink, shin-
 ing Sand, red and black *Dutch* Sealing Wax, red and black Inkpowder,
 red Ink in Vials, neat Silver and Steel Pencil Cases, Pewter Ink Chests
 and Stands, *Edinburgh* Inkpots, red and black Lead Pencils, broad and
 narrow red Tape, Ivory Folders, Morocco Pocket Books and Afs Skin
 Memorandum Books of different Sizes, best Reading Glasses in Tor-
 toiseshell Cases mounted with Silver, common Ditto, Temple and com-
 mon Spectacles, German Flutes (some of a new Construction) Violins,
Hardham's best Rappee, &c. &c. Also the following Musick, namely,
 Instructions for the Harpsichord, Violin, and German Flute; *Pasquati's*
 Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord; *Boccherini* and *Berges's* Senior's Les-
 sons for the Harpsichord; *Midas*, the Padlock, and Love in a Village, for
 the Harpsichord, Voice, German Flute, Violin, or Guitar; the Maid
 of the Mill, and Cunning Man, for the Harpsichord, Violin, German
 Flute, and Hautboy; Periodical Overtures for the Harpsichord, Piano
 Forte, &c. eight *Italian* Sonatas for two Violins or Flutes, with a Tho-
 rough Bass for the Harpsichord, by several eminent Composers; *Fisher's*
 Minuets, with Variations for the Harpsichord; *Arnold*, *Galuppi*, and
Mazzinghi's Sonatas for the Harpsichord; *Pasquati*, *Campiani*, *Schubert*,
Yaff, *Pugnani*, *Florio*, *Luter*, and *Richter's* Sonatas; *Stamitz's* Concertos,
 Duets, and grand Orchestra Trios; *Gajparini's* Trios; *Cerelli's* Solos;
Vivaldi's Cuckoo Concertos; *Barbieri* and *Riccardi's* Duets.——Mrs.
Madden's sovereign Oil for Bruises and Strains; Doctor *Rad. Joff's* famous
 Purging Elixir; *Bateman's* Pectoral Drops; *Stoughton's*, *Squire's*, and
Duffy's Elixirs; *Turlington's* Balsam; *British* Oil, for Consumptions,
 Coughs, and other inward Disorders; *Praxier's* Female Strengthening
 Elixir; *Hooper's* Female Pills; *Sturges's* Electuary for the Stone and
 Gravel; and *Pier's* Ointment for the Itch.

Appendix III

Title and First Page from Playford's *The English Dancing Master*


The English Dancing Master :
O R,
Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance.



L O N D O N,
Printed by *Thomas Harper*, and are to be sold by *John Playford*, at his Shop in the Inner
Temple neere the Church doore. 1 6 5 1.

(1)

Upon a Summers day Longways for six ♪ ♪ ♪



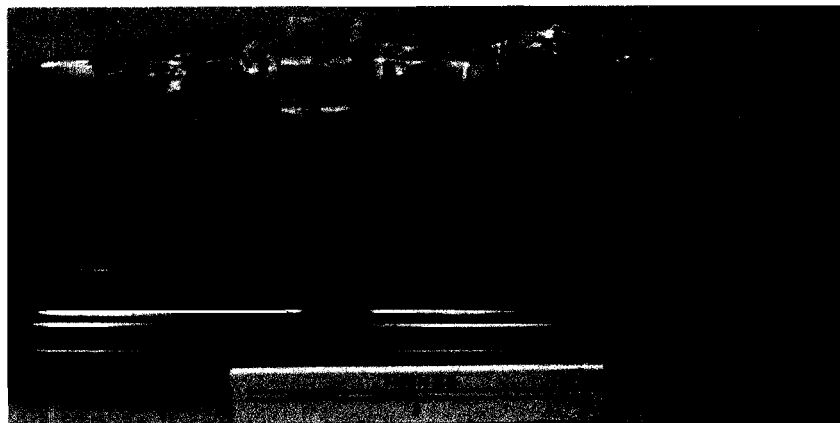
Leade up all a D. forwards and back, fet and turne S. — That againe .: The men take all hands, and the women hands meet all a D. back againe ; the first on each side goe under the others armes on their owne side, and meet below — Hands againe, and the next Cu. as much — Hands againe, and the next Cu. as much .:

Sides all, fet and turne single — That againe .: As before .:

Armes all, fet and turne S — That againe .: As before .:

Reproduced in John Playford, *The English Dancing Master: Or, Plaine and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance*, eds. Hugh Mellor and Leslie Bridgewater (London: Dance Books Ltd., 1984).

with furniture parts and scrap wood, the following fragment of an oboe, presumably broken and replaced by the cabinet maker:²⁰



Because the artifact was in a streambed, it could be preserved. The fragment probably comes from the third joint in the instrument, and is made of boxwood with two brass-covered stops or keys.²¹ Bucktrout also filled other musical needs in Williamsburg; for example, in 1772, Robert Carter paid him to repair a music stand and to construct a case for packing Carter's harpsichord, in preparation for moving it to Nomini Hall.²²

Musical instruments were commonly owned by middle- and upper-class Williamsburg residents. For example, the schedule of losses of Governor Dunmore as a result of the Revolution included three organs, a harpsichord, a piano-forte, "other musical instruments," and sheet music.²³ The other Royal governors also apparently owned musical instruments

²⁰ William Pittman, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Archaeologist, Interview with author, 15 April 2003. Photograph by author, 15 April 2003, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Artifact Collection.

²¹ Pittman, 15 April 2003.

²² See Mary R.M. Goodiwn, *Musical Instruments in Eighteenth Century Virginia*, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, addendum, 29.

²³ Hood, 298.

Appendix IV

Minuet from Pelham's Harpsichord Copybook

(attributed to Pelham)



Reproduced in Joseph H. Butler, "Harpsichord Lessons in the New World: Peter Pelham and the Manuscript of 1744," *Early Keyboard Journal* 12 (1994), 51.

Appendix V

Music Included in the 1783 Catalog of Thomas Jefferson's Library

Theory

Holden's essay towards a rational system of music
Jackson's scheme of sounds with the preliminary discourse
Bremer's rudiments of music
Burney's present state of music in Italy
Burney's present state of music in Germany
Geminiani's art of playing the violin/rules for playing in taste [bound in one volume folio]
Heck's art of playing the harpsichord
Compleat tutor for the harpsichord
Pasquali's art of fingering the harpsichord
Pasquali's Thorough bass made easy
Zuccari's method of playing Adagios
Miss Ford's instructions for playing on the musical glasses
Compleat tutor for the German flute
Hoegi's tabular system of minuets

Rivoluzioni del teatro musicale Italiano. Dal Arteaga.

Vocal

La buona figliuola del Piccini
Alfred, a masque
Artaxerxes
Love in a Village
Thomas and Sally
The Padlock
The Deserter
The Beggar's Opera
Handel's Alexander's feast, the words by Dryden
Handel's Coronation anthems
Handel's Funeral anthems
Stabat mater by Pergolesi
Pope's ode by the same name
Henry Purcell's Harmonia sacra
Daniel Purcell's psalms set for the organ
Playford's book of psalms
Purcell's 50 psalms set to Music
The [?] companion, a collection of hymns and anthems
Butt's miscellany of sacred music
Purcell's Orpheus Britannicus

Howard. British Orpheus
Clio & Euterpe
Arne's Lyric harmony, Op. 4th
Arne's Select English songs
Baildon's Laurel
Hayden's Cantatas
Pasquali's songs
Jackson's songs

Drinking songs
Curtis's Jessamine
Bach's songs
Heron's songs
Favorite songs published by Bremner
Dibdon's songs
Book of songs

Instrumental

Corelli's concertos in parts
Vivaldi's concertos in parts
12 Concertos chosen from the works of Vivaldi
Vivaldi's Cuckoo & Extravaganza
Hasse's grand Concerto
Pergolesi's Overtures
Handel's 60 overtures from all his Operas and Oratorios
E. of Kelly's Overtures in 8 parts
Arne's Charke's Lampe's medley overtures in parts
Howard's Overtures in the Amorous goddess in parts
Corelli's. Sonatas. 4 operas by Cooke
Corelli's Sonatas op. 7th
Lampugnani's Sonatas
Giardini's 6 trios
Campioni's Sonatas
Humble's Sonatas
Boccherini's Sonatas
Gasparini's Sonatas
M.S. Sonatas by Kammel, Vanhall, & Schwindel
Campioni's 6 duets
Roeser's 6 duets
Godwin's 6 duets
Tessarini's duets
Bezossi's duets
Martini of Milan's duets

Battino's duets
 Figlio's nocturnes
 Figlio's duets
 Campioni's duets op. 8
 Degiardino's duets
 Campioni's Sonatas
 (Sonatas)
 Abel op. 1st
 Agrel
 Boccherini 2^d and 11th
 Gasparini
 Giardie 17th
 Haydn 1st. 2nd. 3^d. 47th. 48th
 Humble
 Just. 8th
 Kammel. 5th
 Lampugnani 1st
 Lampugnani & Martini. 2^d
 Martini. 1st
 Pugnani. 10th
 Schwindel, Kammel, Vanhall
 (Concertos)
 Sinfonias
 Corelli. 6th
 Haydn. 51st-52^d
 Kelly
 Pleyel 5th and 6th
 Valentine
 Vivaldi
 (Duets)
 Borghi op. 4th
 Chinzer 2^d
 Godwin
 Haydn 9th
 Martini 5th
 Roeser 2^d
 (Single Parts)
 Corelli 6th
 Vivaldi

Corelli's Solos by Cooke
 Corelli's Solos, op. 5
 Vivaldi's Solos, op. 2
 Tessarini's solos, op. 2

Wodizka's solos
 Campioni's & Chabran's solos
 Geminiani's 12 solos, op. 1
 Degiardino's 12 sols.
 Degiardino's 6. harpsichord sonatas, op. 3
 Burgess's lessons for the harpsichord
 Boccherini's Sonatas for the harpsichord
 Felton's Concertos, op. 1
 Stamitz's concertos for the harpsichord
 Bremner's harpsichord miscellany
 Hardin's lessons fro the harpischord
 Abel's Overtures
 Periodical Overtures for the harpsichord
 Heron's voluntaries
 Bach's Sonatas Op. 10
 Arnold's Sonatas for the harpsichord
 Love in a Village
 Handel's lessons
 Lully's lessons
 Felton's lessons
 Stanley's solos
 Geminiani's minuet
 Minuets, country dances, and several books
 Thumoth's English, Scotch and Irish airs
 Thumoth's Scotch and Irish airs
 Pocket companion for the German flute
 Pugnani's Solos, op. 3

Compiled from Helen Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1974), 97-104.

Appendix VI

Contents of Cuthbert Ogle's Music Library

Musick: 2 sets Pasquatis Overtures 4s each
10 Books Handels songs
4 large sets Italian songs
6 Sonatas by Schickard
4 books of Symp. to Handels oratorios
The Musical entertainment
Lamps Songs
Apollos Feast by Handel
Nares Lessons 6s, Avisons Concertos 4s
6 Concertos by Burgess & 6 by Hasse in one book
4 small books of Stanley
6 Sonatas Degeardino
Lamps through Bass 7s. 6, Albertis 8 Sonatas 5s
5 Concertos By Ramesa 4s, 2 concertos by avison 1s. 6
6 Concertos by Hebden in 7 parts
1 Concerto in 7 parts by Avison
12 English songs by Pasquati
1 large Book of songs Palma
Songs in Acis and Galatea, Handel
Alcocks Lessons 4s. Grannoms Songs 4s.
1 Vol Feltons Concertos
8 Concertos Avisons
Feltons Lessons
Correlli's Sonatas in Score manu
No. 13
Leveridges Songs in small
Songs by Hasse
Catches by Purchet & Blow
Ballards by Grannom
An unbound book of Italian Songs
5 large Books of Concertos manu
Harlequin Ranger
Loose Music

Peter Pelham, Charles Jones, John Low, 15 September 1775

From York County Probate Inventory, Pastportal Digital Archive, and "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly* Ser. 1, Vol. 3, No. 4, 252-3. See also John W. Molnar, "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963), No. 2, 150-162.

Appendix VII

Some Modern Printed and Recorded Materials Relating to Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg

Christmas Music from Williamsburg. Compact disc. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1981.

Colonial Keyboard Tunes Set for Piano or Harpsichord. James S. Darling. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1980. ISBN 0879350555

Colonial Singing Games and Dances. LP recording. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1977.

Colonial Williamsburg Presents the Fifes & Drums and the Band Musick. LP recording. George P. Carroll, conductor. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1970.

A Delightful Recreation: The Music of Thomas Jefferson. Compact disc. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1993.

An Evening of Music at Carter's Grove Plantation. Audiocassette. Notes by James S. Darling. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, c.1970's.

The Fifes and Drums. LP recording. Fifes and Drums of Williamsburg. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1975.

A Gentlewoman's Pursuit: Music from the Collection of Ann Blaws Barraud. Audiocassette. James S. Darling. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984.

The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany: A Facsimile Reproduction of the Original Edition of about 1765 from a Copy Belonging to Colonial Williamsburg. Edited by Robert Bremner. Preface by James S. Darling. Reprint of music owned by Washington and Jefferson. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972. Distributed by University Press of Virginia. ISBN 0910412952

Instrumental Music from the Colonial Williamsburg Collection. Compact disc. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1987.

A Jefferson Music Book: Keyboard Pieces, Some with Violin Accompaniment: Facsimile Reproductions from Eighteenth-Century Editions in the Music Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Edited by James S. Darling. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1977. Distributed by University Press of Virginia. ISBN 0879350431

A Little Keyboard Book: Eight Tunes of Colonial Virginia. James S. Darling. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972. ISBN 0910412963

Music of Williamsburg. Videocassette. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1960. Distributed by Kartes Video Communications. ISBN 0804300283

The Music Teacher. Audiocassette. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, c. 1970's.

Musick of the Fifes & Drums. John C. Moon, et. al. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1976. ISBN 0879350318

O Come Sweet Music: Part Songs of the Colonial Period. Williamsburg Singers. LP Recording. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1970.

Peter Pelham's Music. Audiocassette. James S. Darling. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1980.

Songs from a Colonial Tavern. LP recording. Tayler Vrooman. MCA Records, 1980.

Songs from the Williamsburg Theatre: A Selection of Fifty Songs Performed on the Stage in Williamsburg in the Eighteenth Century. Edited by John W. Molnar and Carleton Sprague Smith. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972. ISBN 0910412863

Songs of Liberty: Music of the Revolutionary War. Audiocassette. Bruton Parish Church Choir, James S. Darling, conductor and keyboard. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1977.

A Williamsburg Candlelight Concert at the Governor's Palace. Audiocassette. The Governor's Palace Orchestra, Cary McMurrin, conductor. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1968.

The Williamsburg Singers in Part Songs of the Colonial Days. LP recording. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, undated.

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