

5 pages
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I have completed my reading of the second draft of A PLACE CALLED FREEDOM. I do have a few suggestions and corrections for you. They are all rather minor, but I think they will help out with some of the Virginia details. I will list them below with reference to the page on which they fall.

I also re-read the Scottish and London sections, not with the idea that I would have corrections to offer there but simply to get a sense of how you moved into the Virginia material in this version. Some of the revisions in this part of the manuscript nonetheless interest me--the London section seems marvelously tight and action-packed. Having criticized you a little for the convict ship voyage, I had come around to rather liking it and hate to see it excised. My sense is that you probably felt that what it did to define further the relationships of Lizzie with Jay and Mack could be accomplished elsewhere.

Two quick and not very consequential points on this part of the manuscript: first, on p. 151 the reference to thousands of Africans in London may be a bit excessive. Blacks were certainly there, and slavery existed in England; but an occasional black serving person was more a conceit of some of the wealthy than a basic part of the English labor system. English slave traders generally disposed of their cargoes in the colonies. This is not to dispute the polyglot character of London, which would have seemed even more marked to someone like Mack. Second, one other thought occurred to me in reading these sections, which is the fact, as you certainly know, that British army commissions at this time were bought and sold. Hence Jay's commission would have been bought for him by Sir George, a rather standard way of making some provision for a younger son--that fact might, however, figure in the discussions of what had and had not been done for Jay. Too, it was another piece of evidence that he did not accomplish much of anything on his own. Just thought I would throw that out.

Now to Virginia--these are relatively brief points because you have taken care of a number of those I made earlier, and then the general tightening of the manuscript leads you to use rather less detail about the colony:

✓ p. 365--still a bit of difficulty with Jay's political ambitions. Verger, a minor church official who served as sacristan and kept order during services, is not a good choice here. Local officials in Virginia were not elected by voters as were burgesses. Of the two major offices, vestrymen, who appointed their own successors, were the governing body of local Anglican

parish churches but also had certain other public duties such as overseeing poor relief. County justices of the peace, who sat as the county court and also had administrative powers, were the main local governing authority. They were appointed by the governor and granted royal commissions, although governors generally followed the wishes of the local gentry. Members of the gentry filled both the appointments as justices and vestrymen--some held both offices simultaneously. Jay is, of course, something of a naif about Virginia politics, so he could not be expected to know everything, but in general he might think either of trying to win appointment as justice of the county court--there were always a dozen or so per county--or of standing for the burgesses, of whom there were two per county. In either case he would be unrealistic to think the local oligarchs would take him in quite so readily, or that the local freeholders would elect him to the Burgesses; but that very lack of a sense of reality on Jay's part is the point that I take it you are making. So just drop verger and have him think about either becoming a j.p. or a burgess--you can have him go straight for the office of burgess if you wish, though it seems to me angling for an appointment as justice might be more his style.

- ✓ pp. 361 and 367--your figures for the plantation labor force are a little at variance, 40 in the first reference and 19 plus 14 convicts in the other. Actually, for a thousand acre plantation this might have been a bit large--the average seems often to have been about one worker per 50 acres. I would think about 20 to 25 field hands, maybe a black overseer or two to go with the white manager/overseer, a craftsman or two, and four or five household slaves would be about right. So an overall work force of maybe 40 is reasonable, but you want to start out with the plantation being a little understaffed, hence the need for the convicts (maybe not as many as 14, however) and the additional slaves that Jay buys.
- × p. 370--you are not trying to provide actual Virginia family names, perhaps even trying to avoid them. But Armistead, spelled with an "i" is, as it turns out, a planter family name of some frequency. It does give the Virginia material a certain ring of authenticity to use the common spelling, though you do not have to.
- × pp. 379-380--I suppose childbearing at 40 was not unknown in the eighteenth century, but I think that on the average childbearing years ended sooner at a time when life expectancy was shorter and pregnancy was a very difficult, indeed life-threatening time for women.
- × pp. 408-409--The straight-line distance from Fredericksburg to the mountains, since they tend northeasterly in direction, was perhaps 60 miles, maybe 75 by road, but I suppose about a hundred, as you say, will do o.k.

✓ Also on these pages, a tavern catering to blacks would have been discouraged in Virginia, since it was technically illegal to sell alcohol to blacks. But a certain amount of illicit sale clearly went on, so I think it would be o.k. to have a tavern of not very good reputation that was frequented by white servants and whose owner was suspected of selling to blacks secretly.

- × pp. 413-414--I don't think the term tobacco broker was much used in Virginia, if at all. Merchant was the normal term, although since a lot of the stores belonged to relatively big Scottish firms, they were frequently managed by a clerk known as a factor. But you can have

Rowley be a merchant as you do elsewhere on these pages, and probably a Scot rather than a Virginian.

- ✓ p. 415--Printers like Dixon and Hunter ran shops that included their press for printing the newspaper and other items but also carried paper supplies and books, both those they had printed and a larger number imported from England. But their shop was usually referred to as the Printing Office. I would say that Jay bought from the printer or bought at the printing office the items you suggest. Dixon & Hunter were not printers of the Gazette until 1775, whereas you are describing a trip by Jay to Williamsburg in 1768. There were at that time two printing offices in Williamsburg, one operated by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon and the other by William Rind. I think you probably want to refer to the printing office and bookshop of Purdie and Dixon, who are rather the more prominent of the two printers.
- ✕ On the same page, I might refer to the Raleigh bedrooms as being on the second floor. This was a half-story with dormer windows, but I don't think it would have been thought of as an attic.
- < p. 418--I don't think the term haberdasher was much used in Virginia. Tailor shops would have been more common, but I think I would have had Hamish Dromc have established himself as a substantial merchant in Williamsburg, not in the sense of being a large-scale tobacco merchant but as operating a general mercantile establishment. Several such merchants were prominent in Williamsburg, held town offices, etc.
- ✕ p. 420--at this point on Jay's first trip to Williamsburg you have Botetourt dissolving the Assembly, and then on his next trip you have at p. 491 a longer and essentially accurate description of his dissolution of the Assembly in 1769, the only time that he did so. I think you have to kill the reference here on 420. Delahaye's previous comment at the bottom of 419 will suffice.
- ✓ p. 424--"sack" Lennox sounds like a modern colloquialism to me, though it may be older. "Dismiss" seems a more eighteenth-century way of putting it that would hardly confuse a modern reader. ✓
- ✕ p. 429--I don't know of a French map of Virginia this early--they are more common when made for the French Army in the Revolution--but given the recent French and Indian War and the Virginia conflict with the French over Ohio land, it is not implausible for there to have been a French map. It seems to be they would have been more likely to identify the northeast as New York than New Jersey because of conflicts with the former over land and Indian alliances. New Jersey, divided into the two jurisdictions of East and West Jersey was pretty inconsequential. And it seems to me that a French map would have been likely to have identified a few French settlements that had been made in the present Midwest, such as St. Genevieve and St. Louis, Kaskasia, and Vincennes--but you are right to have France claim all the land west of the Appalachians regardless of the Peace of 1763.

- ✓ p. 430--the discussion of Cumberland Gap may be a little too prescient. Certainly there could have been no stage coach journey there, and would not a man with a horse probably travelled a little faster than a heavy coach? The name had already been bestowed, however.
- ✓ p. 468--I am not certain that Peg and Mac would have made forty miles in a day--maybe you might give them an estimate of thirty.
- ✓ p. 483--to say the trail "runs along the line of the mountain" could be misleading and seem to infer along the summit. I would think he might say something such as a trail runs through the valley on the other side of the first ridge of mountains.

✗ Also, on this same page, there is once again, as with the earlier draft, the problem of justifying going by Richmond to reach the mountains at Charlottesville, a detour that would cost at least a day-plus, probably two days, of extra travel. I doubt that the roads were any better than the two available more direct routes, certainly not enough to justify so long a detour. Since a few pages later, on p. 487, you use once again what we worked out last time, the story that Lizzie was going off to North Carolina to confuse anyone who pursued them, why not introduce that idea here on p. 483 rather than having Mack or Pepper claim the road is better?

✗ p. 503, and again at 513-514, 519, and 526--you employ the designation Seminole Trail for the route from Charlottesville to Lynch's Ferry. This is a modern designation for U. S. Route 29, the highway that roughly follows this route and then continues on through the Carolinas to Atlanta and across a part of southwestern Alabama to terminate at Pensacola, Florida. In the eighteenth century you could have followed this trail and others and ultimately reached the area around Augusta, Georgia--some Indian trading trails led from there off toward Alabama, but there was no real link to Florida, which had been hostile Spanish territory until its recent seizure in the Peace of 1763. I have never seen the term used in colonial records, for I do not believe the Seminoles came within the purview of Virginians as did, for example, the Cherokees. It seems to me it will suit your purposes well enough to refer to the trail to Lynch's Ferry--from that point trails led both west and also joined at the next town of New London an eastbound trail. But you are not going to have to bother with any of these.

✓ p. 509--The tavernkeeper's description of trails makes Staunton seem much too remote. It was a frontier town, but a fairly substantial one, the county seat of the very large county of Augusta, and something of a trading center. Here the Three Notch Trail met the north-south road through the Great Valley, a main route for settlers going from Pennsylvania into the interior areas of the Southern colonies(that road in turn branched a little below Staunton, one road turning eastward and another leading to Ft. Chiswell and the southwest). It is this latter road that Mack and Lizzie will ultimately take. Furthermore, a well marked road went west from Staunton and then turned south toward the Warm Springs--Hot Springs area. Some frontier forts lay west of Staunton across the Allegheny ridge, and undoubtedly there were at least rough trails going in that direction. Staunton by this time does not need to be presented as the end of the line so much as an intersection of several roads and as something of a bustling community (I think its population may by this time have been larger than the permanent residential population of Williamsburg).

- ✓ p. 511--Staunton would not have had a sheriff. He would instead have been the sheriff of Augusta County, of which Staunton was the county seat..
- ✓ p. 514--the alternate trail south to Lynch's Ferry seems more than a wide swing around Staunton. It would, after all, take the travelers down the east side of the mountains--and would have the advantage of avoiding Augusta County, although they would have been back in it briefly when they passed through the James River gap.
- ✗ p. 524--the road through the Valley at this point is by frontier standards a major road--don't make it seem too primitive. The northeast-southwest axis is not too pronounced at this point--the route is very nearly north-south. On the other hand, the travelers will soon reach the junction where the left fork will swing back to New London and then south into the Carolinas, a major route of migration, and the right that they will follow will take them to Ft. Chiswell and beyond.
- ✗ p. 525--here, and I think at an earlier point when Mack and Lizzie were looking across the James to Lynch's Ferry, I have let James River stand. You may recall that in my earlier memo I had indicated that legally this part of the river was still the Fluvanna, but that the extension of the name of the James River seemed to be taking hold. I am inclined to leave it as the James, since it gives your readers a much more easily understood point of reference.
- ✓ p. 528--the reference to Fincastle is a bit premature--the county seat of the new county of Botetourt was established here in 1770, but the name of Fincastle was not given until 1772, since Lord Fincastle was the eldest son of Governor Dunmore, who did not arrive until 1772. We are operating in 1769 a little ahead of these developments. All in all, I think I might have Dobbs simply say that he was going south when he encountered Peg going north.
- ✓ p. 531ff--as I remarked of the earlier draft, you are pretty much on your own from here. I do not see anything implausible with what you say about the locale from this point forward. The reference to the Holston River is fairly precise and gives one a sense of the locale. Beyond that, it may be the better part of wisdom not to be too specific.

If you have any further questions about these points or if any other questions arise with which I might be helpful, let me know. But my sense is that you are close to having things wrapped up.