

Letters of Thomas Hatton from Williamsburg, Virginia, 1758-1759

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Thomas Hatton (c. 1735–1807 A.D.) was usher of the Grammar School of William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia between 1758 and 1759, during which time he wrote a number of letters to friends in England. These letters provide an illuminating picture of the colony at a crucial period in its history, when Virginia’s burgesses were challenging the power and authority of the Anglican clergy against the background of the Seven Years’ War. Hatton had a strong interest in natural history, and his letters contain detailed meteorological observations, descriptions of Halley’s Comet, and observations on plants and animals.

Thomas Hatton was the son of Alexander Hatton of Shrewsbury, who was either a parish clerk or a clerk in holy orders.¹ Thomas attended Shrewsbury School under Leonard Hotchkiss, Head Master 1735–71.² On January 26, 1753, he matriculated as a sizar at St John’s College, which had a longstanding connection with Shrewsbury School. As a sizar, Hatton was a poor undergraduate who paid his way through Cambridge by performing duties similar to those of a servant. His patron was Dr. John Ross, a future Bishop of Exeter,³ while his tutor and financial “surety” was Dr. Zachary Brooke. Hatton was elected a Scholar in 1756, graduated BA in 1757, and ordained deacon in Ely Cathedral on May 21, 1758.

In October 1758, the Bishop of London appointed Hatton Usher of the Grammar School at William and Mary College to replace James Hubbard.

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¹ Robert Forsyth Scott, ed., *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge, Part III, July 1715–November 1767* (Cambridge: Printed for the College at the University Press, 1903), 139, has Alexander simply as a “clerk,” whereas J.A. Venn, ed., *Alumni Cantabrigienses. . . , Part II* (Cambridge: University Press, 1947), 3: 287, describes Thomas as the son of “Rev. Alexander” Hatton.

² J. B. Blakeway, A. Owen and A. Rimmer, *A History of Shrewsbury School. . .* (Shrewsbury: Adnitt & Naunton 1889), 123–28.

³ Nigel Aston, “Ross, John (1719–1792),” in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. (2008), <https://oxforddnb.com/view/article/24124>, accessed 22 December 2010.

Hubard's ousting was part of a long-running conflict between the President and Masters of the College and the Virginia laymen who dominated the Board of Visitors. This conflict was, in turn, part of a wider contest between the laity and clergy of Virginia to determine the colony's future. While the clergy were financially supported by the Virginia Company,⁴ many lay Virginians resented the clergy's privileged status and revenue. Hatton, the young Cambridge graduate, was to become an unwitting pawn in a wider political game in the colony, but he was either unaware of the turmoil around him, or else chose not to write about it to his friends in England. Instead, he passed his time making detailed observations of the Virginia weather and stuffing local animals. Thomas Hatton's impressions of North America survive in four documents: a copy of a letter sent to his tutor at St John's, Dr. Brooke, on December 18, 1758; two letters sent on the same date to his friend George Ashby; and a set of meteorological observations made between January 1, 1758, and April 9, 1759.⁵

By joining the staff of the College of William and Mary, Virginia's oldest educational establishment, Hatton was stepping into an institution steeped in controversy. In late 1757, the President and Masters "turned out" James Hubard, the Usher of the Grammar School attached to the College, which prepared students for their higher studies. The lay Visitors and Governors appointed a committee to examine Hubard's removal on November 1, 1757, which called upon Thomas Dawson, then President, and John Camm, the rector of Yorkhampton and a future President of the College, to explain their reasons. Camm refused to give any, as he believed that this signified a surrender of the legitimate right of the President and Masters to make such decisions for the good of the College without consultation. Camm's intransigence led the Visitors to order the dismissal of Camm and two other Masters on December 14.⁶ However, rather than re-appointing Hubard, the Visitors instructed the President to seek a replacement Usher recommended by the Bishop of London.⁷ That replacement was Hatton.

⁴ Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607–1763* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 39.

⁵ Suffolk Records Office, Bury St Edmunds, UK, MS E2/22/1 (personal papers of George Ashby), unfoliated, letters and meteorological observations of Thomas Hatton, dated December 18, 1758 (to Zachary Brooke, Document 1 in this edition); December 18, 1758 (to George Ashby, Documents 2 and 3 in this edition); meteorological observations taken January 1–April 9, 1759 (Document 4 in this edition).

⁶ Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1960), 2: 774.

⁷ Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2: 775.

Hatton sailed for America on July 29, 1758, and arrived in Delaware on September 29. He rode to Frederickstown, Maryland, and took a boat across the Chesapeake Bay to York, Virginia, arriving at Williamsburg on October 6. On the eleventh, the President and Masters of William and Mary College formally appointed Hatton Usher of the Grammar School, on the recommendation of the College's Chancellor (the Bishop of London).⁸ On November 13, he began making meteorological observations using a thermometer. In his interest in meteorology, Hatton joined a transatlantic Enlightenment community of scientific amateurs which has been examined by Jan Golinski, who argues that meteorology remained a contested science throughout the eighteenth century owing to the skepticism of some about the value of anecdotal data for predicting future weather.⁹ Whether Hatton was interested in predicting the weather, or simply interested in recording the climate of Virginia, is not altogether clear from his observations.

There are indications that Hatton was treated poorly by the other staff of the College, perhaps because he was appointed at the original instigation of the Visitors. By March 1759, the President and Masters had evidently forbidden Hatton to eat at the Masters' table, since an order of the Visitors of the College of March 26 instructed

... that [Hatton] be allow'd to sit and eat at the Masters' Tables, and further in Regard to his good Character, and for an Encouragement to his continuance here, the President and Masters are desired not to remove him from his Place of Usher, without first informing this Visitation and their Allegations against him.¹⁰

In spite of this hostility towards Hatton from the College's Masters, he seems to have been on good terms with John Camm, who took Hatton's letters with him when he traveled to England to bring his case against the "Two Penny Acts" before the Privy Council. These two acts of the Virginia House of Burgesses occasioned the climax of conflict between the "heavily British and clerical" College staff and the native Virginians of Williamsburg.¹¹ Under the pretext

⁸ "Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., 3, no. 1 (1894), 60–64, at 62.

⁹ Jan Golinski, *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1–8.

¹⁰ "Journal of the Meetings...", 63.

¹¹ See "John Camm (bap. 1717–1779)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, <https://encyclopedia.virginia.org/entries/camm-john-bap-1717-1779>, accessed April 24, 2022; Thad W. Tate, "Camm, John" in *The American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4: 262–63. On the Two Penny Acts, see Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and*

of the poor tobacco crops of 1755 and 1758, which led to increased prices, the Assembly argued that the sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco formerly paid as a salary to clergymen was too generous and ought to be replaced with a salary equivalent to two pence to each pound of tobacco that would otherwise have been received.¹² The economic uncertainty generated by the Seven Years' War also contributed to unpredictable tobacco prices. In the view of Rhys Isaac, the clergy of Virginia were "reviled by their adversaries and resented by their own laity," and consequently "sought strength in a jealous corporate unity."¹³ Judging from his letters, Hatton seems to have been more interested in meteorology, astronomy, and taxidermy than in colonial and college politics; while Hatton made no reference to the "Two Penny Acts" controversy in his letters, and stated as fact that clergymen still received the tobacco, his observations hint at some of the concerns that motivated the proponents of the acts: "Several of the Clergy deal in the mercantile Way, besides what their Tobacco obliges them, and I myself know one, who has set up a common Brewhouse."¹⁴ The fact that the clergy received a salary in the form of tobacco made it necessary for them to engage in trade in order to sell it.

The idea of the clergy competing with the laity in business was distasteful to both clergy and laity, and there is a note of disapproval in Hatton's comment. In England, it was against canon law for a clergyman to engage in trade, but in the very different Virginian society that Taylor Stoermer describes, it was not possible for the clergy to stand apart from the laity in this way.¹⁵ Hatton's view that a clergyman's salary "will barely support him, according to the exorbitant Price Goods sell at, unless he adds to it by an advantageous Marriage, or has an Estate independent of it" may have reflected the opinions of clergy around him such as John Camm more than his own experience; after all, he had barely been in Virginia for two months when he wrote this.

Hatton's observations should be seen in the context of his recent arrival and his naive view of the colony. He found that the Indian School was ineffective in performing its original function of converting the indigenous inhabitants, and it puzzled him that Native Americans returned to their ancestral customs after

Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 218–20.

¹² Hunter D. Farish, ed., *The Present State of Virginia, and the College, By Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Inc., 1940), 67

¹³ Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 157.

¹⁴ Thomas Hatton to George Ashby, December 18, 1758 (Document 2).

¹⁵ Taylor Stoermer, "An Entire Affection and Attachment to our Excellent Constitution": The Anglican Political Culture of British Virginia," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 82, no. 3 (2013), 253–288, at 260.

receiving the benefits of education. At the time, the enrollment of Native American boys at the Brafferton Indian School (opposite the home of the College's President) had long since peaked, and the school had begun admitting paying pupils from the settler community of Williamsburg.¹⁶ Hatton witnessed Native Americans in Williamsburg and described them at first hand, but he relied on William Stith's recently published *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* (Williamsburg: Printed by William Parks, 1747), itself a synopsis of Thomas Hariot's sixteenth-century ethnography, when describing their religious beliefs to his tutor. Hatton evidently made no effort to learn about indigenous beliefs at firsthand. He was at his best not as a theologian or ethnographer but as an amateur astronomer and meteorologist, and his correspondent George Ashby seems to have shared these interests, since Hatton asked him for weather observations from England.

Hatton recorded the dawn, dusk, and night-time temperatures in Williamsburg, together with weather information, from November 13 to December 17, 1758. Later he sent similar observations made between January 1 and April 9, 1759, but either these were sent with no accompanying letter, or none survives. Hatton expected his Williamsburg appointment to be a temporary one, and several times referred to bringing live and dead animals back with him to England.¹⁷ This may have been because he had been appointed to the curacy of Haddon, Huntingdonshire in 1758. Hatton returned to England at some point between April 1759 and September 21, 1760, when he was ordained priest. It may be that Hatton was not suited to ministry in Virginia; as another English clergyman had warned a generation earlier,

Neither would they [Virginians] have meer Scholars and Stoicks, or Zealots too rigid in outward Appearance ... they should be neither too reserved nor too extravagant; so in Principles should they be neither too high nor too low: The Virginians being neither Favourers of Popery nor the Pretender on the one Side, nor of Presbytery nor Anarchy on the other... they must be such as can converse and know more than bare Philosophy and speculative Ethnicks [sic].¹⁸

Both the clergy and laity of Virginia seem to have looked down on Hatton, and he was more interested in natural philosophy than ministry. Hatton recorded the weather only when he was in Williamsburg, and this suggests that the gaps in his record represent times when he was absent from the town. For the most part

¹⁶ Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 74.

¹⁷ Thomas Hatton to George Ashby, December 18, 1758 (Document 2): "Here are several sorts of Squirrels mostly grey, one of which I have stuff'd and intend bringing over with me"; *Ibid.*: "I shall endeavor to bring several of each sort [of birds] over with me."

¹⁸ Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (London: Printed for J. Clarke, 1724), 95-96.

of 1758–59, he seems to have remained at home, except for short absences of a few days.¹⁹ Hatton recorded the morning temperature between six and seven o'clock, the afternoon temperature, usually at around two o'clock, and the evening temperature between ten and eleven. He gave the wind direction, presumably based on observation of a weather-cock, as well as a brief description of the daily weather. On April 9, 1759, he observed Halley's Comet at half past four in the morning at York, Virginia: "I saw the Comet at ½ p[as]t 4 a.m. at York being SE & E for it. The Nucleus very distinct & somew[ha]t big[er] th[a]n a common Star. The Cauda²⁰ of small Diameter confused & in apparent Length a yard long."²¹

Hatton wrote his letters against the backdrop of the Seven Years' War, when the Atlantic crossing was not necessarily safe for travelers. Luckily, Hatton's ship encountered only friendly British privateers, but he might just as easily have run into their French counterparts. Hatton reported on the most positive news of the end of 1758 for the British: the capture of Fort Duquesne after two abortive attempts.²² However, tidewater Virginia was remote from the fighting, and the war seems to have impinged little on Hatton's life in the colony.

The recipient of two of Hatton's letters was George Ashby (1724–1808), a Fellow of St. John's College, a budding antiquary, and a regular contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Hatton's correspondence with Ashby would seem to suggest that the latter shared his interests in natural history; however, Ashby would later excel as an antiquary rather than as a scientist. In 1774 Ashby became rector of Barrow, a few miles southwest of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. When he died in 1808, Ashby's companion and amanuensis, Thomas Lyus, sold his books and papers to a bookseller in Bury St Edmunds, and they were eventually acquired by the Suffolk Record Office.²³ Ashby's antiquarian correspondence is bound together in two unfoliated manuscript volumes with little regard for chronology. He evidently cherished the letters he had received from Hatton, since they pre-date the majority of his correspondence by almost a decade and are among the earliest letters he preserved.

On February 22, 1764, Hatton returned to his native Shropshire for good, where he remained rector of Little Upton until his death in 1807. Hatton's letters are a rare record of an educated young Englishman's impressions of Virginia at a decisive time for the colony, as well as a testament to amateur scientific

¹⁹ January 21–22; January 27–February 5; February 25; February 27–28; March 4–5; March 8–11; March 18–19 (Thomas Hatton, meteorological observations, January 1–April 9, 1759, Document 4).

²⁰ Tail.

²¹ Thomas Hatton, meteorological observations, January 1–April 9, 1759 (Document 4).

²² Thomas Hatton to Zachary Brooke, 18 December 1758 (Document 1).

²³ John D. Pickles, "Ashby, George" in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2: 620.

enthusiasm in the Age of Enlightenment. Hatton taught at William and Mary College when it was at the center of a battle between burgesses and British clergy that foreshadowed some of the disputes of the American Revolution, as a confrontation between established settlers and a Tory establishment. His voice and his observations illuminate from a previously unseen angle the personalities and issues involved in this period of Virginian history.

LETTERS OF THOMAS HATTON FROM VIRGINIA

Document 1: Thomas Hatton to Dr. Zachary Brooke, December 18, 1758¹

Thos Hatton's A. B.² of S. John's Coll Letter to D^r Brooke
Will. & Mary's Coll. W^msburgh Virginia. Dec^r 18. 1758.

Rev. D^r.

When I rece'd your letter, I was at Spithead, & our Ship was going under weigh, so that I was prevented from answering of it. ——— We touchd at Plymouth after we left S. Helen's, & stay'd a week there, & thence saild for America upon the 29th of July. Nothing remarkable occur'd in our voyage: except one morning, upon seeing some ships a head, & imagining them to be enemies, the drum beat to arms, clear'd the ship & made ready for engaging: but upon coming up with them, they prov'd to be two Bristol privateers, with their broad pendants flying at the main top mast head. They told us they had met with good success, & were desirous of to examin 3 Dutch men under a convoy of a 60 Gun ship, then in sight, but were beat off. Our voyage ~~was~~ was very favorable; except one very boisterous night, wherein we expected all to perish, but thro' the alertness of the Captain, we got over it without doing us much damage. The sea agreed with me very well, being not the least inclin'd to be sick, & I have no other reason to complain of it, than on account of the rough & reprobate manners of the Lieutenants I mess'd with. I left the man of war at sea 400 leagues from the Capes May & Hanlopen, & went on board the Betty Sally Captain Snead bound to Philadelphia, & arriv'd at Reedy Island in Delawere Bay upon Michaelmass day at night.³ from thence I took Horses the next morning about 30 miles to

¹This letter is an MS copy in the hand of George Ashby rather than the original. In this letter, and the three below, pagination specific to each document has been added in brackets.

²"A. B.": Bachelor of Arts.

³September 29, 1758.

Frederic's town in Maryland, whence I had the opportunity of a boat down Chesapeake Bay to York in Virginia, about 12 miles from Williamsburgh, & arriv'd here upon the 6th of October; & was receiv'd into my office the 11th. The salary is worth of this currency 120£ per ann. which with a curacy that I have got makes my income 200£. The college is exactly upon the same plan, as those in Scotland,⁴ being first promoted by the Rev.^d M.^r Blair,⁵ a gentleman of that nation. Our grammar school is exactly upon the same footing, as the public ones in England; & we have a president, who is Commissary,⁶ a Professor of Morality,⁷ Mathematics, & Indian,⁸ & a Grammar master.⁹ [end p. 1] The intent of the Indian school was to qualify the Indian boys to be Missionaries to their own people, not to be Gentlemen's gamekeepers, as most of them generally turn out. But such is the perverseness of the Indians, that after they leave school, & are well instructed in reading & the principles of religion, they immediately throw off the prejudice of their education, & blindly adopt the manners & customs of their savage Ancestors, for I can't look upon them in a better light. The news of Fort du Quesne being in possession of the English, by the French abandoning

⁴This is perhaps a reference to the significant expansion of the University of Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century with the addition of faculties of Law, Arts and Medicine; see Nicholas Phillipson, "The Making of an Enlightened University," in *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History*, eds. Robert D. Anderson, Michael Lynch and Nicholas Phillipson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 51–102.

⁵James Blair (1655/6–1743) was appointed the Bishop of London's first commissary in Virginia in 1689 and became the founder and first President of William and Mary College in 1693 (James B. Bell, "Blair, James," in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. (2004), <https://oxforddnb.com/view/article/2564>, accessed 22 December 2010); Farish, *The Present State of Virginia...*, xxiii–iv.

⁶The President of the College at the time was Thomas Dawson (Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2: 769). As Commissary, Dawson was the official representative of the Bishop of London, who exercised jurisdiction over the colony through the governor and was the Chancellor of the College. However, the fact that Dawson did not receive explicit confirmation as commissary weakened his authority throughout his presidency.

⁷Jacob Rowe.

⁸Emmanuel Jones.

⁹Goronwy Owen.

it, but first demolishing it's works, has no doubt reach'd you.¹⁰ Soon after a large body of Chawnese, that were before our bitter enemies, came over to us, & promis'd us allegiance, but they & the rest of their tribes will always favor the most powerful party. I have seen severall small parties of different nations here, & they appear to me a very despicable people. they are generally a tall upright men, of a lead color, which they disguise by different kinds of paint. they wrap themselves round with blankets, & dress their hair, which is mostly black, with a variety of trinkets. In their ears they have brass & tin earrings, & about their necks necklaces of various sorts of beads. their arms are very slender, being not thicker than a laboring man's wrist, the reason of which I think is their not being ~~not~~ inur'd to hard labor, or to support heavy weights: for they oblige their women or squaws to cultivate their land, while they traverse the woods in quest of game. Give me leave Sir to subjoin the following account of their doctrine & tenets, extracted from Stith's History of Virginia,¹¹ which obtain'd at the first settlement of it, & I believe are now generally receiv'd by them. "They believe that there is one chief God, who hath existed from all eternity: that he created the world; but first made other gods of a principal order, to be his instruments in the creation & government thereof. that next the sun, moon & stars were created, as petty Gods, & as instruments to those other gods of a superior order. that then the waters were created, out of which ~~were form'd~~ all creatures ~~were created~~. That a woman was first made, who by the congress of one of the Gods, conceiv'd & brought forth **[end p. 2]** children; & that thence' mankind had their beginning. They thought the Gods were all of human shape, & therefore represented them

¹⁰ Fort Duquesne, at the joining of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, was captured from the French on November 26, 1758, after two failed attempts earlier in the war.

¹¹ William Stith, *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia: Being An Essay towards a General History of this Colony* (Williamsburg: Printed by William Parks, 1747). Further bibliographic details for this work can be found in the *English Short Title Catalogue* (<https://estc.bl.uk>), where it is known as ESTC W23158. The quotation is taken from p. 17, and is itself a reworking of the account of religious belief among Carolinian Algonquians offered in Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia...* (London, 1588) [ESTC S106429], sig.E2v-E3r.

by Images, which they placed in their temples; & they worship'd, pray'd, sung, & danced & made many offerings to them. They held the immortality of the souls; which after death, according to its worth¹² in the flesh, was either carried up to the tabernacle of the Gods, to eternal happiness; or else to popogusso (a great pit at the furthest parts of the earth, where the sun sets) into perpetual fire & torment. And this doctrine they support by the authority of two persons, who, as they pretended, had risen from the dead”

finis.

[end p. 3]

¹² Stith offers “Works” rather than worth, which is faithful to Hariot’s original “workes.”

Document 2: Thomas Hatton to George Ashby, December 18, 1758

W^m & Mary College
W^{ms}.burgh Virginia,
Dec.^{br} 18. 1758.

Rev^d. Sr.,

It gives me a very sensible Pleasure, by having this opportunity, by the Rev.^d Mr. Camm Rector of Yorkhampton,¹³ in this Dominion of corresponding with you. I shou'd have inform'd you of my Voyage and arrival here but as I have been pretty large upon those Heads in my letter to Doctor Brooke, I refer you to it. I shall therefore abruptly hasten to a general Description of what I have seen, either in the Manner of the People, Nature or Pr[od]uce of the Country: And if, Sr, my trifling Recital of them can afford you any Entertainment, it will then give me the highest satisfaction.

The General Assembly sit as our Parliament does, to enact Laws [fo]r the Good of the Colony, wherein the Governor represents the King[ⁱⁿ] the Council the House of Lords, and the Burgesses the House of Commons. Matters are managed here much in the same manner as in Parliament; and as you are better acquainted with the English Constitution, than I can possibly be, I need not enlarge any further. They have too a Court of Chancery, in which the Governor and Council, as in the Courts of Oyer and Terminer or Gen.^l Gaol Delivery are Judges. And now I have given you an imperfect account of the above Particulars, give me leave to observe to you my Remarks upon the People and Country. Here is very little Distinction paid to any Ranks, and that which constitutes the Difference between any two Men, is their Inequality of Fortune and the Table they keep. At their most splendid Entertainmen^{ts} they have no

¹³ John Camm, an ousted lecturer of the College, was known by the title of rector of Yorkhampton during this period. Camm's journey to England, which gave Hatton an opportunity to have his letters safely delivered, was in order to take the clergy's case against the Two Penny Acts to the Privy Council (Tate, "Camm, John," 262-63).

more than one Course of Dishes; and after the Table is drawn, the principal Liquors they produce, are Madeira, Punch and Bumbo, which even in Winter they seldom drink hot. The Country is prodigious woody, and where their **[end p. 1]** Towns are situated, the Prospect is very shortly terminated, being seldom more than a Mile in Diameter. They resemble our Hamlets, and the Houses are chiefly cased with Wood and cover'd w.th Shingles, tho' they make very good Brick and Tile. The Reason they give for building them in this Manner, is their being cooler in Summer and warmer in Winter. In travelling thro' the Country, you will meet with few Inns, Ordinarys they call them,¹⁴ for the Hospitality of the Peoples renders them unnecessary, as you may w.th the same Freedom call at any of their Houses, where they gladly receive you, in the same Manner we do in England, at public ones. When you are riding thro' Virginia, and indeed most Part of America, it is necessary to carry with you [a] Certificate or License sign'd by a Justice of the Peace, who [is] well known, otherwise they will frequently stop you, and give you Trouble. Their Burgesses are elected by the People, without ever standing Candidates, or using any Corruption: But their Sheriffs of their Counties make Application for their Office, and are little better than Knights of the Post, tho' frequently Men of good Fortune, for they don't scruple to serve their own Writs.¹⁵ The Clergyman's Salary is 16000^{lb} Weight of Tobacco,¹⁶ with a Glebe of 200 Acres,¹⁷ and a House upon it, besides Surplice fees,¹⁸ w.^{ch} in

¹⁴ On social perception of "ordinaries" in colonial Virginia see Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 94–104.

¹⁵ In England, writs were served by magistrates and merely enforced by sheriffs.

¹⁶ The situation was by no means as straightforward as Hatton states it, since the question of whether the clergy should receive 16000 lbs of tobacco or a notional 2d per pound (as the Two Penny Acts stipulated) was the subject of an ongoing pamphlet war and legal battle (Tate, "Camm, John", 262; John P. Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies 1689–1776* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia by the University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 349–50).

¹⁷ A glebe in colonial Virginia was a farm or plantation supplied to the minister by the parish, although it was often let out to lay tenants (Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 144).

¹⁸ "Surplice fees" were the fees charged by parish clergy for weddings, funerals, churchyard burials, and other services.

some Parishes run very high. And tho' this may seem a handsome Maintenance, yet it will barely support him, according to the exorbitant Price Goods sell at, unless he adds to it by an advantageous Marriage, or has an Estate independent of it. Several of the Clergy deal in the mercantile Way, besides what their Tobacco obliges them, and I myself know one, who has set up a common Brewhouse.¹⁹ The Generality of them are [end p. 2] half brought up in Presbyterian Principles,²⁰ and by being very indifferent about the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church, bring it and the Order into great Contempt. ——— The Climate is very precarious, and every Spring and Fall is more or less attended with Agues and Fevers, which tho' seldom fatal, yet they impair the Constitution. Here are several sorts of Squirrels mostly grey, one of which I have stuff'd and intend bringing over with me. It is a Fox one, so call'd from his Size & bushy Tail, being much larger than ours at Home. They have too Flying Squirrels and Ground ones; the latter I have seen and make no Doubt you have, as they are sometimes to be met with in a Ladys Closet. It is half the size of a large Rat, shaped li[...] of the others, but has a very short Tail not brushy: Its Color is grey intermixt with very beautiful dark brown Streaks, particularly upon the Head, from the Eyes across the Face. It seems very lively and feeds upon Nuts, is very tender and in Winter burys himself in the Ground, Cold being fatal to him. In their Prills,²¹ they have an amphibious Animal, very much resembling a Tortoise, and I dare say is a diminutive Sort of them. They have great variety of Fish, some of which are extremely good, such as the Silver-Pearch, the Rock, Drumfish, Shadd, Sturgeon and Trout. They are catch'd in their Bays, by Men in small Canoes with long Lines and no Rods, a large Hook & a small Piece of Lead, baiting with

¹⁹ The clergy's engagement in commerce as a consequence of their payment in tobacco rather than money was a subject of concern both to the Virginia burgesses and the clergy themselves and it was a contributory factor to the controversy over the Two Penny Acts.

²⁰ This is probably a reference to the power enjoyed by lay "vestries" over parish churches in Virginia, which in Hatton's view resembled the authority of presbyteries under a Presbyterian form of church government (Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:467-69).

²¹ Prill: a small stream.

Chicken's Guts or any part of the Fish they catch. This Diversion continues only the Summer Season, and while the Weather is warm. They fish in Shore with Drag Nets in the Winter and catch several Kinds of Fish. The Method they take their Sturgeons is very singular and curious; having furnish'd themselves with a long thick Line, at the End of w.^{ch} they put on a large Hook w.th two or 3 Pound of Lead to sink it, they let it down into the Water, and the Sturgeon rubbing himself against the Line, they pull up, and hook him by the Belly. T. Hatton s...next

letter²² [end p. 3]

²² An annotation likely added by Ashby.

Document 3: Thomas Hatton to George Ashby, December 18, 1758; with meteorological observations taken at Williamsburg, Virginia, November 13–December 17, 1758

W^m & Mary College

W^{ms}burgh., Virginia.

Dec^{br} 18. 1758.

Rev.^d S.^r,

In the other Letter I concluded with a Description of their Method of taking Sturgeons: I procede now in this to acquaint you with some of their Animals and Birds. Their Hares resemble very much our English Rabbets in Size, Taste, and Color, but somewhat different in Shape. The Racoon is like our Badger in every Resp^{ct}, except that the former frequently is seen in Trees, and ours never. The Oposoum is formed like a Sucking Pig, of the same Size, with a long Tail; and is eaten by the Negroes. It is a very stupid, slowfooted Animal, and when you come up with it, w.^{ch} is generally in ^a Moonshiny Night, for they very seldom stir abroad in the Day, they wrap their long Tail round a Stick, and you may carry them pendent by it several Miles. Their Pheasants are the Size of our Partridges, and their Partridges that of our Quails. They have Woodcocks, w.^{ch} are less than the European ones, and many wild Turkeys in their upper Counties, which frequently weigh upwards of 20^{lb}, when brought dress'd to Table. Their principal Singing Birds are the Mocking Bird and red Bird or Virginia Nightingale, tho' in my Opinion the former has a greater Claim to that Appellation, as it imitates the Notes of every Bird in the Woods, and is capable of learning anything. I shall endeavor to bring several of each sort over with me, but am afraid of the Mocking Birds miscarrying, being a very tender Bird, and requiring much looking after. The Sky in this Climate seems to be calculated for Astronomical Observations on Account of its Clearness: but the People are very indifferent ab.^t any Discoverys that Way, regarding much more

their staple Commodities Tobacco and Indico. The last is an infant Plantation, but as it succeeds very well, they purpose to increase it [end p. 1] with great Vigor. Underneath is a Journal of the Weather, by w.^{ch} you may form a faint Idea of the Climate. The most reigning [Winds] here are the South and North Western, which generally succee[d] each other, and entirely govern the Temperature of the Air. The former is always attended with warm and gentle Weath[er,] and the latter with cold and sharp Days. Since I came i[...] the Thermometer has stood at 82: I have taken care to ha[...] agreeable to your Directions, and have been pretty accurate [in] my Observations.

November.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	Winds per tot. diem. ²³
Monday 13 th .	At 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	38.	2.	42.	10.	37.	N, W.

Clear and fine Weather.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Tuesday 14 th .	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	33.	3.	45.	10 $\frac{11}{2}$.	45.	N, W.

Clear and sharp D[ay].

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Wednesday 15 th .	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	40.	2 $\frac{11}{2}$.	50.	10 $\frac{11}{2}$.	55.	S, W.

²³ “per totam diem”: for the whole day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Tuesday	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	60:	2 $\frac{11}{2}$.	57:	10.	56.	NE
	21 st .						

a very wet and disagreeable Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Wednesday	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	57.	3.	68.	10.	69.	SW.
	22 ^d .						

Morn.^s cool and rainy, Aft. Warm and fair, in the Night much Rain.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Thursday	at 6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	65.	3.	53.	10 $\frac{11}{2}$.	48.	N & E.
	23 ^d .						

Morn.^s wet and gentle, Aft. wet and cool.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Friday	at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.	45.	2 $\frac{11}{2}$.	49:	11.	48.	N & E.
	24 th .						

A dark, sharp and raw Day. **[end p. 2]**

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	[H]	Wind
Saturday	at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.	47.	2.	48.	11.	52:	NE:
	25 th .						

A cold raw and wet Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p.t.d.
Sunday	at 7.	51.	3.	59.	10.	53.	SW.
	26 th .						

Very variable as to Heat and Cold.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Monday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	48.	3.	52.	10.	41.	NW.

27th.

A fair and sharp cold Day. In the Even. a very beautiful Sky.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Tuesday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	38.	3.	54.	11.	54.	S.	SE

28th

A sharp M^g and warm Aft. Somewhat overcast.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Wednesday	At 7.	51:	3.	66.	10.	67.	S.	SW.

29th.

A warm M. and sultry After. Dry but wet.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Thursday	at 7.	69.	3.	65.	11.	53.	SW.

30th.

A sultry, wet and disagreeable Day.

December

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Friday	at 7.	33.	2.	53.	12.	40.	SW.

1st.

A warm M. and Aft. till ab^t Sunset, w.ⁿ it grew cool. The Sun set very red.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Saturday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	35.	2.	48.	11.	41.	NW	SW

2^d.

a sharp M. and gentle Aft. w.th a fine clean Sky all Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Sunday	at 7.	41.	3.	47.	12.	36:	N, W.

3^d.

M. a little cold, Aft. warm and gentle. Even.^s sharp and raw.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Monday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	33.	2 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	45.	10.	35.	N, W.

4th.

A very cold Morning, Noon and Night.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Tuesday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	30.	2.	42.	11 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	33.	W.

5th.

A cold raw Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Wednesday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	30.	2 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	42.	10.	35.	N, W.

6th.

A cloudy Day threat.^{ng} Downfall w.th a cold raw Air.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Thursday	at 6 ³ / ₄ .	29.	2.	39.	11.	34.	N, W.

7th.

A very cold raw Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Friday	at 7.	29.	2.	41.	11 $\frac{11}{2}$.	32.	N, W.
							8 th .

Similar to the preceding one.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Saturday	at 7.	29.	2.	44.	11.	39.	N.	S ^W .
								9 th .

Somew.^t warmer y.ⁿ the Day before.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Sunday	At 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.	38.	3.	46.	10.	39.	[...]
							10 th .

A moderate Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Monday	at 7.	34.	3.	44.	11.	37.	N.
							11 th .

A sharp M. and Aftern.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	[H]	[p. t. d.]
Tuesday	at 7.	33.	2.	45:	11.	3[...]	[...]
							12 th .

A moderate, gentle Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Wednesday	at 7.	36.	2.	47.	10.	40.	NE.	SE &
	13 th .							E&N

A hoar Frost M. & A. lowring, wth warm gentle Weather.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	a. m	H	[a.m]	[p.m]
Thursday	at 7.	37.	2.	44.	10.	35.	NE	E
	14 th .							

Morning and Aft. gentle Weather, till 6 o'Clock w.ⁿ there came on a cold mizling Rain succeeded by Snow.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	a. m	H	a.m	p.m
Friday	at 7.	36.	2.	46.	11.	40.	NW,	SW
	15 th .							

A fine gentle Day.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	a.m	p.m
Saturday	at 7.	30.	2.	43.	12.	31.	NW	N.
	16							

A sharp frosty Morning and moderate Aft.

	a. m	H	p. m	H	p. m	H	p. t. d.
Sunday	at 7.	32:	2.	39:	10.	34.	N, W
	17 th .						

A sharp frosty and clear Day.

W^{tever} further Observ^{ns} I can make, you may depend upon being communicated to you, and w^{tever} Curiositys I can pick up, I shall at my Return bring w.th me, and if all or any of them are worth your Acceptance, you shall be heartily welcome to

them. I desire you wou'd transmit me your Observ^{ns} upon the Thermometer and Weather in England, w.th w^{tever} else you think will entertain me. If not too great a Favor, I shou'd be glad you wou'd send me the Literary Magazines²⁴ from the Beginning to the pres^t Month you send them in; and pray give me an Acc^t of the new Fellows that will be created ab^t the Time you receive my Letter. Your Compliance with these Requests, will very much oblige, Rev.^d S.^r, your affectionate Friend and Humble Servant

T. Hatton.

I beg you'd excuse me being so minute in my Descriptions, and w^{tever} Errors I might have committed thro' Haste. My Comp^{ts} to all enquiring Friends at S.^t John's & particularly to M.^r Dean. Doctor Ross²⁵ shall hear from me in the Spring. [end p. 3]

²⁴ George Ashby was a regular contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, one of the principal literary magazines published in England at the time (Pickles, "Ashby, George," 620).

²⁵ John Ross (1719–1792), fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge and later Bishop of Exeter (Aston, "Ross, John").

**Document 4: Thomas Hatton's meteorological observations taken at
Williamsburg, Virginia, January 1–April 9, 1759²⁶**

Observations. W^{ms}burg Virginia.

Jan.^y 1. 1759 Monday.

	am	H	pm	H	pm	H	Wind	
	7.	34.	2.	44.	10.	40.	N.W.	Clear Frost.
2 ^d .	7.	35.	2.	44.	10.	44.	NE	Frost
3 ^d .	7.	41.	2.	49.	10 ¼.	54.	SE	Some Frost from 12 ^{am} to 2 ^{pm} . Rain till 9 ^{pm}
4 th .	7.	50.	2.	54.	10.	51.	W.	Clear Weather
5 th .	7.	45.	2 ¼.	49.	10.	50.	NE	Clear Frost
6 th .	7.	47.	3.	50.	10.	54.	NW.	Great Rain at 3 ^{pm} till 10 at Night.

²⁶ This document is unaddressed, but it was probably part of a letter to George Ashby.

7 th .	7.	58.	2.	63.	10.	56.	SW	Still & calm. Rain at 2 ^{pm} . W & N ^{pm} clear Weather
8 th .	7.	46.	2.	50.	10.	49.	N&W	Frost.
9 th .	7.	44:	2.	47.	10 ³ / ₄ .	49.	N.	Windy, cold & cloudy. At 9 ^{pm} Rain till 10.
10 th .	7.	50.	2.	57.	10.	52.	E&N.	Thick & cloudy. At 2. ^{pm} Rain & at 10 [d ^o ?]
11 th .	7.	49.	2.	54.	10.	54.	W&S.	Clear p. t. d.
12 th .	7.	48.	5.	55.	10.	56.	W.	Frost. At 8 ^{am} the Wind S. at 10 [d ^o ?] clear Weather
13 th .	7.	51.	5.	54.	10.	54.	NW.	Clear & fine Weather.

14 th .	7.	48:	2.	53.	10.	52.	N.		Clear Frost. At 10 ^{am} Rain
15 th .	7.	49.	5.	52.	10.	56.	SE		At 9 & 10 am. Rain.
16 th .	7.	53.	2.	55.	11.	44.	NW		Clear & warm.
17 th .	6 ³ / ₄ .	40.	2.	43.	11.	54:	SW.	SE	Dark, cloudy & little Rain.
18 th .	7.	54.	2.	56.	11.	45:	am NW	p.m WNW	Morn. & Aft. Warm & pleas ^t but the Even ^g cool.
19 th .	7.	39.	*	*	11.	34:	am NW.	p. m SW	A sharp raw Air & gloomy Sky.

							am	p. m.	
20 th .	7.	23:	2.	48.	*	*	N.W.	NW&N.	At 6pm NW. A very sharp Air & cloudy Sky.

21st, 22^d. omitted——

23 ^d .	-	-	-	-	11.	23			
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24 th .	7.	28.	*	*	*	*	NE.	Snowy Weather p. t. d.
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25 th .	8.	23.	2.	25.	11.	23	NW.	Snowy & cold raw Weather
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26 th .	7.	23.	*	*	*	*	N	Sharp & cold.
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27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st not observed.

February

	am	H	pm	H	pm	H	[Wind]	
5 th .	7 ¼.	33.	2.	39.	11.	27.	N&W	Fine, clear & gentle Weather p. t. d. but in y ^e

										Even ^g very cold.
6 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	25.	*	*	*	*	W			Cold & raw w. th a sharp clear Air
								a.m.	p.m.	
7 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	31.	2.	39.	10.	38.	N&E	SE		A beautiful red sky in ye East before Sunrise (a Prognostic of fall ^g Weather) and a very sharp piercing Air all Day. NW. Claps of Thunder at Sunset.
8 th .	7 $\frac{11}{2}$.	39.	2.	50.	11.	49.	SW.			A cloudy Sky & gentle Weather

				[?]			am	pm	
9 th .	7.	49.	*	*	10.	58.	SW.	SE	Much Rain p. t. d. & a raw damp Air
10 th .	7.	64.	2.	64.	10.	49.	W.		Clear, hot & sultry Weather.
11 th .	8.	46.	2.	52.	10.	49.			The Winds & Weather unnoticed. [Bracketed 11 th -13 th]
12 th .	7.	47.	*	*	*	*			[See above]
13 th .	[?]	*	*	*	*	*			[See above]
14 th .	7.	37.	3.	43.	11.	32.	SW.		Very Heak & windy
15 th .	7.	31.	2.	37.	10 ¼.	33.	W.		Much like the preceding.
16 th .	6 ¾.	30:	2.	45.	*	*	SW.		Moderate & still.

17 th .	7.	38.	*	*	*	*	SW	Gentle Weather
18 th .	*	*	*	*	11.	58.	**	*****
19 th .	7.	58.	2.	62.	*	*	SW	Rain p. t. d.

[end p. 1]

February Continued

DM.	[am]	[H]	[p]	[H]	[pm]	[H]	a.m	p.m	
20 th .	7.	63.	2.	68.	*	*	SW.	NW	Morning dark & lowring, Aft. bright & warm
21 st .	6.	68.	2.	60.	*	*	a.m N.W.	p.m SW	Rain am. Fair but cloudy p.m.
22 ^d .	6 $\frac{[1]}{2}$.	44:	2.	52.	*	*	am W.	p.m NW	Fair & gentle.

23^d. 6 $\frac{.11}{2}$. 38. 2. 42. * * NW. Fair but
raw.

24th. 6 $\frac{.11}{2}$. 43. 3. 54: * * SW. Fair and
warm.

25th. Omitted

26th. 7. 49. 2. 55: * *

27 & 28. omitted.

March

	[am]	[H]	[pm]	[H]	[pm]	[H]	[Wind]	
1 st .	6 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	49.	*	*	10 $\frac{.11}{2}$.	51:	SW	Fair & warm

2 ^d .	7.	49:	*	*	11.	61.	SW	A Squall of Wind & Rain at 4p.m.
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3 ^d .	7.	60.	*	*	*	*	4 th . & 5 th . omitted.	
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6 th .	7.	34:	*	*	*	*	W.	Very sharp & raw
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7 th .	7.	27.	2.	32.	*	*	W&N		Very sharp & clear.
8 th . 9 th . 10 th . & 11 th . omitted.									
12 th .	7.	60.	2.	68.	10 ½.	63.	SW.		Dark but warm p. t. d.
13 th .	7.	60.	*	*	11.	49.	SW	am p. m NW	A dark & cloudy Day w th small Showers of Rain
14 th .	7.	45.	*	*	11 $\frac{11}{2}$.	45.	NW.		A sharp sharp M. but bright & gentle Afternoon
15 th .	7.	45.	2.	59.	*	*	SW		A dark M. & Aft. but warm

							am	p.m	
16 th .	7.	49.	2.	64.	11.	62.	S.	SE.	Bright & warm in y ^e M ^g but dark & lowring in y ^e Aft.
17 th .	7.	64.	*	*	*	*	**		*****
18 th . & 19 th . omitted.									
20 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	51:	*	*	11.	65.	S&W		Hot, cloudy & inclined to Rain.
21 st .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	67.	2.	75.	11.	68.	SW.		At $\frac{1}{4}$ p ^t 12 at Noon small Showers of Rain. Dark & [...]

								am	pm	Lowrs till
22 ^d .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	65.	2.	67.	*	*	N.	N.	SW & W&N	10 ^{am} then bright & hot but moderated by [...]
23 ^d .	7.	51.	2.	63.	11.	48.	NE NNW.		E&N	Morn ^g dark. Aft. bright & mod. Evening cool.
24 th .	7.	45.	*	*	*	*		NE		
25 th .	*	*	*	*	10.	43.		ENE		Cold & raw.
26 th .	6.	40.	2.	49.	11.	46.		am ENE	pm E	A dark, cloudy & damp Air. In y ^e Night Rain.

							am	pm	
27 th .	6.	48.	3 ^{3/4}	61.	11.	60.	E.	SE	Cold, raw & rainy.
28 th .	6.	60.	*	*	*	*	SE.		Rain p. t. d.
							a.m	p.m	
29 th .	6.	62.	2.	67.	10.	57.	E.SE.	SW.	Morn ^g wet & dark, but the Afternoon fair
							a.m	p. m	
30 th .	6.	56.	2.	60.	11.	52.	SW.	NE	A very fine pleas ^t Morning usher'd in w th y ^e Sing ^g of [...]. The Aft. dark & gloomy.
31 st .	6.	49.	*	*	*	*	SW		Morn ^g fair & warm hot 1/2 p st 10 ^{am} a smart

										Shower of R[ain.]
April.										
DM										
	[am]	[H]	pm	[H]	[pm]	[H]	[Wind]			
2 ^d .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	54.	12.	45.	*	*	ENE			A cold raw Dark, dark & portends. Downfall.
3 rd .	6 $\frac{3}{4}$.	43.	2.	45.	*	*	E.			Cold & raw
4 th .	6 $\frac{3}{4}$.	43.	*	*	11.	51.	am E&N.E&S	am SE	SE	Warm & fair.
5 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	53.	*	*	*	*	SW	E&N		As y ^e preceding
6 th .	6 $\frac{11}{2}$.	51.	2.	61.	11.	54.	am E.	am E&N		Comet ²⁷ seen at $\frac{1}{4}$ p[ast] 4 a.m. Fair & warm.

²⁷ Halley's Comet.

7th. 6 $\frac{11}{2}$. 54. * * * *

Wind &
Weather
unobserved.
Sunday
omitted.

9th. 10^{am}. 75. * * * * S'SW.

I saw the
Comet at $\frac{1}{2}$ p^t
4 a.m. at York
being SE & E
for it. The
Nucleus very
distinct &
somewt
big[g]er yⁿ a
common Star.
The Cauda²⁸
of small
Diameter
confused & in
apparent
Length a yard
long. [end p.
2]

²⁸ Tail.