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Successful Life in Eighteenth-Century Colonial Virginia: A Sampling of Death Notices in *The Virginia Gazette*

Researchers in contemporary and historical cultural studies have discovered the obituary genre as a valuable source of evidence on a number of levels. Over the last 15 years, some have examined death notices as cultural representations of gender;¹ others have approached them as instruments of shaping collective/group memory.² Obituaries have been critically investigated for specific cultural meanings and values: death, grief, virtue, work, and wealth.³ American cultural history has also benefited from the study of obituaries in a multitude of media forms; yet such works are few in general and virtually nonexistent for the American colonial period. The earliest obituary included by Gary L. Long in his study of the relationship between personal identities and social structure comes from the year 1856.⁴ Janice Hume, who wrote more generally about obituaries as reflection of changes in American culture, placed the lower time limit of her sample in the year 1818.⁵

The present foray into the world of obituaries, death notices and announcements in an American colonial newspaper has been inspired by the fine results

¹ Mushira Eid, *The World of Obituaries: Gender across Cultures and over Time*, Detroit 2002; Irmina Wawrzyczek, *Selective Narratives of Distinction: Remembering Women in the Times Obituaries of the 1920s and 1980s* (in: Irmina Wawrzyczek and Aleksandra Kędzierska, eds., *Cultural and Literary Discourses of Death and Immortality*, Lublin 2012: 93–100.

² Bridget Fowler, *Collective Memory and Forgetting: Components for a Study of Obituaries*, “Theory, Culture & Society,” vol. 22, no. 6 (2005), pp. 53–72. Bridget Fowler and Esperança Bielsa, *The lives we chose to remember: a quantitative analysis of newspaper obituaries*, “The Sociological Review,” vol. 55, no. 2 (2007), pp. 203–226.

³ Rae A. Moses. and Giana D. Marelli, *Obituaries and the Discursive Construction of Dying and Living*, “Texas Linguistic Forum,” vol. 47 (2004), pp. 123–130. Carolyn L. Kitch, Janice Hume, *Journalism in a Culture of Grief*, Routledge 2008.

⁴ Gary L. Long, *Organizations and Identity: Obituaries 1856–1972*, “Social Forces,” vol. 65, no. 4 (1987), pp. 964–1001.

⁵ Janice Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture*. Jackson, Miss. 2000.

obtained with this genre by the previously-mentioned authors, and by a sense of anticipation for new insights into the culture of colonial America. Two cultural concepts are of special interest here: that of virtue and success. Virtues in general seem to enjoy a revived interest among today's philosophers, educationists, psychologists and cultural studies scholars.⁶ The notion of success has always been central to American culture and mythology, which makes its evolution worthy of investigation from a longer historical perspective. I attempt it here for eighteenth-century colonial Virginia by examining a sample of 39 death notices and longer obituaries published in *The Virginia Gazette* of 1737 (the first full calendar year of the paper's existence) and of the year 1775, somewhat arbitrarily chosen as the onset of revolutionary ferment in the colony which was expected to increase the editor's interest in deceased native Virginians and intensify the publication of their obituaries.

I tried to retrieve from those mini-biographies, and interpret by contextualizing the results, messages about what the people they commemorated were chiefly remembered for. In an attempt to connect the obituaries to the concepts of success, I relied on the premise of modern print media studies, in that "obituaries are in a sense society's final public tribute to its dead."⁷ Apart from simply recording a person's death, and providing information about the funeral arrangements, they evoke the person's notable achievements, focus on the accomplishments and on how that person's life, at its end, can best be represented.⁸ They also reflect a broader cultural system of positive meanings and values against which individual members of the community are judged. Although obituary notices "are not expected to intentionally construct biased profiles of the deceased", decisions are made – often unconsciously – about selecting and/or excluding information that diverges from a social norm.⁹ For this reason they are only partly reliable historical records of the real life and character of their "protagonists". They convey a point of view, mostly of their authors. Yet, for the same reason, they constitute good cultural history sources by encoding the socially shared ideals of virtuous life in a particular place and time.

This interdisciplinary project locates itself at the intersection of a few disciplines: cultural history, media studies, and linguistics. The interdisciplinary field

⁶ Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, Notre Dame 1981; David Carr and Jan Stutel, eds., *Virtue Ethics and Moral Education*, London and New York 1999; Joseph H. Kupfer, *Visions of Virtue in Popular Film*, Boulder 1999. Christopher Peterson and Martin E.P. Seligman, *Character Strengths and Virtues: A Handbook and Classification*, Oxford and New York 2004; Brendan Myers, *The Other Side of Virtue: Where Our Virtues Come From, What They Really Mean, and Where They Might Be Taking Us*, Ropley, Hants 2008.

⁷ Eid, op. cit., p. 21.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 24; Moses and Marelli, op. cit. p. 123.

⁹ Eid, op. cit. p. 278.

providing conceptual apparatus for the present analysis is cultural memory studies, defined elsewhere as an enquiry into “how the ‘past’ is created and recreated within sociocultural contexts.”¹⁰ The form of cultural memory particularly relevant for the present essay is collective memory understood as “...the creation of shared visions of the past which comes into being through interaction, communication, mediation, and institutionalization – within small social groups as well as large cultural communities.”¹¹

The death notices and obituaries in *The Virginia Gazette* fit this definition as forms of collective remembering facilitated by a public medium; as objectivized texts composed from personal and social memories about deceased individuals to be shared by the community of the readers. Additional theoretical support for my approach comes from Peter Burke, according to whom memory should not be described, but rather approached as a new historical source.¹² His questions about why we remember certain events and forget others, how individual memories are based on collective group memories, and how memories are transmitted by different media in use seem particularly appropriate for analyzing death notices in a colonial paper. The applied linguistic categories and variables are specified below, in the section devoted to the qualitative analysis of the study sample.

I researched the digital collection of the *Gazette* issues available in pdf format from the Digital History Center (DHC) of the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, which directs digital initiatives for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation’s Research Division. Founded in 2002, the DHC specializes in creating digital resources for studying and analyzing 18th-century America, with a focus on Williamsburg.

The *Gazette* was published weekly in Williamsburg from 1736 to 1780 (when the paper was moved to Richmond); the news covered all of Virginia and included some information from other colonies, England, Scotland, and various other parts of the globe. The surviving issues were first reproduced on microfilm in the mid-twentieth century. The collection, supplemented by additional issues that surfaced in the meantime, was subsequently digitalized. The paper first appeared in the summer of 1736, when William Parks, a printer and bookbinder who came from the neighbouring Maryland in 1730 to do government printing work, began its publication in the colony’s capital city. In its early years it was a small four-page journal, poorly printed, containing a mix of foreign news and

¹⁰ Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, transl. by Sara B. Young, Houndmills, Hampshire, and New York 2011, p. 303.

¹¹ Olick quoted in Erll, *ibidem*, p. 304.

¹² Peter Burke, *History as Social Memory*, in: Thomas Butler, ed., *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, Oxford 1989, pp. 97–113.



Fig. 1. The front page of the oldest surviving copy of *The Virginia Gazette* at the Virginia Historical Society

local advertisements, regularly supplemented with reprinted journalistic texts from the London papers of the time and with literary texts by contemporary English writers.¹³

As early as 1947, Robert Manson Myers pointed to the great value of the colonial *Virginia Gazette* as a historical source due to the paper's own complicated history, particularly after the death of William Parks in 1750. In the subsequent decades, *the Gazette was prepared and issued by different printers, and because during the course of its history it appeared from two or three different presses in the capital, the journal changed color several times, each Gazette being distinctive even in its advertisements. This multiplicity of Gazettes presents a wider record than any single periodical could provide, and thus produces rich features valuable to the historian of ideas and of culture.*"¹⁴

There are two reasons why the study sample of death notices comes from two annual collections of the surviving *Gazette* issues – the years 1737 and 1775 (the third *Virginia Gazette* inaugurated by Scotland-born Alexander Purdie on 3 February that year). I wanted to look at two years sufficiently distant to determine any significant changes in the number, size and content of the obituaries. The year 1737 was the earliest full year of the paper's existence (listed as *Virginia Gazette* 1 in the digital collection), while the year 1775 was the biggest collection for that year, the newspapers were bigger in format, had a three-column page layout, and the main editions frequently had 2–4 page-long supplements and postscripts. Altogether I examined 51 issues of the *Gazette* for the year 1737 preserved in the collection, and 86 issues for the year 1775 (i.e. 48 main issues plus 38 supplements and postscripts). Encouraged by the observation made by Myers that "[D]eath notices were a popular feature of the *Gazette*, and they were frequent and lengthy,"¹⁵ I anticipated a wealth of material. However, Myers was right only for the announcements about individuals who died in Britain and other European countries. These I excluded, as most of them were quoted verbatim from eighteenth-century English periodicals, did not concern the members of Virginia society and were not placed in the *Gazette* by fellow members of that same society. Restricted to the deceased men and women of Virginia and occasionally reported deaths in the neighbouring colonies, the final sample turned out disappointingly small for both years of study, which made it possible to analyze the content of all the identified death notices.

¹³ This and more detailed information about the beginning and earliest decades of *The Virginia Gazette* can be found on www.accessible-archives.com/collections/the-virginia-gazette/ and www.research.history.org/DigitalLibrary?BrowseVG.cfm.

¹⁴ Robert Manson Myers, *The Old Dominion Looks to London: A Study of English Literary Influence upon The Virginia Gazette (1736–1766)*, "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," vol. 54, no. 3, p. 195.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 206.

The quantitative findings demonstrate that the flowering of the obituary genre in the British press in the second half of the eighteenth century, which allegedly influenced also the colonial press,¹⁶ had a minor effect on the *Gazette*. The numerical growth of the obituaries between the two study years resulted only from the bigger number of the newspaper issues produced in and surviving for the year 1775. Predictably, obituaries/death notices about male Virginians significantly outnumbered those about females in both samples.

	Year	
	1737	1775
<i>V. Gazette</i> issues and supplements	51	86
TOTAL death notices/obituaries	12	26
• Men	9	18
• Women	3	8

The classification of the notices by length revealed three categories. The first type consists of brief, dry one-sentence announcements in the “Deaths” section, with some indication of the rank and/or position of the deceased (typical for men in the 1775 sample):

- Col. LEMUEL RIDDICK, one of the representatives for Nansemond County. (Dec. 15, 1775, p. 3)¹⁷
- Mr. THOMAS HODGE, merchant in King George, of an apoplectick fit. (Dec. 15, 1775, p. 3)
- JAMES BURWELL, Esq; of King’s creek, near this city. (April 28, 1775, p. 2)

The second group consists of slightly more elaborate death notices with some personal information (more frequent for women in general and for men in the 1737 sample):

- On Saturday the 10th of April, died at his house, in Prince William County, Capt. *Thomas Osborne*, a Justice of Peace for that County, and one who lived in the just Esteem of all his Neighbours, and whose Death is much lamented by all unprejudic’d Gentlemen who were acquainted with him. (April 29, 1737, p. 4)

¹⁶ Nigel Strack, *Posthumous Parallel and Parallax: the obituary revival on three continents*, “Journalism Studies”, vol. 6, no. 3 (2005), pp. 267–283.

¹⁷ In all the quotes from *The Virginia Gazette*, I have retained the original spelling, capitalization and emphasis.

- We hear from Gloucester County, That Miss Betty Washington, Daughter of Major John Washington, of that county, a young Gentlewoman of great Merit and Beauty, died there lately, very much lamented. (Feb. 25, 1737, p. 4)

The least numerous is the category of long (1–2 full columns) and elaborate obituaries of prominent male public figures: only two in 1737 and three in 1775 were found. While separately, these entries constitute rather flimsy cultural evidence, collectively they provide interesting insight into the cultural model of a successful life in colonial Virginia of the time.

In analyzing the content of these death announcements, an attempt was first made at establishing the social identity of the reported persons using the slightly simplified linguistic variables proposed by Mushira Eid in her cross-cultural study of the language of 20th-century obituaries from the gender perspective. They were: name, social/occupational title, and occupation/function.¹⁸ When applied to the studied entries, they showed the following regularities:

- 1) The full name (i.e. the Christian name and the surname) was always given for both men and women.
- 2) The following social/occupational titles were used:
 - a) for men: Mr., Esq., Hon., Sir, Colonel and Captain, often in combinations, as in “Hon. Sir John Randolph;”
 - b) for women: Mrs. and Miss. Only once did the title of Lady, frequent in reprinted English obituaries, appear with reference to a Virginia woman. Yet this woman, the widow of the late governor of Virginia, was more English than Virginian. She probably returned to Britain after her husband’s death and died in the city of Bath at an advanced age. These categories were almost always accompanied by another set of social categories identifying women through their marital, parental, filial and sibling relations with men:¹⁹ wife, spouse, relict and daughter.
- Lady GOOCH, relict of the Late Sir William Gooch, Governour of this colony, at Bath, in her 85th year. (May 5, 1775, p. 2)

In the entire sample of 11 women’s death notices, only two used the title Mrs. without specifying the women’s status derived from a man, as for instance:

- Mrs. PRECILLA DAWSON, of this city, at the house of Mr. William Daingerfield near Fredricksburg. (March 24, 1775, p. 3)
- 3) When specified, the occupations were helpful in situating the deceased within colonial socio-economic strata during their lifetime. The males commemorated in the studied notices represented the following “occupational” groups of eighteenth-century Virginia:

¹⁸ Eid, op. cit., pp. 246–249.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 129.

- a) local government and administrative officials: members of the Virginia Assembly, Justices of the Peace, clerks (11);
- b) military officers (3);
- c) professionals: lawyer, doctor, engineer, musician (4);
- d) commercial and financial sector: merchants (3);
- e) gentleman (synonymous with a big landowning planter in the colony) (8).

Some individuals represented two categories, for instance “Colonel Archibald Patoun, a director of engineers,” and “Mr. Charles Tomkies, Practitioner of Physick and Surgery, ... many years a Justice of the Peace”. No significant change was observed in the social membership of the deceased men commemorated in the two samples of obituary notices over the 38 years separating them.

Not surprisingly – in the light of the rich historiography of women in colonial America – the only indication of the social identity of the deceased Virginia females was the status of the men they were related to. These male relatives belonged to the same social and occupational groups as the deceased males mentioned above (4 military officers, 2 local politicians, 2 gentlemen, 1 clergyman). The rule remained unchanged between 1737 and 1775.

Much less systematic, yet considerably more interesting, is the descriptive information appearing in the notices about the virtues for which the deceased persons deserved recognition in the eyes of their contemporaries. Although in too many cases this type of evidence was, regrettably, either scanty or totally absent, the existing short phrases and longer passages form a recognizable, gender-specific pattern.²⁰

The qualities most frequently extolled in men were their moral and intellectual virtues of honesty, justice, generosity, learning and professionalism manifest in their public life and performance of public duties. They earned them the esteem and respect of the local community.

- “He was in great Esteem among the Gentlemen of this Colony; generally well beloved, and bore the character of a very worthy, honest Gentleman” (April 8, 1737, p. 4)
- “He...was a skillful Man in his Profession, just and honest in his Principles, and was very well beloved by his Neighbours, and Acquaintance...” (a JP and doctor; May 20, 1767, p. 4)
- “...an eminent Merchant of his Town, one of the greatest Dealers in the Province; his great Abilities cause him to be chosen Speaker of the House of Burgesses of the late Assembly; of which Station and Trust he acquitted himself with great Applause of his Friends...” (Sept. 30, 1737, p. 3–4)

²⁰ In my classification of virtues I make use of their types specified by Joseph H. Kupfer, *Visions of Virtue in Popular Film*, op. cit., pp. 24–27.

Two 1775 obituaries made references to the patriotism of the deceased males, calling one of them “a firm patriot” (Robert Boling, July 18, 1775, p. 1), and remembered the other for his service as Virginia’s delegate to the first Continental Congress (Peyton Randolph, Nov. 10, 1775, p. 3).

Two obituary notices referred to the family virtues of the men:

- “He was a kind Husband, an indulgent Father, and a good Neighbour...” (June 10, 1737, p. 3)
- “...a sudden stroke of the palsy...deprived...his family of the most affectionate husband and kindest master...” (November 10, 1775, p. 3)

Only one reference was found to the man’s religious virtue, amid a longer list of his aesthetic and intellectual traits.

- “He...had travell’d much, was a good Judge of Men and Books; in his Discourse was very modest, diverting, and instructive, and in his Life and Conversation, was an excellent Pattern of true Religion and Virtue. He liv’d below’d by all who had the Pleasure of his Acquaintance...” (June 10, 1737, p. 3–4)

Meanwhile, the attributes acknowledged in women involved their meliorating virtues and interpersonal skills that made the life of other people around them more pleasant: good sense and temper, sincerity, affection, discretion and amiability.

- “...a Lady not more distinguished by her good sense and sweetness of temper, than for the many virtues which adorned her character through life.” (April 28, 1775, p. 2)
- “She was pious, graceful, sincere, affectionate, discreet.” (December 22, 1775, p. 3)

Only one death notice registered the woman’s physical attractiveness:

- “...a young Gentlewoman of Great Merit and Beauty...” (Feb. 25, 1737, p. 4)

Most surprisingly, no reference whatsoever was found to the virtues connected with the women’s domestic roles, typically conveyed in other contemporary sources by the standard phrases of “a good mother,” or “a loving wife;” only in one notice was a woman praised for her religiosity and piety.

Any conclusions to be drawn about the concept of a successful life from the investigated sample of death notices require some prior awareness of the most serious limitations of the research materials as historical sources. Firstly, the colonial *Virginia Gazette* does not reflect the norms and values of the whole society, but only of the socially and materially privileged local gentry, whose wealthy and largely literate members were the target readers and subscribers to the paper.

A plea for subscription money placed by its editor and printer William Parks on page 4 in the issue of 29 July 1737 leaves no doubt about it. He addresses the “Gentlemen of Learning, Genius, and Public spirit,” declares his intention to “to please the Gentlemen of the Colony,” and hopes “the Gentlemen will continue their subscription.” Therefore the findings from these texts cannot be freely extended onto other classes of the colonial society – small farmers, servants and slaves – without corroborating evidence from other sources. Secondly, the *Gazette* had no evident system of gathering local obituaries. There was clearly none in 1737, and none had developed by the year 1775. The authorship of the notices remains a matter of speculation whether they were submitted by the families of the deceased, or composed at the printer’s office from the oral reports of individuals who would drop by the print shop and talk. Did they appear thanks to the publishers’ altruistic motives of improving social communication, or because they charged for printing them? With little page space in the paper, the printers kept many stories brief, encapsulating even significant information into one short paragraph or sentence. The obituary notices could suffer the same predicament. All those factors partly explain their irregular occurrence and format.

These limitations considered, the results of the study support a few cautious generalizations about the model of a successful life in the culture of eighteenth-century colonial Virginia. The meaning of success was evidently centred around personal, civic and community virtues. The value of one’s life was measured against public approval and esteem won by being a useful member of the local society and by serving its members in various capacities. Women, despite their exclusion from public functions, were similarly praised for promoting social life through their concern and regard for the welfare of other people. Thus successful colonial life was distant from today’s concept of individual success rooted in egoistic hedonism and the pursuit of pleasure. Nor was it defined in material categories of being a prosperous planter or land speculator, but rested on moral and intellectual qualities. However, it must be remembered that without prior attainment of wealth and gentility, the virtuous conduct of many colonial deceased would not have made it to the pages of the newspaper.

Successful life was a gendered category. The types of virtues evoked in the death notices depend on the sex of their “protagonists”: the remembered moral virtues of men are of the “executive” type observed in the ability to carry out certain projects, to serve the colonial community in an official/professional capacity, to lead and to maintain essential loyalties during their lifetime. Meanwhile, women’s death notices focus on their substantive virtues of compassion, generosity and humility.²¹ Whether masculine or feminine, all these qualities are

²¹ A similar observation was made by Ruth H. Bloch in her political and intellectual history article *The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America*, “Signs,” vol. 13, No. 1 (1987), p. 41–42.

essentially Christian. Yet the Virginia men and women remembered in the *Gazette* are almost never explicitly celebrated for their religious virtues, which gives an overall impression that good life was largely a secular notion for both sexes.

Other significant absences involve the worldly accomplishments typical for the colonial gentry of the eighteenth century. Men, even the richest and most prominent ones celebrated in long obituaries, are never remembered for their fitness, physical prowess and performance in sports. Nor are women praised for their beauty, style, or social skills. In the culture that placed high value on leisure and recreational pursuits,²² the total omission of such accomplishments in the obituaries is striking.

Historians have written a lot about the society of colonial Virginia. The distinctive feature of the plantation gentry has been described as “tobacco mentality” characterized by “solitary and unsociable” existence on isolated plantations, living in permanent insecurity of the weather, international markets, their credit with the British merchant houses, regulating their work and play by the tobacco production cycle. The respect of the planter community rested on the proficiency and skill in tobacco planting. To survive in the plantation colony, a planter had to be a competitive agricultural capitalist, a tough businessman, a calculating entrepreneur, and an often ruthless master to servants and slaves.²³ Surprisingly, no plantation achievements and no entrepreneurial virtues found their way to the studied obituaries of Virginia gentlemen and they are never mentioned as true causes of the esteem they enjoyed.

The observed discrepancy between what it really took to succeed in a plantation colony and the contemporary ideal of a successful life, shows once again that values and norms in a culture do not always correspond to the experience of its members. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, who compared the socially sanctioned model of femininity and the actual experience of women in colonial New England, also concluded that “[I]deals have a staying power seldom reflected in life.”²⁴ But cultural history is about norms, ideals, shared values and meanings. The present foray into colonial obituaries has confirmed their value as cultural history sources. It also shows that a more substantial study of such texts in a wider range of newspapers and across a longer period of time might reveal important differences in their textual arrangements and content and, consequently, provide a better understanding of how the American ideal of a successful life was evolving in the long run.

²² See Zbigniew Mazur, *The Power of Play: Leisure, Recreation and Cultural Hegemony in Colonial Virginia*, Lublin 2010.

²³ T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution*, Princeton, N.J. 1985, pp. 40–83. See also, Lorena Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607–1763*, Chapel Hill 2010.

²⁴ *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650–1750* (first publ. 1980), New York 199, p. 237.

Wzór dobrego życia w kulturze kolonialnej Wirginii XVIII w. na podstawie wybranych not pośmiertnych w „The Virginia Gazette”

Niniejsza praca jest kulturowym studium not pośmiertnych zamieszczonych w latach 1737 oraz 1775 w zachowanych numerach pisma „The Virginia Gazette” wydawanego w stolicy kolonii Williamsburgu. Celem analizy tych krótkich sylwetek prasowych było zbadanie ówczesnego wyobrażenia dobrego i prawego życia, oraz określenie kierunku jego ewolucji w czasie. W analizie posłużono się metodą ilościową oraz jakościową metodą analizy treści i elementów językowych charakterystycznych dla tego gatunku. Uzyskane wyniki zinterpretowano w odniesieniu do odpowiednich pozycji najnowszej historiografii kolonialnej Wirginii. Pomimo ograniczeń źródłowych – niewielka liczba not o zmarłych mieszkańcach kolonii, liczebna przewaga not o mężczyznach, ich nieregularne zamieszczanie, skrótowość i ograniczenie do klasy plantacyjnego ziemiaństwa – zarysowało się kilka prawidłowości. Miarą dobrego i podziwianego życia mężczyzny były jego zalety moralne i intelektualne przejawiane w życiu społecznym: uczciwość, sprawiedliwość, hojność i wykształcenie, a miarą sukcesu życiowego było dobre pełnienie funkcji publicznych i poważanie wśród lokalnej społeczności. Odnotowanymi zaletami zmarłych kobiet były ich cechy sprzyjające dobrym relacjom międzyludzkim: rozsądek, opanowanie, szczerość, oddanie i dyskrecja; natomiast ich życiowy sukces opierał się na kolidacjach z mężczyzną o dobrej pozycji społecznej – ojcem, mężem lub bratem. Zauważono także znaczące pomijanie zalet i sukcesów w rolach i działaniach najbardziej typowych dla mężczyzn i kobiet plantacyjnego ziemiaństwa w kolonii: plantatorów, posiadaczy niewolników, spekulantów ziemią, kupców, żon i matek zarządzających dużymi gospodarstwami domowymi, organizatorów i uczestników dużych imprez towarzyskich i kulturalnych. W ten sposób badane noty potwierdziły, że wyznawane w danej kulturze ideały i normy nie zawsze odzwierciedlają rzeczywiste doświadczenia jej członków.

Słowa kluczowe: „The Virginia Gazette”, noty pośmiertne, wzór dobrego życia