A Study of the Africans and African Americans on Jamestown Island and at Green Spring, 1619-1803

by

Martha W. McCartney

with contributions by
Lorena S. Walsh

data collection provided by
Ywone Edwards-Ingram
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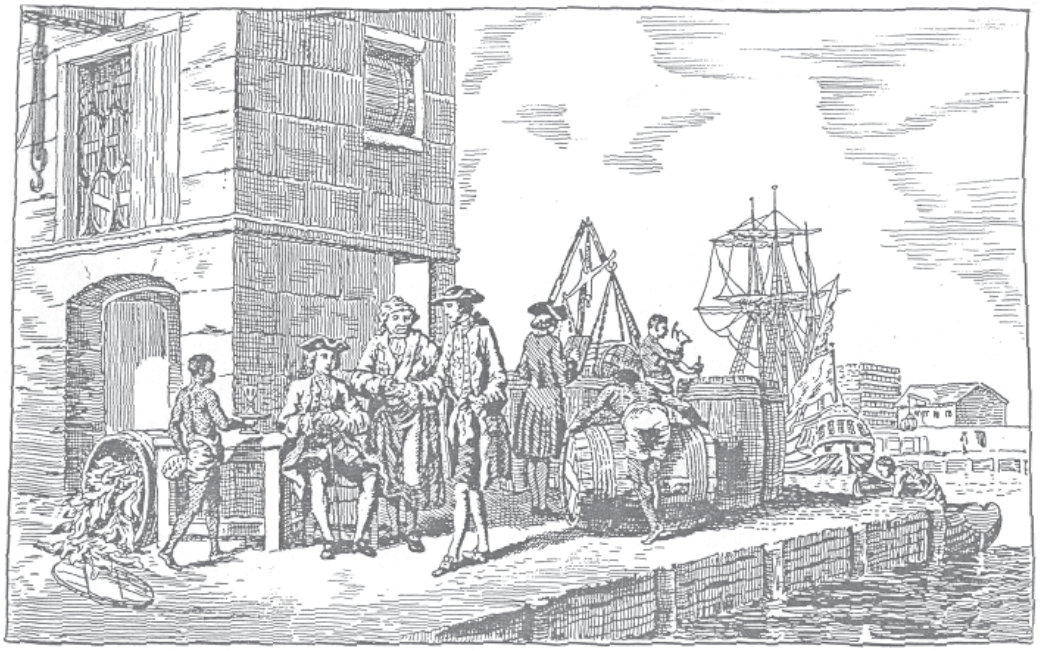
Beresford Callum



National Park Service | Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

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Marley R. Brown III
Principal Investigator

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Cover illustration: From *Map of the Most Inhabited Parts of Virginia, Containing the Whole Province of Maryland with Part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*, by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, 1755. Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

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Andrew J. Butts, Beresford Callum, and Ywone Edwards-Ingram, graduate students at the College of William and Mary, were responsible for data collection. Ms. Edwards-Ingram, a doctoral candidate at the College and an archaeologist with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, supervised the data collection process and saw that facsimiles of all relevant documents were clustered categorically and cross-referenced. She also prepared an electronic data base that not only encompasses all of the sources examined, but serves as a topical guide to the records collected. Volunteer Billy Stinson generously shared his computer expertise and helped with the data entry process.

Drs. Marley R. Brown III and Lorena S. Walsh provided overall guidance and direction to the Jamestown-Green Spring African American study. Dr. Walsh also prepared two critically important essays. One assesses the quality and quantity of the contemporary literature available on the study of Africans and African Americans in the colonial Chesapeake. The other, which draws upon her extensive knowledge of the Chesapeake's history, utilizes the data summarized in this report to place Jamestown and Green Spring within a broad historical context.

The author prepared a written summary of the documentary records compiled by other project personnel and analyzed the legal records that were collected. She contributed information on Native American servitude and slavery, including supplementary background data drawn from local and regional records and documents in the British Public Records Office.

Karen Rehm, Diane Stallings, and Jane Sundberg of the National Park Service, who were keenly interested in this project, were highly supportive and set its goals. They also provided the project team with direction. Gregory J. Brown of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Department of Archaeological Research contributed his expertise by refining and formatting this report. Heather M. Harvey prepared the graphics used throughout this report and was responsible for electronic mapping. Archaeologist and expert photographer Andrew C. Edwards, who provided many of the slides used in public presentations, helped tremendously in communicating the results of our work to the outside world. Staff members in Colonial Williamsburg's Rockefeller Library (notably George Yetter, Gail Greve, Marianne Cardin and Cathy Grosfils) assisted by procuring copies of graphics and overseas documents.

Notes on Geographical and Architectural Conventions

For convenience in referring to lots and buildings in Jamestown, the author relies upon conventions developed during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment (1992-1996). Lots are designated by "study unit" and "tract" following a system developed by the author in *Documentary History of Jamestown Island , Volume II: Land Ownership*, by Martha W. McCartney and Christina A. Kiddle (National Park Service, 2000). The basics of this system are reprinted in the section below.

Spatial Organization of Lotholding

Jamestown Island has been subdivided into four geographically distinct components or Study Units. Each Study Unit is comprised of lesser-sized parcels that have been designated Tracts. Some Tracts are made up of smaller subunits that have been styled Lots. Seventeenth-century Jamestown's corporate limits embraced Study Units 1 and 4 in their entirety. Excluded was the territory encompassed by Study Units 2 and 3.

Study Unit 1

Study Unit 1 is bound by Kingsmill Creek on the east, Sandy Bay on the west, and the Back River (or Back Creek) on the north. The westernmost portion of Study Unit 1's south boundary is delimited by the James River, whereas the easternmost portion follows the southern boundary line of Study Unit 1 Tracts D, F and H, which abut Back Street and the Common Road.

Study Unit 2

Study Unit 2 is defined by the James River on the east, Kingsmill Creek on the west, the Back River on the north, and Passmore Creek on the south.

Study Unit 3

Study Unit 3 abuts the James River on the east, Orchard Run and Kingsmill Creek on the west, Passmore Creek on the north, and the James River on the south.

Study Unit 4

Study Unit 4 abuts east upon Orchard Run, west upon the head of Pitch and Tar Swamp (west of the Ludwell Statehouse Group), north upon the southern boundary line of Study Unit 1, and south upon the James River.

Structure Numbers

Buildings that have been found during archaeological investigations follow the NPS terminology first developed by John Cotter in the 1950s. This consists of arbitrary structure numbers (for example, Structure 112 or S-112), assigned in the order that foundations were uncovered. This list is currently maintained by Colonial National Historical Park curators.

Complexes of interlocked foundations or otherwise interrelated foundations are referred to by structure numbers separated by slashes (e.g., Structure 44/53/138). This does not necessarily indicate contemporeity. A few conjoined structures (e.g., Structure 19A/B or Structure 1/2) are described more fully in Cotter's 1954 archaeological report (Cotter 1954).

Concordance Lists

Appendix H provides a concordance of structure and lot/tract designations. Figures 1-6 show the basic outline of the study units and tracts.

Figure 1. Overview of Study Units.

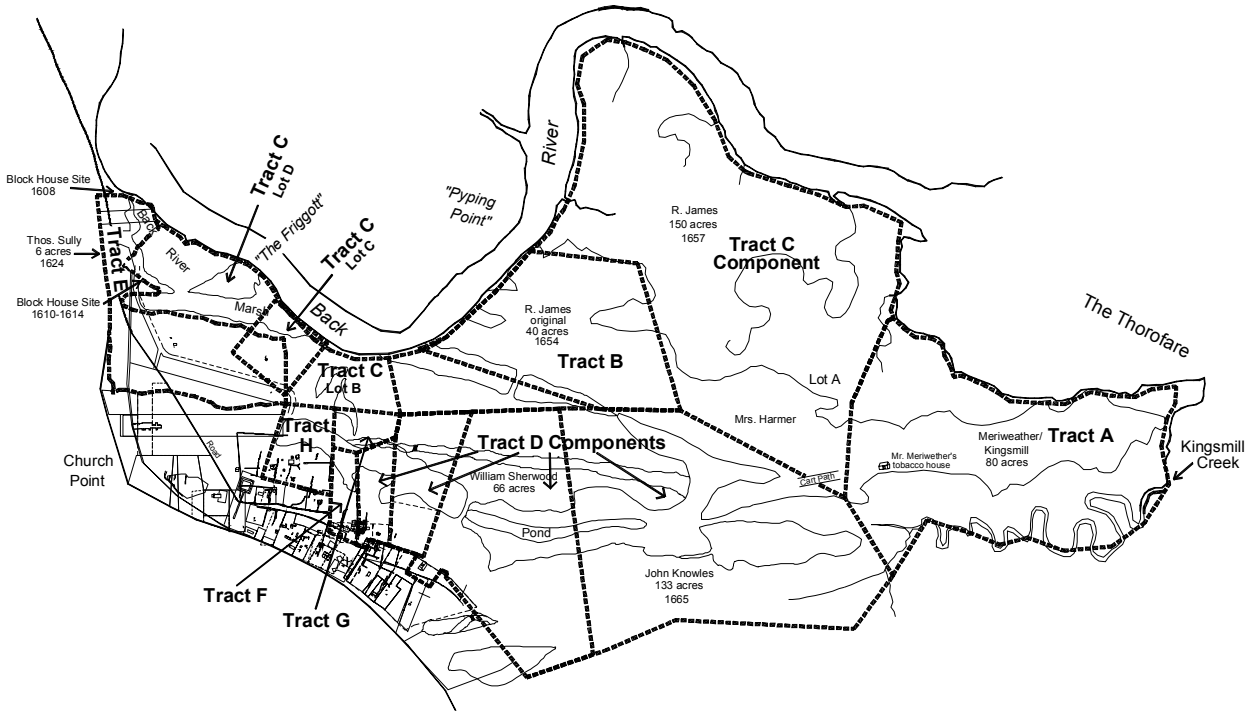

Figure 2. Study Unit 1, Tracts A-H.

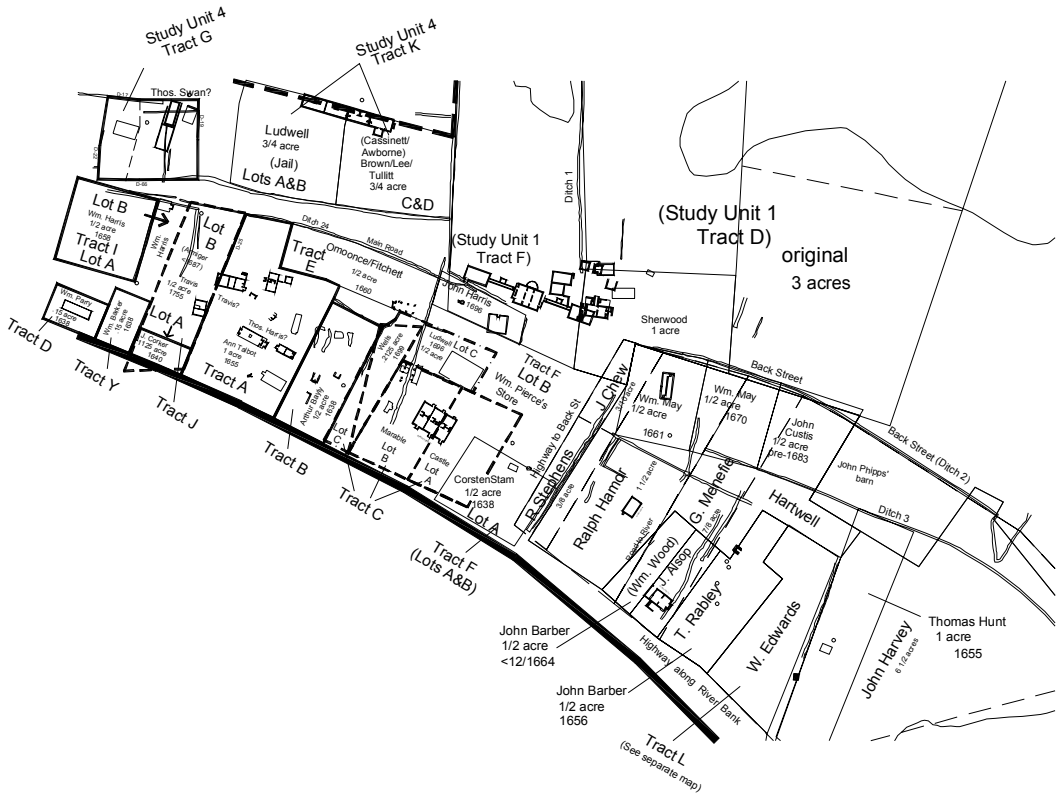

Figure 3. Study Unit 1, close-up of lots near waterfront.

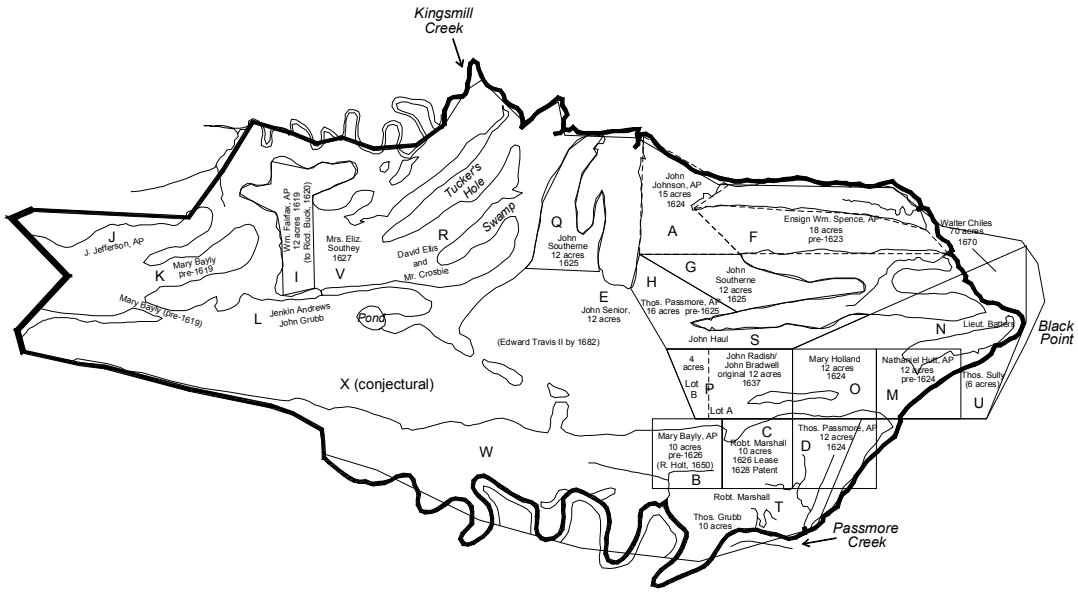

Figure 4. Study Unit 2, Tracts A-X.

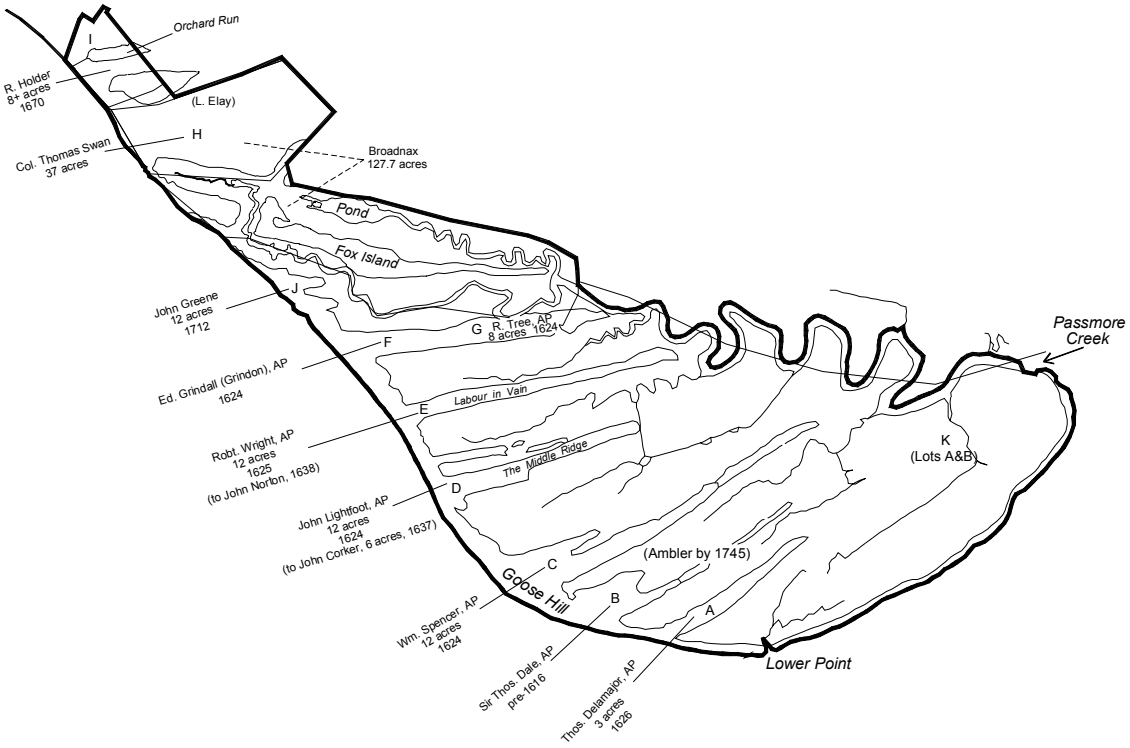

Figure 5. Study Unit 3, Tracts A-J.

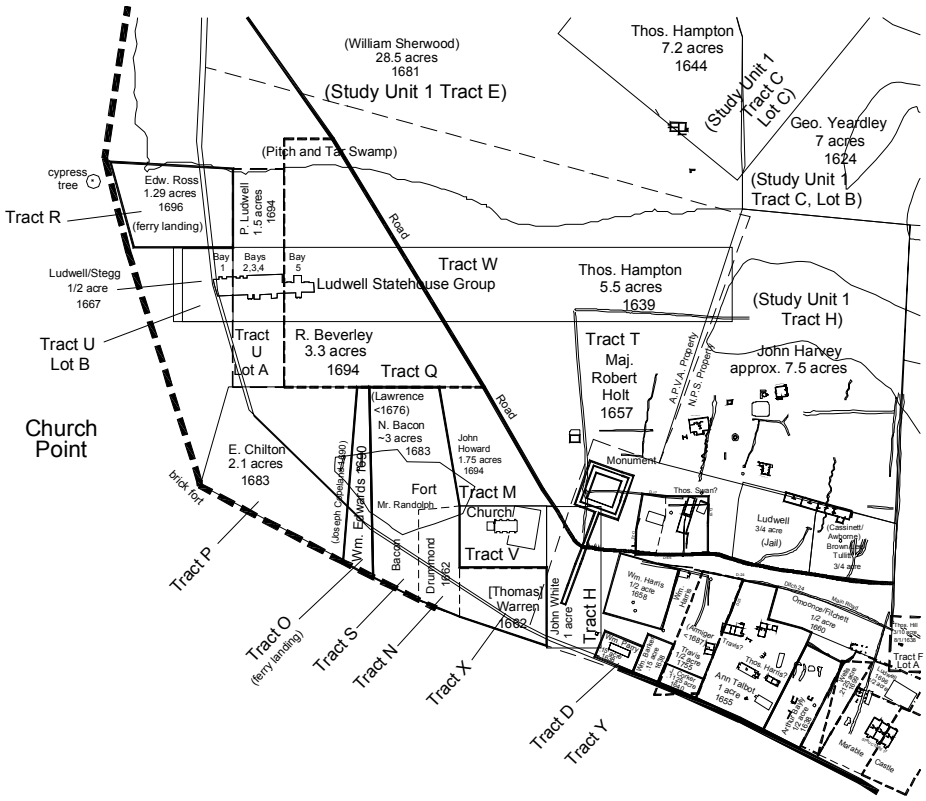

Figure 6. Study Unit 4, Tracts M-Y.

Chapter 1. Introduction

During 1998 and 1999 documentary research was conducted in support of the Jamestown-Green Spring African American study. One of the project's principal goals was to chart the course of Africans and African Americans in the transition from servitude to slavery. Through a close examination of documentary records associated with Jamestown Island and Green Spring, an attempt was made to determine how this drama unfolded at both locales. Special attention was given to legal records that regulated the conduct of ethnic minorities (especially Africans, African Americans and Native Americans) in Virginia during the period 1619 to 1803. These dates were chosen to bracket the period of study because they commence with the arrival of the Africans in Virginia and end with the establishment of a free black community comprised of Green Spring's former slaves.

Throughout the research process, data were collected from primary and secondary sources. Extensive use was made of a master list of people known to have owned or been associated with properties on Jamestown Island or with Green Spring plantation. Information also was gathered on people known to have been involved in activities at one or both areas. By the mid-eighteenth century, much of Jamestown Island had been absorbed into the plantations owned by the Amblers and the Travises. Therefore, each of those properties was studied in detail and compared with Green Spring.

Whenever Jamestown Island landowners or tenants are mentioned within this report, they are cross-referenced to the specific properties with which they were associated. Each of these properties' boundaries, identified as components of Study Units, Tracts and Lots (along with any structures they contain) are shown on the electronically generated base map produced as part of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment. Within this report, black people have been identified as Africans whenever it is almost certain that they were born in Africa. Those identified as African Americans are people of African descent who most likely were born in the New World. Whenever Africans and African Americans are referenced collectively (for example, in legal records), or when there is uncertainty with regard to a person of African ancestry's place of birth, they are referenced as black. Whenever people are identified as mulattoes (a term traditionally applied to those having black and white ancestry), it is because they were labeled as such in one or more historical records.

Chapter 2. Research Design

A broad variety of archival materials were examined in pursuit of this project's objectives. Official records generated by Virginia's governing officials, as first a colony and then a state, were searched carefully for information on Africans and African-Americans associated with Jamestown Island and Green Spring. These items ranged from transcriptions of minutes produced by the colony's assembly and the governor's council to legislative records dating to the early twentieth century. Microfilms of original documents were examined when deemed preferable. Throughout the research process, the names of specific servants and slaves associated with Jamestown Island and Green Spring were noted.

Extensive use was made of the sources identified while conducting historical research in support of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment and while tracing the history of Green Spring Plantation. Included were deeds, wills, inventories and court orders of James City, York and Surry Counties; military records dating to the American Revolution; Virginia Colonial Records Project survey reports and the abstracts of colonial records compiled by Sainsbury et al.; facsimiles of eighteenth century issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Virginia Gazette* (1736-1781); collections of private papers on file at the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Archives, the College of William and Mary, the Library of Virginia, and the Virginia Historical Society; data files at the National Park Service Visitor Centers in Jamestown and Yorktown; the Ambler, Ferrar and Rich Papers; and numerous seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century narratives. Portions of the Letter Books of the Royal African Company, available on microfilm, were examined for information on the slave trade in Virginia. Of special interest were the company's factors or agents, some of whom had property on Jamestown Island while employed in that capacity. Slave trade statistics, compiled and published by Minchinton et al. in 1984, also proved very helpful. Hugh Thomas's book, *The Slave Trade*, published in 1997, was found to have major errors with respect to early seventeenth century Virginia. Elizabeth Donnan's seminal work, *Documents Relating to the Slave Trade*, was invaluable.

Systematic research was carried out in the records generated by the court justices and tax assessors of James City, York and Surry Counties. Facsimiles of various records are on file at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library, the Alderman Library of the Library of Virginia, the Virginia Historical Society, and the New York Historical Society. Such locally generated court documents include deeds, wills, inventories, court orders, tax rolls and demographic records. Data were gathered from personal property tax rolls on those associated with Jamestown Island and Green Spring Plantation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Lists of headrights, appended to abstracts of land patents, were examined as a means of identifying specific Africans and African-Americans associated with people in possession of property on Jamestown Island and Green Spring during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whenever an individual was cited in abstracts merely as "a negro," a microfilm of the original patent was examined in order to ascertain whether his/her personal name had been omitted. Whenever it became apparent that Jamestown Island and Green Spring landowners and tenants were slaveholders, extensive efforts were made to compile data on those individuals and their households.

Color slides, gathered from the collections of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library, were duplicated and assembled for use

by National Park Service interpreters. Photocopies of graphic images of slaves and servants were extracted from a variety of published sources, including drawings and illustrations appearing on maps. A simple data base was created in Microsoft Excel so that the information compiled by project personnel would be readily accessible to National Park Service staff members. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's compilation of sources, *Enslaving Virginia*, was used as a reference work during preparation of this report.

Limitations of Primary Sources

Almost all of the antebellum court records of James City County, the jurisdiction within which the study area lies, were destroyed during the Civil War. Moreover, many early patents were lost or destroyed, creating numerous gaps in the records, and patents predating 1683 are transcriptions, not originals. Even so, thanks to Green Spring's unique place in history and urban Jamestown's role as the colony's seventeenth century capital, a wealth of information was generated by governmental and military officials, by antiquarians and numerous others who paid personal visits to the area and recorded their observations. The Ambler manuscripts, portions of which are on file at the Library of Congress and the University of Virginia, provide a wealth of information on the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island and on the mainland, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These records, which are voluminous, make the Ambler plantation at Jamestown one of Tidewater Virginia's most thoroughly documented rural properties. Likewise, the Ludwell and Lee Papers, available at the Virginia Historical Society, provide numerous useful insights into the management of eighteenth century Green Spring plantation, including the African and African-American people who comprised its work force.

Data Presentation

The preliminary report that follows draws upon many of the sources that have been identified to date, a considerable number of which await in-depth exploration. This is especially true with regard to seventeenth and eighteenth century source material involving the slave trade and the Royal African Company. Certain collections of private papers that were identified during preliminary research, legislative and judicial sources dating to the mid-nineteenth century, seventeenth century court records of nearby counties, and other documents at outlying repositories, such as those on file at the British Public Records Office, are among the archival materials that await initial or more thorough examination. Therefore, within the report that follows, many issues are mentioned that warrant a fuller understanding. For example, from time to time, material on Native American servitude has been included. However, that issue awaits a thorough investigation.

For the sake of discussion, Jamestown Island has been subdivided into four geographically distinct components or Study Units. Each Study Unit is comprised of lesser-sized parcels that have been designated Tracts. Some Tracts are made up of smaller subunits that have been styled Lots. The geographically-based organizational scheme, used in this report, was also employed in preparing the three-volume history that was produced as part of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment. Whenever previously identified cultural features are referenced in this report, they are cited according to the numbers assigned them by National Park Service archaeologist John Cotter. This has been done for convenience of reference in discussing specific elements of Jamestown's cultural landscape.

Chapter 3.
Assessment of Contemporary Literature

by Lorena S. Walsh

The most influential work on the development of Virginia labor systems, with an emphasis on early Jamestown, remains Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975). On this topic see also Morgan, "The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607-18," *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971): 596-611, and "Headrights and Head Counts: A Review Article," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 80 (1972): 361-71. Wesley Frank Craven, *White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian* (Charlottesville, Va., 1971) remains a suggestive and still frequently cited source. Good summaries of the development of the Chesapeake economy, population, and labor systems are found in John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), chaps. 6, 10, and 11.

Indentured Servants

In addition to Morgan, the older Abbott Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947) remains useful. A more recent work is David W. Galenson, W*hite Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981).

Much of the scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s involved debates about the social origins of migrating indentured servants. A larger question, not always directly addressed in the ensuring debates, concerned these individuals' motives for migrating. Lacking direct documentary evidence produced by the servants themselves, motives were inferred from evidence about their social status prior to immigration. Migrants drawn from broad middling groups in England might have had different motivations for migration and they might have brought different skills and social attitudes to the New World than did men and women from the lower orders. Mildred Campbell, in "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," in *Seventeenth-Century America*, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill, NC., 1959), 63-89; Campbell, "'Middling People' or 'Common Sort'? The Social Origins of Some Early Americans Reexamined," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 35 (1978): 535-40; and Campbell, "The Social Origins of Some Early Americans: A Rejoinder," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 36 (1979): 277-86, argued for primarily middle class origins. David Galenson, "Immigration and the Colonial Labor System: An Analysis of the Length of Indenture," *Explorations in Economic History*, 14 (1977): 360-77; Galenson, "'Middling People' or 'Common Sort'? The Social Origins of Some Early Americans Reexamined," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 35 (1978): 499-534; Galenson, "The Social Origins of Some Early Americans: Rejoinder," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 36 (1979): 264-77; and Galenson, "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas: An Economic Analysis," *Journal of Economic History*, 44 (1984): 1-26, argued that the substantial percentage of migrant servants with no stated occupation in surviving records were likely of lower social origins.

On this issue see also David Souden, "'Rogues, whores, and vagabonds': Indentured Servant Emigrants to North America, and the Case of Mid-Seventeenth-Century Bristol," *Social History*, 3 (1978): 23-41; Anthony Salerno, "The Social Background of Seventeenth-Century Emigration to America," *Journal of British Studies*, 10 (1979-80): 31-52; John Wareing, "Migration to London and Transatlantic Emigration of Inden-

tured Servants, 1683-1775," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 7 (1981): 356-78; Russell R. Menard, "Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century: A Review Essay," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 68 (1973): 323-32; and James Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. Thad W. Tate and David L Ammerman, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 51-95. These debates are summarized and revised in Russell R. Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, ed. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 99-132. Menard draws attention to the numerous British servants who arrived without written contracts and hence served according to the custom of the colony. These servants more likely came from the margins of English society than did those who arrived with formal indentures.

Other hotly debated topics in the 1970s and 1980s were the conditions European indentured servants encountered once they arrived in the Chesapeake, and the opportunities or lack thereof for upward economic and social mobility experienced by those who survived their term of service. Scholars working with the fuller surviving records for seventeenth century Maryland have argued for more (although still constrained) opportunities in the first three quarters of the century than have those working with early Virginia. On these issues see Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph. D. dissertation., University of Iowa, 1975); Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser, 30 (1973): 37-64; Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Colonial Maryland," in *Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Tate and Ammerman, pp. 206-42; Lorena S. Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity in Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," in *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*, ed. Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse (Baltimore: 1977), pp. 111-33; Walsh, "Staying Put or Getting Out: Findings for Charles County, Maryland, 1650-1720," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 44 (1987): 89-103; Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720*, (Princeton, N.J., 1982), chap 3; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650-1820," in *Work and Labor in Early America*, ed., Stephen Innes (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 144-88; and Christine Daniels, "Alternative Workers in a Slave Economy: Kent County, Maryland, 1675-1810" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1990).

The loss of many early local and provincial records has discouraged equally systematic studies of the economic and social mobility of servants in seventeenth century Virginia. Morgan argued for more systematically constricted opportunities for freedmen in Virginia, as did T. H. Breen, "A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia, 1610-1710," *Journal of Social History*, 7 (1972-73), 3-25. The freedmen's frustration with their constricted status, both argued, culminated in violence in Bacon's Rebellion, leading to a decision among elite planters to substitute more governable slaves for unruly servants. One local study, Joseph Douglas Deal III, "Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore during the Seventeenth Century" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1981; rpt. New York, 1993), draws on the rich surviving records for an area peripheral to the mainstream tobacco oriented core of the colony. J. P. P. Horn, "Moving on in the New World: migration and outmigration in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake," in *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Clark and David Souden (Totowa, N.J., 1988), pp. 172-212, places betterment migration and ex servant out migration in response to diminished opportunity in the context of rates of migration and out migration in England and New England. The issue of the fortunes of migrant white servants in seventeenth century Virginia,

both during and after servitude, would at this point in time benefit from additional research and re-evaluation.

Seventeenth-Century African Migration

The 1990s have witnessed a greatly expanded interest in the Transatlantic slave trade and the African Diaspora, as evidenced especially by the widely attended September 1998 Institute of Early American History Conference on Transatlantic Slaving and the African Diaspora held in Williamsburg, and the imminent release of the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute dataset of slaving voyages. Scholars have most intensely studied the slave trades of the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, leaving the poorly documented seventeenth century relatively neglected. Since so few Africans were transported to the mainland colonies relative to the Caribbean and Central and South America in this century, forced transportation to the continental colonies has received little attention from scholars of the whole transatlantic trade. Recent works that do attempt to put the early Chesapeake in the context of the whole transatlantic trade include Richard N. Bean, *The British Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1650-1775* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1971; repr., New York, 1975); James A. Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History* (New York, 1981); Ira Berlin, "The Slave Trade and the Development of Afro-American Society in English Mainland North America, 1619-1775," *Southern Studies*, 20 (1981): 122-36; David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Fluctuations in sex and age ratios in the transatlantic slave trade, 1663-1864," *Economic History Review*, 46 (1993): 308-23; James Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* (London, 1996); Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London, 1997); and David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, Eng., 2000). John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992), discusses the slave trade and the African diaspora in the New World from an African perspective. Initially received as an extreme statement, Thornton's account of African control of the slave trade in Africa has now become widely accepted. His argument that many enslaved Africans perceived themselves as part of communities that had distinct ethnic or "national" roots remains contested. The issue of the presence or absence of such ethnic consciousness and of possible elements of retained African cultures will be a major issue in most new studies of Africans everywhere in the Americas.

The documents reproduced in Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (4 vols., 1932-35; rpt. New York, 1969), remain the most extensive compilation of period primary sources available. Useful studies of the Royal African Company trade to Virginia include K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1957), esp. pp. 214-32; and Charles L. Killinger III, "The Royal African Company Slave Trade to Virginia, 1659-1713," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1969). Other works that touch on aspects of the seventeenth century trade of relevance to Virginia are Virginia Bever Platt, "The East India Company and the Madagascar Slave Trade," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 26 (1969): 548-77; Susan Alice Westbury, "Colonial Virginia and the Atlantic Slave Trade" (Ph.D. dissertation., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1981; Westbury, "Slaves of Colonial Virginia: Where They Came From," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 42 (1985): 228-37; and Elizabeth Suttell, *The British Slave Trade to Virginia, 1698-1728* (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1965). Darold D. Wax, "Preferences for Slaves in Colonial America," *Journal of Negro History* 58 (1973): 371-89 summarizes information on planters' ethnic preferences.

Narrowing the focus to the British mainland colonies, Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *American Historical Review*, 85 (1980): 44-78, places Chesapeake slavery in a comparative mainland context, covering the topics of proportion of total population, differing work

and demographic regimes, and internal slave economies. Berlin's recent *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998) is a masterful synthesis of current scholarship with significant attention to the seventeenth as well as the eighteenth centuries. Berlin's arguments about how and why blacks who arrived in the colonies early in the seventeenth century differed from and had different experiences than those who arrived later appears in expanded form in Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 53 (1996): 251-88.

Stimulating discussions of the development of slavery elsewhere in the British colonies include Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 160-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993); Virginia Bernhard, "Bermuda and Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative View," *Journal of Social History*, 11 (1985): 57-70; Bernhard, "Beyond the Chesapeake: The Contrasting Status of Blacks in Bermuda, 1616-1663," *Journal of Southern History*, 54 (1988): 545-64; and Michael Jarvis, "In the Eye of All Trade": *Maritime Revolution and the Transformation of Bermudian Society, 1612-1800* (Ph.D. dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1997). For a comparison of Barbados and Virginia see Richard S. Dunn, "Masters, Servants, and Slaves in the Colonial Chesapeake and the Caribbean," in *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn (Detroit, 1982), pp. 242-66. Philip D. Morgan, "British Encounters with Africans and African-Americans, circa 1600-1780," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), pp. 157-219, places contacts in the context of multi-cultural studies.

Douglas Brent Chambers, "'He Gwine Sing He Country': Africans, Afro-Virginians, and the Development of Slave Culture in Virginia, 1690-1810" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1996) deals primarily with the eighteenth century, but, especially in chapter 4 on the slave trade in Virginia, raises issues about the composition of slave cargos, the distribution in Virginia of Africans coming from particular geographic regions in Africa, and planter purchasing patterns that need to be explored for earlier years.

Africans and African Americans in Seventeenth-Century Virginia

New information has surfaced in the past two years regarding the first Africans to arrive in Virginia. First of all, more Africans were present in the Virginia colony by 1620 than the 20 and odd negroes that John Smith and John Rolfe recorded as having been brought to Virginia in a Dutch ship in 1619. Thirty-two Negroes (15 men and 17 women) were listed in a census of 1619/20 recently discovered in the Ferrar Papers, Magdalene College, Cambridge. This census is discussed in William Thorndale, "The Virginia Census of 1619," *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy*, 33 (1995): 155-70. Subsequent unpublished research of Martha McCartney establishes that Thorndale incorrectly attributed the date of this census to March 1619 rather than to March 1620. Engel Sluiter, "New Light on the '20. And Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia, August 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 (1997): 395-98 identifies the first known shipment of slaves as having been transported from Luanda in Portuguese Angola by a Portuguese supplier of slaves to New Spain that was captured by an English and a Dutch ship in the West Indies. John Thornton, "The African Experience of the '20. And Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 55 (1998): 421-34, describes the events in Angola that led to these peoples' capture and forced shipment. Irene W. D. Hecht, "The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 as a Source for Demographic History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 30 (1973): 65-92, shows the distribution of blacks among white households in the most widely known early census .

Debates in earlier historiography focused primarily on the origins of British American slavery and race prejudice as revealed by the status of blacks in early America, especially Virginia. The principal disputants were Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 7 (1950): 199-222; Carl N. Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice," *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, 2 (1959): 49-66; Winthrop D. Jordan, "Modern Tensions and the Origins of American Slavery," *Journal of Southern History*, 28 (1962): 18-30; Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968); Paul C. Palmer, "Servant into Slave: The Evolution of the Legal Status of the Negro Laborer in Colonial Virginia," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 65 (1966): 355-70; Wesley Frank Craven, "Twenty Negroes to Jamestown in 1619?" *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 47 (1971): 416-20; and Alden T. Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 29 (1972): 469-78. These debates are summarized and expanded in Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 97 (1989): 311-54. Vaughan concluded that the now prevailing consensus is that from the outset almost all blacks were considered slaves, not indentured servants.

Other articles on the status of blacks in early Virginia are Warren M. Billings, "The Case of Fernando and Elizabeth Key: A Note on the Status of Blacks in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 30 (1973): 467-74; Thomas D. Morris, "'Villeinage…as it existed in England, reflects but little on our subject': The Problem of the 'Sources' of Southern Slave Law," *American Journal of Legal History* 32 (1988); and Robert McColley, "Slavery in Virginia, 1619-1660: A Reexamination," in *New Perspectives on Race and Slavery in America: Essays in Honor of Kenneth M. Stampp*, ed. Robert H. Abzug and Stephen E. Maizlish (Lexington, Ky., 1986), pp. 11-23. The most widely cited documents regarding the legal status of blacks are reproduced in Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975).

According to Alden Vaughan's summary ("The Origins Debate"), the traditional explanation for the sharp rise in the importation of Africans was an economic one—that the expansion of Virginia's tobacco production increased the demand for field labor beyond the supply of preferred white indentured servants. Indentured servants served short terms and later became planters themselves. Black labor, though perhaps socially less desirable, was in the long run cheaper than white labor since it was permanent. And finally the availability of African slaves increased with the emergence of the Royal African Company in 1672 and expanded further when the slave trade was opened to all British shippers in 1698. In the early 1970s, Morgan and Breen advanced a predominantly social explanation. Following Bacon's Rebellion, when former servants temporarily overturned Virginia's political and social order, the elite turned increasingly to slave labor as more advantageous—permanent, unarmed, relatively docile, and self perpetuating. Racial prejudice then emerged with the rise in the black population.

Subsequently the social explanation for the adoption of slave labor has again been largely replaced in mainstream historiography by refined economic explanations, and arguments for the presence of racist thought well before Bacon's Rebellion have been increasingly bolstered. However Morgan's interpretation that poor whites increasingly made complexion a mark of freedom and superiority, and that elites fostered white cohesion as a means for involving the whole society in controlling slaves and preventing black insurrections remains widely accepted.

For more recent scholarship on the development of racist thought and practice in early modern Europe and the Americas see the January 1997 issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54, devoted to the topic of "Constructing Race." The role of gender in the evolving construction of

race is developed in Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996). Although dealing only with the eighteenth century, Joan Rezner Gundersen, "The Double Bonds of Race and Sex: Black and White Women in a Colonial Virginia Parish," *Journal of Southern History*, 53 (1986): 351-72, also raises issues worth considering for the earlier period.

The refined economic argument was made by Russell R. Menard in "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," *Southern Studies* 16 (1977): 355-90. Menard demonstrated that the supply of indentured servants declined before slave imports began to rise appreciably, and that planter demand for white servants, as evidenced by rising prices for them, continued strong until the end of the century. In the 1680s the supply of white servants to the Chesapeake declined appreciably just at the time that the supply of African slaves increased. The rise of black slavery was more a consequence than a cause of the decline of white servitude. On this issue see also David Galenson, "White Servitude and the Growth of Black Slavery in Colonial America," *Journal of Economic History*, 61 (1981): 39-47. Galenson has subsequently argued that unsettled issues concerning planter's property rights in slaves in the 1660s and 1670s contributed to planters reluctance to invest in expensive human property so long as their rights were not adequately defined in Virginia law. (Galenson, "Economic aspects of the growth of slavery in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake," in *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, ed. Barbara L. Solow (Cambridge, Eng., 1991), pp. 265-92.)

While there has been an explosion of studies of blacks in the eighteenth century Chesapeake, the seventeenth century has received less attention. Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986) remains the most comprehensive source that takes the later seventeenth century into account. Anthony S. Parent, "'Either a Fool or a Fury': The Emergence of Paternalism in Colonial Virginia Slave Society" (Ph.D. dissertation., University of California, Los Angeles, 1982) advances arguments, not always fully proven, about the formation of early elite planter paternalism and of modes of black resistance that nonetheless merit consideration and further evaluation. Recent local studies that deal with African Americans on the seventeenth century Eastern Shore are T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *Myne Owne Ground: Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York, 1980); Douglas Deal, "A Constricted World: Free Blacks on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1680-1750," in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, pp. 275-305; and Deal, "Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore during the Seventeenth Century." For Middlesex County, see Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750* (New York, 1984), chap.6, and *Explicatus*, chap. 12. Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville, Va., 1997) describes the evolution of a slave community on the James/York peninsula from the 1660s to the 1790s.

Other studies touch on various aspects of African American life in the seventeenth century Chesapeake. Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), chap. 3, provides a discussion of early material conditions, and Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994), poses interesting findings about early eighteenth century urban slavery that might be profitably explored for later seventeenth century Jamestown. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake," in *Work and Labor in Early America*, ed. Stephen Innes (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), pp. 144-88, discusses the changing role of slaves in the Chesapeake economy. Lorena S. Walsh, "Slave Life, Slave Society, and Tobacco Production in the Tidewater Chesapeake, 1620-180," in Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds.,

Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas (Charlottesville, Va., 1993), pp. 170-99, explores inter connections between the staple crop and work routines and conditions.

The different responses that Africans, Native Americans, and Europeans had to the post-contact New World disease environment has figured prominently in the literature of West Indian and Central and South American slave societies. Some scholars have posited that the different mix of immunities that Europeans and Africans brought to the mainland colonies also affected migrants ability to survive in the far from benign disease environment of the Chesapeake, and especially that the greater resistance that Africans had to malaria over Europeans influenced the shift to race based slavery. Daniel C. Littlefield, "Plantations, Paternalism, and Profitability: Factors Affecting African Demography in the Old British Empire," *Journal of Southern History*, 67 (1981): 167-82 provides a useful comparison. Articles directly addressing these issues for the Chesapeake include Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 32 (1975): 29-54; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers: Malaria in the Early Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 33(1976): 31-60; Rutman and Rutman, *A Place In Time, Explicatus*, chaps. 3 and 12; and Darrett B. Rutman, Charles Wetherell, and Anita H. Rutman, "Rhythms of Life: Black and White Seasonality in the Early Chesapeake," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11 (1980): 29-52. Demographic materials for the mainland colonies are summarized in Lorena S. Walsh, "The African-American Population of the Colonial United States," in *A Population History of North America*, ed. Michael R. Haines and Richard Steckel (Cambridge, Eng., forthcoming).

Given the paucity of documentary sources about African American life in the seventeenth century, archaeology constitutes an invaluable alternative source that has the potential for filling in some of the gaping holes in our understanding of the meeting and merging of Native American, European, and African cultures in Virginia. Relevant published accounts for seventeenth century Virginia include William M. Kelso, *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619-1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia* (Orlando, Fla., 1984); Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (Washington, D.C., 1992); James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864* (Charlottesville, Va., 1993); Matthew C. Emerson, "Decorated Clay Tobacco Pipes from the Chesapeake: An African Connection," in *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, ed. Paul A. Shackel and Barbara J. Little (Washington, D.C., 1994), pp. 35-49; and L. Daniel Mouer, "Chesapeake Creoles: The Creation of Folk Culture in Colonial Virginia," in *The Archaeology of seventeenth Century Virginia*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Dennis J. Pogue, Archaeological Society of Virginia Special Publication no. 30 (Richmond, 1993); and *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (Charlottesville, Va., 1999).

Here we do not attempt to cover the ever expanding "grey literature" of site reports and collections of conference proceedings with limited circulation, unpublished conference papers and other lectures, and the like. Both new discoveries from newly under taken and recent but not yet fully processed excavations, as well as re-evaluations of earlier findings from more fully reported excavations seem certain to be the order of the day for some time to come. Tighter dating of early sites, more attention to botanic and other chemical remains, and serious studies, just now beginning, of period African cultures are almost certain to change the interpretations that archaeologists and historians make of both excavated and absent artifacts. New information about the character of the transatlantic slave trade over time and of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the resulting New World African diaspora will both inform and be informed by archaeological findings. Ongoing debates about African carry overs and cultural syncretisms are going to pose a major challenge for museum interpreters for the foreseeable future.

Chapter 4.
Evolution and Change: A Chronological Discussion

Historical Background

The World's Largest Forced Migration

Throughout much of the seventeenth century, many of the African men and women forcibly transported to the Chesapeake came from West Africa by way of the West Indies. Slave ships sometimes paused briefly in the islands to take on water and other supplies before continuing on to the mainland. Often, slavers sold at least part of their human cargo to Caribbean planters, who made the Africans part of their work force. Time and again, these Africans and/or their island-born children were resold to people on the mainland. Research suggests that many of the African men, women and children brought to the Chesapeake already were familiar with Europeans and their customs. As some Africans were from societies that had suffered long-term exploitation by the slave trade, they probably were somewhat better equipped to cope with the situation in which they found themselves (Rodriguez 1997:I:xiii-xxii).

Slave Trade to the Americas

The concept of enslaving Africans and transporting them to colonies in the Americas was a long-standing tradition among the Portuguese and Spanish. In fact, both countries had been active in the slave trade for approximately 150 years by the time the first English colonists arrived in Virginia in 1607. Slavery developed along somewhat different lines from colony to colony, for it reflected the philosophy of the ruling cultural group. At the root of the English colonists' ethnocentrism was a feeling of confidence and superiority. In Virginia, slavery fueled the development of more rigidly structured society. Most basic was the distinction between the free and the unfree.

Lorena S. Walsh has noted that in Senegambia, domestic slavery was a long-standing tradition prior to the time the first Europeans came on the scene. The majority of slaves were foreigners captured during times of war and their descendants, or people who had been purchased from regional merchants, such as the Mandingo. Wealthy farmers put slaves to work as domestic help and in agricultural pursuits, such as raising grain and other commodities that could be used in trade (Walsh 1997:65).

According to K. G. Davies, in 1553 the English sent an expedition to West Africa. Afterward, groups of investors that were not formally organized sponsored several more voyages. Although Hawkins made slave-voyages in 1562 and 1569, the Spanish excluded the English from their American colonies, then their only market for slaves. Finally, in 1588 a group of eight people, the Senegal Adventurers, received a charter that entitled them to a ten-year monopoly for the trade between Senegal and the Gambia. However, the group faded into obscurity within a few years. Finally, in 1618 a group known as the Governor and Company of Adventurers of London was formed. It traded to Guinea and Benin or "Gynny and Bynney," as the two areas were popularly known. The newly formed Company, which had 37 members, remained viable until around the time of the Restoration. It had a monopoly and was the first incorporated company specifically formed to participate in African trade. The Governor and Company of Adventurers of London suffered from a chronic shortage of capital. However, around 1631 the group managed to plant a permanent English settlement on the West African coast at Kormantin.

The development of the redwood trade in Sierra Leone and Sherbo was an important accomplishment. In 1636 a ship laden with gold quickened interest in the investors' project. Davies surmised that the English began to engage in the slave-trade around this time and that the Governor and Company of Adventurers of London was involved. The group renewed its monopoly in 1651. Thirty-six years later, when officials of the Royal African Company became involved in a land dispute with Denmark, they cited affidavits that were signed in 1655 and 1665. One man involved on behalf of the Guinea Company was Maurice Thompson, a sometime resident of Virginia who during the first quarter of the seventeenth century did business in Jamestown and with officials of the Virginia Company of London. During the Restoration period there was a renewed interest in African trade. In December 1660 a group known as the Royal Adventurers into Africa was granted a charter. Its investors' principal objective was to search for gold. Three years later the organization was rechartered (Davies 1957:40-42).

With renewed vigor, the Royal Adventurers expelled a small settlement of Courlanders from St. Andre, in the mouth of the Gambia. They also saw that James Island, which was located in the Gambia River, was occupied and strengthened. It is likely that some settlement was made in Sierra Leone and Sherbo. On the Gold Coast the group was in possession of Kormantin. Before long, the Dutch began interfering with the Royal Adventurers' operations. English ships were captured, although the two countries were at peace. The English quickly retaliated by capturing Dutch settlements at Cape Verde and on the Gold Coast and taking the castle at Cape Coast. Afterward, the Dutch drove the English from the Gold Coast except for the Cape Coast castle. Despite war with the Dutch, the Royal Adventurers succeeded in delivering more than 3,000 Africans to Barbados. Meanwhile, back in England, there was growing opposition to the Adventurers' monopoly. Also, English planters in the West Indian colonies objected to a large quota of slaves' being sold to the Spanish colonies. In 1665 when war broke out with the Dutch, the Royal Adventurers, who were deeply in debt, were faced with some insurmountable problems. Therefore, in 1667 they began selling trading licenses to private individuals who were allowed to conduct business within the area their monopoly controlled. The Gambia Adventurers, a subsidiary company of the Royal Adventurers, had control of trade in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Sherbo and northwest Africa. Finally 1670, plans were made to reorganize. It was from the Royal Adventurers that the Royal African Company arose (Davies 1957:42-44).

As soon as Europeans began to compete for the number of slaves that were available, African rulers and traders tried to increase the supply. Wars produced the largest number of captives. Raiding or kidnapping also produced a substantial number of slaves. Most of the slaves transported to Spanish and Portuguese plantations in the New World during the mid-sixteenth century came from Senegambia. By the close of the seventeenth century, Senegambian kingdoms began exerting a considerable amount of control over which people could be sold into the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The captives sold to the English and French during that period came from inland areas and the south. Earlier on, the majority of slaves shipped from Senegambian ports came from the coast.

Chapter 5.
The Wider Context

by Lorena S. Walsh

The Wider Context

The materials presented in this study of Africans and African-Americans at Jamestown and Green Spring document the meeting and merging in the Chesapeake of two streams of Old World immigrants, one voluntary and one forced. They also document the evolution, in a local context, of a *society with slaves* into, by the second third of the eighteenth century, a *slave society*. The distinction between the two, Ira Berlin argues in his recent book, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, is that in societies with slaves:

> *slaves were marginal to the central productive processes; slavery was just one form of labor among many. Slaveowners treated their slaves with extreme callousness and cruelty at times because this was the way they treated all subordinates, whether indentured servants, debtors, prisoners-of-war, pawns, peasants, or simply poor folks. In societies with slaves, no one presumed the master-slave relationship to be the social exemplar (Berlin 1998).*

When societies with slaves became slave societies, Berlin continues, "slavery stood at the center of economic production, and the master-slave relationship provided the model for all social relations" (Berlin 1998: 8). It was an all encompassing system from which, in the words of Frank Tannenbaum, "Nothing escaped, nothing, and no one" (Tannenbaum 1946: 117).

Everywhere the transformation from a society in which slavery was present, but not the dominant form of labor, into one in which it was central began with the discovery of some commodity, like sugar, gold, rice, coffee, or tobacco, which commanded an international market and which also which required a great deal of labor to produce. A second precondition was that slave holders in these societies were able to consolidate their political power, enacting comprehensive slave codes that gave them near-complete sovereignty over their slaves' lives. Slaveholding elites then also erected impenetrable barriers between slavery and freedom, and elaborated racial ideologies to bolster their dominant position (Berlin 1998: 8-10).

In the Chesapeake the prerequisite commodity was tobacco. The transformation from a society with slaves to a slave society, however, was by no means rapid or inevitable. Instead it evolved in a slow, piecemeal fashion, well illustrated in this study by the patchwork of laws and legal rulings that led up to Virginia's first fully elaborated slave code in 1705. One of the reasons that the history of the seventeenth century continues to command so much of our attention is that, through the first three quarters of that century, alternative, less deplorable, outcomes appear to have been possible. Although persons of African descent were often subjected to discriminatory restrictions not imposed on bound European laborers, the boundaries between slavery and freedom were somewhat permeable, and European ethnocentrism had not yet hardened into rigid racism. Other colonies with slaves in British North America did not develop into full slave societies. And while the association of sugar and African slavery in the topical Americas was probably inevitable, the Chesapeake's staple initially was and potentially could have remained a crop produced primarily with other forms of labor.

Comparative Migrations

Rather than being the result of some collective conscious decision, the transformation of early Chesa-

peake society into a slave regime was the outcome of multiple choices made by British and African merchants, by potential emigrating European workers, and by individual tobacco planters who needed bound laborers of one sort or another.

Unlike the contemporary migrations to New England and to the Middle Colonies, in which most settlers arrived in family groups, the majority of migrants to the Chesapeake region were young males, most of whom arrived in some condition of unfreedom. The main reason for this difference was economic. Chesapeake settlers adopted a labor-intensive staple crop in demand in European markets, while those in more northerly colonies relied primarily on self-sufficient agriculture and on profits from inter-colonial trade. Free men, women, and children were always a distinct minority among the Europeans who crossed the Atlantic to settle in Virginia and Maryland. In the seventeenth century only about one out of five (roughly 25,000 people) arrived unburdened by an obligation to pay off the cost of his or her passage with some term of labor. Between 1700 and 1775, the proportion of free migrants diminished to something closer to one in ten. Servants accounted for at least three quarters of seventeenth century European migrants (or about 95,000 individuals). Across much of the seventeenth century men servants outnumbered women by three to one, and while the proportion of servant women briefly rose towards the end of the century, the imbalance among emigrant servants never fell below about two and a half men for each woman. But soon thereafter English women virtually ceased moving to the Chesapeake: from 1718 to 1775, nine out of ten emigrating English servants were males (Menard 1977a, 1988, 1991; McCusker and Menard 1985:chaps. 6 and 10; Horn 1979, 1991, 1994:chaps. 1 and 3; A. Smith 1965; Walsh 1977; Galenson 1981; Fogleman 1998).

The earliest Chesapeake migrations were composed almost exclusively of either gentlemen or bound servants, and the founders initially envisioned the recreating of hierarchical, stratified communities of landlords and tenants in the new colonies. But few of the gentlemen either survived the rigors of the unexpectedly lethal Chesapeake environment or were willing to commit themselves permanently to the raw new land, and those who persisted were much more adept at pursuing private advantage than in exerting effective leadership. Since the Europeans were unable to transform the resident Native Americans into willing or even unwilling workers, indentured servitude quickly became the means by which desperately needed laborers were recruited from England. For a decade or so, most settlers who came without capital remained in dependent, subordinate positions (Menard 1975a; Menard and Carr 1982; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:chaps. 1 and 5).

From the 1630s through the early 1660s, migration from England accelerated, fueled by favorable tobacco prices, and resulted in a rapid expansion of English settlement. Servants still predominated, but many of the later arrivals were free migrants of modest means who came in family groups. These new immigrants helped to transform the society into a community of households headed mostly by small or middling planters. Good times enabled ordinary planters to purchase servants to develop their plantations, and also enabled many former servants who survived their terms to join the ranks of landowners and to become respected members of local communities. Then, with the best land in the early settlements taken up, and the price of tobacco declining, fewer free migrants were willing to move to the Chesapeake. News of declining opportunities also reached those adventurous or desperate enough to gamble on exchanging four or more years in service for transportation to the Chesapeake. The number of imported servants remained stable in the 1660s and 1670s, and then fell off in the 1680s and 1690s. The few involuntary bound laborers whose transportation the British government continued to orchestrate—convicts and prisoners of war—were far too few to make up the shortfall in voluntary migrants (Menard 1973, 1977a, 1988; Walsh 1977; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:chap. 6).

African slaves also labored in Chesapeake tobacco fields from the first chance landing of twenty-odd captured Angolans in 1619. Early to

mid-seventeenth century Chesapeake planters were, however, "nott men of estates good enough" to afford many slaves, an assessment likely influenced by their unfamiliarity with ways for controlling and extracting labor from an unwilling, culturally alien workforce, because masters' property rights in bound black workers had not yet been clearly defined in Chesapeake law, and because there was no regular and certain source of supply. So long as they could get enough indentured servants, most planters seem to have preferred European laborers, but an increasingly inadequate supply forced a switch to slaves (Menard 1977b; Galenson 1991). Direct shipments from Africa began in the mid 1670s, probably rose markedly in the 1680s, and increased sharply with the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly in 1698. Once planters had gained experience with slaves, however, their reluctance diminished. Aside from an occasional indentured artisan, by the 1690s larger Chesapeake planters had come to rely entirely on enslaved workers. Perhaps as many as 20,000 captive Africans were brought to the Chesapeake across the seventeenth century, and about 100,000 between 1700 and 1775. In the lower tidewater Chesapeake, most new Africans arrived between the mid 1680s and the mid 1730s. After 1745 most area planters could meet needs for additional laborers from natural increase, and new imports tailed off quickly (Galenson 1981:212-17; Eltis 1996:182-205; Craven 1971:71-109; Westbury 1985: 228-37; Walsh, forthcoming).

Some Social Consequences of the Two Migrations

So long as Africans were a minority in the bound workforce, European and African laborers usually shared work routines and dwelling spaces, and not infrequently socialized together, entered into voluntary inter-racial sexual relationships, and ran away in mixed groups. But once the stream of new white servants diminished to a trickle, planters began systematically to intensify work requirements, to deny slaves any claim to English workers' customary rights to food of reasonable quantity and quality, and to adequate clothing, shelter, and leisure, as well as stripping them of any significant freedom for themselves or their children. By the early eighteenth century European servants sought to differentiate themselves from this increasingly debased group. They began refusing to live and work with slaves, and those who came under contract demanded (and got) separate quarters and work assignments, as well as better food and clothing (Carr and Walsh 1988).

As life long service and hereditary slavery for blacks became ever more firmly established in both practice and law, and as the chances for surviving a term of service marginally increased, the interests of term and hereditary bound servants inevitably diverged. Shirking work and running away continued to be mitigating strategies to which many bound laborers might still resort, sometimes individually and sometimes in concert. But even though opportunities for economic advancement as freed men and women were severely diminished, the assurance of eventually moving out of a debased servile status, coupled with the promise of some minimal freedom dues at the end of their terms, afforded European servants incentives for completing their contractual obligations that could never similarly motivate laborers relegated to involuntary life long bondage. Plantation discipline became more severe and more systematic as the proportion of blacks in the total population rose—"Foul means must do, what fair will not," in William Byrd II's words (Byrd 1977: 2:488).

The diminished supply and rising prices of servants drove many small planters out of the labor market and concentrated unfree workers on the estates of the wealthy. Disparities in wealth between rich, middling, and poor increased, accompanied by increasingly rigid disparities in social status. Consequently in the last quarter of the century the proportion of ordinary planters fell in older Chesapeake communities. This decline was accompanied by a large increase in both the size of the bound labor force and in the numbers of former servants who were unable to advance from the status of inmates into the ranks of tenant farmers or landowners. Population turnover remained high in

older areas, with almost all free immigrants and up to two thirds of former servants who failed either to secure land or to marry moving on (Menard 1975a; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:chaps. 5 and 6; Kulikoff 1986:chap. 2; Rutman and Rutman 1984:chap. 6; Walsh 1987).

Equally important in shaping Chesapeake society was the high mortality all Old World immigrants encountered. All immigrants experienced a period of sickness (the "seasoning") during their first year, and as many as a fifth of new arrivals may have died within twelve months. This appalling wastage of people necessitated a steady flow of new laborers just to maintain the existing working population. And the continued expansion of tobacco culture required the importation of ever more laborers. The social consequences were far reaching. The combination of high mortality and unbalanced sex ratios, compounded by restraints on marriage and reproduction among bound European workers and low reproductive rates among enslaved Africans, delayed the onset of natural population increase. Throughout the first century, Virginia and Maryland remained immigrant societies, subject to rapid turnovers of population, stunted family life, and social and political instability. This instability resulted in part from the presence of unusually high proportions of men with scant opportunities for marriage, and, by the last quarter of the century, limited (for servants) or almost nonexistent (for slaves) opportunities for economic advancement (Walsh and Menard 1974; D. Smith 1977-78; Rutman and Rutman 1976, 1979; Rutman, Wetherell and Rutman 1980; Earle 1979 Kulikoff 1977a, 1977b, 1986:66-70, and chap. 8; Menard 1977a; E. Morgan 1975; Walsh 1979; Horn 1994:chap. 5; Menard 1975a, 1975b).

Great emphasis has been placed on the deleterious consequences for family formation and cultural continuities of unbalanced sex ratios among forced African migrants. However the imbalance among enslaved migrants was in fact significantly less than among both free and unfree European migrants. Some slave ships arriving in the Chesapeake carried the stated ideal of two men for every one woman, but others brought evenly balanced proportions of captive men and women. The marginality of Chesapeake planters in the total transatlantic slave trade meant that captives brought to this region fell below the overall Atlantic average of 170-odd men to 100 women. Sex ratios of new Africans appearing in surviving records of sales of slave cargos range from the more typical 170 to as low as 120. Similarly, although equally high proportions of adult men occasionally appear on some individual large tidewater plantations in the early eighteenth century, the proportion of men found in most collections of tidewater Chesapeake probate inventories for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are in the lower range of one and a quarter to one and a half men for each woman (Eltis and Engerman 1992, 1993; Chambers 1999).

Everything being equal, African migrants should then have stood greater chances for marrying, engendering children, and reproducing Old World cultures than did Europeans. For these migrants, of course, nothing was equal. The experiences of initial enslavement in Africa, forced transatlantic migration, brutal forced labor and an oppressive slave regime in the Chesapeake apparently obliterated the advantages that a more sexually balanced migration might otherwise have afforded. The fact that this greater balance did exist, however, raises two considerations. First, rather than relying on explanations based on sexual imbalance alone, greater emphasis should be placed on the inhibiting effects of the slave regime on biological and cultural reproduction. Second, the possibility that this more even balance may have afforded some forced African migrants, in some places and times, a chance for recreating more elements of African cultures than commonly supposed ought not to be entirely dismissed.

The Seventeenth-Century Jamestown Community

This study advances understanding of the role of Africans and African Americans in a *society with slaves* by placing them in the landscape in and around early Jamestown in a concrete way. Although black people made up only a small fraction

of early Virginia's population, they were far from invisible. As early as the 1630s and 40s, visitors to Jamestown would have encountered a community more varied in ethnic composition and likely in cultural mix than that of any English city other than the great port of London. We can begin to form a better image of the whole community, and to people the town not just with a variegated cast of light-complexioned "cavaliers and pioneers" and "good wives and nasty wenches," but also with a cast of individual black men, women, and children. The materials in the report allow us to glimpse them toiling for their owners in the town and in the surrounding countryside in a variety of occupations, sometimes also working for themselves, and interacting in a variety of ways with other blacks, free and enslaved, and with Europeans and native-born whites of differing station. For some, like John Philip and John Graweere, we can add names and biographical sketches. As better information becomes available on the likely origins in Africa of slaves imported into the Chesapeake, it should be possible to develop plausible sketches of some of these involuntary migrants' Old World backgrounds.

We find evidence in some the interactions described in this report, which took place between the 1620s and 1670s, of blacks who had some of the characteristics that Ira Berlin has characterized as typical of an initial "charter generation" of Africans in the Americas. They arrived with some knowledge of the languages of the Atlantic, and were familiar with Christianity and other European commercial practices, conventions, and institutions. Their more cosmopolitan backgrounds and occasional partial European ancestry enabled them to feel more at home in the new environment and led them to seek and sometimes to achieve some measure of social integration. These same attributes helped individual African migrants to overcome formidable obstacles, and also eased their way by causing them to appear not entirely foreign to transplanted Europeans. These early arrivers were more often than not concentrated in urban places where they "often worked alongside their owners, supped at their tables, wore their hand-me-down clothes, and lived in the back rooms and lofts of their houses." While subject in more densely populated places like Jamestown to continual surveillance, "the same constant contact prevented their owners form imagining people of African descent to be a special species of beings." Few "faced the dehumanizing and brutalizing effects of gang labor in societies where slaves had become commodities and nothing more." Examples are provided here of Africans like John Graweere and Philip Corven who "exhibited a sure-handed understanding of Chesapeake social hierarchy and the complex dynamics of patron-client relations." And of some like Emanuel Cambew who used loopholes in the system to escape bondage and achieve a modest prosperity (Berlin 1996; Berlin 1998: 29-46).

In contrasting the experiences of the initial *charter generation* with those whom Berlin terms the *plantation generation* that followed, most emphasis is placed on the degree to which these Africans successfully assimilated European ways. Atlantic creoles, Berlin writes, "labored to incorporate themselves into the larger life of the Chesapeake in the hopes that participation would lead to recognition, and recognition would eliminate the threat of racial ostracism… they had not fabricated a culture, generated a social structure, or articulated an ideal that separated them from their European counterparts, unless a common desire for inclusion can be said to be the distinguishing mark of seventeenth century black life" (Berlin 1998: 45-46).

The On-Going Challenge of New Evidence

Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone*, along with Philip D. Morgan's *Slave Counter-point: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*, both appearing in 1998, present powerful and widely acclaimed syntheses of recent scholarship that interpreters at Jamestown can draw on for guidelines in telling a more coherent and balanced story of the experiences of the successive generations of Africans and African-Americans who lived, toiled, and died in Virginia's capital. These works supplement and significantly ex-

tend the previous synthesis in Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (1986). Even these most recent interpretations, however, ought not to be rigidly adopted as the final word on what will remain a highly controversial and still evolving subject. On-going archaeological and documentary research, some on Jamestown Island itself or in its immediate environs, is continually uncovering new evidence, some confirming and some challenging these most recent syntheses. Interpretative programs must remain flexible enough to incorporate such evidence as it unfolds, especially that which has direct relevance to the immediate Jamestown community (Berlin 1998; P. Morgan 1998; Kulikoff 1986).

New evidence on the trans-Atlantic slave trade, summarized in the recently released data set of trans-Atlantic slave voyages sponsored by the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research at Harvard University, as well as the related studies that have been and will subsequently be inspired by it, are one example of new evidence that will need to be taken into account (Eltis et al. 1999).

The great planters' domination of the local social and cultural order, as well as ever-growing racism among whites of all stations, are universally seen among both historians and archaeologists as central to the formation of a slave society in the Chesapeake. The belief, firmly entrenched in Chesapeake historiography, that later-arriving Africans differed significantly in background from most of those who were brought to the region in the seventeenth century is equally critical to mainstream interpretations. The prevailing orthodoxy remains that most black people who ended up in the Chesapeake in the 1600s did not come directly from Africa, but instead "had already spent some time in the New World" (presumably in the Caribbean) before they landed in North America, putting the initial shock of trans-Atlantic transportation behind them and gaining more familiarity with European languages and customs (Berlin 1998:chap. 1).

Almost all accounts characterize later generations of forcibly transported Africans as drawn from places in the African interior little exposed to the wider Atlantic world. These later victims were traumatized by the experiences of initial capture and removal from their homeland, and arrived in the Chesapeake "physically depleted and psychologically disoriented." Subsequently stripped of their ancestral cultures and subjected to routinized, harsh plantation discipline, "they were in a far poorer position to address the anarchic effects of long-distance migration than any other people who made the transatlantic journey." All arrived and many remained linguistically isolated and culturally estranged. Europeans' perception that the languages, manners, and customs of these subsequent forced migrants were totally "outlandish" was one reason for their being relegated to unremitting regimented labor that left little scope for initiative or ambition (Berlin 1998:109-115).

That many enslaved Africans brought to the Chesapeake in either century had experienced a period of acclimatization and acculturation in the West Indies is increasing doubtful. The proportion has almost certainly been greatly exaggerated, given the low volume of trade between the Chesapeake and the West Indies across the seventeenth century. The few ships which did trade with the islands could not have accommodated the trans-shipment of more than a fraction of the 13,000 to 20,000 captives who were likely imported into the Chesapeake prior to 1700. Surviving shipping records are sparse, but those which have been located suggest a pattern similar to the much better documented years after 1697, when at least nine out of ten imported slaves arrived either directly from African or were transshipped for the West Indies on smaller vessels after only a brief period of recuperation from their trans-Atlantic ordeal. If the backgrounds of most enslaved men and women brought into the Chesapeake from 1619 onward were more similar than has been supposed, then the dominant society they entered may indeed have been more profoundly altered by the transition to a slave society than commonly posited (Westbury 1986; Walsh, forthcoming).

Some of the evidence presented in this study does reveal other aspects of seventeenth and early eighteenth century black experiences, including

likely cultural recreations and sustained individual and collective resistence to enslavement. The greater freedoms and privileges that almost all agree existed in earlier years not only afforded chances for a greater degree of assimilation into European society than was later possible, but may also have permitted more retentions and recreations of African cultures even in the seventeenth century than is commonly supposed. Much of the legislation of the 1660s governing bound workers referred to both servants and slaves, and sought to curtail activities in which unfree European and African workers engaged jointly—running away (1661, 1662), clandestine trading (1662), going off their owners' properties without a license (1663), and attending "unlawful meetings"(1663) (Hening 1809-1823: II:26, 116-177, 195).

Starting in 1680 (and as early as 1672 in Surry County), Chesapeake officials began to more severely restrict the freedom of movement of slaves. They worried about "continual concourse of Negroes on Sabboth and holy days meeting in great numbers," of slaves getting "drunke on the Lords Day beating their Negro Drums by which they call considerable Numbers of Negroes together in some Certaine places," and of "the frequent meeting of considerable numbers of negroe slaves under pretence of feasts and burialls." These gatherings, especially the "feasts and burialls," seem likely to have at times involved meetings of groups of Africans who spoke mutually intelligible languages and shared some cultural similarities. This is perhaps why masters were specifically ordered to prohibit slaves from "hold[ing] or mak[ing] any Solemnity or Funeralls for any deced Negros" (Stanard 1899-1900:314; Hening 1809-1823:II:479-80, IV:126-34; McIllwaine 1925-1946:I:86-87; York County 1633-1811:8: 99-100, 498-99: Winfree 1971: 257-59; Menard 1975b: 37). Whether these meetings might be considered evidence for the presence of "nations" (groupings newly formed in the Americas based on language that provided moral support and cultural reinforcement) is at present debatable (Thornton 1998:196-204, 227-28, 263, 320-25; Eltis 2000:244). The presence of African grave goods in burials at Kingsmill dating to the first half of the eighteenth century does, however, concretely demonstrate the recreation of some African, if not specifically "national" funerary customs (Walsh 1997:104-107).

Incidents of both individual and collective resistence to enslavement are also described in this report. By 1669 slave owners had discovered that the "obstinancy" of many enslaved blacks, unlike European servants, could not "by other then violent meanes [be] suppressed." The result was a series of laws forbidding slaves to carry any weapon of either offence or defense, prescribing lashing as the punishment for any who so much as "lift[ed] his or her hand in opposition against any christian," and sanctioning the killing of runaways who resisted capture or of individuals who died accidentally during "correction" (Hening 1809-1823:II:270, 299-300, 481-82; III: 86-88, 447-62). More organized resistance sometimes resulted from meetings like those described above. Plans for risings against owners were discovered in 1687, 1710, 1723, and 1730. The institution of slavery elicited and sanctioned levels of violence, individual and collective, different in degree and kind from those prevailing in a society of masters and indentured servants drawn from similar backgrounds.

The Plantation Generations

Beginning in the last decades of the seventeenth century, most new African migrants, in contrast to earlier arrivals, labored on large plantations where they were forced to work under close supervision were subjected to increasingly harsh and systematic discipline. They had almost no chance for gaining freedom for themselves or for their children, were denied the privileges and legal protections available to white servants, and faced ever increasing restrictions on their freedom to trade or to travel. During the same time, free blacks were stripped of the many of the rights that earlier migrants had enjoyed. The few remaining white servants increasingly distanced themselves from enslaved workers, "as blacks sank deeper into slavery whites rose in aspiration if not in fact." Increasing physical separation from whites of all stations "denied the new

arrivals the opportunity to integrate themselves into the mainstream of Chesapeake society, and prevented them from finding a well-placed patron." Slave owners sought to augment their control and to diminish new slaves' resources for resistance by systematically stripping them of their cultural identities. After the removal of Virginia's capital to Middle Plantation in 1699, the story of the Africans and African-Americans who continued to live in and around Jamestown, becomes a microcosm of black experiences as part of what Berlin has identified as the plantation generations (Berlin 1998:95-141).

This study traces the development of the Travis and Ambler plantations on Jamestown Island, and of the Ludwells and William Lee at Green Spring across the eighteenth century. The Ambler and Ludwell plantations afford stereotypical examples of the celebrated large plantations established in unprecedented numbers along both the James and York Rivers. Such establishments were composed of complex home farms dominated by a great house cared for by many service workers and artisans, multiple outlying agricultural quarters, and total slave workforces numbering, by the third quarter of the century, a hundred or more. The large crops of tobacco and grains these laborers raised yielded handsome returns to the owners. The wealth of these owners and the large size of their plantations in turn afforded the slaves who dwelt on them better chances for forming and maintaining families than was usually the lot of those living on smaller farms.

As noted in the recommendations for future research, much work remains to be done with the extensive Ambler, Ludwell, and Lee family papers. This report summarizes the tedious and painstaking reconstruction of property holders and property holdings that is an essential prerequisite for developing site-specific, multi-generational histories of the overwhelming majority of the island's eighteenth century residents. Consequently it unquestionably reflects time and resources well spent. However, because of time constraints, the interim results are, and should rightly be judged, frustratingly incomplete. Meticulous reconstructions of a handful of slave holders' estate building strategies are assuredly valuable for telling one side of the story. Nominal listings, complied from probate inventories and tax lists, of the names of several hundreds of the enslaved—but little else—fall far short of the kinds of flesh and bone evidence historical interpreters must have in order to relate, in equally concrete terms, the experiences of the overwhelming majority of eighteenth century Jamestown's inhabitants. Shortly after 1699, most of the island's white residents abandoned the decaying former capital, and once land holdings on the island were essentially reduced to two large plantations, the history of the island's people becomes overwhelmingly an African and African-American history.

Fortunately, a chronology of changes the owners made in crop mix and agricultural technologies across the century can be charted, and the effect these adjustments had on slaves' daily and seasonal work routines developed. Evidence specific to these plantations about interactions between masters, mistresses, overseers, and individual slaves also await future reconstruction, as does evidence about living conditions and religious life on the island and at Green Spring. Even more important, the sequential listings by name of slaves living on the Travis, Ambler, and Ludwell holdings can be used to reconstruct multi-generational histories of island slave communities that will enable a more concrete recounting of the differing experiences of immigrants and native born, and of the transition from an African to an African-American culture (Walsh 1997). Moreover, their history is in many ways an essentially local history, grounded in part in the unique physical resources of the island and surrounding areas, but also in the yet to be uncovered human resources that these later island residents possessed.

For enslaved people throughout the tidewater Chesapeake, whose everyday movements were largely restricted to an area of perhaps no more than a five miles radius from their home quarters, it was in the local neighborhood of which these quarters were a part that support networks were forged, shared strategies for survival and resistance developed, African languages and elements of culture

retained or recreated where circumstances were favorable, and a creole culture formed from disparate elements of European and African ways. For the many slaves who lived on scattered small holdings on the mainland with only a few other blacks, and to some degree as well slaves from large plantations, since these were divided into several small work and residential units, the neighborhood rather than any particular estate constituted their community. Each such neighborhood was in many ways unique, with differing proportions of blacks and whites, differing combinations of ethnic and national groups, differing mixes of immigrants and creoles, differing mixes among the free population of rich and poor and among the enslaved of skilled and unskilled, and differing amounts of in and out migration. Across much of the eighteenth century cultural adaptations were inevitably highly localized and highly varied (Walsh 1988; Horn 1994:234-50; Rutman and Rutman 1984: 21-30; Kulikoff 1986:chaps. 6, 8 and 9; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:chaps. 5 and 6; Thornton 1998:196-204, 227-28, 263, 321-31).

Among Europeans, by the early eighteenth century, neighborhoods were becoming communities of people who knew each other intimately as a result of lifelong contact, with a sense of cohesiveness and solidarity, and acquiring new meaning and more familiar definition as they were built out of more long-term friendships and especially out of ever more elaborate kin ties. By mid century a similar transition was transforming black neighborhoods. Although slaves could not control where they lived, and were ever at risk of forced moves occasioned by sale, estate divisions, or assignment to other quarters, before the 1760s most of this movement was confined to older areas, and often to the same locality. Forced moves to distant destinations became common place only when substantial numbers of slave owners migrated west in the mid 1760s, either taking their workers with them, or else sending them in advance to develop unimproved frontier holdings. Thus there was a period of several decades around the middle of the eighteenth century, between the end of substantial in migration and before the onset of substantial out migration, during which many tidewater slave communities could development some small measure of rootedness and stability (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991;chap. 6; Walsh 1997:chaps. 1, 5, and 7).

The span of time during which regular influxes of new arrivals disrupted local neighborhoods was relatively brief, usually between forty and fifty years. Thereafter, the numbers of creole children were more than sufficient to maintain plantation workforces, and planters abruptly ceased buying new African laborers. Among those Africans who succeeded in forming families, support networks were increasingly based on biological ties that frequently crossed estate boundaries. Men and women whose parents and occasionally grandparents had lived in the same neighborhood for up to a century came to have extended families living on the same quarter or on adjacent quarters located within a few miles of each other. The slaves cherished these extended connections, although they often found it difficult to maintain regular contacts beyond the home plantation. When faced with long-distance separations later in the century, some slaves were willing to risk harsh punishments in order to try to remain with their closest kin.

A linguistic shift accompanied this shift from support networks based on co-resident strangers, quasi kin, and country men and women to networks rooted primarily in biological kin ties. As the number of Africans who could communicate fluently only in African languages declined, and the number of creoles who might well speak only English rose, English increasingly became the lingua franca. Children whose parents were of different nations were especially likely not to learn or at least to use any African language. The shift in language is indicative of other cultural changes. As more syncretic ways evolved, long resident Africans adapted more elements of European culture, and the proportion of creoles with no direct knowledge of Africa and greater familiarity with Anglo-European culture steadily rose. The transition to a fully articulated creole culture, however, seems to have been delayed for almost another twenty-five years, until the native born became predominant, not just in the

overall population, but among decision-making adults (Walsh 1997:chaps. 1, 5, and 7; Thornton 1998: 329-30).

The evidence most critical to many questions of cultural continuity or change is not the proportions of immigrants and creoles overall, but rather their proportions in the *adult* population. The surge of very young children who initially tipped the balance between an African and a creole majority, in most of the tidewater Chesapeake somewhere between 1730 and 1750, were surely not making many important cultural choices, especially those choices most likely to be reflected in the surviving material record. Doubtless their very presence in enslaved communities led to some reorientation of individual and community activities and priorities. Still these children were seldom in a position to choose what sort of clothes they would wear (or whether they would wear any at all), to choose what foods would be raised, gathered, or caught to supplement owner-supplied rations (although they likely assisted in these endeavors), or to determine how available comestibles would be prepared. Instead, some combination of enslaved adults—the majority of them Africans—and their Anglo-Chesapeake owners made these decisions. Similarly, it was adults who were crafting items for domestic use or trade, finding and administering remedies for common ailments, or acquiring European goods as allotments or castoffs from their owners or through trade or theft. Adults also determined, subject to whatever constraints their owners or local authorities were able to impose, how the dead would be mourned and buried, how more festive community gatherings would be conducted, and how spiritual entities, old or new, dealt with. Consequently the material record likely continued to reflect the outcome of exchanges and contests between forcibly transplanted Africans and Anglo-Chesapeake whites for some time after a creole majority emerged among the enslaved.

At the same time, however, these creole children were acquiring a greater fluency in the English language than did most of their African born parents, an important cultural shift that was soon noted by their owners and other European observers. They were also learning about and often aspiring to more elements of the predominant European culture surrounding them, and selectively remembering and reinterpreting what African elders taught them about their ancestral heritage. Some disjuncture between the kinds of cultural changes noted in documentary and material records is thus likely. Consistent evidence for widespread cultural changes appears only in the last quarter of the century when some critical percentage of first and second generation creole children survived to become decision-making adults. Knowing when that actually occurred is crucial to understanding the processes of cultural change. As Jon Sensbach recently put it, "We generally have very little concept of the degree of lingering or redefined African consciousness that might have animated an enslaved Virginian in 1780 whose grandparents had been brought from different parts of Africa in the 1730s. The challenge remains to historians and cultural anthropologists to try to resolve the persistent vagueness about one of the momentous cultural shifts in American history" (Sensbach 1993: 403; Walsh 1997:chap. 5).

The American Revolution and its Tenuous Promise of Freedom

Jamestown's location near the epicenter of events that led up to the American colonists' declaration of independence and its actual achievement after years of war at Yorktown, makes it a place eminently suited for interpreting the history of this critical era from an African American perspective. Wartime disruptions challenged the institution of slavery by providing some slaves new opportunities for escaping bondage by joining the enemy, and changed the status and surely self perceptions of others who fought for the patriot cause. The post war economic depression that followed hit tidewater Virginia especially hard. Slave owners' diminished prosperity disrupted local slave communities through sales for debt, as did the owners' growing resolution to abandon older areas for new

opportunities in the west that led to forced interregional migration on a previously unprecedented scale (Berlin 1998:chap. 10; Walsh 1993, 1995).

These particular changes could have come about as the result of any large-scale war. But the American Revolution was no ordinary war. The egalitarian ideology that justified the slave holders cause was soon taken up by the enslaved to powerfully challenge their continued bondage. The inherent contradiction between a doctrine of universal rights and the practice of chattel slavery caused some slave owners to question an institution which had previously been almost universally accepted as part of the natural order of human societies. Manumission and even outright abolition became, for a time, conceivable solutions to this contradiction. In the end:

> *the transformation of slavery in the Upper South—the acceptance of a mobile slave labor force, the growth of slave hire, the expansion of slave skill—assured slavery's viability, strengthening the hand of abolition's opponents. The doctrine of natural rights, which gave impetus to emancipation sentiment, also sanctified property rights, so that slave holders, like abolitionists, found comfort in the words of the Declaration of Independence (Berlin 1998:279).*

This report also touches on the themes Berlin emphasizes as most important to the "Revolutionary Generations" in the Upper South. One was the switch from tobacco monoculture to mixed farming which transformed the nature of slaves' work. A more diversified economy allowed enslaved men to work at a greater variety of skilled and semi-skilled occupations. Mobility, local as well as long distance, also increased, as more diversified plantation enterprises afforded more reasons for slaves to travel and sometimes work off their home plantations. Second was the rapid growth of towns in the Upper South, affording rural slaves new markets for their produce and some urban slaves a chance to live on their own, to hire themselves out, and perhaps to buy their freedom. Although Jamestown itself experienced no urban renascence, trading connections between Norfolk, the island, and Green Spring multiplied in the post war era, and with increased trade came increased contacts between plantation and urban slaves. A third these is pronounced changes in religious life as large numbers of African-Americans began to adopt and to adapt evangelical Christianity (Berlin 1998:chap. 10; Dunn 1983; Walsh 1993, 1995).

And finally, through a combination of manumission, such as the group freed by William Ludwell Lee, and self purchase, the free black population of James City County increased dramatically at the turn of the century, as it did throughout the Upper South. This rapid increase in the number of black people who secured their freedom increased the expectations of those remaining in bondage. Resistance was increasingly directed, not just toward individual masters and overseers, but toward the entire system of bondage and racial domination. But since slavery and freedom continued to persist, side by side, for another half century, ties between free and enslaved people were strong. In the Upper South, "slavery defined freedom, and freedom defined slavery" (Berlin 1998:289).

Chapter 6.
1619-1630: Arrival and Dispersion

Virginia's First Africans

In August 1619 an event occurred that irrevocably changed the course of Virginia history. It was then that a Dutch frigate, fresh from a plundering expedition in the West Indies, sailed into Hampton Roads bearing 20-some Africans. In January 1620 John Rolfe informed Virginia Company treasurer Sir Edwin Sandys that:

> *About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tunnes arrived at Point-Comfort, the Commandors name Capt Jope, his pilott for the West Indies one Mr Marmaduke an Englishman. They mett wth the* Trier *[the ship* Treasurer*] in the West Indyes, and determyned to hold consort shipp hetherward, but in their passage lost one the other. He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, wch the Governor [Sir George Yeardley] and Cape Merchant [Abraham Peirsey] bought for victualle (whereof he was in greate need as he pretended) at the best and easyest rate they could [Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:243].*

Shortly thereafter, most (if not all) of the newly arrived African men and women were brought up to Jamestown and sold into servitude. Whether or not they were slaves before they arrived in Virginia is a subject of debate. Likewise, it is uncertain whether they first set foot on land at Old Point Comfort, where the Dutch ship arrived, or were kept aboard until they were transferred to the vessel that brought them up to Jamestown.

John Rolfe added that three or four days after the Dutch man- of-war left, the *Treasurer* came in. He indicated that the governor sent Lieutenant William Peirce (then Rolfe's father-in-law), Mr. Ewens (probably William Ewens), and him to Kecoughtan to meet the *Treasurer*, which set sail before they arrived. Rolfe said that the ship left hastily because Kecoughtan's inhabitants refused to supply its master, Daniel Elfirth, and his crew with victuals they desperately needed (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:243; Tyler 1907:337). John Pory, in a September 30, 1619, letter also spoke of the Dutch ship's arrival in Hampton Roads and its consortship with the *Treasurer* (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:222-224).

The 1625 muster indicates that an African woman named Angelo, who arrived aboard the *Treasurer*, disembarked in Virginia. On January 24, 1625, she was living in William Peirce's household in urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) (Hotten 1980:224).[1] In 1620 Sir Nathaniel Rich said that the *Treasurer* left in Virginia "amongst others of theyr company[2] one principall member, Masters Mate or Lieftenant behind them" (Hotten 1980: 244; Ives 1984:150). This raises the possibility that some of the "others" the *Treasurer* deposited in Virginia were Africans, who were present in March 1620 when a census was taken (see ahead).

Daniel Elfirth and the *Treasurer* continued on to Bermuda.[3] John Dutton, one of Robert Rich's employees, informed him that he had just reached Bermuda when the *Treasurer* arrived.[4] In a January 20, 1620, letter he said that:

> *Mr. Daniell Elfred [Elfirth], who haveinge had some refreshment heere formerly, then*

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1 In 1625, three Africans were living in Kecoughtan in William Tucker's home and twenty others resided in communities that extended inland to Flowerdew (then Peirsey's) Hundred. Although some of these people's time and means of arrival was recorded, in most instances it was not.

2 Emphasis added.

3 According to Philip D. Morgan, Africans were introduced into Bermuda in 1616 (Bailyn and Morgan 1991:169-170).

4 Rich, the Earl of Warwick, was among the English investors who in 1618 obtained a charter for African trade. His interest in colonization of the New World raises the possibility that he may have considered the mainland colonies a potential market for slaves (Donnan 1935:IV:3).

> *put to sea againe and did some exployte (undoubtedly upon the Spanyard), who then went againe to Virginia, and not meetinge the entertainement he expected, his wants brought him heather againe with 29 Negros, 2 Chests of graine, 2 Chests of wax, a smale quantety of tallow, littell worth. The people and goods of her are all disposed of, for this yeere to the use of the Companie, till truly knowne in whom the right lyeth [Ives 1984:141-142].*

Dutton claimed that it "was Cap. Argelles unworthy bouldness, to use your [Robert Rich's] name as a boulster to his unwarantable acctions."[5] He added that when the *Treasurer* reached Bermuda, it was "so weather-beaten and tourne, as never like to put to sea againe, but laye her bones here" (Ives 1984:147). Thus, it probably was the ship's last voyage.

Sir Nathaniel Rich quickly sprang to the defense of his brother, Robert, insisting that Argall had gone to the Western Island for goats and salt to supply the needs of the colony (Ives 1984:148). Bermuda Governor Nathaniel Butler in a January 1620 letter to Sir Nathaniel, claimed that his predecessor, Governor Miles Kendall, was the one who had presented Captain Daniel Elfirth with 50,000 ears of corn, for which he had received 14 Africans. Kendall, on the other hand, alleged that he had supplied Elfirth with "summ small quantytie of grayene" and that the Africans merely had been found "flotinge on the sease" (Ives 1984:157).

In an official letter Governor Butler wrote in October 1620, he claimed that according to some of the *Treasurer's* men, "halfe of those fourteen Negroes that came in the Frigate wer never of the *Treasurours* company, nor did belong unto her, but wer stolen from one Youpe, a Dutchman, who had bin abroad in thes partes" (Ives 1984:187-188). A few months later, Butler declared that "If it were not for the accidentall Negroes (a fortune cast upon my selfe by all due), I wer not able to rayse one pound of Tobacco this yeare for the defrayeinge of any publicke worck." He said that former Governor Kendall "pretendeth an interest by waye of gyft to 14 of them and I have give waye untill I heare from the Company." Butler added, "Thes *Slaves*[6] are the most proper and cheape instruments for this plantation yt can be and not safe to be any where but under the governours eye" (Ives 1984:229). The use of the term "slaves" suggests strongly that the Africans who came to Virginia in the *Treasurer* and with the Dutch mariner Captain Jope were perceived as such, and not as servants. Butler's statement also reveals that the Africans were highly prized for their ability to grow tobacco. In ca. 1622 when a census of Bermuda's inhabitants was prepared, excluded were those who then lived upon the island's public land or were black.[7]

The Probable Origin of Virginia's First Africans

In recent years, scholars Engel Sluiter and John Thornton have learned much about the origin of the Africans whom John Rolfe indicated had arrived at Old Point Comfort in late August 1619. After studying records in the Spanish archives, Sluiter concluded that these people had been removed from a Portuguese slave ship, and that they had been captured in Angola, on the west coast of Africa. He found that during the fiscal year June 18, 1619, to June 21, 1620, six slave ships arrived at Vera Cruze, having taken their human cargoes aboard at Sao Paulo de Loanda, the capital of Portuguese Angola. One of the ships (the *San Juan Batista*) reportedly was attacked by English cor-

[5] In April 1618 the *Treasurer*, captained by Daniel Elfirth, left England with a license to hunt pirates, especially Spanish ships. She went to Virginia, where Deputy Governor Samuel Argall outfitted her for sea duty. Elfirth then went on to Bermuda where Miles Kendall, the acting governor, allegedly gave him 50,000 years of corn. When Elfirth returned to Virginia in 1619, after Governor George Yeardley took office, and was refused assistance. He went on to Bermuda where he arrived with 29 Africans (Ives 1984:147).

[6] Emphasis added.

[7] In 1639, when a Spaniard was shipwrecked in Bermuda, he described the islands and their people. He indicated that much of the agricultural labor was performed by boys, who served for ten years "at a very miserable wage, which is paid in tobacco at the end of this term." He added that, "There are also a few negroes; some of them have landed from vessels wrecked here, others have been left here by the Dutch who capture them" (Ives 1984:381-382).

sairs and captured. As it was the only vessel listed as being attacked out of 36 making the voyage in 1618-1619 and 1621-1622, Engel Sluiter surmised that it was the one captured by the *Treasurer* and Captain Jope's Flushing man-of-war, which John Pory and John Rolfe spoke of. As the attack took place off Campeche in late July or August 1619, there would have been enough time to reach Virginia by the end of August (Sluiter 1998:395-398).

John Thornton built upon Engel Sluiter's findings and proffered that the Africans, who came from Sao Paulo de Loanda, probably had benn baptized and made Christians, in accord with Portuguese law. Even so, the Dutch and Portuguese probably considered them slaves. Some of the African people aboard the *San Juan Batista* may have been enslaved in the Kingdom of Kongo (north of Angola) or in territory to Angola's east. On the other hand, some of the Africans brought to Virginia may have come from the area south of Angola, across the Kwanza River, for the Portuguese had been buying slaves there since the late sixteenth century.

However, in Thornton's opinion the most likely source of the people aboard the *San Juan Batista* was the Kingdom of Ndongo, against which the local Portuguese military had been waging large military campaigns since 1618. During that conflict thousands of Kimbundo-speaking people were captured and enslaved. While Portuguese governor Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos was in office (1617-1621) approximately 50,000 slaves were exported from Angola. According to Bishop Manuel Bautista Soares of Kongo, approximately 4,000 baptized Christians were captured and enslaved by the Imbangala tribesmen who fought on the side of the Portuguese governor. Many of these victims came from the royal district of Ndongo, between the Lukala and Lutete Rivers.

Within the district of Ndongo were several towns that were nucleated and enclosed by a palisade. The largest of these urban centers was Angoleme. Interspersed among the urban communities was a rural population that tended livestock and raised crops such as millet and sorghum. The people of this region participated in markets and dressed in clothing made of tree bark and cotton, or imported fabric. If the Africans who came to Virginia aboard the *Treasurer* and the man-of-war from Flushing were from the Lukala-Lutete River area, they probably spoke a common language but shared a complex ethnic identity. Moreover, as Portuguese law required all African slaves to be baptized and to receive religious instruction, some of the 20-odd who came to Virginia in 1619 probably had been introduced to Christianity (Thornton 1998:421-434).

The Enslaved African's Plight in Virginia

Although slavery in Virginia was not fully institutionalized until the early eighteenth century, the Africans' distinctive appearance, unfamiliar language and exotic cultural background surely set them apart from the other colonists and placed them at a decided disadvantage.[8] Despite the fact that institutionalized slavery did not exist in England, it was not an unfamiliar concept, for the English were well aware of the Spaniards' use of slave labor in their mines in the Americas. In fact, Sir Thomas Dale and others spoke of enslaving Native Americans and compelling them to work on government-sponsored projects (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:558-559, 562-563).

Today, it is impossible to fully appreciate the pain, anguish, humiliation, and brutality Africans endured when they were captured, branded, and then transported from their homeland. According to surviving accounts, African rulers who lived in the interior of the continent sometimes had their agents ensnare other blacks, whom they sold to slavers. These people, who were tied together by the neck with leather thongs, were marched over-

[8] Nash has proffered that it took several years for an African to pick up the rudiments of the English language, although some managed to speak some English within less than a year (Nash 1974:189). More recently, Walsh concluded that by the late seventeenth century, when West Africa had become the primary source of the Chesapeake's slaves, there probably was a substantial increase in the number of Africans who could communicate with each other (Walsh 1997:96). This would have spared them some of the pain stemming from isolation.

land to the coast. There, they were sold to traders and then imprisoned and branded with the mark of the slaver who bought them. Next, they were loaded aboard the ships that brought them to the New World. It is not surprising that some Africans committed suicide enroute by leaping into the sea (Nash 1974:185-186).

During the Middle Passage from West Africa to America, shipboard conditions were cramped and unsanitary, producing an alarming death rate. The number of dead varied greatly from ship to ship and from voyage to voyage. It has been estimated that just over half of the Africans captured and sold to slavers ever lived to reach the New World. In 1789 when a Committee of the Privy Council investigated the slave trade, it found that between 1680 and 1688 approximately 23.5 percent of slaves died during the Middle Passage. Once these Africans reached the Americas, the "seasoning" or acclimatization process began to take its toll. Despite these massive losses, especially in the beginning, the slave trade was profitable, yielding a total gain of approximately 25 to 50 percent (Nash 1974:186-187; Tate 1965:1; Rodriguez 1997:I:xiii-xxiii; Davies 1957:292-295).

The Colonists' Perception of Slavery

Although numerous generations of apologists have pointed out that human beings have been enslaving each other from time immemorial, early seventeenth century documentary references to life in Virginia suggest that many colonists considered "slavery" synonymous with forced labor and the loss of free-will. This is evident in literature of the period. Captain John Smith spoke of making men slaves to the colony for life, suggesting strongly that it was a severe punishment that was reserved for very serious crimes (Smith 1910:541-542). A May 1618 proclamation issued by Deputy-Governor Samuel Argoll made church attendance compulsory and anyone who failed to do so would "be a slave the following week" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:93). His words echoed those of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, who in 1610-1611 penned "The Lawes Divine and Martiall." In April 1620 a man in England said that in Virginia, the colonists were treated "like slaves" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:334). Five years later, Captain John Martin claimed that were it not for him, "the colony and its future would have been sold for slaves" (McIlwaine 1924:62). In March 1622 when the Indians attacked Martin's Hundred and took captures, they reportedly detained 19 colonists "in great slavery." In the aftermath of the 1622 uprising, Virginia Company officials suggested that Native warriors captured during retaliatory raids be sold as slaves.[9] In 1623 Richard Frethorne of Martin's Hundred wrote his parents that fellow settlers had taken two Indians alive "and made slaves of them" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:668; IV:58, 229).

In 1624 when a group of ancient planters (those who came to Virginia before May 1616) described the repression they endured while the colony was governed by Sir Thomas Dale, they said that they had been in "general slavery." In another portion of the same text, they said that they had endured living conditions that were "noe waye better than slavery" (Ancient Planters 1871:75-76). Around the same time, Virginia's burgesses sent word to England that during Sir Thomas Smith's government, when the colony was under martial law, those who survived "who had both adventured their estates and persons were constrained to serve the colony (as if they had been slaves!) 7 or 8 years for their freedomes, who underwent as hard and servile labour as the basest fellow that was brought out of Newgate" (Haile 1998:913). All of these statements indicate that the colonists considered slavery as punitive and degrading, a punishment that could be imposed upon those who disobeyed the law or required strict control or extreme correction that stopped just short of the death penalty.

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[9] On May 25, 1611, Sir Thomas Dale sent a letter to his superiors, describing how he was strengthening the colony. He said that he had put the settlers to work, repairing and constructing new improvements, and that "All the Savages I set on work who duly ply their taske." His statement indicates that Indians were among those involved in the construction of Jamestown's improvements (Brown 1890:446). It is very likely that their labor was involuntary.

The Headright System

One of the most important features of the Virginia Company's Great Charter was making private land ownership possible. This new policy, known as the headright system, lured prospective immigrants to seek their fortunes in Virginia. Groups of investors sometimes absorbed the cost of outfitting and transporting prospective colonists, on whose behalf they would acquire land and establish private or "particular" plantations. The opportunity to reap substantial profits by growing tobacco (then a highly marketable commodity) while accumulating land fueled the spread of settlement (Craven 1957:45; Robinson 1957:21- 22). It also created a shortage of workers that eventually culminated in the use of slave labor.

Under the headright system, so-called Ancient Planters (those who immigrated to Virginia at their own expense and lived there for at least three years prior to Sir Thomas Dale's 1616 departure) were entitled to 100 acres of land. Those who came later, paid the cost of their own passage, and stayed in the colony for three years, were entitled to 50 acres of land. Anyone who underwrote the cost of another's transportation became eligible for 50 acres on his or her behalf. Thus, successful planters, by importing hired workers for their plantations, could fulfill their need for labor while amassing additional land. Many people owned two or more tracts and circulated among them. Investors in Virginia Company stock were entitled to 100 acres per share and became eligible for a like amount when their first allotment was planted (Craven 1957:45; Robinson 1957:21-22; Tate et al. 1979:93). After the dissolution of the Virginia Company, King Charles I confirmed Virginia planters' patents, assuring them that they would continue to have use of the property in which they had invested. In 1634 the Privy Council reaffirmed the system of granting patents that the Virginia Company had instituted (Perry 1990:29).

Tobacco, the Money Crop

Between 1611 and 1616, while Sir Thomas Dale was in Virginia, John Rolfe developed a strain of sweet-scented tobacco that quickly became a highly lucrative money crop. Rolfe, who in 1616 summarized Dale's accomplishments, said that farmers were prohibited from planting tobacco until they had placed under cultivation two acres of corn per male household member. Once they had fulfilled that basic obligation, they could raise as much tobacco as they wished. Of the 50 people then living on Jamestown Island in 1616, 32 (or 64 percent) were farmers. After Sir Thomas Dale left Virginia, few of his policies were continued. The colonists failed to plant food crops but complained bitterly about hunger and awaited supplies from England. They also bartered with the Indians for corn, but sometimes took it by force, making enemies in the process. One man claimed that after Dale left, "butt one Plough was going in all the Country." In 1619 then-Secretary John Pory declared that that the colony's riches lay in tobacco and underscored his point by stating that at Jamestown even the cowkeeper strutted about in flaming silk and the wife of a former London collier sported a silk suit and a fine beaver hat. The boom in tobacco prices continued until around 1630, when overproduction glutted the market and resulted in a sharp decline in the crop's value (C.O. 3/21 f 72; Carrier 1957:20; Tyler 1907:263, 284-286). However, throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the prospect of reaping a profit from growing tobacco lured many Europeans to Virginia.

The Burgeoning Need for Workers

The rapidly expanding market for tobacco created substantial opportunities for those who immigrated to Virginia and became planters. Also, the relatively high price of tobacco during the early 1620s led to a search for ways to increase productivity. According to Kulikoff, "the annual output of tobacco per hand rose from about 710 pounds in the 1620s to about 1,600 pounds by the 1670s; at the same time, the costs of shipping a pound of tobacco diminished by half." Although tobacco prices had entered a steep decline by the late 1620s, and continued to dwindle until around 1670, tobacco pro-

duction remained profitable, for planters were able to produce more of the crop with fewer hands. Meanwhile, tobacco consumption rose in response to lower prices. Planters, rushing to meet that demand, quickly discovered that additional laborers increased production significantly. It is estimated that 75,000 whites immigrated from the British Isles to the Chesapeake colonies between 1630 and 1680, when tobacco consumption was on the rise. Kulikoff concluded that half-to-three-quarters of these people were indentured servants, many of whom were poor, unskilled youths. Planters were especially eager to procure male workers to work in their tobacco fields and during the 1630s six times as many men as women became indentured servants. Between 1640 and 1680, only one out of every four servants was female. This sex ratio, which left many men without an opportunity to establish a family, perpetuated the need for immigrant labor. So did the fact that many servants died during the seasoning process or before they had had a chance to produce offspring (Kulikoff 1986:31-33).

African Contributions to Agricultural Practices

Many of the Africans who came to Virginia during the seventeenth century brought along a specialized knowledge of agriculture and other practical skills that made a significant contribution to the developing colony. Of immediate use was Africans' familiarity with the cultivation of tobacco. Those from agrarian tribes, who had been servants or agriculturalists in their homeland, probably found it somewhat easier to adjust to the New World, for they would have had some preparation for working in agricultural fields. However, those who were used to a higher position in the social order would have found life especially difficult (Nash 1974:189).

Lorena S. Walsh has observed that nearly half of the approximately 5,000 African men and women who were brought to Virginia by the Royal African Company between 1683 and 1721 came from Senegambia, a region which geographical location fostered the development of economic and cultural exchanges among neighbors. Smaller shipments originated in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, the Niger Delta and Angola. Many of those who inhabited the northern part of Senegambia were nomads, who tended wandering herds of foraging livestock, usually cattle, sheep and goats. Those who were pastoralists lived near the river. Further south, where rain was more abundant, were settled people who grew agricultural crops, such as peas, beans, peanuts, rice, millet, sweet potatoes, cotton, and indigo. Domestic poultry were raised as a source of food. Among those with specialized occupations were fishermen, blacksmiths, potters, weavers, blacksmiths and leather-dressers. Local markets and urban centers would have facilitated the exchange (or bartering) of commodities and agricultural products (Walsh 1997:55-58).

Senegambian farmers and those in Sierra Leone were familiar with the cultivation of tobacco, which had been brought to West Africa by the Portuguese in the 1500s. Africans readily took to the habit of smoking tobacco for recreation and in 1607 one English visitor remarked that tobacco was planted near most of the houses in Sierra Leone. In 1620 another Englishman encountered people near the Gambia River, who offered to trade tobacco and pipes for English goods. Some African farmers cultivated tobacco expressedly for trade. John Barbot, who visited the area between the Senegal River and the Windward Coast between 1678 and 1682, commented that farmers and others were "never without a pipe [of tobacco] in their mouths." It is likely that Africans' knowledge of tobacco cultivation contributed heavily to its success as a money crop in Virginia, for West Africans had had a great deal of experience in the farming techniques that maximized production. Significantly, in Africa, both men and women were involved in raising tobacco. The women of Senegambia typically raised it in small family plots, whereas the men probably were responsible for growing large crops that were intended for commercial use. Tobacco was planted upon the floodplain, after corn was harvested, and Africans were aware that tobacco's characteristics depended upon the soil in which it was grown.[10] All of this

specialized knowledge would have been invaluable to Virginia planters in an agrarian economy (Walsh 1997:61-64).

Another attribute of African agriculture that was readily transferred to Virginia was the method of tilling the ground. In West Africa, where the tsetse fly was common, farmers practiced the same hoe-and-hill method of growing corn and tobacco that the early colonists had learned from the Indians. John Barbot noted that "two [African] men will dig as much land in a day, as one plow can turn over in England." Although tobacco and corn were not staple crops in West Africa, most African immigrants knew how to raise them (Walsh 1997:93). Their knowledge and skill was invaluable to Tidewater planters.

Indentured Servitude and the Status of Servants

In the beginning, many of Virginia's indentured servants were respectable citizens from the English middle class. These men and women represented a broad cross-section of society and included yeoman farmers, husbandmen, artisans, and laborers. Often, they were young males in their late teens or early 20s (Tate et al.1979:93). Those who acquired indentured servants were supposed to provide them with food, clothing and shelter and could exact labor under certain conditions, using what the law deemed reasonable discipline. Indentured servants who were field hands usually toiled from dawn to dusk, six days a week, during the growing season. Adults usually served for four years, whereas those under 15 sometimes were bound for seven or more years. Literate servants or those with special skills sometimes could negotiate for shorter terms. Those whose contracts had expired were supposed to be provided with "freedom dues," usually a quantity of corn and clothing. Servants were forbidden to marry without their masters' consent. Otherwise, they would be punished, usually by having their time of service extended. Freed servants often leased land until they could acquire some of their own. New immigrants did likewise while fulfilling the headright system's residency requirements (Tate et al. 1979:93; Hening 1809-1823:I:252-253).

While the colony was under the control of the Virginia Company of London, high ranking officials were given set numbers of indentured servants as part of their stipend. Company records dating to May 1623 reveal that the governor was supposed to be provided with 100 servants, the treasurer with 50, the secretary with 20, the physician-general with 20 and the vice-admiral with 12. Likewise, servants were part of the clergy's stipend. All of these office-holders were assigned specific quantities of land as a privilege of office, acreage that was supposed to descend to the next incumbent (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:183). One of these properties, a 3,000 acre tract known as the Governor's Land, lay between Jamestown Island and Green Spring.

Conversion to Christianity

At first, conversion to Christianity seems to have played a role in how Africans were treated in Virginia. For example, in November 1624 John Phillip, an African who had been baptized in England in 1612, was called upon to testify before the General Court. At that time, he provided information that was critical to the deliberations underway. Phillip, when appearing as a witness, was identified in the court's minutes as "A negro Christened in England 12 yeers since" (McIlwaine 1924:33). In October 1627, a John Phillips (perhaps the same man) was hauled into court where he and Joan White were found guilty of committing fornication, with the result that Joan had produced a bastard son. Both adults were to receive 40 lashes a piece at Jamestown's whipping post and Mr. Peirsey (probably cape merchant Abraham Peirsey) was to see that John and Joan were kept apart (McIlwaine 1924:155). The punishment they received was typical of that administered to servants found guilty of committing fornication.

[10] Techniques for processing and drying tobacco are believed to have varied from place to place.

Some of the Africans who arrived in Virginia in 1619 and shortly thereafter had European names and therefore may have been baptized in the Caribbean or before they left Africa. However, some undoubtedly received their religious instruction in Virginia. Anthony and Isabella, African servants in Captain William Tucker's home in Kecoughtan, had their son baptized. William Cranshaw, an Indian servant in the Tucker household, also was identified as having undergone baptism (Hotten 1980:244).

Living Conditions

Virginia planters, when initially establishing homesteads, typically constructed crude huts they occupied while erecting weatherproof but insubstantial frame houses. By building a simple dwelling, or "Virginia house," patentees could legitimatize their land claims while fulfilling the need for basic shelter. Renting land to tenants and providing inexpensive shelter to servants also encouraged the proliferation of impermanent housing. Early architectural descriptions reveal that the settlers built simple frame structures set upon posts in the ground. Such dwellings typically were roofed over with boards (Craven 1957:45; McIlwaine 1924:xvii; Robinson 1957:21-22; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:556; Tate et al. 1979:93; Carson et al. 1982:141, 158, 168-170). In the beginning, Africans and other servants probably had to make-do with extremely rudimentary housing. For most Africans, that became a tradition.

Lorena S. Walsh, whose research included an intense study of the Bacon and Burwell families' enslaved workers and their origin, and archaeological evidence at Kingsmill and Carter's Grove, concluded that the "living spaces that the slaves fashioned for themselves often closely resembled the layout of a West African compound.… The most distinctive feature of these ramshackle dwellings—with their earthen floors, wattle-and-daub chimneys, and closely packed residents—was their meanness." She also pointed out that privileged whites' control over the landscape was much more tenuous within their slaves' quarters (Walsh 1997:19-20).

The March 1620 Census

When the colony's assembly met in July and August 1619, plans were made to reconvene on March 1, 1620. It may have been on account of that meeting that demographic data on the Virginia colony's population were compiled. By March 1620, there were 892 European colonists living in Virginia, with males outnumbering females by nearly seven to one. Also present were 32 Africans (17 women and 15 men) and four Indians, who like the Africans, were described as being "in ye service of severall planters." Although it is uncertain precisely where these men and women were living, some probably were residing on Jamestown Island with Sir George Yeardley and Captain William Peirce, whose households there had African servants four years later. In March 1620 the Virginia colonists had a relatively ample supply of livestock and military equipment, and 222 "habitable houses," not counting barns and storehouses. There were 117 people then living in James City, the colony's most populous area. Present were 84 men, 24 women and nine children and there were 112 cattle (9 oxen and 1 bull that belonged to the public and 22 bulls and 80 kine that belonged to private individuals) (Ferrar MS 138, 139, 159, 178). The people and livestock attributed to "James City" probably lived upon Jamestown Island and on the mainland, within the Governor's Land and the Neck O'Land. Some also may have been located upon the lower side of the James River, at Hog Island, a relatively short distance across the water.

Settlement spread rapidly during Sir George Yeardley's first term as governor and while Sir Edwin Sandys was Virginia Company treasurer (April 1619 to April 1620). Eighteen or nineteen new plantations were established, the overwhelming majority of which were thinly scattered along both sides of the James, to the west of the Chickahominy River's mouth. Only four or five of the newly seated properties (or approximately 23 percent) lay within the unhealthful oligohaline zone,

where the exchange between fresh water and salt water is minimal. Yeardley's correspondence suggest that he made sure that investors' holdings did not overlap and that no one's patent impinged upon the special tracts that had been set aside as public property. This raises the possibility that Yeardley, who had been second in command at Bermuda Hundred during Sir Thomas Dale's government, shared Dale's view that the land above Jamestown was the healthiest and therefore the most desirable (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:120, 152, 249). The colony's total population in March 1620 and the number of houses then present suggests that there were 4.18 people per dwelling, whereas in 1625 there were 4.43 (see ahead).

Life in the Colony

In January 1620 Governor George Yeardley asked Virginia Company officials to send husbandmen, vignerons (wine growers), and other workers to Virginia to deal with the cultivation and processing of silkgrass and flax. He said that the vines he had planted were thriving, but that his elderly vigneron was dead. John Pory indicated that Governor Yeardley was among those who opposed some of former Deputy Governor Samuel Argoll's actions. Yeardley later alleged that Argoll had committed piracy when he had sent the ship *Treasurer* out to sea. Like many other Virginians, Yeardley believed that tobacco was extremely important to the colony's economy (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:249, 255, 319, 334; P. R. O. 30/15/2 ff 279, 290; Pory 1977:80-81).

Governor George Yeardley was conscientious about keeping his superiors informed about conditions in the colony. In 1619 he said that the boatwright the Virginia Company had sent was dead and he asked for blue and white beads that could be used in trade with the Indians. Later, Yeardley thanked Company officials for sending him books on husbandry and silkmaking. John Pory added that it was difficult to get the colony's planters to contribute work toward erecting an ironworks and he said Governor Yeardley had compelled those on watch at Jamestown to work on building gun platforms for the defense of the capital city and a new bridge (wharf). By September 1619 there was a common warehouse at Jamestown (Ferrar MS 184; Pory 1977:83; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:297, 319, 331, 334, 415; III:153, 209). All of these projects would have required strenuous manual labor.

An Infusion of New Immigrants

During 1620 and 1621 numerous ships arrived at Jamestown, bearing prospective colonists. Many were sickly and malnourished and ill prepared to fend for themselves in a wilderness environment. Therefore, Virginia Company officials were anxious for a guesthouse to be built at Jamestown, where recent immigrants could recuperate from their ocean voyage and undergo the "seasoning" process, i.e, become acclimated to their new environment (Ancient Planters 1871:78-80; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:375; Pory 1977:83). It is uncertain how successful Africans were in adjusting to their new environment. They would have possessed skills useful in surviving in a wilderness environment. However, their susceptibility to European diseases to which they were not immune and malnutrition would have made them extremely vulnerable.

The 1624 Census and 1625 Muster

Demographic records compiled during February 1624 and early 1625 reflect the colony's growth and some of the advances made between 1619 and 1624, immediately prior to the time that the Virginia Company's charter was revoked. The February 1624 census reveals that 183 people then lived in James City (then defined as urban Jamestown) and 39 others resided elsewhere on Jamestown Island.[11] At the glasshouse were

[11] Hugh Thomas has pointed out that some of the Africans in Virginia in 1625 came to the colony with white households that were immigrating (Thomas 1997:174-175). Whether these Africans had been servants in England or had been purchased from slavers immediately prior to departure is uncertain.

Vincentio and Bernardo, whom other sources identify as Italian artisans. A list of those who died between April 1623 and February 1624 indicates that a substantial number of James City residents (89) were among the colony's dead (Hotten 1980:173-176, 178, 191-192). None of those listed were identified as Africans or black; however, because they were non-English, their deaths may have been disregarded.

On January 24, 1625, when a tabulation was made of those who lived in urban Jamestown and elsewhere on Jamestown Island, there were 175 people present, 122 males and 53 females. Out of this total population, there were nine Africans: three men and six women (see ahead). In urban Jamestown were 22 houses, 3 stores, a church and a large court of guard, whereas elsewhere in the island were 11 houses. The colonists living on Jamestown Island had greater supplies of corn, fish, and meal, and larger quantities of livestock than those who resided elsewhere. They also were better prepared to defend themselves from an enemy (Meyer et al. 1987:28- 36).

The Dispersion of Africans Within the Tidewater

According to the 1624 census, there were 21 Africans living in the colonized area. There were eleven Africans at Abraham Peirsey's plantation, Flowerdew Hundred. Four (Anthony, William, John and another Anthony) were identified by name. As previously noted, there were three Africans at Jamestown, only one of whom (Angelo) was listed by name. Edward was living in the Neck O'Land with Richard Kingsmill and Peter, Anthony, Frances, and Margaret were residing in Warresqueak, the Bennett plantation. Anthony and Isabella were in Elizabeth City with Captain William Tucker (Hotten 1980:172-174, 178, 182, 185).

The 1625 muster, which was compiled household-by-household, reveals that the Virginia colony included 23 Africans and an Indian, who resided upon plantations that extended from Hampton Roads to Flowerdew Hundred. Of the 23 Africans, 15 were living in the households of Sir George Yeardley and Abraham Peirsey, the cape merchant who bought Yeardley's plantation called Flowerdew. An African couple and their child (Antoney, Isabell and young William) lived in Elizabeth City with Captain William Tucker, and Antonio (who had come in the *James* in 1621) and Mary (who had arrived in the *Margaret and John* in 1622) resided in Warresqueak, where they were described as servants of Edward Bennett.[12] Solitary African men resided in the households of Francis West (John Pedro, in Elizabeth City) and Richard Kingsmill (Edward, in the Neck O'Land) and an African woman (Angelo, who came in the *Treasurer*) lived in the Jamestown home of Captain William Peirce (Hotten 1980:217-218, 224, 229, 241, 244, 257) (see ahead). Significantly, all of these Africans were included in lists of servants.

Africans on Jamestown Island

When the February 1624 census was compiled, Sir George Yeardley and his family most likely were residing in Study Unit 1 upon Tract C Lot B, a 7 ¼ acre parcel that Sir George patented on December 2, 1624 (Neill 1890:32-33; Patent Book 1:4). With Sir George, Lady Temperance and their children were eight white indentured servants and an uncertain number of men and women who were of African descent. In January 1625 when new demographic data were compiled, the Yeardley household, which still resided in urban Jamestown, included Sir George's 24 servants. Of these people, three men and five women were African (Hotten 1980:173; Meyer et al. 1987:29, 723-725). By February 1624 Sir George Yeardley had sold his Flowerdew Hundred and Weyanoke plantations to cape merchant Abraham Peirsey. After Sir George's death, his widow confirmed both transactions. His October 12, 1627, will specifies that his "servants and negroes [were] to be sold" (McIlwaine 1924:44-45, 130, 137, 157; Hotten 1980:217; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:556;

[12] Later, Antonio and Mary were freed and moved to Virginia's Eastern Shore where he became known as Anthony Johnson and acquired land (Breen 1980:11).

McGhan 1982:448). By whom they were acquired is uncertain.

On February 16, 1624, Governor Francis Wyatt was residing in Jamestown with his wife and brother, and ten servants (four females and six males), probably on Study Unit 1 Tract H. In January 1625 Wyatt's all-white household included himself and five male servants. As governor, he was provided with 20 tenants and 12 boys as servants. In January 1625, many of Wyatt's men were residing upon the Governor's Land. Thanks to an October 1625 court decree, he was allowed to take possession of an African servant named Brass, who formerly had been employed by Sir Samuel Argoll (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98; IV:6, 104, 129, 172, 209, 480, 556, 562; C. O. 1/2 ff 145-146; Hotten 1980:173; Sainsbury 1964:1:69; Meyer et al. 1987:28; McIlwaine 1924:72, 83, 161). Brass appears to have been Wyatt's first (and perhaps only) black servant.

Captain William Peirce of Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) had an African servant in his household on February 16, 1624, the woman named Angelo. Within the Neck O'Land behind Jamestown Island was Edward, an African man servant under the supervision of Richard Kingsmill (the owner of Study Unit 1 Tract A), legal guardian to the late Rev. Richard Buck's orphans.[13] It is uncertain whether Edward was Kingsmill's servant or was part of the Buck estate. In January 1625 the Africans Angelo and Edward still were listed as servants in the Peirce and Kingsmill households. Angelo reportedly had come to the colony in the *Treasurer* (Hotten 1980:174, 178, 224, 229). Virtually all of the African people included in the 1625 muster were categorized as servants, although only a few were identified by name. While some may have shared a dwelling with their white employers, research suggests that servants typically were housed in separate quarters.

In September 1625 Lady Temperance Yeardley (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) was given temporary custody of an African man, who had come to Virginia with a Captain Jones. Court records indicate that Lady Yeardley was to see that the African was paid 40 pounds of good tobacco per month for his labor, as long as he was part of her household. This African man appears to have come to the colony with Captain Jones aboard the ship *Portugal* (McIlwaine 1924:71-72).

During 1628 the ship *Fortune* captured a Spanish vessel that had left Angola with approximately 100 Africans aboard. Once the Africans reached Virginia, they were exchanged for tobacco, which was sent back to England in the ship *Plantation* (Donnan 1935:IV:49). It is uncertain where the Africans went to live, once they reached Virginia. However, as Jamestown was the official port of entry, they probably landed there and were sold shortly thereafter.

Mortality and Disease Among African Immigrants

As previously noted, in March 1620 there were 32 Africans living in the colony (15 men and 17 women) but precisely where they were residing is uncertain. By February 16, 1624, only 14 Africans were present, which suggests that more than half of those on hand in 1620 had died or perhaps fled into the wilderness. One African of unknown gender was listed among the dead at West and Shirley Hundred, in the corporation of Charles City (Ferrar MS 138, 139, 159, 178; Hotten 1980: 172-174, 178, 182, 184, 191). According to Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, whose research on malaria is well known, Africans entering the colony may have brought along *Plasmodium falciparum*, a blood parasite responsible for a virulent form of the disease (Rutman et al. 1976:40, 42). Therefore, they may have been infected with a potentially deadly disease before they arrived in Virginia. On the other hand, Africans living in close contact with Europeans would have been exposed

[13] Kingsmill was overseer of the late Rev. Richard Buck's will and was one of the Bucks' minor children's guardians. After the Rev. Buck and his wife died in late 1623 or early 1624, Kingsmill moved his family to their property in the Neck O'Land where they lived for at least two years. He probably erected buildings upon the Buck patent so that it would be considered seated, thereby securing the acreage for the Buck orphans' inheritance (McIlwaine 1924:33, 38-39, 55, 58, 86, 103, 117, 143, 150, 183, 190).

to some unfamiliar parasites and infectious diseases. They also would have come into contact with varieties of malaria to which they had little or no immunity. Newly arrived Africans appear to have been less likely to die from malaria than newly arrived whites, or to become seriously ill. However, they were susceptible to the agues and fevers that plagued most of the Chesapeake's inhabitants during the warmer months of the year. At best, the living conditions Africans endured were harsh (Walsh 1997:287). More research is needed to gain a better understanding of the impact the "seasoning" process had upon Africans in the Chesapeake.

Family Life

Demographic records compiled during 1624 and 1625 reveal that by that time, family life was firmly rooted in Virginia. Between February 1624 and January 1625, Anthony and Isabell or Isabella, who lived in the Elizabeth City household of Captain William Tucker, had produced a child they named William (Hotten 1980:244). Africans living in other areas (for example, those in the Jamestown household of Sir George Yeardley and on Abraham Peirsey's plantation, Flowerdew) also may have paired off and formed family units, for people of both sexes were present. Among whites, households often consisted of a married couple and one or more children, plus a small number of servants, including some who were of African origin (Hotten 1980:173-174, 178, 224, 229).

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many families included the children from one or both parents' prior marriages. Thus, step-siblings, half-siblings, and full blooded relatives tended to progress with a parent or step-parent through a series of marriages almost always terminated by death. Servants (and later, slaves) would have accompanied household members whenever living arrangements changed. The accumulation of wealth through successive marriages and the hardships that were a part of frontier life probably made widows and widowers eager to remarry. As the colony became better established, more women came to Virginia and the number of marriages and births rose. Africans developed nuclear families and ties that extended well beyond the plantations on which they lived. These kinship networks were extremely important (Nash 1974:194-195).

Development of the Plantation Economy

The headright system fueled development and during the tobacco boom-times of the 1620s, successful planters amassed substantial quantities of land and reaped great profits. Critical to their success was the labor of indentured servants. Documentary records reveal that during the late 1610s and 1620s, the labor shortage was so critical that landowners often worked beside their servants in tobacco fields (McIlwaine 1924:22- 23).

As time went on, settlement continued to fan out in every direction and forest lands were converted to cleared fields that were used for agriculture. Tidewater Virginia was dotted with small and middling farmsteads that were interspersed with the larger plantations of the well-to-do. Generally, when settlers moved into new territory, they vied for waterfront property that had good soils for agriculture and convenient access to shipping. Successful planters usually managed to acquire several small tracts and consolidate them into relatively large holdings. Small freeholders sometimes hired freed servants to fulfill their need for labor. However, such workers (unlike servants) were not obliged to stay with a single employer and therefore could bargain for higher wages. Many freedmen accumulated enough capital to rent or purchase land of their own. To former servants, the prospect of social mobility was a great enticement. So was the prospect of marriage. Although small planters' dominance in the Chesapeake had begun to dwindle by the 1680s, fewer servants came to the colony and the servant trade nearly disappeared after 1700. During periods when tobacco prices were high, former servants often were able to accumulate enough capital to procure their own land. However, between 1680 and 1720, when tobacco

prices were unstable and the crop often was unprofitable, there were fewer opportunities for former servants to be upwardly mobile. This put a damper upon white servants' desire to immigrate to Virginia (Kulikoff 1986:35-38).[14]

The sharp but gradual decline in the number of servants immigrating to Virginia transformed the labor system irrevocably. Planters, who almost continuously sought laborers to work in their tobacco fields, began substituting Africans for white servants. By 1700 African slaves were producing much of the Chesapeake's tobacco. The long depression in tobacco prices gradually took its toll. Poorer farmers, who acquired land that was less well suited for tobacco production, and newly freed servants who sought to develop their property, found themselves unable to compete, for they lacked the capital they needed to purchase the labor force they needed. However, relatively successful planters could afford to purchase servants and maximize production, even though tobacco prices were low. This phenomenon widened the breach between the rich and the poor. Meanwhile, in accord with the laws of supply and demand, the price of a white male indentured servant rose in proportion to that of a black field hand. In time, planters learned that African slaves could be at least as productive as white servants (Kulikoff 1986:39-41).

As the seventeenth century wore on, the population of the Chesapeake grew through natural increase and immigration, as did the number of people (including former servants) who wanted laborers to work in their fields. Whether or not they preferred to employ white English servants, they increasingly were obliged to turn to non-English whites or Africans. According to Kulikoff, only during the latter half of the 1690s did Chesapeake planters begin purchasing substantial numbers of Africans. He estimated that between 1695 and 1700, approximately 3,000 Africans (or as many as had arrived between 1675 and 1695) were enslaved and put to work in the Chesapeake. By 1700 most unfree laborers were black. Meanwhile, the number of native-born adults in the white population had increased significantly. Such people not only started life free, they often received inheritances from their forebears. They also tended to marry at earlier ages than did white servants, and to accumulate property more rapidly. Inheritance played a great role in amassing wealth and allowed the successful to become even more successful, for they could count on inheriting land and numerous servants or slaves (Kulikoff 1986:40- 43).

Plantations and Farmsteads Within Jamestown Island

When the first colonists arrived, they established a fortified settlement on the banks of the James River in the western end of Jamestown Island, within Study Unit 4. In 1608 they erected a blockhouse in Study Unit 1, at the entrance to the isthmus that led to the mainland, and between 1611 and 1616, when the colony was under martial law, they built another blockhouse in Study Unit 1, at a site overlooking the Back River. Within Study Unit 4 they constructed a wharf, storehouses, forges, barns, and other utilitarian features. Settlers also built homesteads east of Kingsmill Creek and Orchard Run, in the areas designated Study Units 2 and 3. There, more than two-thirds of the plots that have been identified through patent research were attributable to ancient planters, people who immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to 1616. Most of these very early homesteads were 12 acres in size. Approximately half were rectangularly-shaped and laid out regularly in rows that flanked the upper side of Passmore Creek.

After surveyor William Claiborne's 1621 arrival in the colony, an area known as the New Towne was laid out along the waterfront, west of Orchard Run. There, acreage was carved up into irregularly shaped lots, some of which boundaries were defined by streets, paths, ditches and rows of mulberry trees. This very early attempt at ur-

[14] Kulikoff noted that a decline in English birthrates during the second third of the seventeenth century, and rising wages in the Mother Country, had by 1680 significantly reduced white laborers' interest in coming to the New World. Also the relatively new colonies of Pennsylvania and South Carolina were competing with the Chesapeake colonies for prospective servants interested in immigrating (Kulikoff 1986:38).

banization occurred within portions of Study Units 1 and 4. Early patents reveal that William Claiborne also delimited the boundaries of certain ancient planters' plots within Study Unit 2.

In 1625 Sir George Yeardley consolidated some small, contiguous tracts of land within Study Unit 2. By the early 1650s his successors, Walter Chiles I and Edward Travis I, had followed suit. Travis's first land acquisition on Jamestown Island, which occurred in 1652, and the parcels he and his descendants patented and/or purchased, eventually gave rise to the 802$^{3}/_{4}$ acre Travis plantation that by the mid-eighteenth century encompassed virtually all of Study Unit 2. Much of the Travis plantation's water frontage was on the Back River, although access to the James was available at Black Point and at the mouth of Passmore Creek.

During the second quarter of the seventeenth century, certain parcels within Study Unit 3 also were combined into slightly larger entities. Some of these holdings belonged to people who owned New Towne lots. This raises the possibility that those residing in urban Jamestown wanted rural land upon which they could pasture livestock and raise crops. A few of the people who owned land in Study Unit 3 resided across the river in Surry County. By the second half of the seventeenth century, Study Unit 3 was sparsely inhabited, perhaps because it was cut through by broad expanses of marsh and had a very limited amount of arable land. In 1745 almost all of Study Unit 3 became part of the Ambler plantation. It may have been used for pasturing livestock, tended by servants and slaves.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the numerous lots within the New Towne and the somewhat larger parcels that lay nearby changed hands frequently. Often, these land exchanges occurred in synch with official efforts to foster urban development. During such attempts, which occurred in 1624, 1636, 1642, 1662, and perhaps more often, lots were assigned to patentees who were obliged to construct buildings upon their property or forfeit it to someone else who would—or promised to. Throughout the seventeenth century, urban development was concentrated along the New Towne's waterfront and the Back Street.

Ethnocentrism and the Bias Toward Native Americans and Other Non-English People

As the colony's population grew and Virginia's tobacco economy literally took root, settlement spread rapidly. This steady encroachment upon Native territory eventually prompted the Indians, then led by the forceful and charismatic Opechancanough, to make a vigorous attempt to drive the European colonists from their soil. The March 22, 1622, Indian uprising claimed the lives of an estimated one-third of the colony's population, but it did little to stem the tide of expanding settlement.[15] It also gave rise to a more militant attitude on the part of the colonists, who undertook carefully orchestrated retaliatory raids in which they burned the Indians' villages and destroyed their food supplies. Gone were whatever altruistic feelings the colonists may have previously had toward the Indians. With that change in attitude, attempts to convert the Natives to Christianity all but vanished. The hostility toward Natives is reflected in the verbiage of contemporary correspondence. Whereas Captain John Smith and others had described the Indians as ingenious and intelligent, after the 1622 uprising, one writer called them

> *... slothfull and idle, vitious, melancholy, slovely, of bad conditions, lyers, of small memory, of no constancy or trust ... of all people the most lying and inconstant in the world, sottish and sodaine ... lesse capable than children of sixe or seaven years old and lesse apt and ingenious" [Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:562-563].*

He added that the Indians might "now most justly be compelled to servitude and drudgery, and supply the roome of men that laborur, whereby even the meanest of the Plantation may imploy themselves more entirely in their Arts and Occupations, which are more generous whilst Savages perform

[15] No Africans were listed among those slain by the Indians. It is unclear whether the Africans' lives were spared, whether they were captured, or whether the man compiling the list of the dead failed to note their deaths on account of a racial bias.

their inferiour workes of digging in mynes, and the like" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:558-559). Other writers were less charitable.

The Natives did what they could to resist the colonists' attacks upon their villages, but by early April 1623 they were suffering. It was then that an emissary from Opechancanough made an overture for peace. Virginia officials noted that "many of his People were starved by our taking away their corne and burning their howses." In December 1623 word reached England that "ye English despite a treaty with ye Natives for peace and good quarter have poisoned a great many of them," a reference to a May 22, 1623, attempt to kill Opechancanough and other Indian leaders by toasting a spurious peace treaty with a cup of poisonous wine. Dr. John Pott of Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) allegedly supplied the toxic beverage (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:556-557, 652- 653; IV:98, 221-223; Hening 1809-1823:I:140).

During the fall and winter of 1623, as the colonists' fears subsided, and they yielded to pressure from Virginia Company officials, they gradually reoccupied the outlying plantations they had abandoned. They were ordered to fortify their homes by surrounding them with palisades. Retaliatory raids were undertaken against the Indians from time to time, and one man declared that the colonists "may now by right of warre … invade the country and destroy them who sought to destroy us." He added that "Now their cleared ground in all their villages (which are situate in the fruitfullest places of the land) shall be inhabited by us." In December 1622 one man proposed planting settlements throughout Opechancanough's territory and driving him from his island stronghold in the Pamunkey River. He also recommended continuing to burn the Indians' villages and food crops. In 1626 consideration was given to colonizing Chiskiack, on the York River, and to running a palisade across the peninsula. Tensions were high and in April 1627 the governor issued a warning that the Indians were expected to attack at any time (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:60, 556-557, 708-710; IV:41-42, 58, 61, 104-105, 107, 236-237, 239).

On April 24, 1628, some Natives brought a message to the governor from several men being detained by the Pamunkey. He and his council decided to secure the men's release, while seizing the opportunity to learn where the Indians were planting their corn. This policy evolved into the consummation of a dishonorable peace treaty that was made in August, an agreement deemed binding only until the detainees were delivered up "and ye English see a fit opportunity to break it." By late January 1629 the Virginia government had found the excuse they sought. As the colonists had become lax about maintaining their own defenses, it was thought "a safer course for the colony in general (to prevent a second Massacre) utterly to proclayme and maintayne enmity and warres with all the Indians of these partes." A moratorium was declared "until the 20th of February next but after that tyme to esteem them utter Enemies" (McIlwaine 1924:172, 184-185, 484).

In March 1629 the Council of State again discussed the deliberate dissolution of the treaty and reaffirmed its earlier decision to do so. However, a lone Indian, who ventured into the settled territory before his people had been notified that the treaty was being set aside, was sent home with word that the treaty was being terminated because the *Indians* had violated its terms (McIlwaine 1924:189-190, 198).

The 1624 census and 1625 muster and records compiled by Virginia Company officials suggest that the English colonists were biased against anyone who was different or "foreign." For example, the Italian artisans brought to Virginia to produce glass were listed in the 1625 muster as "Mr Vincencio the Italian" and in the 1624 census, their names were omitted altogether. Daniel Poole, who resided on the lower side of the James River in the Treasurer's Plantation, was identified as "a french man." Three men, who died between April 1623 and February 1624, were listed as John and James, the "Irishmen" and Symon, "an Italian" (Hotten 1980:180, 194, 235). Earlier on, Captain John Smith identified only by their ethnic group the non-English workers sent to make glass and build sawmills: "the Dutch" and "the Poles." Moreover,

Virginia Company officials, when mentioning the Italian glassworkers and the men from France being sent to plant vines and raise silkworms, identified them by their country of origin rather than their names. John Martin (Marten) was identified as "the Persian" and "a foreigner," who was unfamiliar with the Lord's Prayer (Haile 1998:279, 293, 304; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:486, 498, 631, 633; II:13; III:423).[16] Such ethnocentrism, separatism, and condescension seem to have been common during the early seventeenth century. Winthrop Jordan surmised that the English looked upon their colonies as exclusively English preserves and wanted "to protect English persons especially from the exploitation which inevitably accompanied settlement in the New World" (Jordan 1968:86).

Fear of the unfamiliar occasionally was grounded in reality. In 1627 a Captain Sampson brought a group of Carib Indians into the colony, seemingly to sell them. General Court minutes suggest that the Caribs were unruly and strongly resistant to captivity, for Sampson told the justices that "he knoweth noe way or means to dispose of those Indians." As a result, he agreed to turn them over to the court "to dispose of them as we shall please." While the matter was under deliberation, the Caribs reportedly had "runn away & hid themselves in the woods attempting to goe to ye Indians of this Country as some of them have revealed & confessed." While the Carib Indians were at large, they had "stollen away divers goods, & attempted to kill some of our people." Therefore, the justices of the General Court decided that they should be "presently taken & hanged till they be dead" (McIlwaine 1924:155). It is uncertain whether any of the Carib Indians were recaptured, for no further reference to them is found in surviving documentary records.

Virginia's governing officials may have taken a step toward the enslavement of blacks when the assembly passed an October 1629 law declaring that "all those that worke in the ground of what qualitie or condition soever, shall pay tithes to the ministers" (Hening 1809-1823:I:144). Although this law would have applied to all men and women who worked as field hands, regardless of race, indirectly it would have excluded those whose economic position afforded them other choices. A tax law enacted in March 1643 overtly made a distinction between the races (see ahead).

Inter-racial sexual liaisons apparently were frowned upon, for on September 17, 1630, Hugh Davis was sentenced

> *... to be soundly whipped, before an assembly of Negroes and others for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and shame of Christians, by defiling his body in lying with a negro; which fault he is to acknowledge next Sabbath day [Hening 1809-1823:I:146].*

It is uncertain how Davis's companion was punished. As Davis was punished for "defiling his body in lying with a negro," it appears that physical involvement with a non-white was considered especially sinful. In 1640, when Robert Sweat (a white male) and a black woman produced a child, the woman (described only as a "servant belonging unto Lieutenant Sheppard") was to be "whipt at the whipping post." Sweat, however, was to "do public penance for his offence at James city church in the time of devine service according to the laws of England in that case pvided" (McIlwaine 1924:477; Hening 1809-1823:I:552). If Sheppard was Lieutenant Robert Shephard, a probable owner of Study Unit 4 Tract X, there may be evidence of an African presence upon that property.

[16] Because Marten was an alien or "a stranger," Virginia Company officials required him to pay twice as much in customs duties (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:633).

Chapter 7.
1630-1642: A Pivotal Period of Change

The Establishment of Local Government

In 1631 and 1632 some important decisions were made about how the judiciary would function. Intentional or not, they were steps along the path to establishing a system of local government. In October 1631 it was decided that court sessions would be held at Jamestown every two weeks and at least one councillor had to be present whenever the local court convened. The General Court was to meet quarterly in March, June, September and December. It was to serve as the appellate body for the local courts held on certain plantations. To facilitate the settling of estates, the provost and one other man were supposed to appraise a dead person's belongings and then present their findings at court. They were to receive a 10 percent fee as compensation for their services. Each summer the colony's clergy were supposed to bring their parish registers to Jamestown and present them to the General Court (McIlwaine 1924:480; Hening 1809-1823:I:169, 174, 180, 186-187, 552). That would have provided the colony's high ranking officials with vital records such as births, deaths, and marriages.

In 1634 the colony was subdivided into eight shires or counties, each of which had a court. At that juncture, local justices began handling some of the routine matters that previously had overloaded the General Court's docket. Jamestown was not only the colony's capital, it also served as the seat of James City County's newly formed government. From 1619 through 1778, Jamestown sent its own burgess to the colony's assembly, independent from those who represented James City County. By 1652 county courts had jurisdiction over most local affairs (Craven 1970:166-170; Billings 1975:43-44; 1974:228-233; Hening 1809-1823:I:223-224, 287, 290-291, 301-303, 319; McIlwaine 1924:481, 492; McCartney 1997:576-580).

The Erosion of Black Servants' Rights Under the Law

From 1635 on, ships bearing cargoes of Africans arrived at Jamestown, the colony's port of entry. Some of these men and women were treated as indentured servants whereas others may have been relegated to what amounted to *de facto* slavery, even though the legal system then made no provision for such an institution. It was during this period that the Virginia colonists' need for increasing numbers of servants to cultivate tobacco, their money crop, created a severe labor shortage. Ship loads of white indentured servants from Europe and blacks from Africa or the Caribbean sailed into the James River and docked at Jamestown, where the services of their human cargo were "hawked" to potential buyers. In time, the immigration of indentured servants from England and the Continent slowed, which led Virginia colonists to rely increasingly upon blacks (Tate 1965:3, 5-6). Although some of the laws passed during the mid-to-late seventeenth century suggest that the legal status of the black population deteriorated steadily, there is some evidence that the process was piecemeal.

Edmund S. Morgan has pointed out that early on, "All, servant, slave or free, enjoyed rights that were later denied all Negroes in Virginia." Utilizing Northampton County records as evidence, he noted that some slaves were allowed to earn money of their own and purchase their freedom, and some bought and sold livestock. He also cited a case in which the sale of a slave from one master to another was subject to the approval of the slave. One slave purchased his daughters' freedom and then

apprenticed them to a white master until they were grown (Morgan 1975:154-155). All of these examples demonstrate that Africans' rights changed as time went on.

Urbanizing the Colony's Capital

During the 1630s extensive efforts were made to improve the colony's capital. In March 1631 Governor John Harvey and his council informed British officials that tradesmen (such as shipwrights, smiths, carpenters, tanners, and other skilled workers, especially those who made and laid brick) were urgently needed (C. O. 1/6 ff 135-136). Harvey practiced what he preached, for archaeological evidence of his interest in manufacturing has been discovered on two pieces of property on Jamestown Island that were associated with him: Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E (including Structure 126) and Study Unit 1 Tract H (including Structures 110, 111, and 128). Governor Harvey also was in possession of Glasshouse Point, just across the isthmus from the entrance to Jamestown Island (Patent Book 3:367).

In 1633 there were five tobacco inspection warehouses in the colony. The warehouse at Jamestown served planters within a vast territory that stretched from Lawnes Creek to Weyanoke Point. As one or more tobacco inspectors per warehouse had to be members of the governor's council, local residents and councillors William Peirce (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) and Richard Stephens (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H) of the New Towne probably officiated in Jamestown's warehouse. Both men would have had their servants perform all of the manual labor that was involved (Hening 1809-1823:I:205, 210-211, 221). Peirce is known to have had Africans in his household during the 1620s and may have continued to do so.

Incoming ships had to land first at Jamestown, where all transactions involving tobacco had to be conducted. Ships' officers were to provide lists of the goods they brought in, which manifests were to be presented to officials at Jamestown. All incoming goods had to be off-loaded at Jamestown, where they were bartered and sold with the obligatory involvement of the community's merchants and storekeepers. During the 1630s commerce was brisk between the colonists of Virginia and the Dutch in New Amsterdam (New York) and mariner David DeVries remarked that "He who wishes to trade here [in Virginia] must keep a house here and continue all the year, that he may be prepared when the tobacco comes from the field, to seize it." He also said that Virginians behaved in an unChristian manner, when it came to their servants (see ahead) (Hening 1809-1823:I:163, 191, 205-206, 210-211, 213; C.O. 1/6 ff 187-188; Sainsbury 1964:1:158, 287-288; Jameson 1967:195-196).

In February 1634 Governor Harvey informed the Privy Council that 1,200 new immigrants had arrived in Virginia and that he planned to take a muster of the population. He added that there was an abundance of livestock and corn was so plentiful that a large quantity had been sent to New England. In mid-July Harvey dispatched a letter to his superiors in which he claimed that Virginia had become the granary of the English colonies (Sainsbury 1964:1:175, 184, 189, 190-191, 207; C.O. 1/8 ff 166-169).

How Indentured Servants Were Treated

David DeVries, who spent several months in Virginia during 1633, said that he "was astonished to observe of the English people that they lose their servants in gambling with each other. I told them that I had never seen such work in Turk or Barbaria and that it was not becoming Christians" (DeVries 1853:52). He made no comments about any Africans he may have encountered during his stay in the colony.

In 1640 Captain William Peirce (Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot B and Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) filed a complaint with the Council of State because six of his servants and Mr. Reignolds' African servant had runaway together, in an attempt to reach the Dutch plantation. They had stolen powder, shot and guns and escaped in Peirce's sloop, but were captured in the Elizabeth River. Two of Peirce's

servants (Christopher Miller and John Williams) were Dutch. Each man was to receive 30 lashes at the whipping post and to have his cheek branded with an R. The white males were required to serve some extra time. However, Emanuel, the African, who was credited with stealing the skiff, was required "to work in shakle one year or more as his master shall see cause" (McIlwaine 1924:467). This raises the possibility that Emanuel was a slave and therefore could not have his time extended.

The 1640s saw changes in the laws that governed the conduct of indentured servants. A 1642 act set four year terms for servants who arrived in the colony at age 20 or older. Those between 12 and 20 were bound for five years and children under 12 were obliged to serve seven years. Sometimes, servants married secretly or engaged in unsanctioned sexual liaisons, both of which were considered detrimental to their owners' financial interests. People sometimes harbored runaways instead of returning them to their rightful owners. Such offences typically brought fines and a lengthening of the servant's term of service. Anyone absconding more than once was branded upon the cheek with an "R" (for "runaway"). However, indentured servants gained a few legal rights during the 1640s. They were authorized to file formal complaints against owners that failed to provide them with food and clothing or treated them "in an unchristian manner." Although indentured servants probably were at a considerable disadvantage when taking their owners to court, a few such cases did make their way into the colony's legal records (Hening 1809-1823:I:253-255; Morgan 1975:215-220).

Captain Francis Pott, the brother of Dr. John Pott, inherited the physician's 12 acre lot (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) in Jamestown. In May 1645, shortly after Francis had moved to the Eastern Shore, he signed a contract with Emanuel Driggus (Rodriggus), a black man, whom he hired as an indentured servant. Driggus also agreed that his young foster daughters would serve for a specified amount of time. Francis Pott, in turn, agreed to see that both girls received adequate food, drink, apparel and lodging and were reared as Christians. One of the girls had been entrusted to Pott's care by Lieutenant Robert Shephard of Chippokes, the probable owner of Study Unit 4 Tract X (Breen et al. 1980:75-76).[17]

During the first half of the seventeenth century, Virginia society was geared to coping with heavy mortality. The almost constant arrival of new workers to replenish the labor force helped the colony to survive. A gradual decline in the death rate and an increase in the colony's overall population, which was fed by a flow of new immigrants, enabled the colony to become more populous and stable. However, by the mid-seventeenth century increasing numbers of indentured servants were surviving and gaining their freedom. Those who decided to become tobacco planters posed a problem for their former masters, for they became potential competitors. Also, the volume of tobacco they produced had the potential to depress the crop's price. Some freedmen were unable to produce enough income to support themselves or they relished being idle. In 1676 Francis Moryson defined the term "freedmen" as "persons without house and land." Two other councillors described freedmen as merchants and others "as have noe land." Virginia's governing officials became increasingly uneasy about the growing number of freedmen and took steps that threatened their independence and wellbeing. One approach was to prolong servitude as much as legally was possible (Morgan 1975:215-216, 221).

An African Utilizing the Legal System

Litigation initiated in March 1641 by John Graweere, an African servant, reflects his intelligence and ability to put the legal system to work on his own behalf. Graweere, who was William Evans' servant, fathered a child with an African woman who belonged to Lieutenant Robert

[17] In 1646, Francis Pott, who was in England, asked his nephew to settle some of his debts, disposing of some of his personal property if need be. However, "his negroes" were not to be sold (McGhan 1982:468).

Sheppard of Chippokes plantation in Surry County.[18] As Graweere wanted the child to "be made a christian and be taught and exercised in the church of England," he purchased the youngster's freedom from Lieutenant Sheppard. In accord with Graweere's request (and with the consent of Sheppard and Evans), the justices of the General Court declared that "the child shall be free from the said Evans or his assigns and to be and remain at the disposing and education of the said Graweere and the child's godfather who undertaketh to see it brought up in the christian religion" (McIlwaine 1924:477).[19] That John Graweere (a servant) found it necessary to seek the court's intervention in order to secure his child's freedom suggests that his master and that of the child's mother were considered to have a legal claim upon the youngster. In 1662 a law was passed that clarified the situation (see ahead).

Legal Discrimination and the Erosion of Black Servants' Rights

There is general agreement that between 1640 and 1660 the status of Africans and African-Americans in Virginia society began to erode, with the result that black and white servants were not treated similarly. When white indentured servants became unhappy with lengthy and sometimes ill-defined terms of service, they occasionally took legal action against their masters. But blacks brought to the colony involuntarily had a limited opportunity to become fluent in the English language and even less of a chance to gain an understanding of the law. Thus, they were at a considerable disadvantage when trying to bargain for better treatment or their freedom (Tate 1965:3, 5-6).

An exception, however, was Phillip Corven of James City County, a black indentured servant who in 1675 sued a white employer that tricked him into signing a paper extending his term of service for three years. Although the length of white servants' terms of indenture was established by law in 1643, blacks in servitude gradually came to be regarded as "servants for life," a custom that eventually attained legal status. By that time, other differences had emerged. In March 1643 black and white males age 16 and over, and black females age 16 and over were designated tithes, that is to say, they were deemed taxable. Significantly, white females were not (Palmer 1968:I:10; McIlwaine 1924:411; Tate 1965:3, 5-6; Hening 1809-1823:I:242). In February 1645 the law was revised again. This time, "all negro men and women, and all other men from the age of 16 to 60 shall be adjudged tithable." This reportedly was done "because there shall be no scruple or evasion who are and who are not tithable" (Hening 1809-1823:I:292).

In October 1649 the assembly, which felt that many people were circumventing the law, decided that "all male servants imported hereafter into the collony of what age soever they be, shall be brought into the lists and shall be liable to pay country leavys." Exempt from the law were those imported free, "either by theire parents or otherwise," who were under the age of 16 (Hening 1809-1823:I:361).

Free blacks sometimes owned black servants of their own. In March 1655, Anthony Johnson, who in 1625 was a servant in the Warresqueak household of Edward Bennett and who had been freed, sought the assistance of the Northampton County court in regaining possession of John Casor. Although Casor claimed that "hee came for a certayne time and had an Indenture," Johnson "said hee never did see any But that hee **had him for life**." Although John Casor was released, later he was returned to Anthony Johnson (Billings 1975:155-156; Breen 1980:131-135).

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[18] Sheppard's widow, Elizabeth, married Thomas Warren (Study Unit 4 Tract X) in 1654. She was the daughter and heir of ancient planter William Spencer, who in 1637 owned Study Unit 3 Tract C plus some land on the lower side of the James (Meyer et al. 1987:582; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:60).

[19] Graweere reportedly was permitted by his master to keep hogs, as long as he shared half of their increase with him (McIlwaine 1924:477).

Population Trends

Lorena S. Walsh, who studied the slaves owned successively by Colonel Nathaniel Bacon (Study Unit 4 Tract S and Study Unit 1 Tract A) and Lewis Burwell II, observed that between 1694 and 1710 there were two children per adult woman in the Bacon and Burwell population. That figure was approximately 25 percent higher than other slave populations in Tidewater Virginia. Walsh surmised that women on more sizable plantations, where the population was larger, had a greater chance of finding a suitable male partner than those who resided upon small holdings which owners had fewer slaves. Moreover, whenever large planters' estates were settled, it was more likely that groups of slaves would be passed on to the next generation. This practice would have encouraged the formation and preservation of family groups. Later, the practice of entailing both slaves and land made that tradition law. In contrast, the few slaves owned by small planters would have been sold to settle debts or distributed among the decedent's various heirs. By the 1690s, the Bacon and Burwell slaves included Virginia-born women, who typically began bearing children at an early age; they were the offspring of Africans imported during the 1650s and 60s. Women who were part of a slave community also may have been willing to bear children because they could rely upon others for assistance in rearing them. By the 1740s, the situation had changed and fewer children were born into slave households (Walsh 1997:30) However, slave families were subject to disruption (see ahead).[20]

Concern Over Black Resistance

Commencing in January 1640 there was a prohibition against issuing firearms or ammunition to blacks and anyone who did so could be fined (Hening 1809-1823:I:226; Tate 1965:3, 5-6). This restriction was appended to a law specifying that all other persons were to be provided with arms and ammunition. It suggests that as the black population grew, whites became more fearful of armed opposition.

In June 1640 John Motram and Edward Fleet[21] were authorized to take a party of armed men with them to pursue "certain runaway negroes and to bring them to the governor" (McIlwaine 1924:468). No other information is available about the men or the circumstances under which they fled. Then, in July 1640 the General Court punished three runaway servants who had been caught in Maryland. All three men were to be whipped. Victor (a Dutchman) and James Gregory (a Scot) were ordered to serve their master an extra year, and the colony for three years after that. However, John Punch, who was identified as black, was ordered to "serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural Life here or elsewhere" (McIlwaine 1924:466).

Although General Court minutes that date to the mid-1640s largely have been lost or destroyed, excerpts from those records indicate that in September 1644 the justices expressed their concern about "the riotous & rebellious conduct of Mrs Wormeleys negroes" (McILwaine 1924:319, 332). It is uncertain whether the Mrs. Wormeley in question was the wife of Ralph Wormeley I of Rosegill, in Middlesex County, or Christopher Wormeley I of James City County.

Using Africans as Headrights

Extant land patents reveal that by 1635 some of those who sought to claim new land used Africans as headrights. John Upton, who patented a large tract in Warresqueak (Isle of Wight) County and in 1626-1627 was associated with property on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract M, at Black Point), listed Mary and Anthony among those he had brought to the colony. Meanwhile, John Moone (Study Unit 4 Tract E) listed an African named

[20] In 1697 James Bray I, when settling a debt, seized a man named Tonie, who was of African descent, from a quarter of Major Lewis Burwell's and an African or African American girl named Sue "at his dwelling house where Coll. Nathannll: Bacon late lived" in York County (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 10:483).

[21] Mottram and Fleet owned land in the Northern Neck.

Solon (Nugent 1969- 1979:I:25, 32). As time went on, many others did the same. Some were people who owned land on Jamestown Island. They included Richard Bennett (owner of Bay 2 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group [Structure 144], a rowhouse unit that stood upon Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A); George Menefie (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F and Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C); Charles and Ann Soothey Harmer (Study Unit 2 Tract V); John Chew (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot I);[22] Richard Kemp (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B; Structure 44);[23] William Edwards I and II (Study Unit 4 Tract O and Tract L Lot C); Sarah and William Drummond I (Study Unit 4 Tract N); Colonel Nathaniel and Elizabeth Kingsmill Bacon (Study Unit 1 Tract A and Study Unit 4 Tract S); and Robert Beverley II (Study Unit 4 Tract Q) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:23-24, 28, 44-45, 104, 118, 182; 400, 403, 547; II:123, 140, 322, 373, 395, 401; III:9). It should be noted, however, that none of these people listed Africans as headrights when patenting land in Jamestown. Rather, they were acquiring property elsewhere in Virginia. Charles Harmer, who during the first quarter of the seventeenth century was employed as an overseer by Lady Elizabeth Dale and managed her property on the Eastern Shore, married the late Henry Soothey's daughter, Ann, who inherited Study Unit 2 Tract V, her parents' land on Jamestown Island. In May 1635 when Charles Harmer laid claim to some acreage on the Eastern Shore, he used eight Africans as headrights: Alexander, Anthony, Sebastian, Polonia, Jane, Palatia, Cassanga and John (McIlwaine 1924:4-5; Withington 1980:573; Coldham 1980:27; Nugent 1969-1979:I:28). Some of those individuals may have been placed on the Jamestown Island property that Charles' wife, Ann Soothey Harmer, inherited from her parents.

Finally, in April 1699 the General Assembly disallowed the use of Africans as headrights (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:347; Nugent 1969-1979:III:viii). This change probably occurred in response to the opening up of the slave trade, which also had begun to include an occasional Native American. Records of the Virginia Land Office demonstrate clearly that in 1699, Virginia officials implemented the new policy immediately.

[22] Chew also had indentured servants in his household. In 1646, Edmund Smith, who ran away, was sentenced to serve 20 years longer than his indenture specified (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:185).

[23] In 1638 Richard Kemp corresponded with Lord Baltimore about "buying Fortye neate Cattle, ten Sowes, Forty Henns and Ten Negroes to be Transported to St. Maryes for yo'r use" (Donnan 1935:IV:8). In March 1642 when Leonard Calvert sold three of his manors, he exchanged them for "fourteene negro men-slaves, and three women slaves, of betweene 16 and 26 yeare old able and sound in body and limbs" (Donnan 1935:IV:8).

Chapter 8.
1642-1652: Berkeley's First Term

Sir William Berkeley Takes Office

By March 8, 1642, Sir William Berkeley had arrived in Virginia as governor. In June the assembly presented him with an "orchard with two houses belonging to the collony … as a free and voluntary gift in consideration of many worthy favours manifested toward the collony" (Hening 1809-1823:I:267; McIlwaine 1924:498). It is very likely that the government-owned property transferred to Berkeley in June 1642 was "all that capital, messuage or tenement now used for a court house late in the tenure of Sir John Harvey Knt.," Study Unit 1 Tract H (including Structure 112), which the assembly purchased from Harvey's personal representative in April 1641 (McIlwaine 1924:497-498).

Berkeley's Landholdings at Jamestown

Sometime prior to July 1644, Governor William Berkeley purchased a 3½ acre lot (Study Unit 1 Tract F) that contained the brick house Richard Kemp had built (Structure 44), procuring it from Sir Francis Wyatt's attorney, William Peirce. Berkeley's acquisition of Tract F would have given him the option of residing in Richard Kemp's brick dwelling or in one of the houses the government bestowed upon him in June 1642 (Study Unit 1 Tract H). Either choice would have allowed him to rent his other property to a private individual or to the government as a statehouse. On the other hand, Berkeley could have elected to use the "country house" built by Sir Francis Wyatt (Structure 38, on Study Unit 1 Tract D) for government meetings. By 1645 Governor William Berkeley had begun building a three-bay brick rowhouse in Jamestown (the Ludwell Statehouse Group) on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A. His March 1655 deeds for the sale of that property reveal that at least two of its three units had been used as a statehouse (Ambler MS 4, 10, 24; Clarendon MS 24 f 51; Hening 1809-1823:I:407; McIlwaine 1924:503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97; Force 1973:II:8:14; III:10:50).

Berkeley's Manorial Plantation, Green Spring

On June 4, 1643, Governor Berkeley received a patent for 984 acres "by the name of Green Spring" on the basis of headrights.[24] The acreage he patented may have included the 500 acres on Powhatan Creek that Governor John Harvey acquired in 1633. On February 27, 1645, Secretary Richard Kemp informed Berkeley, who was then in England, that construction of his brick house at Green Spring was progressing well, but "that at towne [the Ludwell Statehouse Group, on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A] for want of materials is yet no higher than ye first storye above ye cellar" (Kemp, February 27, 1645).[25] On June 6, 1646, the Council of State reassigned Governor William Berkeley the Green Spring acreage he had received in 1643, noting that when his property was surveyed it was found to contain 1,090 acres in all (Nugent 1969-1979:I:160; McIlwaine 1924: 480).[26]

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[24] None of the individuals listed appear to have been Africans or people of African descent.

[25] On July 24, 1644, Richard Bennett made note of the fact that he had received from Captain Thomas Cornwaleys "by the hands of Sr. Wm. Berkely Knt. nine pounds sterl: and by the hands of mr. Cutbert Fennick ninety seven pounds and a halfe of beaver, and is for or towards the satisfaction of a debt of fifty pounds sterl. for two negroes dd [delivered] the aforesaid Capt Cornwaleys" (Donnan 1935:IV:9).

[26] In August 1647 Captain Ralph Wormeley's appraisers indicated that Sir William Berkeley had purchased one of the

In addition to his James City County property, Governor William Berkeley owned 1,200 acres on the lower side of the James River, a plantation known as Lower Chipoak. It was among the landholdings he left to his widow, Lady Frances, in 1677 (see ahead) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:165; Kornwolfe 1976:38-39; Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c. 1652-1672:97, 176-178, 266-267, 338, 387; Hening 1809-1823:II:559).

One writer, whose work was published in 1649, stated that at Green Spring:

> *The Governour Sir William [Berkeley] caused half a bushel of Rice (which he had procured) to be sowen and it prospered gallantly, and he had fifteen bushels of it, excellent good Rice, so that all these fifteen bushels will be sowen again this yeere ... The Governour in his new Orchard hath 15 hundred fruit-trees, besides his Apricocks, Peaches, Mellicotons, Quinces, Wardens [winter pears], and such like fruits [Force 1963:II:8:14].*

Thus, Berkeley, ever mindful of Virginia's economic potential, was anxious to demonstrate the colony's agricultural diversity. If Africans were part of Governor Berkeley's work force at Green Spring during this period (and it is likely that they were) their knowledge of rice cultivation would have been invaluable. One visitor to Green Spring remarked that in Africa, the Natives consumed substantial quantities of rice (Force 1963:II:8:3, 14). Therefore, they would have known how to grow it (see ahead).[27]

In October 1643 Dutch mariner David DeVries returned to Virginia on a ship bearing wines. He said that plantations that had been "exhausted by tobacco planting were now sown with fine wheat, and some of them with flax" (DeVries 1857:184-186). Both of these agricultural products would have required a substantial work force for planting and harvesting.

Besides his appreciation of agriculture's potential significance in the colony's economy, Governor William Berkeley also was keenly aware of the importance of westward exploration in quest for minerals, precious metals, and Indian trade goods. Therefore, he encouraged expeditions that ventured into what was then unknown territory. In 1643 he authorized four men to go beyond the head of the Appomattox River and in 1648 he assembled a company of 50 mounted men, which he intended to lead personally on a westward expedition. Thanks to Governor William Berkeley's interest in inland exploration, new trade routes were opened and the groundwork was laid for Virginia's claim to the Ohio River valley (Force 1963:II:8:13; Stanard 1902:51,55; Washburn 1957:17).

The 1644 Indian Uprising and Its Aftermath

Despite an April 1642 notation in the assembly records that "the settling of peace with friendship with the Indians by mutual capitulation and articles [was] agreed and concluded on in writing," two years later the Natives made a second attempt to drive the colonists from their territory. This second uprising, which occurred on April 18, 1644, claimed an estimated 400 to 500 settlers' lives. Again, Opechancanough was credited with leading the attack. Especially hard hit were those who lived in the upper reaches of the York River and on the lower side of the James, near Hampton Roads. The attacking Natives apparently took some prisoners, for two years later, when a formal treaty was signed, they agreed to return all English captives and some "negroes and guns." Well organized retaliatory marches were undertaken against the Indians. The Pamunkey and Chickahominy were the targets of one such offensive. The Weyanoke, Waresqueek and Nansemond Indians also were attacked, along with two tribes that lived far below the James, in what became North Carolina. Captain William Claiborne, as "General and Chief Commander," led a large, well equipped army against the

decedent's servants (McGhan 1993:499). There are no clues to the servant's ethnic background.

[27] Gary Nash noted that West Africans' skill in rice cultivation probably was at the root of the South Carolina colonists' success in growing it. He also pointed out that the English were unsuccessful until slaves began arriving who had been brought directly from Africa (Nash 1974:189).

Pamunkey Indians' stronghold in Pamunkey Neck, destroying their villages and corn fields. At that juncture, the Indians withdrew into the forest and then dropped out of sight (Hening 1809-1823:I:237, 287, 323-326; Force 1963:II:7:6; II:8:1; Beverley 1947:60-61; Stanard 1915:229-231; McIlwaine 1924:277, 296, 501).

In February 1645, while Governor William Berkeley was in England procuring much needed military supplies, the colonists attacked the Chickahominy Indians in their homeland near the head of the Chickahominy River. Besides burning the Indians' towns and destroying their king's dwelling and treasure house, they laid waste to their corn and took numerous prisoners. The colonists pressed the offensive until their powder ran out. Secretary Richard Kemp informed Governor Berkeley that if the Indians had realized how little ammunition they had, they would have been at great peril. Because so few military supplies were on hand and the colonists were unable to procure more, the assembly fixed upon the idea of building forts or garrisons in strategic locations along the frontier. These outposts, which were located near Indian towns, were built for the purpose of maintaining surveillance over the Natives (Kemp, February 27, 1645). The one nearest Jamestown and Green Spring was Fort James, which was on the west side of the mouth of Diascund Creek (Nugent 1969-1979:I:234).

In February 1645 the assembly enacted legislation, stipulating that those who returned to homesteads located in remote areas were to seat themselves in groups that included ten or more armed men. They also were supposed to have the approval of the nearest military commander. Ultimately, some colonists had to be pressured into reoccupying the farms they had abandoned (Hening 1809-1823:I:285-289, 291-294). When Governor William Berkeley returned to Virginia later in the year, he led an expedition that resulted in the capture of Opechancanough. The aged Native leader, while held prisoner at Jamestown, was shot by a guard who had suffered a loss in the uprising (Beverley 1947:60- 62; Force 1963:II:7:6; II:8:13).

In October 1646 Necotowance, immediate successor to the late emperour Opechancanough, concluded a formal peace treaty with the Virginia government. The Indians agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Crown's representatives and to let Virginia's governor appoint or confirm their leaders. They promised to withdraw from the James-York peninsula, inland as far as the fall line, and to abandon their land on the south side of the James, south to the Blackwater River. All Natives entering the ceded territory could be slain lawfully, unless they were garbed in "a coate of striped stuff," worn by official messengers as a badge of safe conduct. All Indian trade was to be conducted at the forts built upon the Appomattox and Pamunkey Rivers, where the special coats were to be kept when not in use. Under the terms of the 1646 treaty, Native population was to return all English prisoners and "negroes and guns." Indian prisoners were to be made into servants and to be returned if they fled from their masters. Indian children who were age 12 or younger were invited to live among the English. In return for all of these concessions, the Virginia government agreed to protect the tributary Indians from their enemies (Hening 1809-1823:I:323-329).

In 1648 Arthur Price, who lived between Taskinask and Skimino Creeks, informed York County's justices that "some inhabitants on York River above Skimino due [do] dayly Entertain the Indians in their houses, day and night" contrary to law. The justices authorized him to arrest lawbreakers and kill any Indians he found associating with them. Ironically, Price himself had an Indian maid servant he had purchased from the estate of a local man (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:289, 328).

In October 1649, a 5,000 acre patent was allocated to three Indian leaders whose people occupied territory that was enveloped by colonized land. Three years later, legislation was passed whereby "all the Indians of the collonye shall hold and keep those seats of land that they now have." The burgesses noted that "many Complaints have been brought to this Assembly touching wrongs done to the Indians in taking away their lands." Thus

was born the concept of cordoning off Indian preserves or reservations in Virginia. As racial tensions eased, the colonists and the Indians again began to intermingle but never on a basis that approached equality (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:289, 328; Nugent 1969-1979:I, 175, 214; Hening 1809-1823:I:289; II, 34; Force 1963:II:8:13, 25).

Economic Enterprises at Jamestown

During the mid-1640s the burgesses decided to establish two public flaxhouses in Jamestown, where a pair of children from each county would be sent to learn how to process raw material into fabric. The flaxhouses, which were of a proscribed size and form, were to be built there by April 1, 1647. Jamestown's two flaxhouses were to measure 20 feet by 40 feet and be 8 feet high "in the pitch." A stack of brick chimneys was to be centrally situated in each house, which was to be lofted with sawn boards and have "convenient partitions." Official encouragement also was given to other types of business enterprises (Hening 1809-1823:I:258, 336; Stanard 1915:246-247; Force 1963:II:8:14).

That Jamestown had its share of beer-making establishments is evidenced by one writer's comment in 1650 that the community had had "two or three bru [brew] houses," which proprietors' businesses failed because their customers would not pay what they owed. Captain John Moone, who moved to Isle of Wight County prior to his death in ca. 1655, instructed his executors to sell his "brewhouse and land at Jamestown" to pay the debts against his estate. Moone owned a ½ acre lot, Study Unit 4 Tract E (Ambler MS 59). There probably was a brewhouse in the western end of Jamestown Island on Study Unit 1 Tract E, for a 1643 patent makes reference to "Brewers point" (Patent Book 1:889). One writer in 1651 said that most people with servants "do brew their own beer" but the poor who lacked servants could not. The livelihood potters and turners could expect to earn in the colony was promising, for they reportedly could make as much as 10,000 pounds of tobacco a year. Other artisans to whom Virginia offered good opportunities were coopers, carpenters, sawyers, tile-makers, boatwrights, tailors, tanners, shoemakers and fishermen (Ferrar MS 1152, 1204; Tyler 1897-1898:231). All of these trades and crafts most probably involved workers of various skill levels; Africans and their descendants may have been involved.

Jamestown Island Landowners in Possession of African Workers

Although James City County's antebellum court records largely have been lost or destroyed, Virginia Land Office documents reveal that several people who owned land on Jamestown Island paid for the transportation of Africans to the colony and used them as headrights. Although it is uncertain whether any of these African people actually resided upon Jamestown Island, they may have visited the patentee's property from time to time.

Richard Bennett, who prior to 1655 leased Bay 2 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (a rowhouse unit that stood upon Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A), listed "Augt. a negro" as a headright in a June 1635 patent. A month later, George Menefie, who by 1624 had patented Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F upon the waterfront and in 1640 patented Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C on the Back Street, used "Tony, an East Indian" as a headright. In 1638 when he claimed some additional acreage, he cited (but did not enumerate) certain "negroes brought out of England." In 1635 when Charles and Ann Soothey Harmer renewed a patent, they cited the importation of eight Africans: Polonia, Jane, Palatia, Alexander, Anthony, Sebastian, Cassanga, and John. Ann was the daughter and surviving heir of Henry and Elizabeth Soothey of Study Unit 2 Tract V and inherited their land (Nugent 1969-1979:I:23-24, 28, 118).

When John Moone patented some land in October 1635, he used "Solon, a negro" as a headright. Moone, who by the 1650s was residing in

Isle of Wight County, had land in urban Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract E) and a brewhouse. Meanwhile, John Chew, who in 1624 owned a waterfront lot in Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot I), in 1636 patented some acreage in York County, using "1 negro woman" as a headright.[28] Richard Kemp, whose brick house in Jamestown stood upon Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B, patented 840 acres of land near Rich Neck in 1638. At that time he utilized 11 Africans as headrights: Francisco, Mingo, Maria, Mathew, Peter, Cosse, old Gereene, Bass, young Peter, Paule, and Emmanuell. In 1649 Kemp acquired a 3,500 acre tract of land on Mobjack Bay, in what became Mathews County. Among the headrights he used were 14 Africans, none of whom were listed by name (Nugent 1969-1979:I:32, 44-45, 104, 182).

Class Differences Emerge

As the seventeenth century wore on and the colony's population increased, social and political distinctions between the classes became more apparent. The result was that Virginia became a distinctly stratified society. Servants who fulfilled their terms of indenture often sought to procure land of their own, but lacked the means to do so. This led to a growing number of landless freedmen who leased acreage from larger planters. Some simply became transients. At the pinnacle of Virginia society were the governor and his councilors, who held the colony's top posts and shared some of their power with members of the assembly. Below the burgesses were county justices of the peace and other local officials. At the bottom were the lesser planters and landless freedmen who ranked just above ethnic minorities, such as Africans, African Americans and Indians, whose legal rights and opportunities for advancement were diminishing. Somewhere between the top and bottom rungs of the socio-economic ladder were the Virginians whose landholdings were of modest size. These were the middling farmers, skilled workers, and others with a limited but adequate amount of disposable income. Despite expansion of the colony's territory and population growth, the old ruling families and their kin clung tightly to their power and dominated Virginia's government. They were augmented by new arrivals who came with money and good political connections. By the mid-seventeenth century, settlement was well established throughout Tidewater Virginia east of the fall line, and across the Chesapeake Bay on the Eastern Shore. The colony's mortality rate had begun to level off and by 1649 some scholars estimate that there were an estimated 5,000 inhabitants of European origin in Virginia; others estimate a figure three times as large (Billings et al. 1986:66-68; Washburn 1957:153-166; Kukla 1985:286-287; Bruce 1907:18-20; Tate 1965:12).

The Trend Toward Service for Life

York County records dating to the mid-1640s suggest that the concept of service for life was deemed acceptable by many white people. In February 1646, Henry Brooks Jr. sold "3 Negroes Viz: two Negroe woem[en] and one childe" to another man "& his heirs execrs etc for ever" (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:63). The executors of the late Thomas Smallcomb of York County sold Indian servants to various people after his decease. Two of those individuals were conveyed to Sir William Berkeley for 600 pounds of tobacco. The transaction took place at the end of February 1646 (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:99, 130-131). As Thomas Smallcomb was one of the men stationed at Fort Royall in Pamunkey Neck, the Indian servants in his possession may have been prisoners-of-war he purchased from other Natives. On the other hand, in 1648 the justices of York County decided that "Formue a girl bought from the Indians and kept by Capt Willm Taylor shall serve the sd Capt Willm Taylor till she comes to the age of 18 yrs" (York County Deeds, Orders,

[28] In April 1651 when John Chew executed a prenuptial agreement with Rachell Counstable, he transferred to her trustees "four negro servants" (two men: Tony and Sampson, and two women, Ann and Kate) and some real estate (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1:96).

Wills 2:329). Taylor, who had a plantation in Chiskiack, on the west side of Kings Creek's mouth, was married to Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of Richard Kingsmill of Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract A).[29] In 1647 Tayloe's house became one of the "check-points" through which Indians needing to enter the James-York peninsula could gain egress (Hening 1809-1823:I:348). York County records indicate that African, Indian and European servants sometimes were posted as collateral when funds were borrowed (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, 2:308).

Charles City County records reveal that Indian servants sometimes were involved in court cases. In January 1663 a mariner testified in court that he saw an Indian woman, Elizabeth, who was Captain John Wall's servant, "strike at Mrs. Wall." Later in the year, Thomas, an Indian youth who had served Rice Hoe for three years, filed a complaint with the justices of the Charles City County court, asking for his freedom dues. His request was approved and he received a pair of canvas drawers and two canvas shirts (Fleet 1988:III:271, 280).

During the 1650s and 60s, when the flow of indentured servants from Europe slowed to a trickle and increasing numbers of laborers were needed to work in the colony's tobacco fields, the legal status of blacks eroded alarmingly. During this period the black population of Virginia grew rapidly through both importation and natural increase. This fueled the development of the plantation system, in turn creating a need for even more labor. It is not surprising that the large landowners, who served as Virginia's lawmakers, fashioned legislation that catered to their own interests.

In March 1655 the burgesses passed a law specifying that Irish servants, who arrived without indentures, were obliged to serve for 6 years if they were age 16 or older, or until age 24 if they were younger. These terms were somewhat longer than those assigned to other Europeans. This change occurred while the Commonwealth government was in power and Oliver Cromwell's men were pressing the cause of Protestantism in Ireland. In 1655, shortly after the more restrictive law was in effect, Lt. Colonel Thomas Swann (probable owner of Study Unit 1 Tract G and Structure 19 A/B) used as headrights Tegh, an Irish boy, and Jane Sinckler, an Irish woman. In 1658, the 1655 law extending Irish servants' terms was expanded to include "all aliens." However, as soon as the monarchy was restored, the assembly repealed the new law, noting that it was full of "rigour and inconvenience" and might discourage the immigration of servants. It was then that the burgesses declared that "for the future no servant comeing into the country without indentures, of what christian nation soever, shall serve longer than those of our own country, of the like age" (Hening 1809-1823:I:411, 471, 538-539; Nugent 1969-1979:I:326). By 1671 the Virginia assembly began encouraging the naturalization of aliens (Hening 1809-1823:II:289-290, 464-465). This would have encouraged immigration. John Custis (of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 3) and Thomas Rabley (of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B) were two such naturalized citizens.

Virginia's Population

It is estimated that by 1649 there were approximately 300 blacks in Virginia, who comprised two percent of the colony's total population of 15,000. Although many of the Africans transported to the Chesapeake region were from the west coast of Africa, it is generally believed that a substantial number of them already had spent some time in the Spanish, Dutch and British colonies in the Caribbean as laborers on sugar, indigo, rice and tobacco plantations. Many of the blacks brought to the mainland colonies also were from Barbados (Tate 1965:12). In 1671, when Governor William Berkeley compiled some demographic information, there were approximately 2,000 blacks in Virginia out of a total population of 48,000. During the 1670s the black population increased by approximately 1,000 persons. Around 1690, Africans or their descendants comprised approximately 7 percent of the total population of Virginia and Maryland,

[29] She eventually wed Colonel Nathaniel Bacon (Study Unit 4 Tract S).

which together had nearly 75,000 residents. In 1700 there were an estimated 16,390 persons in Virginia who were Africans or of African descent. By 1720, blacks made up approximately 20 percent of Virginia and Maryland's total population of ca. 158,000 (Tate 1965:11-13; Walsh 1997: 25).

The Colony at Mid-Century

Between 1646 and 1650 the Ferrars, Sir John Wolstenholme, and other former investors in the Virginia Company of London still had hopes of gaining control of the colony, probably as a proprietorship. The Ferrars sent lengthy lists of questions to people in the colony, quizzing them about the population and its health (morally and physically), livestock, agricultural productivity, relations with the Natives, the number of Africans, and the potential for future economic gain. In 1646 one man indicated that there were 19,000 English in the colony and 500 Africans. He said that there were 20,000 cattle, 1,500 sheep, 190 horses, 150 asses and more hogs and goats than could be counted. He reported that Virginia had 10 watermills, two windmills and 30 horsemills. Another individual reported in 1647 that the Africans in the colony "remain in Christian mens hands and are so dispersed that I can make no narrative of them." He said that "the most which is in one man's hands is Capt. Mathews," but he failed to indicate how many.[30] The colony's supply of hogs and sheep was depleted during the 1644 Indian uprising and in 1647 still had not recovered. The writer said that good brick and tile were being made in Virginia, as were earthen vessels. He added, however, that there was a shortage of artificers, and expressed his opinion that a tinkerer would do exceptionally well in earning a living. He said that "Our houses are built of wood except it be some particular men of worth, very warm and dry with good conveniency and handsome, of a good pitch and will endure the weather well and make earthen floors and our housing is both board walled and daubed and covered with boards." Yet another individual, whose description of Virginia was published in 1649, said that there were approximately 15,000 English in Virginia and 300 blacks that were good servants. He also remarked that Governor William Berkeley had been successful in raising rice at Green Spring and "the ground and Climate [in Virginia] is very proper for it as our Negroes affirme." He added that "in their own Country [it] is most of their food, and very healthful for our bodies" (Force 1963:II:8:3, 14). In 1650 Michael Upchurch told John Ferrar that in Virginia a good cow was worth 500 to 600 weight of tobacco in the summer or 300 weight in the winter. There was an abundance of swine and poultry. Most people killed their own cattle and swine and did their own butchering. Upchurch indicated that coopers and tailors were the most successful at making a living and that carpenters, joiners and smiths (if equipped with the tools of their trade) fared well. He estimated that fully 30 to 40 ships visited Virginia each year, supplying the colonists' necessities (Ferrar MS 1106, 1121, 1149, 1152, 1182).

The onset of the 1650s brought a number of significant changes that affected Jamestown Island's inhabitants. During the spring of 1652 James City County's territory on the lower side of the James River was split off to form Surry County. This had both political and economic ramifications, for it reduced from six to four the number of delegates James City County sent to the assembly and it decreased James City's tax base. James City Parish already had experienced the loss, for in 1647 Southwark Parish was created out of its southerly territory, which meant that the revenues generated as church taxes were diminished (McIlwaine 1924:556, 559; Surry Deeds No. 1:371; Cocke 1964:47-48).

Settlement continued to fan out in every direction and forest lands were converted to cleared fields used for agriculture. Tidewater Virginia was dotted with small and middling farmsteads that were interspersed with the larger plantations of the well-to- do. Generally, when settlers moved into new

[30] In 1675, "Angell, a negro servant to Capt. Mathews, dec'd" asked the General Court to free her, as her master had promised "when he died." Her request was denied (McIlwaine 1924:413). The Captain Mathews in question probably was the son of Captain Samuel Mathews I of Denbigh.

territory, they vied for waterfront property that had good soils for agriculture and convenient access to shipping. Successful planters usually managed to acquire several small tracts and consolidate them into relatively large holdings, upon which they raised tobacco and other crops quite profitably.

A classic example was Captain Samuel Mathews of Denbigh, who had a large plantation in Warwick County. In 1649 one visitor to Denbigh said that Mathews grew wheat and barley, which he sold, and produced hemp and flax, which he had spun and woven. He also had a tanhouse and eight shoemakers. The writer noted that Samuel Mathews had "forty Negroe servants [and] "brings them up in trades" at his house (Force 1963:II:8:15). It is unclear whether Mathews' black workers were servants or slaves. Some of the Africans at Denbigh may have come from Flowerdew Hundred, for Captain Samuel Mathews married Abraham Peirsey's widow, Frances (Tyler 1921:115).

Land Ownership Among Blacks

In April 1667 Emannell (Emanuel) Cambew (Cambow) obtained a patent for 50 acres of James City County land, acreage that Will Davis had claimed but allowed to revert to the Crown (Nugent 1969- 1979:II:11). Nothing more is known about Cambew except that he was of African descent. On the Eastern Shore was Anthony Johnson who in July 1651 laid claim to 250 acres of land on the basis of five headrights. It is uncertain whether Johnson transported these individuals to Virginia or purchased the headrights from someone else (Breen 1980:11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:216; Patent Book 2:326).

Chapter 9.
1652-1660: The Commonwealth Period

A New Style of Government

After England's civil war came to an end, a Parliamentary fleet set sail for Virginia to proclaim the supremacy of the Commonwealth government. Oliver Cromwell's agents also were eager to assert their authority over a colony known as a royalist stronghold. In April 1652 when the fleet arrived at Jamestown, Sir William Berkeley was obliged to turn over the reins of government. The articles of surrender Berkeley signed acknowledged Virginians' rights as citizens of the Commonwealth of England and stated that Virginia was under the purview of the Commonwealth's laws, which had not been imposed upon the colonists by force. The burgesses were authorized to conduct business as usual, except for enacting legislation contrary to the laws of the Commonwealth. Virginia's charter was to be confirmed by Parliament and its land patents' legality was to be upheld. The colonists, like all English citizens, were entitled to free trade and no taxes could be imposed upon them without their assembly's consent. All publicly-owned arms and ammunition had to be surrendered. The assembly could conduct business as usual although all new laws had to conform with those of the Commonwealth. The articles of surrender offered many reassurances and the transition in government occurred peacefully. Berkeley and his councillors were obliged to subscribe to the articles of surrender or leave Virginia within a year (Hening 1809-1823:I:363- 368). Virginia officials apparently anticipated that the Commonwealth government would assert its authority, for in advance of the fleet's arrival, they made some preparations to offer armed resistance. The arrival of the Parliamentary fleet brought about "the calling of an Assembly and this the disbanding of their soldiers (of whom there were about 1000 or 1200 in arms at James City)" (Stanard 1904:35).

After the Commonwealth government came into power in England, strict navigation acts were passed that affected overseas trade with the Dutch. In 1651 a group of 47 Dutch merchants filed a petition with their government, noting that they had "traded for upwards of twenty years past to all the Caribbean islands and to Virginia" and that through this commerce, the colony had improved greatly. The merchants said that they had been transporting to Virginia "all sorts of domestic manufactures and other articles for the people inhabiting those parts," which they exchanged for tobacco and furs. They indicated that the time limit set for their withdrawal from Virginia trade was unreasonable. Passage of the Navigation Acts eventually led England into the first Anglo-Dutch War, from May 1652 to April 1654 (O'Callaghan 1856:436-437; Wilcoxen 1987:21).

Merchants in London staunchly supported Oliver Cromwell's government and its attempt to wrest from the Dutch their dominance in trade. In 1660, when King Charles II assumed the throne, London's merchants urged him to derive as much as he could from the colony's tobacco crop. It was then that a navigation act cut off the North American colonies' trade with the Dutch. All tobacco produced in the colonies had to be shipped to England or another English colony, using an English or English colonial ship with a predominantly English crew. The import duties imposed upon the tobacco that entered England were burdensome to planters and syphoned off their profits (Morgan 1975:197-198).

Meeting the Demand for Labor

John Hammond, who indicated that he had spent 19 years in Virginia before relocating to Maryland, produced a narrative account that was published

in 1656. In his description of Virginia, he noted that:

> *The labour servants are put to, is not so hard nor of such continuance as Husbandmen, nor Handecraftsmen are kept at in England, ... little or nothing is done in winter time, none ever work before sun rising nor after sun set, in the summer they rest, sleep or exercise themselves five houres in the heat of the day, Saturdayes afternoon is alwayes their own, the old Holidayes are observed and the Sabboath spent in good exercises.*

He added that:

> *The Women are not (as is reported) put into the ground to worke, but occupie such domestique imployments and housewifery as in England, that is dressing victuals, righting up the house, milking, imployed about dayries, washing, sowing, &c. and both men and women have times of recreations, as much or more than in any part of the world besides, yet som wenches that are nasty, beastly and not fit to be so imployed are put into the ground, for reason tells us, they must not at charge be transported and then maintained for nothing, but those that prove so aukward are rather burdensome then servants desirable or useful [Force 1963:III:14:12].*

John Hammond said that:

> *Those servants that will be industrious may in their time of service gain a competent estate before their Freedomes, which is usually done by many, and they gaine esteeme and assistance that appear so industrious: There is no Master almost but will allow his Servant a parcell of clear ground to plant some Tobacco in for himself, which he may husband at those many idle times he hath allowed him ... and rejoice his Master to see it, which in time of Shipping he may lay out for Commodities, and in Summer sell them again with advantage, and get a Sow-Pig or two, which any body almost will give him, and his Master suffer him to keep them with his own, which will be no charge to his Master, and with one years increase of them may purchase a Cow Calf or two, and by that time he is for himself, he may have Cattle, Hogs and Tobacco of his own, and come to live gallantly; but this may be gained ... by Industry and affability, not by sloth nor churlish behavior [Force 1963:III:14:14].*[31]

In speaking of living conditions, Hammond said

> *... whereas it is rumored that Servants have no lodging other then on boards, or by the Fireside, it is contrary to reason to believe it: First, as we are Christians; next as people living under a law, which compells as well the Master as the Servant to perform his duty; nor can true labour be either expected or exacted without sufficient cloathing, diet and lodging; all which both their Indentures (which must inviolably be observed) and the Justice of the Country requires [Force 1963:III:14:14].*

Approximately 50 years later, Robert Beverley II reiterated many of these same points.

In March 1658 while the Commonwealth government was in power, legislation was enacted whereby all male servants, regardless of age, were to be considered tithable. Moreover, "all negroes imported whether male or female, and Indian servants male or female however procured, being 16 years of age," were to be listed as tithes. The only allowable exceptions were Christians and Natives, or those imported free, as long as they were under the age of 16 (Hening 1809-1823:I:454). This was a revision of the October 1649 law, which declared that all male servants of any age were deemed tithable and females were not (Hening 1809-1823:I:361).

In 1660, when Virginia officials reduced the export duty on hogsheads of tobacco from 10 shillings to 2, the colonists began to trade tobacco to the Dutch in exchange for slaves. The exchange was mutually advantageous. The wording of the legislation the assembly passed acknowledged that they were fostering the importation of African slaves. It states

> *... that if the said Dutch or other forreiners shall import any negro slaves, They the said*

[31] If John Hammond's statements are true, slaves, whose work load probably was comparable to that of servants, would have been able to accumulate the funds they needed to purchase their own freedom (Breen 1980:73).

Dutch or others shall, for the tobacco really produced by the sale of the said negro, pay only the impost of two shillings per hogshead, the like being paid by our owne nation [Hening 1809-1823:I:540].

As soon as the English Parliament realized what was happening, it prohibited Dutch ships from trading in the English colonies. From ca. 1660 until the mid-1670s, Virginia planters were obliged to procure African workers from other sources. The result was that they bought Africans in the West Indies or purchased them from ship captains trading in the Caribbean (Hening 1809-1823:I:540; Walsh 1997:54).

A March 1661 law recognized the concept of service for life when it required English servants, who ran away with Africans "incapable of makeing satisfaction by addition of time," to serve the time the Africans were gone. This extra period of service was added onto the white runaway's penalty time (Hening 1809-1823:II:26). A year later, a new law specified that if a black, who absconded with a white servant, died or otherwise was lost, the white runaway would have to pay a fine of 4,500 pounds of tobacco or serve an extra four years. It also became illegal to trade with servants without the authorization of their masters, for it was felt that servants might be tempted to steal goods that they could sell (Hening 1809-1823:II:118-119).

On the other hand, a new law passed in March 1662 was intended to discourage masters from being cruel to their servants. The legislators noted that "the barbarous usage of some servants by cruell masters" had brought scandal and infamy to the country and therefore discouraged many men and women from coming to Virginia. The 1662 legislation stated that "every master shall provide for his servants compotent dyett, clothing and lodging and that he shall not exceed the bounds of moderation in correcting them beyond the merrit of their offences." Henceforth, it was legal for servants to enter complaints against their masters by appearing before the commissioners of their local court. However, a new law was passed whereby any servant who "lay violent hands upon his or her master, mistress or overseer" could be made to serve an extra year beyond his or her intended term of service (Hening 1809-1823:II:119-120).

Baptism, an Avenue to Freedom

During the first half of the seventeenth century, some blacks and Indians received religious instruction. For example, Anthony and Isabella, African servants in Captain William Tucker's home in Kecoughtan, had their son baptized. William Cranshaw, an Indian servant in the Tucker household, also had received baptism (Hotten 1980:244). One well known example is Pocahontas, who was converted to Christianity, adopted an English name (Rebecca), and married John Rolfe. Another is Chanco, who in March 1622 alerted his master, Richard Pace, that the Indians were planning to attack (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:98). It is less well known that Natives at Newport News and Elizabeth City also warned the households with whom they were living (Hartlib MS 63/3).

In 1655 Ann Barnhouse of Martin's Hundred, a white woman, went to court to convey William, the child of her African woman, Prossa, to his father, Mihill Gowen (Gower) of York County. Gowen was a black indentured servant freed by the will of Mrs. Barnhouse's brother, Christopher Stafford. Mrs. Barnhouse indicated that she had had young William baptized and she posted a bond, vowing "never to trouble Mihill Gowen or his son, William, or to demand service" (York County Wills, Deeds, Orders 1657-1659:16, 18, 26).

During the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, there appears to have been relatively little interest in offering religious instruction to blacks. Clergy were then in short supply and many slaveholders seemingly were indifferent to their blacks' spiritual well-being. Some may have felt that the Christian message would instill pride and make their blacks less governable. Others probably hoped that their slaves would learn more about meekness, humility and obedience and less about the brotherhood of man and freedom from oppression (Nash 1974:202-203). According to Francis Louis Michel, a Swiss visitor, "Even if they [Africans] desire to become

Christians it is only rarely permitted." Michel wrongly believed that conversion brought emancipation "in accordance with the Mosaic law" and apparently did not realize that a 1667 law already had addressed that issue (Donnan 1935:IV:68):

> *WHEREAS some doubts have risen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners made pertakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made ffree; It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly, and the authority thereof, that the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage and ffreedome; that diverse masters, ffreed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavor the propagation of christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament (Hening 1809-1823:II:260).*[32]

Court Cases Involving Africans and African-Americans

While the Commonwealth Government was in power in Virginia, several court cases were tried that involved racial matters. In 1656 Elizabeth Key, a mulatto, presented a petition to the court of Northumberland County. She indicated that her father, Thomas Key, was white; that she was a Christian; and that a contract for her service had been violated because the executors of the late Colonel John Mottram had refused to release her. Elizabeth's case was heard by a jury, which was presented with a copy of the indenture her late father had made with Humphrey Higginson, a resident of James City County. It stated that "if the said Humphrey doe dye before the end of the time above specified that then the said Girl be free." If he were to go to England with the intention of staying there, he was to "carry [the] Girle with him and to pay for her passage and likewise that he put not off the Girle to any man." Mrs. Elizabeth Newman, who was then age 80, said that it was common knowledge that Thomas Key had fathered a child with "his Negro woman" and that that child was Elizabeth. Mrs. Newman also said that she had delivered two babies that Elizabeth had had with William Grinstead. When an assembly committee investigated the matter, it agreed with the Northumberland County jury's decision that Elizabeth should be freed. The committee's members noted that:

> *By a Comon Law the Child of a Woman slave begott by a free man ought to bee free, That shee hath bin long since Christened, Col. Higginson being her God father, and that by report shee is able to give a very good account of her faith, That Thomas Key sould her onely for nine years to Col. Higginson with severall conditions to use her more Respectfully than a Comon servant or slave.*

Afterward, Elizabeth Key's marriage bonds were posted in her parish church, announcing her intention of marrying William Greenstead (Grinstead) (Billings 1985:165-169).

Developmental Trends on Jamestown Island

During the mid-1650s patents were issued for several waterfront lots in Jamestown's New Towne, parcels that were acquired through court orders or outright purchases. It was then that tavernkeeper Thomas Woodhouse acquired Study Unit 4 Tract C, a one acre lot to the west of Orchard Run that he subdivided and sold, the acreage upon which the Structure 17 rowhouse was constructed. Mrs. Ann Talbott, who in 1657 bought the western half of the Woodhouse lot, already owned a non-contiguous waterfront parcel (Study Unit 4 Tract A) that lay to the west, abutting Mr. Watson's property (Study Unit 4 Tract J) (Patent Book 3:331, 380; 5:253-254, 272). Thomas Hunt had a one-acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J) that abutted north upon "the path from Mr. Webster's to Mr. Chiles," whose land lay between Ditches 1 and 9,

[32] A document recently discovered by historian Ed Bond indicates that the Rev. John Clayton converted two "Turk" slaves (Muslims) to Christianity at Green Spring during Sir William Berkeley's time (Lorena S. Walsh and Linda Rowe, personal communication, September 22, 1999).

and John Barber I. Meanwhile, William Edwards II patented adjoining waterfront lots (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots B and D) (Patent Book 3:367). All of these parcels were patented during the Commonwealth period. It is probable that some of these individuals, who owned land in urban Jamestown, had servants or slaves of African descent. It is certain that William Edwards II did (see ahead).

Land also was patented in the extreme eastern and western ends of Jamestown Island during the 1650s. In 1652 Edward Travis I, who married the daughter and heiress of ancient planter John Johnson, patented 196 acres in Study Unit 2, in the eastern end of the island near Black Point. He consolidated some of the small tracts that had belonged to ancient planters more than a quarter century earlier and added on acreage he obtained through headrights. Within a year he had expanded his holdings to 326 acres that extended from the north side of Goose Hill Marsh to Black Point (Patent Book 3:8, 158; 7:228-229). As the Travises traditionally farmed their Jamestown Island plantation with slave labor, Edward Travis I may have instituted that practice. Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker patented 100 acres (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) below the Goose Hill House in 1657, which acreage eventually became part of Richard Ambler's holdings. William Sarson patented 107 acres (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) in the same vicinity, including 7 of the 12 acres originally owned by Sir Thomas Dale and his widow, Elizabeth (Patent Book 3:391; 4:150; 5:145; 6:42; Ambler MS 53).

In 1656 John Baldwin patented Study Unit 1 Tract E, which was thought to consist of approximately 15 acres. Twenty-five years later, when William Sherwood repatented the Baldwin land and had it surveyed, it was found to contain 28½ acres. The Baldwin/Sherwood patent absorbed the one acre lots that Edward Challis, Rudolph Spragon, George Gilbert, Richard Saunders, and John and Isaac Watson acquired during the early-to-mid 1640s and perhaps failed to develop (Patent Book 1:II:890; 2:11-12; 4:88; 7:97; Ambler MS 134). Across the isthmus, on the brink of the mainland, the 24 acre tract known as the Glass House came into the possession of Colonel Francis Moryson during the 1650s (Patent Book 3:367-368). All of these people, who were involved in trades or mercantile activities, probably utilized workers of African descent, if they were available.

Berkeley at Green Spring: Adapting to Change

Sir William Berkeley decided to stay on in Virginia, despite the change in government and loss of his official position. He retired to Green Spring, where he channeled his energies into agricultural experimentation and enhancing the amount of acreage he owned in the neighborhood. In 1651 he acquired 5,062 acres that lay between the head of Powhatan Swamp and Jones Creek, a branch of the Chickahominy River. Then, on October 1652 he repatented Green Spring, then described as 1,090 acres, to which he added another 1,000 acres he purchased from Robert Wetherell on May 11, 1652. Green Spring, as an aggregate of 2,090 acres, was confirmed to Sir William Berkeley on March 7, 1661 (McIlwaine 1924:503, 556; Parks 1982:239, 241; Randolph 1970:150-151; Nugent 1969-1979:I:173,415; Hening 1809-1823:I:366-367).

Surviving archival records suggest that Sir William Berkeley owned four pieces of property in Jamestown: Study Unit 1 Tract F (the 3½ acre Chiles/Page lot); Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D (the 12 acre parcel that originally belonged to Dr. John Pott); Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A (the lot upon which Berkeley built a three-bay brick rowhouse in 1645); and Study Unit 1 Tract H, the acreage the assembly gave him in June 1642 ("the orchard with two houses belonging to the collony"). By December 1656 Berkeley had rid himself of Study Unit 1 Tract F, which he sold on March 23, 1649. Then, he disposed of his rowhouse bays in Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A, which he relinquished simultaneously on March 30, 1655. Finally, he deeded Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D to John Phipps, who repatented it on February 23, 1656 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96; 1924:503, 514; Ambler MS 4, 24; Patent Book 4:101-102; Nugent

1969-1979:I:340). This sequence of events makes it highly probable that by February 1656, the only piece of property Sir William Berkeley still owned in Jamestown was "the orchard with two houses" that the assembly had given him in June 1642 (Hening 1809-1823:I:267; McIlwaine 1924:498). In 1674 the assembly acknowledged the validity of Berkeley's title to Green Spring, noting that he "hath expended a great summe of mony in building and likewise on the land" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:173, 390, 415; McIlwaine 1924:503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:96). This latter building campaign probably accompanied Berkeley's 1670 marriage to Frances Culpeper Stephens, a wealthy and genteel widow nearly half his age.

A brief excerpt from the December 1, 1656, minutes of the assembly states that "Sr. Wm. Berkeley be allowed four thos'd five hundred pounds of tobacco for cask with the tobaccoes upon the sale of his house, It being according to the agreement though omitted by the clerk." The same information was to be entered into the records of the James City County court (Hening 1809-1823:I:427-428; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:104). The wording of this statement suggests that the assembly had agreed to pay Sir William Berkeley 4,500 pounds of tobacco and cask for a house in James City, probably in Jamestown. If so, the government probably purchased Study Unit 1 Tract H and Structure 112 at that time.

Governor Richard Bennett (1652-1655)

In 1652 when Governor William Berkeley surrendered the Virginia colony to a Parliamentary fleet, Richard Bennett, Thomas Stegg I, and William Claiborne were among those who arrived, representing the Commonwealth government. On March 24, 1652, Bennett, who was from Isle of Wight County, was elected Virginia's governor. The last patent he signed was dated March 1655, the same month he purchased a rowhouse bay from Sir William Berkeley. Bennett, who was known for taking a strong stand against religious dissenters, eventually became a Quaker (Stanard 1965:15, 34; McIlwaine 1924:181, 498, 503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:92; Lower Norfolk County Book A:246; B:70, 87, 174; Hening 1809-1823:I:297, 370; Force 1973:II:9:14, 19; III:14:23; Withington 1980:180).

Richard Bennett, a nephew of British merchant Edward Bennett, came to Virginia during the late 1620s and settled within Warresqueak: what later became Isle of Wight County. In 1629 he commenced serving as that area's burgess. He became an increasingly successful merchant and planter. During the 1630s, as he accumulated wealth and power, he began patenting vast tracts of land along the Nansemond and Elizabeth Rivers. He continued to deal with the family-owned English mercantile group with which he was connected, but he also was closely associated with Jamestown merchant George Menefie (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F and Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C). In 1639 when Richard Bennett was named to the Governor's Council, he was residing in Nansemond County. In 1645 he and George Menefie were supposed to import powder and shot into the colony for its defense (McIlwaine 1924:181,187; Stanard 1965:54; Nugent 1969-1979:I:23, 45, 66; H.C.A. 13/52; Hening 1809- 1823:I:297; Withington 1980:180).

Settling with the Indians

During the 1650s relations with the colony's tributary Indian tribes gradually stabilized. The 1652 legislation assigning specific tracts to the Natives (analogous to preserves or reservations) was upheld because officials knew through experience that conflict over land was at the root of most disputes with would-be settlers. Also, the land the Indians were assigned lay beyond the fringes of what was then the colony's frontier. However, as increasing numbers of planters ventured into the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck and the territory beyond the fall line, they paid little heed to whether they were intruding upon acreage that had been assigned to the Indians. Some people blatantly established homesteads upon the Indians' preserves, whereas others tried to trick them into selling part of their

land. Meanwhile, the Native population dwindled and that of the colonists increased. These dynamics put increasing amounts of pressure upon the Indians, whose hunting and foraging habitat gradually was reduced. Also, their specially-assigned tracts eventually were surrounded by planter homesteads. Despite official policy, influential people sometimes tried to circumvent the law by claiming part of the Indians' acreage, perhaps in anticipation of their dying out or abandoning it. One such individual was Sir Thomas Lunsford of Rich Neck, who married Secretary Richard Kemp's widow, Elizabeth. Lunsford secured a patent for land on the lower side of the Rappahannock River within the preserve set aside for the Nanzattico and Portabago Indians (McIlwaine 1924:41, 227, 365, 400, 493, 517).

During the early-to-mid 1650s the tributary Indians began making use of the colony's legal system and occasionally served as allies of the Virginia government. In March 1656 the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians helped the colonists drive off 600 to 700 Natives who were "drawne down from the mountaynes and lately sett down near the falls of the James River." This conflict, the Battle of Bloody Run, claimed the life of Totopotomoy, the Pamunkey Indians' leader. Commencing in 1656, Indians had to carry written authorization whenever they entered fenced plantations to hunt or forage. A 1662 law required those entering the colonized area to wear silver or copper badges inscribed with the name of their tribe; any lacking badges were subject to arrest. Free men were permitted to trade with the Indians in special marts (markets). Finally, in 1671 a law was repealed that allowed the colonists to kill Natives who ventured into areas that had been seated or planted. However, anyone who allowed the Indians to stay with them had to obtain a license from the governor (Hening 1809-1823:I:5, 393, 402, 530, 547; II, 141-142, 289; Force 1963:I:8:14-15; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:4, 74, 95).

Legislation enacted in March 1656 made a clear distinction between Africans and the Native population. It stated that whenever Indians brought their children to the colonists as a sign of amity, those children were not to be used "as slaves." Moreover, Indian parents had the right to choose the people with whom they left their children and those who became responsible for the youngsters were obliged to "do their best to bring them up in Christianity, civillity and the knowledge of necessary trades." At the discretion of county commissioners, those who took young Indians into their home and reared them as Christians could be compensated (Hening 1809-1823:I:396).

It was an idea almost as old as the colony itself. During the 1610s Sir Thomas Dale expressed his frustration over the Natives' unwillingness to part with their children. Later, the Virginia Company tried to encourage the colonists to Christianize young Indians by offering a financial reward to those who did so. In 1641 the late William Perry's estate was compensated for his rearing a Tappahannah Indian boy as a Christian (McIlwaine 1924:477).

Documentary sources dating from the late 1640s, on, make reference to Indians who lived in planter households, where they were identified as servants or slaves. The records of Virginia's Eastern Shore and those of Henrico and Surry Counties, which are relatively complete, contain numerous references to young Indians who were brought in so that their age could be estimated. It appears that during the 1680s and 90s most (if not all) of the children were considered servants, not slaves. However, like African servants and slaves, the time of Indians was bought and sold and conveyed from hand to hand by bequest (Henrico County Deeds and Wills 1677-1692:134-135; Orders &c. 1694-1701:40, 65, 68, 71, 80, 138-141, 229-230, 234-237, 239; Surry County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1652-1672:142-143; Orders 1671-1691:274, 444, 450, 489; Deeds and Wills 2:141). Documentary records suggest that many of these children were captured by Tributary Indian tribes and sold to the colonists.

In March 1662, after Governor William Berkeley was back in office, the newly revised legal code specified that "what Englishman, trader or other shall bring in any Indians as servants and shall assign them over to any other, shall not sell them for slaves nor for any longer time than English of

the like ages" (Hening 1809-1823:II:143). At the same assembly session, it was decided that Metappin, a Powhatan Indian whom the King of the Weyanoke had sold to a woman for life, should be free, as the Weyanoke leader had "no power to sell him being of another nation." In noting that Metappin should be freed, the assembly indicated that he spoke English perfectly and wanted to be baptized (Hening 1809-1823:II:155).

The Relationship between Blacks and Indians

As noted previously, in 1627 some Carib Indians who were brought to Virginia to be sold, escaped into the forest and were believed to have taken refuge with Virginia's Natives. However, no documentary evidence has come to light that reveals whether many newly-arrived Africans were able to abscond, upon landing in Virginia. In July 1692 William Byrd II testified in court that an African woman and mulatto boy had been abducted from him by "strange Indians" (a term usually applied to Natives who had not signed a peace treaty with the colony) and sold in Philadelphia (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:262). No other information has come to light on this topic, perhaps because it failed to find its way into official records. It is certain, however, that black, white, and Indian servants worked together on some plantations (see ahead).

Chapter 10.
1660-1677: Berkeley's Final Term

Governor Berkeley at Green Spring

After the Commonwealth era ended, Sir William Berkeley again became Virginia's royal governor. According to early eighteenth century historian Robert Beverley II, as soon as Governor William Berkeley returned to Virginia, he began experimenting with trials of potash, flax, hemp, silk and other products in an attempt to promote Virginia's potential for manufacturing. He also turned his attention to the production of glass and earthenware and exhibited an interest in salt-making. In an April 1663 letter Berkeley informed an associate that he had

> *... sent home another Tunn of Potashes and if it yields but a reasonable price I shall by God's blessing send home 200 Tunns more made by my own family besides what the Country will do when they hear my Labours are successful... . The next year we shall make a visible entrance into those stable commodities as flax and hemp [Berkeley 1663a].*

As timber was in short supply in the Mother Country and wooded acreage was being cleared in Virginia for agricultural purposes, the production of potash would have made use of a waste product to fulfill a resource need. Berkeley also indicated that during the previous year he had produced wine and that he "drank as good of my own planting as ever came out of Italy." He offered to send a friend at court "a Hogshead of Virginia wine" (Berkeley 1663a). In 1667 Berkeley informed Governor Nicolls of New York that he was "now turning an absolute corne merchant and am sending great quantities to the Barbados" (Morgan 1975:192).

Archaeological excavations carried out at Green Spring in 1928-1929 revealed that a small glass furnace once stood near some old brick kilns on Powhatan Creek. One of the furnace's bricks were inscribed "H.A.L." and bore the date "August 6, 1666" (Griesenauer 1956:20; Carson 1954:12). During the excavations conducted by Louis R. Caywood in 1955 the site of a pottery kiln was uncovered in an area to the southeast of Green Spring mansion. Caywood dated the structure to ca. 1665 on the basis of artifactual evidence (Caywood 1955:13).

The colony's assembly did its part in furthering Virginia's economic development by enacting legislative incentives. One law passed in March 1662 required every county to have a tannery, staffed with tanners, curriers and shoemakers; however, it is uncertain whether local officials opted to build their tannery on Jamestown Island or elsewhere in James City County. It should be noted, however, that by the 1690s a tanner named Henry Jenkins was residing upon the Governor's Land.[33]

It is likely that some of the workers involved in the production of tanned leather and goods were black. Each county was supposed to set up a loom, with a weaver who could produce fabric for the manufacture of clothing. Women or children were supposed to spin the thread that went into the production of cloth (Hening 1809-1823:II:120-124). Some of those involved in spinning and weaving may have been skilled black workers, who were accustomed to making cloth.

Throughout the 1660s, Jamestown continued to serve as the colony's principal port. The masters of incoming ships, upon arriving at Old Point

[33] During Bacon's Rebellion, Jenkins suffered at the hands of the opposing sides. In March 1677, when he requested compensation for his losses, he said that Bacon's men had seized a substantial quantity of tanned hides from him and that Berkeley's people had taken his cattle. Although it is uncertain where Henry Jenkins was living during the 1660s and 70s, a 1690 plat reveals that he then possessed and occupied a 76 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land (C.O. 1/40 f 18; Ambler MS 45).

Comfort, were required to present a manifest, pay customs duties and account for their passengers. Then, they were supposed to proceed to Jamestown to obtain a trading license. This gave the capital city's residents (many of whom were merchants) first access to newly arrived servants and imported goods. Another important piece of legislation legally defined what constituted planting or seating new land. Specifically, anyone who built a house, kept livestock upon his property for a year, or cleared an acre of ground and planted crops, could secure his patent. These patenting-and-seating requirements were reaffirmed in 1666 (Hening 1809-1823:II:135, 244). The importation of servants, who could be placed upon outlying properties to secure land titles, would have been an important part of this process.

In late September 1674 five of Governor William Berkeley's servants were hauled before the General Court, for they had stolen a boat from Jamestown merchant William White I (Study Unit 1 Tract H) and fled with a man servant, who belonged to George Loyd, and John, an African servant, who belonged to Richard James I (Study Unit 1 Tracts B and C). All five of Berkeley's male servants were identified as English (Thomas Morrice, Thomas Edwards, John Talbent, John Howell, and Edward Day) and one of them (Day) was described as a carpenter. All of the men's terms were to be extended and all but one (Day) were to receive 39 lashes at the whipping post in Jamestown (McIlwaine 1924:383).

Urban Development

On September 12, 1662, the Privy Council instructed Governor William Berkeley to see that towns were built on each of the colony's major rivers, commencing with the James. In December 1662 when the assembly convened, legislation was enacted for the purpose of achieving that goal. It was then decided that the town would "be built at James Citty" and that the brick buildings to be constructed there would be of certain specifications. Each of the colony's 17 counties was obliged to build one house and county officials were authorized to impress the necessary workmen, whose wages were a set rate. Governor Berkeley may have been responsible for furnishing the bricks and mortar to be used in construction or he may have had oversight of that aspect of the preparations for building, for he was supposed to notify the counties when the bricks were ready (Hening 1809-1823:II:172-176). The production of brick would have required skilled and semi-skilled labor.

In 1662 legislation was passed that required every Virginia county to have a pillory, a pair of stocks and a whipping post near its courthouse; a ducking stool also was to be available (Hening 1809-1823:II:75). Throughout much (if not all) of the seventeenth century, James City County's court justices shared the accommodations allocated to the Quarter or General Court and the two judicial bodies utilized a common jail (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:56-58). In 1661 and 1662 a Quaker named George Wilson was incarcerated at Jamestown, where he was "chained to an Indian wch is in prison for murder." Wilson said that they "had our Legs on one bolt made fast to a post with an ox chaine" and he referred to the jail as "that dirty dungeon Jamestown" (Chandler 1925:266-267). In 1657 Quaker ministers Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston also were confined to Jamestown's jail, which they described as "a dirty dungeon where we have not the benefit to do what nature requireth, nor so much as air to blow in at a window, but close made up with brick and lime" (Tyler 1906:61). It is uncertain precisely where they were being detained. However, in July 1680 one of the western bays of Structure 115 was identified as "that house where the gaole was kept." During the 1950s archaeologists recovered the left half of a male pelvis and left leg in Well 19, 14 feet north of the party wall between Bays 2 and 3 of Structure 115 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:152; Cotter 1958:127, 157). These human remains may be evidence of Virginia's seventeenth century criminal justice system.

Archaeological and historical evidence together indicate that a number of brick houses were erected in Jamestown as a result of the December 1662 building initiative. Colonel Thomas Swann I

built a brick ordinary (Structure 19A/B) in Jamestown that was open for business sometime prior to Bacon's Rebellion. At first, some of Swann's servants ran the ordinary. Later, he leased it to William Thompson I of Surry, who put his underage son in charge of day-to- day management (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:179-180). After Bacon's Rebellion was quelled, Colonel Swann hired Surry County bricklayer John Bird to do some work on his dwelling in Jamestown, which during the 1670s was an ordinary. Bird also may have been involved in the construction of Structure 1/2, for owner Richard James I sued him for failing to complete his work (McIlwaine 1924:344). Africans and African-Americans probably assisted John Bird with some of the construction projects he undertook and may have performed tasks in Colonel Swann's ordinary at Jamestown.

In April 1665 Secretary Thomas Ludwell informed officials in England that in obedience to the king's wishes, Virginians had "begun a town." He indicated that flax, silk, potashes and English grains were being produced and that small vessels had been fabricated that could be used in trading with neighboring colonies. Another writer during the 1660s estimated that Jamestown then had approximately 20 houses (C.O. 1/19 ff 75-76; 1/21 ff 344-346). Skilled servants (regardless of ethnicity) would have been involved in fabricating buildings and in the production of commodities. By March 1665 two ferries were being kept in Jamestown (McIlwaine 1924:509). If the boats plied a route to Gray's and Couches Creeks in Surry County, the ferry landings probably were located in the vicinity of Study Unit 4 Tracts O and R, from which lots ferries ran later in the century. It is likely that some of the ferry-workers were black.

Africans Associated with Jamestown Island Landowners

Several Jamestown Island landowners listed Africans as headrights during the second half of the seventeenth century. In September 1657, when William Edwards I (the father of William Edwards II, who owned Study Unit 4 Tract O and Tract L Lot C) patented some acreage in Surry County, he listed "Katherine, a negro" as a headright. Then, in 1661 and 1662, William Drummond I, whose wife Sarah inherited Study Unit 4 Tract N from William Prescott and who had a leasehold in the Governor's Land, used a total of ten Africans as headrights. None of these people were mentioned by name. During 1673 and 1674 Drummond listed four Africans as headrights: Tom, Jacob, Gregory, and Mingo. In 1677 when an inventory was made of William Drummond I's estate, among the nine servants listed was "a negro man about 30 years old called Tom," perhaps the same man. In 1663, when Secretary Thomas Ludwell patented a large tract in Henrico County, he used two Africans as headrights, but failed to cite their names. In 1666 when Colonel Nathaniel Bacon patented some land, he included six Africans in his list of headrights but made no mention of their names. By that date, Bacon had wed Richard Kingsmill's daughter and heir, Elizabeth, who had inherited Study Unit 1 Tract A. Later, Bacon had an interest in a unit in the Ludwell Statehouse Group and he patented Study Unit 4 Tract S. The Bacons resided upon the Kings Creek plantation in York County (Nugent 1969-1979:I:400, 403, 429, 547; II:123, 140; C.O. 5/1371 ff 233-237).

York County records reveal that Colonel Nathaniel Bacon had a work force that was comprised of both servants and slaves, and it included blacks, whites, and Native Americans, as well as males and females of various ages. In 1666 and 1689 he acquired two Indian boys (Will and Dick) and he may have had Formue, an Indian girl, who had belonged to Elizabeth Kingsmill Bacon's first husband, William Tayloe. During the late 1660s, the 1670s, and early 1680s Bacon imported young European servants who ranged from age 9 to age 18: Margaret Osborne, Henry Nicholson,[34] Robert Cooper, George Moore, Robert Edwards, Edward Bowler, Edward Pennington, and Michael Bailey. All of them were obliged to serve until age 24. Bacon also had in his employ a weaver named

[34] In 1707 a man of that name, who resided in James City County, committed suicide (McCartney 1997:160).

William Parker, who was supposed to operate a loom on York County's behalf, for a seven year period. Bacon had custody of John Duning, a servant of glazier Jeremiah Wing, who assigned to him as collateral on a debt. In 1692 Bacon purchased a black woman named Nan from Stephen Fouace, using as his factor Jeffrey Jeffreys, an agent of the Royal African Company. In 1697 reference was made to two of the late Colonel Bacon's black servants: a man named Tonie, who resided at one of his quarters, and a girl named Sue (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:329; 4:70, 141, 209, 372; 5:47, 88, 139; 6:28, 67, 299, 352, 479; :187; 8:261; 10:483). It is uncertain how many of these individuals were involved in Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's activities on Jamestown Island.

On March 15, 1692, when Bacon made his will, he left the bulk of his estate to his niece, Abigail, and her husband, Lewis Burwell. He bequeathed a 10-year-old black girl named Moll to Thomas Pettus's daughter, Elizabeth, and gave "Mollato Kate" her freedom, which he indicated was in fulfillment of a promise made by his late wife. An inventory of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's estate reveals that he had 40 slaves at the time of his death. It is uncertain whether any of these people were involved with his property at Jamestown. On March 24, 1697, William Bassett and his wife relinquished their legal interest in the late Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's estate, reference was made to the "negroes" he had had (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:116; 10:274-277, 280).

John Chew, one of Virginia's most successful merchants and in 1624 the owner of a parcel on Jamestown's waterfront (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot I), by March 1627 had relocated to Hog Island, where he seated some land (McIlwaine 1924:143, 192). In 1630 John was among those who established plantations at Chiskiack, on the York River. He acquired several hundred acres in York County and by the late 1630s had moved there. In 1644 he commenced representing that area as a burgess. In May 1652 when John Chew executed a prenuptial agreement with Rachel Constable, a York County widow, he relinquished to her use of four African servants (Chandler 1924:26; Nugent 1969-1979:I:44, 62-63, 101; Meyer et al. 1987:176-177; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1633-1646:43; McGhan 1993:497, 507).

In 1664 Richard James I of Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tracts B and C, and probably Structure 1/2) served as a Kecoughtan man's attorney in a suit against Surry County resident James Mills, litigation that pertained to a shipment of Africans (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:242). James did indeed employ African servants or slaves on his property in urban Jamestown, for in 1674, "John a negro servant to Mr. Richard James [I]" reportedly ran away with five of Governor William Berkeley's English male servants and one who belonged to Mr. George Loyd. All but one of the runaways (a carpenter) were to receive 39 lashes at the whipping post in Jamestown and their time was to be extended to cover the cost of a boat they stole from William White I (Study Unit 4 Tract H) and then lost (McIlwaine 1924:382).

On October 26, 1670, the General Court's justices decided that Thomas Hunt (of Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot J) was owed 5,000 pounds of tobacco by the estate of Thomas Adams, who had freed an African named Malack through a bequest in his will (McIlwaine 1924:240, 277). The nature of Hunt's involvement in this transaction is unclear.

On November 24, 1671, a Mr. Kirkman (probably James City County sheriff Francis Kirkman, who also served as sergeant-at-arms for the General Court) received a certificate signifying that he was entitled to headrights for the transportation of five individuals (Ffrank, Rose, Tom, Will, and Nan) to Virginia (McIlwaine 1924:287). As no last names were given, it is probable that they were Africans.

In November 1677 William Edwards II of Jamestown and Surry purchased a 7-year-old mulatto servant boy named John Kikotan from Samuel Lewis (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:157). The child's name raises the possibility that he was part Indian. On the other hand, he may have come from the area called Kecoughtan (Kicoughtan) or Elizabeth City, at the mouth of the James River.

Colonel Joseph Bridger of Isle of Wight County, a councillor at the time of Bacon's Rebellion and avid supporter of Governor William Berkeley, on September 20, 1683, reportedly was in the process of building "houses" in Jamestown. He probably was doing so in response to the orders he and his fellow council members had received about erecting improvements in the capital city. On November 25, 1692, the Governor's Council reportedly convened in one of Bridger's rooms in Jamestown (C.O. 5/1356 f 68; Bruce 1898:65; McIlwaine 1918:35).[35] On October 18, 1683, when Colonel Joseph Bridger made his will, he made reference to his servants, whom he described as both black and white. He died on April 15, 1686. An inventory of Bridger's estate lists his 13 negroes and 4 white servants (McGhan 1982:167-169).

Tightening of the Restrictions on Blacks

During Governor William Berkeley's second term in office, numerous changes were made in the laws regulating the conduct of servants. In December 1662 the legislature, which was faced with the question of whether "children got by any Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or free," declared that "all children borne in this country shallbe held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother." Moreover, if any Christian were to "committ ffornication with a negro man or woman, hee or shee soe offending shall pay double the ffines imposed by the former act" (Hening 1809-1823:II:170). This suggests that inter-racial liaisons had become relatively common and that the government was determined to discourage them.

That the race of the mother determined whether a child was classified as enslaved or free is evident in a York County court record that dates to 1685. It states that in 1670 Katherine Jewell, a free white woman, who had had a child with a black man, bound her mulatto son, William, over to William Booth, a prominent planter, for 30 years. When the boy reached age 14 he was to be given a heifer and its increase. When he had served out his term, he was to be freed. York County records reveal that in 1695, William (known as William Cattilla) asked the county justices to free him, for he had faithfully served until age 24. The justices agreed to his request and his master's widow (Margaret Booth) was ordered to provide him with corn and clothes (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 7:61; 10:137). Thus, William, whose mother was white and free, also was considered free. Katherine Jewell's daughter, Mary, who was mulatto, had a child with a white man named John Berry and was fined (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:341).

Local justices sometimes were called upon to make decisions for which there was no clear legal precedent. In 1692 a group of York County justices had to decide whether the child born to a former slave, who was pregnant when she was freed, was enslaved or free (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:155).

One law passed in the December 1662 session of the assembly pertained to whether women servants would be considered tithable. The legislators noted that "diverse persons purchase women servants to work in the ground that thereby they may avoyd the payment of levies." In recognition of that tax avoidance strategy, a new law specified that "all women servants whose common imployment is working in the crop shalbe reputed tythable" (Hening 1809-1823:II:170). In 1678 John Barber II (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots A and B) asked the justices of the Charles City Court to declare his woman servant exempt from being counted as a tithe because she "was rarely employed in the ground" except when performing seasonal tasks. The justices agreed (Brown 1996:121).

In September 1668 a new legislative act made a sharp distinction between the way black and white women were to be treated with regard to taxation. It was decided that henceforth "negro

[35] Land records fail to reveal where Colonel Joseph Bridger's property was located. It may have been in the vicinity of Study Unit 4 Tract A, an area for which little documentary evidence is available.

women set free were still to be accompted tithable," whereas white women were not. The burgesses noted that

> *... negro women, though permitted to enjoy their ffreedome yet ought not in all respects to be admitted to a full fruition of the exemptions and impunities of the English, and are still lyable to payment of taxes [Hening 1809-1823:II:267].*

As the earning capacity of those at the lower end of the economic scale was minimal, free black women would have found paying taxes especially burdensome. Moreover, failure to pay the levies that were owed could lead to loss of freedom.[36]

As of September 1663, servants' freedom of movement (whether black or white) was restricted and they were not allowed to leave their masters' premises "on Sundayes or any other dayes without perticuler lycence." The counties were encouraged to formulate local rules and to punish servants who attended "all unlawfull meetings" (Hening 1809-1823:II:195). Although assembly records fail to disclose what types of meetings the legislators were concerned about, they probably feared that servants and slaves might congregate to plan an insurrection.[37]

Baptism: No Longer the Prelude to Freedom

One means of meeting the labor shortage was to prolong the service of blacks. Toward that end, in 1667 the assembly eliminated baptism as a possible avenue to freedom. This was a departure from the previous consensus that non-Christians' conversion entitled them to release. The act states that:

> *Whereas some doubts have arisen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners made pertakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made free; It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly, and the authority thereof, that the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or ffreedome.The legislation added that "diverse masters, freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament" [Hening 1809-1823:II:260].*

In other words, masters were encouraged to offer religious instruction to those for whom they were responsible and from September 1667 on, could do so without fearing that baptism would make their servant or slave entitled to freedom.

In 1670 a law was passed whereby "noe negroe or Indian though baptised and enjoyned their owne freedome shall be capable of any such purchase of christians, but yet [are] not debarred from buying any of their owne nation" (Hening 1809-1823:II:280-281). By that time, service for life was the norm for most blacks entering the colony, for Virginia's lawmakers assumed that few of the new arrivals would have been converted to Christianity. They passed a new law which stated that "all servants not being christians, imported into this colony by shipping, shalbe slaves for their lives; but what shall come by land shall serve, if boyes or girls, untill thirty years of age, if men or women twelve years and no longer" (Hening 1809-1823:II:283). Although this legislation purportedly was enacted because "some disputes have arisen whither Indians taken in warr by any other nation, and by that nation that taketh them sold to the English, are servants for life or terme of years," it assured Virginia planters who invested in Indian and African servants that they could keep them for life. The delegates to Maryland's assembly enacted legislation that was very similar to Virginia's. In April 1671 they decided that whether or not an African had been baptized

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[36] In 1670 an "Old negro" was granted an exemption from paying taxes, seemingly on account of his age (McIlwaine 1924:517).

[37] In Maryland, Governor Charles Calvert was encouraging the importation of blacks. In April 1674 he told Lord Baltimore that he had tried to find men who would "engage to take a 100 or 200 neigros every yeare from the Royall Company," but couldn't find anyone "of estates good enough to undertake such a buisness." He added, "wee are naturally inclin'd to love neigros if our purses would endure it" (Donnan 1935:IV:9).

> *... before or after his her or their Importacion into this Province the same is not nor shall or ought the same be denyed adjudged Construed or taken to be or to amount unto a manumicion or freeing Inlarging or discharging any such Negroe or Negroes Slave or Slaves or any his or their Issue or Issues from his her their Servitude or Servitudes Bondage or bondages [Donnan 1935:IV: 10].*

David Galenson has pointed out that in 1636 the council of Barbados, where thousands of slaves were imported annually to work on sugar plantations, declared that "Negroes and Indians that came here to be sold should serve for Life, unless a Contract was before made to the contrary." Lorena S. Walsh has indicated that in 1668 the assembly of Barbados classified blacks as real estate so that they could be legally tied to specific pieces of property. This would prevent executors and creditors from separating laborers of African origin or descent from the land with which they were associated. In 1705 Virginia's legislature commenced allowing planters to entail slaves as well as land (see ahead) (Galenson 1991:272-273; Walsh 1997:44).

In 1671 a legal statute was passed that reflects Virginia planters' perception of Africans as an investment, much as they viewed their livestock. At that time the assembly gave county courts the responsibility of seeing that orphans, who came of age, received the number of slaves to whom they were entitled, or their fair market value. The burgesses noted that sometimes slaves, who were part of an intestate decedent's estate, died or were no longer able to work by the time an orphan came of age. Therefore, local justices had the right to sell a decedent's slaves outright (after a just appraisal) or to preserve them, whichever was in the best interest of the orphan (Hening 1809-1823:II:288). In sum, slaves were viewed as an investment, pieces of human "property" that were construed as a measure of wealth.

By 1672 the assembly had delegated to local tithe-takers the task of recording information on "all negro, molatto and Indian children" in their districts; the owners or masters of such children were to attest to their age. Moreover, whenever black, mulatto and Indian children and slaves were born, their owners or masters were supposed to see that their date of birth was entered into the parish register within twelve months. This was done so that planters couldn't elude taxation by saying that they did not know how old their servants and slaves were. The new law also stipulated that "all negro women borne in this country shall be accompted tythable at sixteene years of age" (Hening 1809-1823:II:296). Understandably, this statute was burdensome for free blacks. In 1677 Susannah, a free black woman from Charles City County sought relief from paying county levies, for she said that she was dependent and unable to work. However, after the county justices were informed "of her strength and ability," they decided that she not be exempt from taxation (Billings 1975:158).

In June 1680 the assembly decided that no children under the age of twelve, regardless of race, should be considered tithes, for they were too young to work. To ascertain when a slave child reached the age of twelve, "all negroe children imported … into this colony shall within three months after the publication of this law, or after their arrivall" be brought to the county court and adjudged for age. No Christian servants who were less than age 14 were to be counted as tithable (Hening 1809-1823:II:479-480).

Dealing with Runaways

Given the harsh conditions many servants and slaves endured, it is not surprising that quite a few attempted to flee to other surroundings. Although indentured servants, who ran away, could be punished by having their time extended, in September 1669 a newly enacted piece of legislation authorized masters and magistrates to inflict "moderate corporall punishment" upon them. However, the law failed to define what was considered "moderate" (Hening 1809-1823:II:266). In 1669 a reward of 1,000 pounds of tobacco was offered to anyone apprehending a runaway, whether "a servant by indenture, custome or covenant," who was found traveling without a legal pass or note. As the tobacco used as a reward was to come from public

stores, the fugitive was to serve the country until that sum was repaid. Runaways who were caught were to be delivered to the nearest sheriff or constable (Hening 1809-1823:II:273). By 1670 the burgesses had found it necessary to modify the law, for there was evidence of more than one person catching—and being rewarded for—habitual runaways. Also, it was discovered that sometimes, servants and their masters conspired to fake an escape and capture and then later shared the reward. Therefore, new penalties were introduced that applied to anyone making a fraudulent claim and a reward was offered for a runaway only the first time he/she was caught. Whenever a runaway slave was killed while being pursued, his/her owner was compensated for that loss. Under such circumstances, African slaves were deemed to have a value of 4,500 pounds of tobacco and Indian slaves, 3,000 pounds (Hening 1809-1823:II:280-281, 283-284).

Governor Berkeley's Assessment of the Colony's Condition

In 1670 when the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations sent Governor William Berkeley a lengthy list of questions about conditions in the colony, one issue he was obliged to address was the size and composition of the population. In 1671 Berkeley indicated that there more more than 40,000 men, women and children in Virginia, of whom there were 2,000 black slaves and 6,000 Christian servants. When asked how many English, Scots and Irish had come to Virginia to live during the past seven years, he responded that approximately 1,500 had arrived, most of whom were English. A few Scots and fewer Irish also had come in. Berkeley estimated that no more than two or three ships of Africans had arrived within the past seven years. When queried about how many people could be expected to die most years, Berkeley said that all new plantations tended to be unhealthy for a year or two, but that rarely did unseasoned hands die. He said that earlier on, approximately four out of five newly arrived immigrants perished (Hening 1809-1823:II:515).

Ethnic Biases

It is evident that racial prejudice played a major role in relegating blacks to an inferior status. English ethnocentrism is evident in many of the early documents produced by colonial officials. Captain John Smith and his contemporaries routinely referred to Native Americans as "savages" and quite often termed them "beasts." After the 1622 uprising had occurred, all pretenses of civility toward the Natives vanished. Historical documents suggest that the first English colonists were somewhat suspicious of anyone who was "different." For example, in 1624 and 1625, when the colony's population was tabulated, the Italian glassmakers at the Glass House merely were identified as Vincencio, Bernardo and Mrs. Bernardo. The men sent to produce wine and raise silkworms were listed by name and were labeled "french men." Two men at Elizabeth City were labeled "Irishmen." Others were identified as Indians, Dutch, Persians, and "negres" (Hotten 1980:180, 182, 184; McIlwaine 1924:150, 214; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:633; II:13; III:423). Blatant racial prejudice is evident in the 1668 case of Hannah Warwick, a white female indentured servant, whom the General Court acquitted seemingly because she was obliged to work under the supervision of a black overseer (McIlwaine 1924:513).[38]

In 1691 inter-racial sexual liaisons became illegal, if marriage occurred, and henceforth, "whatsoever English or other white man or woman being free shall intermarry with a negroe, mulatto, or Indian man or woman bond or free shall within three months after such marriage be banished and removed out of this dominion forever." If a free English woman were to have a bastard child with a "negro or mulatto," she was obliged to pay 15 pounds sterling to the churchwardens of her parish within one month of the time the child was born. If

[38] Her case was "extenuated because she was overseen by a negro overseer" (McIlwaine 1924:513).

she were unable to pay that sum, she was to be taken into custody by the churchwardens and put out for hire for a term of five years. The illegitimate child, meanwhile, was to be bound out as a servant until the age of 30. If an English maid servant were to have a bastard child by a black or mulatto, she was to serve five years of additional time (Hening 1809-1823:III:86-88). Significantly, white males were not penalized for getting black or mulatto females pregnant, probably because such offspring took on the status of their mother. In essence, this would have allowed white males to reap an economic benefit from having sexual relations with black slave women, if they became pregnant.

Corporal Punishments Become More Cruel

In October 1669 the assembly decided that corporal punishment was the only effective way to punish someone who was a servant for life, for it was impossible to chastise the individual by extending his or her term of service. It was noted that such punishment "cannot be inflicted upon negroes, nor the obstinacy of many of them by other then violent meanes [be] suppress" and that

> *... if any slave resist his master (or other by his masters order correcting him) and by the extremity of the correction should chance to die, that his death shall not be accompted a ffelony, but the master (or that other person appointed by the master to punish him) be acquit from molestation, since it cannot be presumed that prepensed malice (which alone makes murther ffelony) should induce any man to destroy his owne estate [Hening 1809-1823:II:270].*

Thus, if a slave died as a result of receiving corporal punishment, his or her master (or the person appointed to inflict the punishment) would not be held liable. Significantly, the 1669 law made reference to a person's slaves as "his owne estate."

In 1672 the assembly noted that

> *... many negroes have lately beene, and now are out in rebellion in sundry parts of this country, and that noe meanes have yet beene found for the apprehension and suppression of them from whome many mischiefs of very dangerous consequence may arise to the country if either other negroes, Indians or servants should happen to fly forth and joyne with them.*

Therefore, it became legal for anyone who captured such a person to kill or wound him if he resisted being taken. It was necessary, however, for the owner of the fugitive to sign a warrant for his capture. If the runaway were killed, his or her owner was to be compensated out of public funds at the rate of 4,500 pounds of tobacco per black and 3,000 pounds per Indian. If such runaways were injured, their owners were to be compensated for the time they lost. Neighboring Indian groups were required to seize runaways and turn them in to the nearest county justice, who would give them 20 lengths of roanoke (a type of shell used in the Indian trade). A justice would then return the runaway to his master, for which he would receive a reward of 250 pounds of tobacco (Hening 1809-1823:II:299-300).

In 1673, Will, a runaway slave from Gloucester, was caught in James City County and imprisoned in the jail at Jamestown. While being detained, he was accused of helping another black escape from jail. Finally, he confessed that

> *... he did See the Negroe breake Loose out of irons and did Attempt to breake out of the fore Doore of the Prison and that he see a negroe Breake Open the back doore and Lett the said Negroe out of Prison and further that he hath beene Twice in the Condemned Negroes Company.*

Sheriff Francis Kirkman was authorized to take Will with him to search for the escaped prisoner. Afterward, Will was soundly whipped by the sheriff and then sent home to his owner, Robert Bryan. The General Court ordered Bryan to pay Kirkman for providing "a good, well laid on whipping" in accord with the law (McIlwaine 1924:347).

Legally sanctioned corporal punishments gradually became more cruel. In 1687 Sam, a black slave from Westmoreland County, in the Northern Neck, was accused of inciting others to rebel. He was brought to Jamestown, where he was tried before the General Court and convicted. The sheriff

of James City County was ordered to have Sam "severely whipt att a cart tayle from the prison round about the town and then to the Gallows, and from thence to the prison againe." Afterward, he was to be conveyed to Westmoreland County, where the local sheriff was to whip him severely when the next monthly court convened. Sam was to have a halter around his neck during that time. When his whipping was through, "a strong Iron collar" was to be "affixed about his neck with four spriggs wch coller is never to take or gett off nor to goe off his master or masters plantacon during all the time he shall live." If he were to leave his home plantation or remove the collar, he was to be hanged (Stanard 1901-1902:177-178). The pain and suffering Sam endured as a result of iron spikes' tearing at his flesh must have been unbearable, as would the wounds that the spikes created. It is uncertain how long he survived.

Additional Loss of Rights

In 1680 the plight of Africans and African-Americans worsened, for efforts were made to curb their freedom of movement and their ability to resist the will of whites. Again, whites' fear that the growing number of blacks would rise up against them led to the passage of legislation that restricted the freedom of those who were enslaved. These laws may have been a belated response to Bacon's Rebellion, for a substantial number of armed blacks reportedly were part of his army. The law passed in June 1680 stated that

> *... the frequent meetings of considerable numbers of negroe slaves under pretence of feasts and burialls is judged of dangerous consequence; for prevention whereof for the future ... it shall not be lawfull for any negroe or other slave to carry or arme himselfe with any club, staffe, gunn, sword or any other weapon of defence or offence, nor to goe or depart from his masters ground without a certificate from his master, mistris or overseer and such permission not to be granted but upon perticular and necessary occasions [Hening 1809-1823:II:481-482].*

Slaves, who ventured out without written permission and were caught, were to receive 30 lashes upon their bare backs. If a runaway slave were to injure others or resist those authorized to take him/her into custody, it was "lawful for such person or persons to kill the said negroe or slave." The new law was to be posted at county seats and parish churches throughout Virginia and to be republished every six months, so that everyone would be mindful of its existence (Hening 1809-1823:II:481-482).

In November 1682 legislation was enacted that was even more strict. Henceforth,

> *... noe master or overseer [was to] knowingly permitt or suffer, without the leave or license of his or their master or overseer, any negroe or slave not properly belonging to him or them, to remaine or be upon his or their plantation above the space of four houres at any one time [Hening 1809-1823:II:492- 493].*

Those who broke the law would be fined 200 pounds of tobacco. The new law was to be entered into the registers of every parish and read aloud to parishioners twice a year. This law would have exerted additional pressure upon slaves who wanted to visit friends or kin who lived upon other plantations. It would have been a further disruption to family life within the black community.

In 1687, when a group of slaves in the Northern Neck reportedly formulated a plan to kill their masters, the plot was discovered.[39] Afterward, Governor Francis Lord Howard of Effingham authorized the local court to try the alleged conspirators "and to proceed to Sentence of Condemnacon & Execucon, or to Such other punishmts as according to Law they shall be found Guilty off." Howard indicated that he hoped "such examples of Justice" would "deterr other Negroes from plotting or Contriveing either the Death, wrongs of Injuries of any of his Majties Subjects." The Governor's Council indicated that

> *... the great freedome and Liberty that has beene by many masters given to their Negro*

[39] Sam, the slave later outfitted with an iron collar, may have been part of this group.

Slaves for Walking on Broad on Saturdays and Sundays and permitting them to meete in great Numbers in Making and holding Funeralls for Dead Negroes gives them the Opportunityes under pretention of such publique meetings to Consult and advise for the Carrying on of their Evill & wicked purposes [McIlwaine 1925-1945:1:86-87].

Therefore, all masters were forbidden to permit their slaves to hold funerals or gatherings in commemoration of their dead. Shortly thereafter, Governor Howard issued a proclamation in which he chastened masters who failed to restrain their slaves "from walking and rambling abroad on Satterdayes and Sundayes," which gave them a chance to congregate "to extend their bloody purposes on their Masters and Mistresses." Howard also reminded the colonists that blacks were not to be allowed to carry weapons of any sort or to leave their master's land without written permission. In July 1690 Governor Francis Nicholson reminded colonists of their need to obey this law and in April 1694 Governor Andros reiterated the same instructions. He also said that the masters and mistresses of slaves were not to allow them to leave their home property unless it was absolutely necessary; on such occasions, the time away was to be minimal (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 8:99-100, 498-499; 10:20). This would have made it extremely difficult for slave families to see loved ones who lived upon other plantations.

In April 1691 local sheriffs were authorized to raise forces that could pursue and capture groups of runaways, "negroes, mullatoes, and other slaves," who "absent themselves from their masters and mistresses service, and lie hid and lurk in obscure places killing hoggs and committing other injuries to the inhabitants of this dominion." Members of such "posses" were authorized to kill those they were sent to apprehend "by gunn or otherwaise whatsoever." The owner of a runaway killed while being captured would be reimbursed for his or her value, if loss of life occurred (Hening 1809-1823:III:86-88).

Degradation Through Demoralization

Sometimes local officials attempted to impose a more subtle type of subjugation. In 1672 the justices of Surry County decided that blacks shouldn't be allowed to meet on Saturdays and Sundays, for it was feared that they would "consult of unlawful p'jects & combinations to ye danger & damage of ye neighbours, as well as to theire Masters." Also, because it was felt that "ye apparell comonly worne by negroes doth as well Highten theie foolish pride as induse them to steale fine Linninge & other ornaments," slave owners were supposed to have their blacks wear "blew shirts & shifts ty yey may be herby discovered if yey steale or weare other Linninge." If slaveowners insisted that fabric was not available to make blue shirts and shifts, caps and neckcloths, they were to see that their blacks wore garments of coarse lockerham or canvas (Tate 1965:91). Surry's justices recommended that their ruling should be made law throughout the colony. There is no indication that it was. Such legal restrictions on blacks' clothing appear to have been uncommon. At the same session of Surry's monthly court, Colonel Thomas Swann and the other justices found Matthias Marriott in contempt because he had violated a law that restrained servants from "walking abroad on Sundays." He had done so by giving "his negro a note to go abroad on Sunday, he having no business" (Stanard 1899-1900:314).

Bacon's Rebellion and Black Participation

Nathaniel Bacon, whose Henrico County plantation (Curles) had been attacked by Natives, eagerly agreed to lead a group of volunteers in an expedition against the Indians. In April 1676 he and his men set out for the southern part of the colony. Although Governor Berkeley ordered Bacon to cease his military operations and report to Jamestown, he demanded a commission to lead a march against the Indians and continued on his way.

This prompted Berkeley to declare Bacon a rebel and to mobilize his own forces in an attempt to head him off before he reached the colony's frontier. Thus began the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion, which quickly spread throughout Tidewater Virginia and left a bloody imprint upon the region (Washburn 1957:18-19, 46-47; Billings et al. 1986:77-96).

In late June 1676, Bacon went to Jamestown at the head of 500 to 600 supporters and demanded a commission to march against the Indians. Although Berkeley at first refused, Bacon's followers reiterated his demands at gunpoint, at which point Berkeley acquiesced. Bacon also prevailed upon the assembly to enact laws that included some of his ideas. In June 1676, when the assembly enacted legislation put forth by the rebel Nathaniel Bacon, one statute declared that "all Indians taken in warr be held and accounted slaves dureing life" (Hening 1809-1823:II:346). Thus, those who captured Indians could enslave them permanently. Another law put forth by Nathaniel Bacon gave the colonists the right to patent Indians' land as soon as they abandoned it, even if they had been driven off (Washburn 1957:18-19, 46-47, 51-53, 58-59, 65, 68; Billings et al. 1986:77-96; Hening 1809-1823:II:351). This was nothing less than legal permission to steal the Natives' land.

Afterward, Bacon headed for Middle Plantation, where he drafted a treatise he called a "Declaration of the People" that leveled charges against Governor Berkeley. He followed that with a "Manifesto" justifying his own actions. Bacon then attempted to raise men for a march against the Indians on the colony's frontiers. Upon meeting with little success, he vented his wrath upon the Pamunkeys, who recently had signed a peace agreement with the Berkeley government. Bacon's men pursued the Pamunkeys into Dragon Swamp, where they killed men, women and children indiscriminately, took captives, and plundered their goods. While this was going on, Berkeley overcame the rebels' attack, rallied his supporters and on September 7th returned to Jamestown, where he offered a pardon to the men Bacon left garrisoned there. He had his men erect a palisade across the isthmus that connected the island with the mainland and then settled in to wait for the confrontation he considered inevitable.

As Bacon's Pamunkey expedition drew to a close, he learned that Berkeley's men were in possession of Jamestown. At that juncture, Bacon offered freedom to all slaves and servants willing to join his ranks. He then set out upon the lengthy trek to Jamestown, showing off his Pamunkey captives along the way. When Bacon commenced his siege, he placed the wives of several loyalist leaders upon the ramparts of his trench and he put his Pamunkey captives on display to demonstrate his prowess as an Indian fighter. In time, Berkeley and his supporters were obliged to abandon Jamestown (Washburn 1957:76, 80-83; Andrews 1967:130-131, 135; Force 1963:I:11:24; III:8:21).

In the wake of Governor Berkeley's withdrawal, Nathaniel Bacon and his followers entered the city and on September 19, 1676, put it to the torch. One contemporary source indicates that "Bacon's followers having deserted him he had proclaimed liberty to the Servants and Slaves which chiefly formed his army when he burnt Jamestown." Another individual said that Bacon had "proclam'd liberty to all Servants and negroes" (Washburn 1957:88, 209).

Richard Lawrence and William Drummond I, who reportedly set their own dwellings ablaze, were slaveholders (Andrews 1967:92, 130-131). According to one account, Lawrence, who was well educated and eloquent, found comfort

> *... in the darke imbraces of a Blackamoore, his slave: And that in so fond a Maner, as though Venus was chiefly to be worshiped in the Image of a Negro, or that Buty consisted all together in the Antiphety of Complections: to the noe meane Scandle and affrunt of all the Vottrisses in or about towne [Andrews 1967:96].*

Such overt disapproval of interracial relationships was commonplace. The punishment handed out to blacks traditionally was more severe than that meted out to whites. For example in 1681, when a white Lower Norfolk County woman had a sexual relationship with a black man, she was

fined, but he received 30 lashes on his bare back. The number of lashes he was given may have been increased because he had "very arrogantly behaved himself in Linhaven Church" before the congregation (Billings 1975:161).

The will of William Drummond I, who was hanged for his role in Bacon's Rebellion, reveals that he had in his household several slaves and servants. Notably, three of these people were identified as black: Nodd (ca. age 20), Tom (ca. age 30), and Robin (ca. age 50). As Drummond's other servants (Hugh Jones, Thomas Coppe, Will Clarke, Samuel Hullott, Isabel Jo[ ]man, and an Irish woman) were described as having specific amounts of time to serve, the blacks probably were servants for life, i.e., slaves. It is likely that some of William and Sarah Drummond's servants and slaves resided in the family home in Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract N) (C.O. 5/1371 ff 233-237).

After Governor Berkeley gained the upper hand and Nathaniel Bacon succumbed to a fatal illness, the popular uprising faltered and then failed. Contemporary narratives reveal that the intensity of the opposing sides' partisanship fueled a cycle of looting and retaliation. After the king's troops arrived in January 1677, a ship was sent out to round up five groups of insurgents that had fled into the countryside and were hiding in the upper reaches of the York River. At West Point, Captain Thomas Grantham of the *Concord* encountered a group of 250 freemen, servants and slaves. He convinced them to surrender by promising freedom to those who were bound servants or slaves. Then he went to Colonel John West's brick house in New Kent, where approximately 400 rebels (including a number of blacks) were holed up. Grantham, in seeking their surrender, promised the rebels pardons and pledged that the blacks and English servants would be freed. Although most of the men surrendered their weapons and agreed to go home, 100 (which contemporary sources describe as 80 blacks and 20 English) refused to deliver their arms. Grantham eventually persuaded them to go aboard a sloop he was towing, whereupon he had his men seize their weapons forcibly (Washburn 1957:88; Andrews 1967:94-95, 140). Sometimes, the possessions of suspected rebels were seized. For example, the personal property of Gloucester County planter Sands Knowles, which included servants and slaves, was confiscated by Berkeley loyalists (McIlwaine 1924:531).

Backlash from Bacon's Rebellion

As the days wore on, the dialogue between the king's commissioners and Governor Berkeley became increasingly strained. Ten James City County residents (Thomas Bobby, John Dean, Thomas Glover, Andrew Goedean, William Hoare, Henry Jenkins, John Johnson, James Barrow, John Williams and Edward Lloyd) filed formal complaints in which they claimed that their goods had been plundered or that they were imprisoned without just cause. One of the complainants was a mulatto (see ahead). On February 13, 1677, the commissioners warned Berkeley that the king would take a dim view of his seizing private property. He, in turn, contended that most of his neighbors had stolen his belongings, which were "still to be seen in their houses" and that if his supporters had retaliated, it was without authorization (Sainsbury et al. 1964:I:50-53; Washburn 1957:105-106; Neville 1976:254).

Many of those living between Ware and Skimino Creeks, in what later became James City County, were followers of Nathaniel Bacon. James Wilson, whom Berkeley had executed for his role in the popular uprising, lived near Mount Folly, the home of Bryan Smith, one of the governor's most avid supporters. Smith and a band of vigilantes that included Roger Potter, Richard Awborne of Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract K Lot C, Bay C of Structure 115), William Hartwell, and Samuel Mathews III, seized the personal belongings of Richard Clarke, a Bacon supporter who lived near the mouth of Skimino Creek. In a grievance Clarke later filed with the king's commissioners, he claimed that in late December 1676 Smith and his men raided his plantation, where some neighbors had sought refuge, and "carryed away fower English

servants, seven Negroes, and all his household goods and other estate" including tobacco notes worth a substantial sum. He said that Smith and Robert Beverley I (a staunch Berkeley supporter) still had some of his servants. Clarke's neighbors, Robert Lowder, John Cocker and Robert Porter, asked the commissioners for protection against Smith, who was trying to force them to pay for some hogs consumed by Bacon's followers. The men claimed that Smith threatened to send them to prison unless they paid up (Stanard 1904:54-55,140; Hening 1809-1823:II:375; Nugent 1969-1979:I:393; II:170).

Contemporary narratives reveal that the intensity of the opposing sides' partisanship fueled a cycle of looting and retaliation. It was shortly before order was restored that Bryan Smith raided the plantation of Richard Clarke; it was afterward that Smith's men extorted a large quantity of tobacco from neighboring planters who had supported Bacon's cause. Smith's heavy-handed treatment of his neighbors demonstrates clearly that both sides' supporters did their share of pillaging.

Later, the king's commissioners asked each county's freeholders to list their complaints about the government. James City County's residents recommended that the Indians captured during Bacon's Rebellion be sold for public profit (Neville 1976:338-340). In February 1677 the assembly met at Green Spring and passed 20 new legislative acts, four of which had to do with Bacon's Rebellion. Fines and other penalties became the established punishment for those who had participated in the uprising or insulted public officials. Pardons were issued to all but those found guilty of treason. Plundered goods were to be restored to their rightful owners and those who suffered losses in the rebellion were authorized to sue for compensatory damages. The burgesses nullified the legislation Bacon had forced upon them at gunpoint. However, an act was passed that permitted "all such souldiers who either already have taken or hereafter shall take prisoners any of our Indian enemies, or any other Indian plunder … under a lawfull command from due and full authority, that they reteyne and keepe all such Indian slaves or other Indian goods" (Hening 1809-1823:II:366-406). In 1679 a new law allowed "what Indian prisoners or other plunder shalbe taken in warre" to be "free purchase to the souldier taking the same" (Hening 1809-1823:II:440).

Punishment of a Slave at Green Spring

On April 22, 1677, immediately prior to Sir William Berkeley's departure for England, the king's commissioners experienced what they considered a major diplomatic and social affront. When the governor's coach transported them from Green Spring to Jamestown, the common hangman served as postilion. The outraged commissioners sent word to Berkeley that they considered the incident "an insult to the Kings Great Seal and to the private persons of the Commissioners as gentlemen" and stated that were going to report the affront to the monarch, personally. Berkeley replied that he was unaware that the hangman was a member of his household and that he was as "innocent in this as the blessed Angels themselves." He also told the commissioners that he had sent them his slave "to be racked, tortured or whipt till he confesses how this dire misfortune happened" (Neville 1976:71; C.O. 1/40 f 62; Stanard 1913:370). Lady Frances Berkeley claimed to know nothing of the matter and said that she was sending the coachman to them for examination (Neville 1976:71-72; Washburn 1957:98-99, 131; C. O. 1/40 f 63; Stanard 1925:352). The commissioners later informed one of their superiors that as they departed in the coach driven by the common hangman, "My Lady went into her Chamber and peeped through a broken quarrel of glass to see how the show looked." They added that "the whole case looks more like a woman's than a man's malice" (Neville 1976:73).

The Aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion

After Governor William Berkeley set sail for England, some of his more ardent supporters stoutly

resisted the policies of Lt. Governor Herbert Jeffreys, who legally assumed the reins of government. In a letter to a close associate in England, William Sherwood of Jamestown dubbed Berkeley's principal supporters the "Green Spring Faction" and named them: Lady Frances Berkeley, Philip Ludwell I, Thomas Ballard, Edward Hill II, and Robert Beverley I (Neville 1976:90). Although Jeffreys continued bringing accused rebels before the General Court, he had a much more lenient attitude toward convicted offenders and no more death sentences were handed down (Hening 1809-1823:II:557-558). It is uncertain whether any blacks were tried.

Blacks Seek Justice Under the Law

Occasionally, blacks (like Indians) boldly chose to avail themselves of the colony's legal system. Some met with success. Others did not. In June 1675 Phillip Gowen (Corven) of James City County, a black man and indentured servant of the late Mrs. Anne Beazley, sought justice from the General Court. While arguing his own case, he produced a copy of Mrs. Beazley's April 9, 1664, will which documented specified that "yor petr by the then name of negro boy Phillip, should serve her cousin, Mr. Humphrey Stafford, the terme of eight yeares, then next ensueing, and then should enjoy his freedome & be paid three barrels of corne & a sute of clothes, as by the said will appears." Corven then said that after he had gone to live with Stafford, Stafford sold the remainder of his time to a Warwick County man who tricked him into signing a paper that extended his contract for twenty years, while insisting that it was for only three. This prompted Corven to sue for compensation for the extra years of service plus his "freedom dues." He contended that "persons of good creditt" would corroborate his statements (McIlwaine 1924:411; Palmer 1968:I:10).

In 1677, a local African-American named Edward Lloyd was among those who filed a petition requesting compensation for the personal damages he had sustained during Bacon's Rebellion. He claimed that Governor Berkeley's men had plundered his home and frightened his pregnant wife so badly that she had lost their baby and then died. In 1694 Robin Santy, a black indentured servant of Philip Ludwell I's, filed an appeal in the General Court. He sought to overturn a decision by James City County's justices who had sided with Ludwell in denying Santy his freedom. The General Court ruled in Ludwell's favor "because Santy was not heard from." (Sainsbury et al. 1964:V:52; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:310). Ludwell, a General Court judge, made no apparent attempt to abstain from participating in the decision.

Chapter 11.
1678-1699: The Old Capital's Decline and Demise

The Rise of the Plantation System

In the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion, Virginia's more successful planters solidified their superior position and society became more distinctly stratified. When the flow of European servants became a trickle, Virginia planters turned to Africans to make up their work force. In time, a society that included slaves evolved into a society that was dependent upon slave labor. Although there were changes in the pattern of interaction between blacks and whites, with the result that a certain amount of distancing occurred, blacks continued to maintain close ties with other blacks. These communities of people related by kinship ties existed throughout the Chesapeake (Walsh 1997:114).

By the mid-1680s blacks had become dominant in the work force. Even so, by 1690 Africans and African-Americans comprised no more than seven percent of Virginia's and Maryland's total population of approximately 75,000. As the number of blacks increased, their living conditions began to deteriorate. Under the law, slaves did not have the right to compell a master to supply adequate amounts of food and clothing or decent shelter, and some free time. As a result, their plight worsened in comparison to English servants. Moreover, slaves had no protection against a master who was especially brutal or abusive. Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, uncle of the rebel of that name and owner of the Kings Creek Plantation and a lot and a farmstead in urban Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract S and Study Unit 1 Tract A), utilized white indentured servants, African and African-American slaves, and an occasional Native American. His heirs, the Burwells, followed suit. Lorena S. Walsh has noted that Bacon purchased white indentured servants (mostly young men) during the 1660s, 70s and 80s, who probably shared living quarters with the blacks and Indians. This type of interracial work force would have been common on Tidewater plantations. For a time, servants and slaves probably worked at similar tasks and had comparable privileges. As the seventeenth century drew to a close, fewer white servants came to Virginia. A number of those who did were skilled artisans who would not have been likely to share the accommodations provided to slaves. Slaves, who had been in Virginia for a long time and had become accustomed to some of the privileges indentured servants enjoyed, probably found it difficult to adjust to changing working conditions and the increased regimentation that accompanied an increased influx of new, unacculturated workers (Walsh 1997:25, 31-32, 85).

Francis Louis Michel, a visitor from Berne, Switzerland, in 1702 offered his views on plantation life in Virginia. He said that:

> *Most of the wealth consists in slaves or negroes, for if one has many workmen, much food-stuff and tobacco can be produced. These negroes are brought annually in large numbers from Guine and Jamaica (the latter of which belongs to England) on English ships. They can be selected according to pleasure, young and old men and women. They are entirely naked when they arrive, having only corals of different colors around their necks and arms. They usually cost from 18 to 30 pounds. They are life-long slaves and good workmen after they have become acclimated. Many die on the journey or in the beginning of their stay here, because they receive meagre food and are kept very strictly. Both sexes are usually bought, which increase afterwards. The children like the parents must live in slavery [Donnan 1935:IV:68].*

Michel incorrectly stated that English law required slaves to be freed after seven years if they became Christians, and said that "it is only rarely permitted," even if the slaves desired baptism. He apparently was unaware of the Virginia law passed in the 1660s that eliminated baptism as a means of emancipation (Donnan 1935:IV:68).

The Spread of Settlement

An official report on conditions in Virginia, prepared by Henry Hartwell (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C), the Rev. James Blair of James City Parish, and Edward Chilton (Study Unit 4 Tract P) during the 1690s, indicates that by that time, most of the land east of the fall line had been patented. They claimed that the ancient headright system had been much abused, thanks to the submission of fraudulent documents to county courts, and that dishonest surveyors sometimes produced drawings of property they never visited or included more (or different) acreage than had been patented. Patentees were supposed to build a house upon their land within three years or place an acre or more under cultivation. But because a simple hog-pen met the ambiguous definition of minimum housing and a poorly tended acre of ground fulfilled planting requirements, many Virginians owned large tracts of land they never used. Perhaps for this reason, in 1705 the minimum requirements for seating land were strengthened and made more specific. Although officials in England continued to decry what they called a straggling mode of settlement, Virginia planters, who were hungry for new lands upon which to grow tobacco, kept expanding the colony's frontier (Hartwell et al. 1940:16-20; Hening 1809-1823:III:304-329).

The Royal African Company

The Royal African Company, which in 1672 emerged from the investment group known as the Royal Adventurers, reportedly was organized in a more business-like manner than its predecessors. However, it had to deal with complex problems, such as raising funds, buying goods, hiring ships and men, building forts in Africa, and negotiating agreements with African natives and representatives of other European nations. It also had to cope with interlopers that impinged upon its territory and was accountable to the Crown and Parliament for its actions. The Company was perennially short of capital and suffered from the need to extend credit to planters in the New World. It also had to construct new forts on the West African coast and strengthen previously existing ones. The Royal African Company's trading operations were complicated and involved many hands. Manufactured goods from England and elsewhere in Europe and from Asia were exported to Africa, where they were exchanged for products such as gold, ivory, dyewood and hides that could be sold in England and slaves that could be sold in the West Indies. In the northwestern part of Africa, goods were obtained from Gambia, Sierra Leone and Sherbo that could be sold in England; some slaves also were obtained in the region. On the Gold Coast, the trade consisted largely of gold and slaves. East of the Volta, in the Bight of Benin and south to Angola, slaves comprised the principal export. Most of the slaves obtained from Africa were sent to the West Indian islands of Barbados, Jamaica, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and St. Christopher's. A few small consignments went to Virginia. The Royal African Company employed local agents who saw that the slaves were sold as quickly as possible and sent the proceeds to England. Sometimes, cargoes of slaves (or fractions of cargoes) were sold to contractors who then disposed of them at a profit. The Royal African Company supplied such "contract-negroes" between 1672 and 1689 (Davies 1957:44-46, 294-295).

On October 4, 1678, the Virginia colony's Council of State addressed the matter of blacks imported "under contract with the Royal African Company." As only the abstracts of Council meetings survive, the nature of the business being discussed is uncertain (McIlwaine 1924:494, 521). In 1679 incoming Governor Thomas Lord Culpeper was told to give encouragement to merchants trading in Virginia "and in particular to the Royal African Company of this our kingdom of

England." Such orders reportedly were included in the instructions given to the governors of colonies offering a potential market for slaves. Culpeper was told to see that there was no trade between Virginia and "any place or part in Africa within the Country of the Royal African Company." He also was to provide the Privy Council with an annual report of how many Africans were imported into the colony and what sort of price they brought. In 1683 Culpeper, who apparently was uninformed (or perhaps misinformed) wrote the Lords of Trade and Plantations that he never had heard what the Royal African Company was charging for Africans and that he did not know of any purchased by Virginia's inhabitants. He added that the king derived at least six pounds a year in revenue from every African worker in Virginia, for blacks could produce tobacco much more cheaply than whites (Donnon 1935:IV:55-56).

Lorena S. Walsh, through the examination of Royal African Company records, concluded that numerous cargoes of slaves were sent to the West Indies, although some came directly to Virginia.[40] Slaves were dispatched from each of six major trading centers on the West African coast. The majority of vessels came from the northerly region that included Senegambia and extended south and east to the Windward and Gold Coasts, and the ports of Ardra and Whydah on the Bight of Benin. Southerly regions, including Benin and the Calabars on the Bight of Biafra and Angola, also were the source of slaves. Some of these people may have spent some time in the Caribbean, where they were exposed to English culture and diseases. However, the majority probably paused in the Caribbean only briefly (Walsh 1997:55).

Between 1672 and 1689 the Royal African Company enjoyed a monopoly on slave trade with the English colonies. Like all monopolies the Company aroused resentment. English merchants criticized it for limiting their markets and colonists in the West Indies complained about receiving an insufficient number of slaves. In 1688, criticism of the Company reached its height. After 1689 the Royal African Company ceased enjoying its monopoly, at which point other English merchants began participating in the slave trade. They obtained a license from the Company, however, and paid Company officials a tax. In 1698 the slave trade was thrown open to all, upon the payment of a ten percent export duty that was intended to cover the cost of maintaining England's forts in Africa. Some ship captains (so-called "interlopers") traded illegally when bringing Africans to the mainland colonies (Davies 1957:46; Walsh 1997:54).[41] Virginia's broad and deep waters made it relatively easy for interlopers to slip into the colony with their cargoes of slaves and other African imports.

Establishing Ports of Entry

In June 1680 Governor Thomas Lord Culpeper told the House of Burgesses that the king wanted Virginia to have towns and ports, like his other colonies. The assembly responded by passing an act that was designed to encourage urban development, trade and manufacturing by establishing port towns in each of Virginia's 20 counties. All exports after January 1, 1681, and all imports (including slaves, English servants and merchandize) after September 29, 1681, had to be landed and sold in one of the new ports of entry. The 50-acre port towns were to be laid out in half-acre lots and those who purchased lots had a year in which to develop them. Jamestown, was the choice for James City

[40] Westbury, on the other hand, believed that from the 1670s on, most of Virginia's slaves came directly from Africa. She indicated that most of the slaves brought to Virginia after the early 1670s had paused very briefly in the Caribbean. Therefore, she said "the direct African route was the larger by far, right from the beginning of organized slave trading in Virginia" (Westbury 1981:237).

[41] An example of an "interloper" vessel was the *Society*, which arrived in Virginia in 1687 with a cargo of Africans and elephants teeth. The vessel's owners, James Twyford and James Hallidge, were from Bristol, England (Donnan 1935:IV:63-65). On August 7, 1687, the *Society* wrecked on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. According to the testimony of James Lemount, who was aboard, 120 Africans and some elephants teeth were put ashore. The collector of customs for the Lower District of the James River seized the vessel, its cargo and crew. The cargo was forfeited to the Crown (Palmer 1968:I:20, 30).

County (Reps 1972:66; Hening 1809-1823:II:473). In 1682 the king again ordered Culpeper to see that towns were built in Virginia. A new town act, passed in 1691, basically reaffirmed the 1680 legislation. Many of the formerly-designated ports of entry, including Jamestown, were confirmed and a few new town sites were added (Reps 1972:86-87, 141).

In 1699, when the new capital city, Williamsburg, was established at what was known as the Middle Plantation, the assembly decided to raise the funds that were needed for the construction of a new statehouse (or capitol building) by imposing a new import duty upon the servants and slaves that arrived in Virginia. Henceforth, the sum of 15 shillings tax was to be levied for the importation of "every servant not born in England or Wales" and 20 shillings for "every negro or other slave which shall be imported." These customs duties, which had to be paid before a vessel's servants or slaves could come ashore, were reinstated in 1701, 1704 and 1705 (Hening 1809-1823:III:192-194, 212-213, 229-235; Winfree 1968:22).

The Slave Trade at Jamestown

British records reveal that London merchants Jeffrey and John Jeffreys, Micajah Perry, and Thomas Lane, who had ties to Jamestown property owners, were heavily involved in the slave trade. Jeffrey Jeffreys and Micajah Perry were the Royal African Company's principal contractors for the sale of Africans in Virginia and Perry's mercantile firm owned Bay 1 of Structure 17, on Lot A of Study Unit 4 Tract C. This raises the possibility that slaves brought in by the Royal African Company were sold at a wharf in front of Structure 17. After the Royal African Company lost its monopoly for the slave trade, Jeffrey Jeffreys became an independent trader (Davies 1957:295; Ambler MS 62). In March 1685 Royal African Company officials ordered Captain Thomas James to sail the *Two Friends* to James Island, in the river of Gambia, where he was to take aboard 190 Africans, in accord with the Company's agreement with Micajah Perry and Thomas Lane. Those people were to be delivered to Peter Perry and Company in Virginia, on the James River (P.R.O., T. 70/61 f 1). As Perry, Lane and Company was credited with Bay 1 of Structure 17, that probably was the receiving point of the slaves imported to Virginia aboard the *Two Friends*.

In late March 1685 Colonel William Byrd I asked Perry and Lane if a "negro ship" would be arriving soon. The following year he informed the two London merchants that he had "been mighty unhappy in the Negros by Capt. [Thomas] James." He added that:

> *Mr. [Henry] Hartwell*[42] *Stopping the ship at [James]Towne, mr. P'r [Peter] Perry,*[43] *mr. Harrison and himselfe lotted [assigned] them there, and kept the ship 3 or 4 days in bitter cold weather; all that had the Small pox (itt seems) hapned into my lott, one dyed on board, and another in the Boat, my people that went for th[e]m caught the distemper and brought itt into my family, whereof poor mrs. Brodnax and 3 of my negros are allready dead, and ab't fifteen more beside my little daughter have them. Pray God put a Stop to itt, for I have allready cause to repent I ever was concern'd in James, I allways understood they were to be delivered att Swinyards [in Charles City] and not for one mans convenience to run the Hazard of the Whole [Donnan 1935:IV:61-62]*

Byrd added that he received 15 Africans from Captain James, and expressed his concern that he would be charged for those who had not survived.

Royal African Company records indicate that there were permanent agents in Barbados and Jamaica into whose hands the Company's slaves were delivered. Such agents had to board newly arrived vessels immediately, so that the ship's captain and crew couldn't slip Africans ashore surreptitiously. The agents, upon checking the captain's journal and accounts, mustered the Africans and sorted them in preparation for sale. Usually, such sales took

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[42] Henry Hartwell was in possession of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C.

[43] Peter Perry was the brother of Micajah Perry, whose firm owned Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot A and Bay 1 of Structure 17.

place within two or three days of a ship's arrival. The Africans were classified as "alive" if they could walk off the ship and all sales were by "inche of candle."[44] The Royal African Company's agents usually received a 7 percent commission on all sales except those of contract-negroes, for whom they received 1½ percent. Agents were responsible for all credit given to planters and had twelve months in which to transmit the proceeds from the sale of a cargo of slaves. As employment as an agent for the Royal African Company was very lucrative, it was a sought-after position. Often, people combined public service with working for the Company (Davies 1957:296-297).

Colonel John Page of Jamestown

British merchant and Royal African Company contractor John Jeffreys used Jamestown lot owner Colonel John Page (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lots A and B) as his factor during the mid-1670s. In September 1676, the substantial quantity of wine John Jeffreys had stored in Page's cellars in Jamestown (probably Structure 53) was destroyed when Nathaniel Bacon's followers set the capital city ablaze. Afterward, when Page filed a compensatory claim on Jeffreys' behalf, in an attempt to recover the monetary value of the lost wine, reference was made to four African men John Jeffreys had sent to the colony, whom Page had sold to Governor William Berkeley (C.O. 1/41 f 221; 5/1355 ff 200-203; Sainsbury 1964:10:167). Specifically, Page said that he had

> *... sold and delivered to the sd. Sr. Wm Berkeley 4 men negroes for 100 pounds sterling, being the estate of the said John Jeffreys Esq. for which your petitioner received a bill 20th January of Capt. Otho Thorp to pay me on Sr. Wm Berkeley's account [C.O. 5/1355 f 202].*

Nothing more is known about the African men Govenor William Berkeley purchased. They may have been put to work at Green Spring, probably as field hands, instead of being placed upon Berkeley's property in urban Jamestown. Slave trade statistics indicate that a substantial number of Africans were brought to Virginia during 1676 and 1678. Another large group arrived in 1687 (Davies 1957:359). This would have occurred while John Page was the Company's agent.

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon was the Royal African Company's agent in Virginia during the late 1670s. In a June 25, 1679, letter to Company officials, Bacon and Edward Jones reported upon the slave ship *Arrabella*, which arrived in the York River with 201 Africans. Bacon and Jones collected the funds that were owed to the Royal African Company and said that they would dispose of 14 Africans who were infirm (Walsh 1997:55; Donnan 1935:IV:54-55).

From the 1660s through the 1680s Colonel Nathaniel Bacon was a member of the Governor's Council and from 1675 to 1687 he served as the colony's auditor general (Stanard 1965:22, 73). Therefore, he would have been in an excellent position to further the Royal African Company's business interests. On April 6, 1671, Bacon and the late Miles Cary's executor purchased Bay 3 of the rowhouse known as the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A) from Henry Randolph. By 1683 the rowhouse unit had come into the hands of Philip Ludwell I. Bacon was part-owner of the ship *Lady Frances*, a vessel that sometimes carried African slaves to Virginia. During the early 1670s he made numerous appearances in the General Court to recover debts and to report upon the estate accounts he'd audited. Some of these issues and Bacon's steadfast loyalty to Governor William Berkeley undoubtedly put him at odds with those who later sympathized with the rebel Nathaniel Bacon. In May 1683, Bacon patented a tract of land in urban Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract S) that formerly belonged to the rebel Richard Lawrence. At Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's death, his land and personal estate descended to the Burwells. Included would have been any Africans he acquired while an agent of the Royal African

[44] That is, by auction while a candle burned an inch.

Company (McIlwaine 1924:251, 253, 259, 270, 274, 276, 289, 302, 344, 412, 514; Hening 1809-1823:II:560; Ambler MS 11; Patent Book 4:397; Patent Book 7:300; Nugent 1969-1979:II:265; Donnan 1935:IV:56; note 2).

On September 20, 1683, Governor Thomas Lord Culpeper informed English officials that "Mr Auditor Bacon hath lately built two very good ones [houses]" on his land [at Jamestown] and that others were building or had planned to do so (C.O. 5/1356 #68). Culpeper's statement about Auditor Nathaniel Bacon's recent construction of two houses raises the possibility that he erected them upon Study Unit 4 Tract S. It is highly doubtful that he conducted business on behalf of the Royal African Company while occupying his structures on Tract S, for by the time he had erected those buildings, others had succeeded him as Company agent. However, he was in possession of Bay 3 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A) while he was a Royal African Company employee.

Throughout the latter part of his life, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon continued to play an active role in governmental affairs. He outlived his wife, Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe, with whom he produced no children. On March 15, 1692, he made his will, bequeathing the bulk of his undesignated real and personal property to his niece Abigail Smith Burwell of Gloucester County (his sister's child and Lewis Burwell II's wife), with the understanding that it was pass from her to her sons, Nathaniel and James. Bacon also made a bequest to his great-nephew, Lewis Burwell III (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:116-118; McGhan 1993:452; Stanard 1965:17; Meyer et al 1987:145).

Christopher Robinson

In 1688 Christopher Robinson, whose plantation, Powhatan, was located in James City County on the west side of Powhatan Creek, was the Royal African Company's factor in Virginia. Robinson died around 1694, at which time William Sherwood became his replacement (P.R.O., T. 70/57 ff 1-2). Statistics compiled by K. G. Davies suggest that Robinson did not sell a large volume of slaves (Davies 1957:359). However, during the early 1690s, the Royal African Company's activities in Virginia may have been minimal.

John Soane

In August 1693 Captain John Soane received orders from the Royal African Company to sail the ship *Jeffrey* to old or new Callabar, where he was to exchange his cargo (worth £926.14.10) for Africans. Afterward, he was to set sail for whatever ports or plantations Jeffrey Jeffreys told him to. A later-dated reference to Soane reveals that he was supposed to obtain 340 Africans during his voyage to Africa (P.R.O. T. 70/61 ff 106ro, 165vo-166ro). It is probable that Captain John Soane was the same individual, who from time to time performed surveys for James City County landowners, for he used a ship's compass in laying out properties. One individual whose land he delimited and mapped was Christopher Robinson of Powhatan Plantation, the Royal African Company's factor from 1688 to 1694 (Davies 1957:359; Soane 1694).

William Sherwood of Jamestown

Jeffrey Jeffreys and Micajah Perry had a close working relationship with William Sherwood, who in January 1695 became the Royal African Company's representative in Virginia. Therefore, Sherwood probably sold newly-arrived Africans on the firm's behalf. Micajah Perry, whose niece, the former Joanna Lowe, was married to William Sherwood's nephew, John Jarrett, by 1696 was in possession of Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot A and Bay 1 of the Structure 17 rowhouse. Meanwhile, Sherwood owned the lot next door (Lot B) and the ruins of Bay 2 of Structure 17, his only waterfront property in the New Towne. Sherwood also was in possession of Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F and G. Slave ships may have docked at Sherwood's waterfront lot.

On August 18, 1697, when William Sherwood made his will, he left his widow, Rachel,

a life-interest in all of his real and personal estate except for a few modest bequests he made to friends and kin. However, he left the reversionary rights to his property to London merchant Jeffrey Jeffreys, by whom he was employed as the Royal African Company's representative in Virginia. This arrangement suggests that he was indebted to Jeffreys.[45] William Sherwood died later in the year and his will was presented for probate in February 1698 (Ambler MS 65, 73; McGhan 1993:873; Withington 1980:52; H. C. A., T 70/57 f 120). His property gave rise to what became the Ambler Plantation.

William Armiger of Jamestown

Documentary records pertaining to the Virginia slave trade reveal that in 1700 Captain William Armiger of Study Unit 4 Tract J owned a ship, the *Two Brothers*, that was used to import Africans to Virginia, directly from Africa. Maritime records indicate that in 1701 Yorktown was Armiger's ship's port of call and that he brought in 180 Africans that year (Minchinton et al. 1984:5). Besides his lot in urban Jamestown and a leasehold in the Governor's Land, Armiger owned a 225 acre tract on the Chickahominy River, in what is now Charles City County (Nugent 1969-1979:III:361).[46] Sometime prior to July 1681 he married the widowed Susanna Fisher, who sometimes hosted meetings of the colony's assembly in her home at Jamestown, perhaps on Study Unit 4 Tract A, a waterfront lot that adjoined Armiger's Tract J (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:119; McGhan 1980:421).

Jamestown Island Inhabitants with Black Servants or Slaves

Although it is probable that many of those who had houses or businesses in Jamestown employed black servants or had African men and women as slaves, the destruction of James City County's antebellum court records leaves this issue open to conjecture. Africans listed as headrights in patents secured by Jamestown Island property owners demonstrate, however, that many members of the middle to upper class imported black servants and slaves. Surry County records, which identify some Jamestown lot owners as tithables in Surry, also include black and Native American servants and slaves.

In 1678 Robert Beverley II, who was James City County's clerk of court and in 1694 patented Study Unit 4 Tract Q, upon which he built the easternmost unit (Bay 5) of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, used six Africans as headrights when patenting some land in the Middle Peninsula. However, he usually failed to mention their names. On October 26, 1694, when Beverley patented a massive 6,500 acre tract, 70 of the 130 people he claimed to have transported to Virginia were described as "negroes." All of these people were listed by name: Lawrence, Sarah, Nanny, Salvo, Jack, Cromwell, Charles, Papa, Mingo, Lawrence, Harry, Bess, Absalom, Jack, Moll, Gambo, Joseph, George, Sarah, George, Roger, Peter, Beck, Nagar, Betty, Paul, Sue, Ructon, Peg, Andrew, Cecill, James, Jeffrey, Abell, Kate, James, Jack, Gomar, Rack, Robin, Sam, Frank, Tony, Billy, Margaret, Marcelles, Kell, Joakim, Willoby, Scipio, Elah, Hodae, Beck, Joan, Marina, Brisk, Racham, Nadar, Will, Adam, Nan, Selam, Robin, Nora, Cis, Lydie, Hanah, Will, and Nurse. Then, in 1696 Beverley patented some additional land, using 12 Africans as headrights: Jack, Mary, Keate, Peter, Jean, Mingo, Parrett, Keate, Growdy, Dick, Tom, George (Nugent 1969-1979:II:395; III:9). Robert Bevereley II's experience with black servants and slaves surely would have influenced the opinions he expressed about labor in Virginia, when he wrote a history of the colony in 1704 (see ahead). It is likely that he utilized both servants and slaves in his home in urban Jamestown.

William Edwards II, who acquired Study Unit 4 Tract O and Tract L Lot C in urban Jamestown, in 1688 listed "Will a negro" as a headright when

[45] Colonel Nathaniel Bacon did business with Jeffrey Jeffreys and in November 1692 asked him to pay Stephen Fouace for an African woman named Nann, whom Bacon had bought from him (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:187).

[46] The historic house, Eagles Lodge, in Charles City County, is located upon the Armiger property.

patenting some land in Surry County.[47] In 1691, when Edwards laid claim to another parcel, he included seven Africans among his headrights: Doll, Anthony, Cobarro, Kebo, Robin, Kate and Mingo. Later in the year, when he patented some additional land he utilized four more Africans: Shannon, Anthony, Ruth and Tulie (Nugent 1969-1979:II:322, 373, 401). Lists of tithables in Surry County record books include William Edwards II's servants or slaves, who sometimes were listed by name and ethnic group. Among them were Will, Robin, and Mingo, perhaps the same Africans listed as headrights. Between 1679 and 1690 Edwards was credited with two to six individuals, both males and females. In 1691 he was in possession of nine servants or slaves and in 1692 had 13, one of whom (Tom) was identified as an Indian. Jack Cickquatan (Kecoughtan), who also may have been a Native American, eventually was freed. As the 1690s wore on, the number of servants and slaves in Edwards' possession decreased. In 1692 a man named Scipio joined William Edwards II's household (Surry County Deeds, Wills & Etc. 1671-1684:188, 227, 293, 317, 337; 1684-1687:6, 36, 69; 1687-1694:5, 66, 121, 151, 218, 281, 333; 1694-1709:22, 60, 109, 136, 189, 210, 233, 257, 291). In 1710 he and perhaps other Edwards slaves participated in an abortive escape attempt. Scipio, as a ringleader, was executed (see ahead).

Colonel Thomas Swann, the widowed Mary Swann, and her stepson, Samuel Swann, the probable owners of Structure 19 A/B, the brick buildings on Study Unit 1 Tract G, were in possession of slaves and servants of tithable age between 1677 and 1693. All of the individuals with whom they were credited appear to have been black, with the exception of Tom, who was identified as a mulatto (Surry County Deeds, Wills, & Etc. 1671-1684:146, 293, 317; 1684-1687:6, 36, 698; 1687-1694:4, 65, 120, 150, 217, 333). William Thompson, who leased the Swanns' Jamestown tavern during the late 1670s, was a Surry County resident and owned black servants or slaves (Surry County Deeds, Wills & Etc. 1684-1687:36, 68).

William Browne II, who sometime prior to 1682 came into possession of Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D, which contained the easternmost units of Structure 115, represented Surry County in the assembly during the 1660s, 70s and 80s, and was a highly successful planter. Between 1677 and 1703 he was credited with between 4 and 11 slaves. During the 1680s he had between three and six Indian servants or slaves and in 1685 all of the individuals listed were Indians. In 1691, 1692 and 1694 Browne was paid for providing a storehouse for the ammunition belonging to the fort at Jamestown. As he already had disposed of his rowhouse lot, it is uncertain where his storehouse was located. On December 4, 1704, when Browne made his will, he left his acreage in James City (then occupied by John Child) to his grandson, Henry. It is uncertain whether the testator was referring to property in urban Jamestown or in James City County. William Browne II's will was presented for probate on July 3, 1705 (Stanard 1965:73, 80, 82-83; Nugent 1969-1979:II:61, 222; III:45, 62; Sainsbury 1964:10:44; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:187, 255, 315; Surry County Deeds, Wills & Etc. 1671-1684:148, 188, 226, 269, 293, 317, 336; 1684-1687:6, 36, 68; 1687-1694:4, 65, 120, 150, 217, 281, 333; 1694-1709:22, 60, 108, 136, 189, 193, 209, 233, 258, 289, 305).

On August 18, 1697, when William Sherwood prepared his will, he made a number of bequests. One beneficiary was his Indian servant, Dorothy Jubilee, to whom he bequeathed her freedom. Although Sherwood made no reference to the presence of slaves in his household, he did mention a maid servant named Mary Anthrobus. Sherwood's will was presented for probate in February 1698 (Ambler MS 65, 73; McGhan 1993:873). As Sherwood was a Royal African Company agent, he probably used Africans as part of his work force. Newly arrived Africans may have served as field hands.

Nicholas Meriwether, who in 1661 purchased the Kingsmill plantation on Jamestown Island from Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and his wife, Elizabeth,

[47] In 1688 an African named Will was listed among those upon whom Edwards paid poll tax (Surry County Deeds, Wills, & Etc. 1687-1694:66).

in 1677 and 1690 was credited with two tithable black servants or slaves in Surry County (Surry County Deeds, Wills, & Etc. 1671-1684:148; 1687-1694:150). Colonel Philip Ludwell I, who in 1680 married the widowed Lady Frances Berkeley, came into possession of Chippokes, a Surry County plantation that she had inherited from the late Sir William Berkeley. Surry County records reveal that in 1686 Colonel Ludwell commenced being credited with black workers of tithable age. Typically, Chippokes was identified as Colonel Ludwell's quarter and a white male of tithable age was listed as overseer (Surry County Deeds, Wills, & Etc. 1684-1687:67; 1687-1694:6, 71, 121, 152, 218, 332; 1694-1709:60, 135, 191, 194, 208, 234, 259, 290).

Non-Christian Servants Declared Slaves (1682)

In November 1682 the assembly enacted legislation that classified

> *... all servants except Turks and Moores, ... whether Negroes, Moors, Mollattoes or Indians, who and whose parentage and native country are not christian at the time of their first purchase of such servant by some christian, although afterwards, and before such their importation and bringing into this country they shall be converted to the christian faith; and all Indians which shall hereafter be sold by our neighbouring Indians, or any other trafiqueing with us as for slaves are hereby adjudged, deemed and taken to be slaves to all intents and purposes, any law, usage or custome to the countrary [Hening 1809-1823:II:491-492].*

Thus, all who were sold as slaves were considered slaves, whether or not they were converted to Christianity. Moreover, Indians and other nonwhites were considered slaves, if they had been imported or sold as such. Simultaneously, the law declared that Indian maid servants who were age 16 or older were to be considered tithable. Specifically, "all Indian women are and shall be tythables, and ought to pay levies in like manner as negroe women brought into this country doe, and ought to pay" (Hening 1809-1823:II:492).

Freed Slaves Obliged to Leave Virginia

Blacks' last legal means of escaping a lifetime of enslavement was limited severely in April 1691. At that time, the assembly decided that henceforth, whenever slaves were freed, those who manumitted them had to pay for their transportation out of the colony within six months. The burgesses justified their actions by noting that negroes and mulattoes who had been set free could be expected to associate with the enslaved, thereby distracting them from the duties they performed for their masters. Freed slaves also were considered potential recipients of stolen property. The burgesses pointed out that when freed slaves grew old, their care would be an additional expense to the colony, for no one else would be responsible for their welfare (Hening 1809-1823:III:87-88).

Deprivation of the Right to Own Taxable Personal Property

Legislation the assembly enacted in April 1692 stipulated that by December 31, 1692, "all horses, cattle and hoggs marked of any negro or other slaves marke, or by any slave kept" were to be made the property of the slave's owner and marked (or physically identified) by him as such. Livestock that were not re-marked were to revert to ownership of the parish in which the animals were located (Hening 1809-1823:III:102-103). Seizing the property of slaves, who had very little in the way of material possessions of monetary value, not only would have been demoralizing and degrading, it also would have served to stifle personal initiative and an opportunity for economic betterment.

Loss of the Right to a Jury Trial

In April 1692 a special court procedure was established for trying enslaved blacks accused of

wrong-doing. Those charged with capital crimes were to be imprisoned immediately and could be indicted on the basis of a confession or two witnesses' oaths. They were to be tried at the county level by local courts of oyer and terminer (justices empowered to hear and determine the fate of the accused) without the benefit of a jury. In contrast, others (including free blacks) charged with capital crimes were hauled before the General Court, the highest judicial body in Virginia. If a slave destroyed someone's property while living in a quarter that lacked a Christian overseer, the slave's owner had to pay for whatever damage was done. That law was enforced by the justices of York County in 1697, when an unsupervised slave allegedly killed a neighbor's hog. Because those who had slaves and indentured servants were ever mindful that they might rebel, county constables were authorized to apprehend all runaways (Tate 1965:10; Hening 1809-1823:III:102-103, 333; McIlwaine 1924:347; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 10:377).

By April 1699 the burgesses had decided that it was necessary to amend one portion of the law pertaining to capital crimes (felonies) that they had enacted in 1692. Henceforth, slaves or other blacks who stole hogs once or twice would not be prosecuted as though they had committed a felony. Instead, the accused would be carried before a local justice of the peace, who would decide whether he was guilty or innocent. The first time that a slave or other black person was found guilty of hog-stealing, he would receive 39 lashes upon his bare back. The second time, he would be made to stand in the pillory for two hours "and have both his eares nailed thereto and at the expiration of the said two hours have his ears cutt off close by the nailes." It is probable that some of the slaves accused of stealing hogs simply were reclaiming animals that formerly had been theirs, for an April 1692 law required the masters and mistresses of blacks and other slaves to confiscate their livestock. Another legal statute enacted in April 1699 restricted deer-hunting during the deer population's breeding season. It specified that servants and slaves incapable of being fined would be whipped (Hening 1809-1823:III:179).

The Slave Trade Becomes More Widespread

In 1698 the Crown bestowed upon all English subjects the right to participate in the slave trade. With loss of the Royal African Company's control, the number of shipments of African slaves transported directly to the Chesapeake multiplied dramatically. By the turn of the eighteenth century, only around ten percent of the Africans imported into the Chesapeake arrived aboard ships that belonged to the Royal African Company (Walsh 1997:54).

Governor Edmund Jennings reported that between June 1699 and October 1708, 39 ships brought in 6,607 Africans, 236 of whom had come from Barbados. During that period, the Royal African Company reportedly brought in 679 people from Africa, whereas 5,692 people were transported by individual traders. Minchinton et al. concluded that Andros underestimated the number of Africans brought in. They determined that another 13 ships had brought in 81 additional blacks (Minchinton et al. 1984:xii-xiii).

Slave trade statistics for 1698-1699 reveal that at least five slave-bearing ships came into Virginia during that period. One came from London and Guinea, one came from Boston, two came from Barbados, and one came from Belfast by way of Barbados. One of the vessels that brought Africans from Barbados in 1698 was registered in Jamestown and belonged to four residents of Charles City County: Elizabeth Hamlin, John Taylor, Richard Bland and John Hardiman. Its port of call was the Upper James River Naval District, where Edward Hill was the Naval Officer or customs official (Minchinton et al. 1984:3, 198).

Africans Disallowed as Headrights

On April 15, 1699, Virginia's governing officials agreed that Africans no longer could be used as headrights. Specifically, it was decided that the "taking up of Land" was a privilege that belonged to "His Majesty's Subjects comeing to inhabite in this His Colony and Dominion." Therefore, the Gov-

ernor and Council concluded that "His Majesty's Land in this colony ought not to be granted to any others then [sic] His Christian Subjects comeing to reside here" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:347; Nugent 1969-1979:III:viii). This change probably occurred in response to the opening up of the slave trade, which also had begun to include an occasional Native American.

Records of the Virginia Land Office demonstrate clearly that in 1699, Virginia officials implemented the new policy immediately. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century quite a few Natives from the Carolinas arrived, probably people captured while the colonists there were at war with Natives supporting Spanish settlers. Minchinton et al. concluded that this practice led to the Tuscarora War (1711-1713) in North Carolina and the Yamassee War (1715-1718) in South Carolina (Minchinton et al. 1984:20-52; Nugent 1969-1979:III:7). However, none of those individuals arrived in Virginia in time to be counted as headrights.

The Creolization Process

The cultural diversity Africans brought to Virginia included religious beliefs, specialized skills and crafts, experience in raising crops, and musical traditions. These people's life experience would have influenced how they interacted with those with whom they came into contact. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, when large numbers of African slaves were brought to the colonies, especially from the Guinea Coast, a substantial number came to James City County. It is likely that they were from a number of tribes, spoke different languages and had a diversity of cultural backgrounds. Although they eventually would have assimilated some of the characteristics of the alien culture into which they were thrust, they probably tried to retain essential elements of their own traditions. Newly-arrived Africans or "new negroes" generally were considered unruly and disruptive. They were not valued as highly as slaves who understood English and knew how to work in the fields, as house servants, or as skilled artisans.[48] Cultural traits would have lingered on in music, dance, folk tales, speech patterns and in other opportunities for self-expression. In time, the unique African-American cultural tradition (with its rich diversity of music, dance, folklore, religions, crafts and artistry) developed, but it was a gradual process. This occurred as newly arrived Africans came into contact with increasing numbers of American-born slaves and whites whose parents had been in the colonies for one or more generations. From slaves who had been born in Virginia, new arrivals could learn about the routines of plantation life.

Lorena S. Walsh, who has studied the slave population associated with Carter's Grove and other properties owned by the Bacons and Burwells, learned that most of the Africans who came to James City County between 1698 and 1721 were from Senegal. Newly-arrived slaves had very little control over their own lives, for others determined where they went, the type of food they consumed, the clothes they wore, and the types of buildings they inhabited. Thus, Africans were forced to put aside many of their own cultural traditions and adjust to the new land in which they found themselves (Walsh 1997:93). They were subjected to harsh discipline and systematic attempts to make them abandon African customs. They also would have had very little leisure time. These forces combined to suppress cultural traditions and their transmission to subsequent generations. However, archaeological evidence and historical documents indicate that certain elements of African culture persisted and melded with the traditions of white Europeans and Native Americans. For example, at Utopia, which eventually became part of Kingsmill Plantation, archaeologists excavated locally-made coarseware and tobacco pipes that reflect a blending of designs and techniques that are attributable to African, European and Native cultural traditions. Impermanent objects, such as drums and baskets,

[48] One Englishman said, "If he must be broke either from Obstinacy or, which I am more apt to suppose, from Greatness of Soul, [it] will require … hard Discipline… . You would really be surpriz'd at their Perseverance … they often die before they can be conquer'd" (Nash 1974:193).

would have been utilitarian as well as a medium of cultural expression (Walsh 1997:95).

Botanist John Banister's plant catalog, compiled between 1678 and 1692, makes reference to the plant species *Hedera trifol*. John Ray, who in 1699 commented upon Clayton's work, included a notation which suggests that Africans and people of African descent sometimes used *Hedera trifol* to dye their clothing in a distinctive manner. He said that Banister actually was referring to *Hedera trifolia erecta foliis glabris* and noted that:

> *It is the Poysonweed, and is allsoe called arbor Virginiana tinctoria, from the qualitie of its juice, which on linnen turnes black & will not loose its colour in the wash, with it our Negroes mark their shirts [Banister 1970:202].*

It is thought that Banister was speaking of the type of poison sumac that sometimes grows in swamps.

The Care and Treatment of Slaves

Relatively little information is available on how slaves were cared for during the seventeenth century. However, in October 1699 Daniel Parke II, the father-in-law of Jamestown lot owner John Custis I (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C), advised his daughter, Frances, to "be Calm and Obligeing to all the servants, and when you speak doe it mildly, Even to the poorest slave; if any of the Servants committ small faults that are of no consequence, doe you hide them." In a letter Parke wrote in 1702 he told Frances that it was best to "Be kind and good-natured to all of your servants. It is much better to have them love you than fear you." Daniel Parke II was married to Philip Ludwell I's daughter, Jane, and was a member of the Govenror's Council and the assembly (Stanard 1912:375, 377). He was in office during the 1690s, when restrictive legislation was passed that stripped blacks and other ethnic minorities of their rights.

In 1699 one Virginian informed his superiors that there were significant differences between slaves imported from Africa (so-called New Africans) and those born in Virginia. He said that

> *The negroes born in this country are generally baptized and brought up in the Christian religion, but for negroes imported hither, the gross bestiality and rudeness of their manners, the variety and strangeness of their languages, and the weakness and shallowness of their minds, render it in a manner impossible to make any progress in their conversion [Bruce 1890:I:9].*

In 1697 Governor Edmund Andros informed his superiors that "no endeavours to convert the Indians to Christianity have ever been heard of" in the colony. Instead, the colonists tried to effect a cultural conversion by encouraging the Natives to become part of their labor pool. They told Indian parents that their children would be servants, not slaves, and would not be transferred from one English family to another (Rountree 1990:136).

Durand de Dauphine, a French Huguenot who visited Virginia during the mid-1680s, said that "Jemston" (Jamestown) was the colony's only town and that most people lived on plantations of various sizes. He said that tobacco, not currency, commonly was used to purchase land, livestock and whatever else was needed. According to Durand, Virginia farmers "do not know what it is to plough the land with cattle, but just make holes into which they drop the seeds." Most sowed wheat in late October or early November, planted corn in April, and transplanted tobacco in May. He said that most farmhouses were frame and that Virginians, "whatever their rank," tended to build "only two rooms with some closets on the ground floor" and two rooms overhead in an attic. Many plantations had a detached kitchen, a tobacco house, and separate houses for servants and black slaves (Durand 1934:107-111, 117-120, 138).

Relations with the Indians

During the late seventeenth century, tributary Indian tribes, whose villages were attacked by stronger, warlike Natives from beyond the colony's frontier, sometimes asked the Virginia government for the protection to which they were entitled under

the 1677 treaty. During the mid-1680s food and other supplies were provided to certain tribes that had come under siege and some of the weaker Native groups were urged to unite for mutual protection. Sometimes, tributary Indians took up residence on the outskirts of the colonists' plantations. When Natives crossed from one colony into another to commit a crime, the two governments were supposed to cooperate in bringing the perpetrators to justice. In 1696 an Indian from Maryland was jailed at Jamestown until he could be sent north to stand trial (McCartney 1985:73; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:342).

Robert Beverley II's Perspective on Servants and Slaves

Robert Beverley II, who owned a lot in Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract Q, which contained Bay 5 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group), prepared a history of Virginia in 1704. In that volume, which was published in England in 1705, but written before Virginia's slave code was enacted, he described the similarities and differences between the status of servants and slaves. He said that Virginians made a distinction between "Slaves for Life and Servants for a time." He stated that "Slaves are the Negroes, and their Posterity, following the condition of the Mother, according to the Maxim, partus seqiotir ventrem. They are call'd Slaves in respect of the time of their Servitude, because it is for life." He then indicated that servants consist of "those which serve only for a few years, according to the time of their Indenture, or the Custom of the Country," whenever they arrived without an indenture. In such circumstances, servants under age 19 were obliged to serve until they were 24-years-old. Servants who were age 19 or older had to serve for five years.

Beverley said that:

> *The Male-Servants, and Slaves of both Sexes, are imployed together in Tilling and Manuring the Ground, in Sowing and Planting Tobacco, Corn &c. Some Distinction indeed is made between them in their Cloathes, and Food; but the Work of both, is no other than what the Overseers, the Freemen, and the Planters themselves do [Beverley 1947: 271].*[49]

He added that:

> *Sufficient Distinction is also made between the Female-Servants, and Slaves; for a White Woman is rarely or never put to work in the Ground if she be good for anything else; and to Discourage all Planters from using any Women so, their Law imposes the heaviest Taxes upon Female-Servants working in the Ground while it suffers all other white Women to be absolutely exempted: Whereas on the other hand, it is a common thing to work a Woman Slave out of Doors; nor does the Law make any Distinction in her Taxes, whether her Work be Abroad, or at Home [Beverley 1947:271-272].*

Beverley, who said that he was aware of the rumors in England that service in Virginia was cruel and severe, tried to assure his readers that "the work of their Servants and Slaves is no other than what every common Freeman do's. Neither is any Servant requir'd to do more in a Day than his Overseer." He added that "Their Slaves are not worked near so hard, nor so many hours in a Day, as the Husbandmen and Day-Labourers in England." He noted that "An Overseer is a man, that having served his time, has acquired the Skill and Character of an experienced Planter, and is therefore intrusted with the Direction of the Servants and Slaves."

Robert Beverley II, to underscore his point, summarized the laws pertaining to servants. He said that servants had the right to air their complaints before a local justice of the peace. If a servant's master failed to appear in response to the justice's summons, the servant's work was to be suspended until the matter was resolved. Servants' complaints were to be heard in court without delay. If a master were to disobey a court order with regard to a specific servant, that servant could be removed from the premises and sold at public auction. All servants were entitled to good and wholesome diet, clothing and lodging. If a master were to force his servant to work inspite of sickness or lameness,

[49] Emphasis added.

the servant could be removed by the churchwardens of his parish and maintained as a ward of the parish. A servant's personal property (defined as goods and money) was to remain exclusively his/her own, and could not be withheld by that individual's master. Also, a servant's contract could not be modified or extended without the consent of a county justice. Beverley said that each servant, upon completion of his/her term, received 15 bushels of corn (a year's supply) and two new suits of clothes, one of linen and one woolen. At that point, the servant became free and was allowed to take up 50 acres of land (Beverley 1947:273-274). Robert Beverley II failed to comment upon the treatment of slaves or any legal recourse they had, probably because they had few (if any) rights under the law. As he had functioned as clerk of the General Court and of James City County, and had served several terms as a burgess, he would have been knowledgable about the laws that regulated conduct in Virginia.

The Evolution of Slavery as an Institution

Between 1619, when the first Africans arrived in Virginia, and the close of the seventeenth century, blacks and Native Americans steadily were divested of their rights under the law. They also paid a terrible price in human terms. Unlike the indentured servant, whose term could be extended for wrongdoing, the African in service for life was subjected to brutal corporal punishment, or worse. Thanks to the passage of increasingly restrictive legislation, blacks (like livestock) were relegated to the status of personal property that could be bought, sold, and conveyed by bequest. Native Americans, whose population dwindled as the seventeenth century wore on, suffered a similar fate. By the 1680s, Africans had replaced European bound servants and slavery had become commonplace. In time, it became the underpinning of Virginia's plantation economy. Slavery was the route many Virginia planters took in their drive to accumulate wealth and power. As Lorena S. Walsh has pointed out, the "acquisition of slaves was no longer an unthinking response to a temporary shortage of free labor; it had become the very foundation of the wealth and status of the Chesapeake elite." Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's heir, Lewis Burwell II, was one man whose life spanned this transitional period (Walsh 1997:25).

At first, white indentured servants comprised the majority of workers in Virginia. However, as that labor supply dried up and the influx of European servants slowed to a trickle, planters became increasingly dependent upon Africans. Often, the Africans brought in to work in Virginia's tobacco fields were considered chattles and therefore were expected to serve for life. In 1643 all black and white males, and black females, who were age 16 and over, were designated tithable. Significantly, white females were not. Then, in February 1645 "all negro men and women" and all other men between 16 and 60 were considered tithable. For free blacks, who were at the low end of the economic scale and had relatively little disposable income, the need to pay a poll tax would have been extremely burdensome. Between the mid-1660s (when Governor William Berkeley was in office) and the late 1690s, the colony's burgesses passed increasingly restrictive laws that allowed planters to detain Africans and their descendants for life and deprived them of the right to own livestock or receive a jury trial. They also were not allowed to possess weapons, such as firearms, or to travel without a pass. They lost the right to defend themselves from physical abuse. As much of the legislation that was passed was race-specific, it repetitiously linked African ancestry with the concept of lifetime enslavement. White women were penalized for forming sexual liaisons with black men, and whites who married someone of African descent had to leave the colony. However, a white male slaveholder who produced a child with a black female stood to gain, for the youngster was classified according to his/her mother's race and status. Some laws were rooted in whites' fear that those they enslaved would rebel. To discourage growth of a free black population, new restrictions were placed on manumission. Finally, at the turn of the eighteenth century, Virginia's slave laws were sum-

marized and codified. That established a slave-based system of productivity that was in use until the Civil War wrought immense changes to Virginia society as a whole.

Edmund S. Morgan became convinced that "Servitude in Virginia's tobacco fields approached closer to slavery than anything known at the time in England. Men served longer, were subjected to more rigorous punishments, [and] were traded about as commodities" from the 1620s, on. Morgan felt that the transformation of indentured servants into slaves would have been "a tricky business" that would have required complicated legislative changes and great risk of rebellion. However, buying people "who were already enslaved, after the initial risks of transformation had been sustained by others elsewhere" was more feasible. Therefore, Virginians "converted to slavery simply by buying slaves instead of servants." According to Morgan, seventeenth century plantations already had a separate quartering house or houses for servants, who worked in groups of eight or ten, under the supervision of an overseer. They were used to corporal punishment and many were underfed and underclothed. However, Morgan believed that the release of more and more freemen into a society, which offered limited opportunities for advancement through the cultivation of tobacco, would have created serious problems. Therefore, the conversion to slave labor was a stabilizing influence. He added, however, that "planters who bought slaves instead of servants did not do so with any apparent consciousness of the social stability to be gained thereby" (Morgan 1975:296-297).

Morgan said that "The point at which it became more advantageous for Virginians to buy slaves probably was reached by 1660," the year in which Dutch ships were made exempt from local duties when bringing in Africans. Although the Navigation Acts delayed the conversion to slavery by interdicting trade with the Dutch, the Mother Country sponsored a trading company (the Royal Adventurers) that accommodated the slave trade. Although West Indian sugar growers had an advantage over Virginia planters when it came to buying slaves, the financial gap narrowed as the century wore on. In Morgan's words, "To make a profit, sugar planters worked their slaves to death; tobacco planters did not have to." As a result, a Virginia planter who invested in a slave knew that he would get a greater return on his investment in the long run (Morgan 1975:299-301).

According to Morgan,

> *The gap between the ability of Virginia and West Indies planters to pay for slaves was also narrowed in the course of the century by changes in the market price of their respective crops. The selling price of muscovado sugar in the islands during the 1640s, when the planters were converting to slavery, was perhaps 60 shillings the hundredweight… In the 1650s and 1660s it dropped to about 30 shillings, in the 1670s to about 11, and in the 1680s to as low as 10, with some recovery in the 1690s.*

Morgan added that by the second half of the seventeenth century, Virginians had the ability to sell cattle and other food resources to the colonists in the West Indies, in exchange for slaves. Also, would-be planters, who came to Virginia with a modest amount of money to invest, were able to make a start. A far greater amount of capital was required for those who hoped to start a sugar plantation in the islands. Moreover, "With slavery Virginians could exceed all their previous efforts to maximize productivity" (Morgan 1975:303-304, 308). Collectively, these factors fueled the use of slave labor.

Allan Kulikoff concluded that:

> *The decline of the servant trade transformed the labor system of the [Chesapeake] region in two ways. It forced planters to substitute African slaves for white servants, and it permitted the whole white population to reproduce itself. Planters sought to retain a white labor force, but they eventually replaced indentured servants with black slaves, and by 1700 slaves produced much of the region's tobacco [Kulikoff 1986:38].*

Kulikoff noted that "The transformation of the Chesapeake labor force from one dominated by immigrant planters and white servants to one operated by planters and their black slaves revolu-

tionized the social relations of production." From 1680 on, this evolutionary process was hastened by a depression in the price of tobacco, which discouraged white servants' immigration. The result was that by 1700 "most unfree laborers were black" (Kulikoff 1986:38).

Chapter 12.
Three Microcosms: The Travis and Ambler Plantations and Green Spring

Relocating the colony's capital to Middle Plantation in 1699 irrevocably changed the course of Jamestown's history, for its importance as an urban community diminished almost immediately. Although some lot owners retained their property, by 1699 the bulk of the island's acreage had been absorbed into the plantations that belonged to Edward Travis I's heirs and those of William Sherwood. Green Spring, meanwhile, was in the hands of the Ludwells.

The Travis Plantation: Establishment and Descent

Edward Travis I

On March 10, 1652, Edward Travis I patented 196 acres on Jamestown Island, acreage that lay between the Back River and the land of Walter Chiles I, which enveloped Black Point. Travis's 196 acres included Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, Q, and S, plus some acreage south and west of Tract E. Included were 12 acres patented by John Senior I (Tract E), 24 acres that had been granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), and 16 acres originally belonging to Thomas Passmore (Tract H) or 52 acres in all, plus 144 acres Travis received on the basis of headrights (Patent Book 3:158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271). A land transaction made on March 10, 1653, reveals that it was on part of this 196 acre tract that Edward Travis I built his family's dwelling (Patent Book 3:8; Nugent 1969-1979:I:231). Archaeological features located upon Tract E probably are associated with the Travis domestic complex. On August 8, 1659, Edward Travis I purchased Study Unit 2 Tract A from his brother-in-law, John Johnson II, who had inherited that acreage from his father, John I (Patent Book 3:8, 158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271, 531; II:252; Meyer et al. 1987:224).

On March 10, 1653, Edward Travis I patented 326 acres that included the 196 acres he had acquired the previous year plus 130 acres of marsh and arable land "lying southerly from his now dwelling house." His newly acquired property abutted Passmore Creek and extended in a westerly direction from the property he already owned and abutted north upon a swamp (Patent Book 3:8; Nugent 1969-1979:231). On November 5, 1654, Travis patented 150 acres that included Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, D, T and some marsh land north of Passmore Creek (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). A month later, on December 4, 1654, he patented Study Unit 2 Tract I: 12 acres he purchased from John Crump (Crumfort), the late Rev. Richard Buck's grandson (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Meyer et al. 1987:224). Finally, on August 8, 1659, Travis (who by that date owned Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, I, L, Q, S, T, and marsh and arable land north of Passmore Creek) purchased Tract A from his brother-in-law John Johnson II (Patent Book 3:8, 158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271, 531; II:252; Meyer et al. 1987:224). At Edward Travis I's death, which occurred sometime prior to February 10, 1664, his Jamestown Island landholdings descended to his son, Edward II (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503). It is uncertain whether Edward Travis I used Africans as part of the work force on his plantation. However, it is very likely that he did.

Edward Travis II

On February 10, 1664, Edward Travis II repatented his late father's 396 acres (Patent Book

5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503). Afterward he purchased the late Walter Chiles II's 70 acres (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P, and U), which he patented on August 7, 1672 (Nugent 19769-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). On November 15, 1677, Travis acquired 12 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract X) from William Champion, who probably was his brother-in-law (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). All of these properties became part of the Travis family's plantation on Jamestown Island.

On December 22, 1682, Edward Travis II patented 550 acres: the 326 acres he inherited from his father; the 70 acres he bought from the Chiles heirs; John Senior I's 150 acres; and William Champion's 12 acres (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). Edward II also acquired land that lay east of Kingsmill Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts J, K, R, and V) some time prior to his November 2, 1700, decease (Meyer et al 1987:377-378). This gave Travis and his descendants approximately 802$^{3}/_{4}$ acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing virtually all of Study Unit 2. The family retained the property for nearly a century and a half. Unfortunately there are few records pertaining to the Travis family's management of their landholdings. It is probable, however, that Edward Travis II used African workers on his property, for during his period of ownership, the Royal African Company had agents who were based upon Jamestown Island.

Origin of the Ambler Plantation

Richard James I

On June 6, 1654, Richard James I patented 40 acres of land in Jamestown, on the south side of Back Creek (Study Unit 1 Tract B) (Patent Book 3:368; Nugent 1969-1979:I:314). He may have resided upon his 40 acres until he built a more elaborate domestic complex on Study Unit 1 Tract C, a 150 acre parcel he purchased three years later. It was on Tract C (which consisted of high land and marsh) that Richard James I built a family home, probably Structure 1/2 (Patent Book 4:196-197). James, who was a gentleman, seems to have been heavily involved in mercantile operations, for during the 1670s he sued several people in order to settle debts (McIlwaine 1924:205, 215, 285). As James' landholdings extended along the Back River for a considerable distance and encompassed Piping Point and "the Friggott," probably a landing or wharf at which seagoing vessels could dock. Richard James I was a James City County justice and during the early 1670s he and several other local men were called upon to settle estates and arbitrate disputes (McIlwaine 1924:218, 258, 285, 343).

James' association with some of urban Jamestown's more affluent property-holders suggests that he was among the community's more prominent citizens. In 1664 he served as a Kecoughtan man's attorney in a suit against Surry County resident James Mills, litigation that pertained to a shipment of Africans (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:242). In October 1670 Richard James I and Richard Auborne (then clerk of the General Court and in 1676 occupant of Bay C of Structure 115) together patented 1,000 acres of land in Northumberland County adjacent to an island attributed to the Doeg Indians (McIlwaine 1924:225). In 1674, "John a negro servant to Mr. Richard James" reportedly ran away with five of Governor William Berkeley's men and one who belonged to Mr. George Loyd (McIlwaine 1924:382). Thus, it is certain that James had at least one African as part of the work force on his plantation.

Richard James I died sometime prior to October 4, 1675, leaving as his principal heir, son Richard II, who was not quite 15-years-old (Ambler MS 17). Richard I's widow, Rachel, who would have been eligible for a dower share, quickly married William Sherwood, a convicted felon with good political connections in England. She was Samuel Swann's aunt and therefore probably was the sister of Sarah Codd, Colonel Thomas Swann's second wife (McIlwaine 1924:418-419; Withington 1980:534).

William Sherwood

William Sherwood, who immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to 1669, by October 4, 1675, had married the widowed Rachel James. Sherwood, an attorney and merchant, took charge of the real and personal estate his teenage stepson, Richard James II, stood to inherit upon attaining his majority (Ambler MS 17; McIlwaine 1924:418-419).

In February 1677, William Sherwood purchased Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A, a one-acre lot upon which he built Structure 31, the brick house that he and wife Rachel inhabited (Ambler MS 17, 26, 134). Sometime prior to August 1681, he purchased the 66 acres that were contiguous to his 1 acre lot's northern and eastern boundary lines. By February 6, 1682, Sherwood had gained possession of 133 acres in all. The bulk of his property lay north of Back Street (Ambler MS 29, 33, 134, 135-136). In October 1677 he purchased Study Unit 1 Tract E (a 28½ acre parcel in the western end of Jamestown Island) and by the early 1680s he had purchased 3½ acres from John Page (Study Unit 1 Tract F) (Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Patent Book 7:97; Ambler MS 33, 34). On October 23, 1690, Sherwood patented Study Unit 1 Tract C, the 150 acres his wife's late husband had acquired on June 5, 1657. Sherwood's patent reveals that the late Richard James I's land had descended to his son, Richard II, who had died without heirs. As a result, the James acreage (Tract C) escheated to the Crown (Ambler MS 43; Patent Book 8:83). As Sherwood never repatented the decedent's 40 acre patent (Study Unit 1 Tract B) but retained it, it probably was the widowed Rachel James' dower share of her late husband's estate. On April 20, 1694, William Sherwood patented a 308 acre aggregate that encompassed Study Unit 1 Tracts C, D, E, F, and G. (Patent Book 8:384-386; Nugent 1969-1979:II:394).

On August 18, 1697, when William Sherwood prepared his will, he left to his wife, Rachel, life-rights in his real and personal property. However, London merchant Jeffrey Jeffreys was his reversionary heir. While Sherwood mentioned an indentured servant and an Indian slave, there is no reference to the other workers who undoubtedly were involved in making his plantation productive and carrying out his mercantile activities and official business (Ambler MS 65, 73; McGhan 1993:873). As he was employed by the Royal African Company as its agent during the 1690s, it is likely that Africans comprised part of his work force.

Edward Jaquelin

Edward Jaquelin, a French Huguenot, immigrated to Virginia around 1685. Between June 1699 and December 1700, he married a wealthy widow, Rachel James Sherwood of Jamestown Island, who had outlived at least two previous husbands (Richard James I and William Sherwood) and inherited life-rights to their real and personal property. Jaquelin moved into his new wife's home and in December 1704 purchased the reversionary interest Jeffrey Jeffreys had in the late William Sherwood's estate. Included were Tracts A, C, D, F, and G within Study Unit 1 and Tract C Lot B of Study Unit 4 (Ambler 1826; Meade 1966:I:104; Tyler 1895-1896:49; Ambler MS 65, 73). Edward Jaquelin also would have had use of wife Rachel's dower share of Richard James I's estate, probably Study Unit 1 Tract B. It is uncertain whether Sherwood's lease for 260 acres in the Governor's Land was still viable. In 1699 Edward Jaquelin and wife, Rachel, began allowing official meetings to be held in their home, Structure 31 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:219). This probably would have increased the demands upon the Sherwoods' house servants.

Green Spring Changes Hands

Lady Frances Berkeley

Sir William Berkeley prepared his will on March 20, 1677, shortly before he left Virginia, and named his widow as his principal beneficiary. By the end of 1677 he was dead. He is believed to have died without ever having the opportunity to explain to King Charles II his views on Bacon's Rebellion

(Hening 1809-1823:II:560; C.O. 5/1355 f 230; McIlwaine 1924:494, 521).

Berkeley's will was presented for probate on November 22, 1678. He had designated Lady Frances as his executrix and described her as his "deare and most virtuous wife." He bestowed upon her and her legal heirs "all my lands, houses, and tenements, whatsoever," stating that "if God had blest me with a far greater estate, I would have given it all to my Most Dearly beloved wife." He bequeathed 100 pounds sterling to Mrs. Jane Davies upon the condition that his widow was left at least 3,000 pounds sterling to maintain herself in the style to which she was accustomed. He also left the sheriff's wife, Mrs. Sarah Kirkman, "so virtuous a good woman," money to buy a ring and he set aside for his cousin, Francilia, funds to purchase wedding garments. Berkeley's will was witnessed by several of his supporters: Nathaniel Bacon (uncle of the rebel and later patentee of Study Unit 4 Tract S), Thomas Ballard I, William Cole, Joseph Bridger, Robert Beverley I, and Philip Ludwell I (Hening 1809-1823:II:558-560; McIlwaine 1924:494, 519). Under the terms of Sir William Berkeley's will, his widow succeeded him as a proprietor of Carolina (Stanard 1925:352).

So considerable was the damage to Green Spring, as a result of the plantation's being occupied by Bacon's men and the king's troops, that in June 1678 Lady Frances Berkeley wrote her cousin that

> *... it has cost above £ 300 to make it habitable, & if I had not bestowed that money upon it, the Plantation had not beene worth £ 100, & as it is I thinke the finest seat in America & the only tolerable place for a Governour, & from thence I draw my hopes of cominge to live in England, for I doe hope to gett a pension of £ 200 a year for it dureing my life, & soe to remaine the Countrie's home forever, & if this faile I will set up to lead a poore Virginia life [Berkeley 1678].*

Thus, by early summer 1678 Lady Frances had restored the Green Spring mansion to what she considered liveable condition, in hopes that she could rent it to Virginia's future governors, earning enough income to live comfortably in England. In October 1680, Lady Frances Berkeley's fortunes took another turn, for she married Secretary of the Colony Philip Ludwell I, who had inherited Rich Neck from his brother, Thomas (Hening 1809-1823:II:559; Stanard 1925:352).

In 1683 Philip Ludwell I and Lady Frances Berkeley disposed of some of her late husband's property, at which time a deed was entered into the records of the General Court. However, due to the destruction of the volume in which the deed was recorded, it is uncertain what acreage they sold (McIlwaine 1924:523). Documents included in the Virginia Historical Society's Lee Papers suggest that portions of Lady Berkeley's Hotwater Tract (a subsidiary farm associated with Green Spring) were in the hands of tenants or sharecroppers (Soane 1679).

Philip Ludwell I

Philip Ludwell I, whose marriage to Lady Frances Berkeley ultimately gave him and his heirs possession of Green Spring, immigrated to Virginia in ca. 1661. In 1667, he married a wealthy widow, Lucy Higginson Burwell Bernard, daughter of Captain Robert Higginson and successively the relict of Major Lewis Burwell II and Colonel William Bernard. Lucy and Philip resided at Fairfield in Gloucester County, where they were living in 1672 when their son, Philip Ludwell II, was born. Between 1673 and 1675, Philip Ludwell I moved to Rich Neck, his brother's James City County plantation, which had been owned in succession by George Menefie and Richard Kemp (Meyer et al. 1987:118,145,526; Morton 1956:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1893-1894:175; Stanard 1965:21,40; Nugent 1969-1979:I:24; Parks 1982:225).

After Philiip Ludwell I and Lady Frances Berkeley wed in October 1680, she moved to Rich Neck and they implemented her plan of renting Green Spring to Virginia's incumbent governors. The Green Spring mansion was occupied by Frances's cousin, Thomas Lord Culpeper, who served as governor from 1680 to 1683 and it was rented to Francis Lord Howard of Effingham, who

held the governorship between 1684 and 1689 (Stanard 1965:17). Howard's tenancy at Green Spring was marred by the deaths of his wife and several household members. In October 1686 a French visitor to Virginia indicated that "last summer during two months of the hot weather, the Governor lost his lady, two pages and five or six other servants and in consequence had removed his residence to the house of Mr. Wormeley in Middlesex," the plantation known as Rosegill (Stanard 1928:100). It is likely that Governor Howard had servants or slaves who were black.

Surry County records for the 1680s and 90s reveal that Ludwell usually had eight or more blacks upon his property. His work force appears to have been relatively stable, for most of the same people were listed year after year, between 1686 and 1703. In 1694, some new individuals were listed. Two (Cumbo and Bamby) may have been newly arrived Africans (Surry County Deeds, Wills, & Etc. 1684-1687:67; 1687-1694:6, 71, 121, 152, 218, 332; 1694-1709:22, 60, 135, 191, 194, 208, 234, 259, 290).

Lady Frances Berkeley died in 1689 and Philip Ludwell I inherited her property, which passed through the hands of the Ludwell heirs. Included were Green Spring and adjacent properties, a leasehold in the Governor's Land, and Chippokes Plantation in Surry County. Public records reveal that in 1691, while Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson was in office, the assembly convened in the Green Spring mansion. Although it is uncertain whether Nicholson was then leasing the plantation, he may have continued the tradition established by his predecessors.[50] In 1694, Philip Ludwell I retired to England, where he died in ca. 1710 (Meyer et al. 1987:118, 145, 526, 528; Morton 1956:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1893-1894:175; Stanard 1910:5; 1925:352; 1965:21, 40, 87).

[50] In 1700 Nicholson said that a ship from Guinea had come in with approximately 230 Africans, who sold for 28 to 35 pounds sterling apiece, the greatest price he had ever heard of. He added that "There were as many buyers as negroes, and I think that if 2000 were imported, there would be substantial buyers for them" (Donnan 1935:IV:67).

Chapter 13.
1700-1792: The Plantation Period

In Pursuit of a Renegade

In 1701 the House of Burgesses enacted some special legislation that offered a substantial reward for the capture of a habitual runaway slave named Billy, dead or alive. He was termed a "slave to John Tillet, but lately the slave of Thomas Middleton, and formerly of James Bray, gentleman, of James City County."[51] John Tillett may have been John Tullitt (Tullett), who on June 6, 1698, purchased from Mrs. Dyonysia Hadley the eastern half of Study Unit 4 Tract K (which contained the rebuilt portion of Structure 115) and began occupying the property (Lee MS 51 f 671). If so, Billy may have been associated with the Tullitt household at Jamestown. Billy reportedly had "severall years unlawfully absented himselfe from his masters services, lying out and lurking in obscure places" in James City, York and New Kent Counties. He was said to have unlawfully destroyed crops and stock, robbed houses, and threatened people with bodily harm. A reward was offered to anyone who would "kill or destroy the said negro slave Billy and apprehend and deliver him to justice in this colony." Anyone who knowingly or willing aided Billy or helped him elude capture was to be judged guilty of a felony. The legislation noted that "if the said negro Billy shall be kiled in pursuance of this act, his master or owner shall be paid by the publick four thousand pounds of tobacco" (Hening 1809-1823:III:210-211). The intense search for Billy suggests that he was feared by whites, who considered him an outlaw. It also raises the possibility that his exploits made him somewhat of a folk hero in the black community.

[51] Bray had extensive landholdings at Middle Plantation and what became known as Kingsmill.

The 1705 Legal Code: Legitimation of Racial Discrimination

In October 1705 the House of Burgesses updated the legal code to address the colony's changing needs. By that date, Virginia's black population had increased markedly, slavery had gained widespread acceptance, and large numbers of Africans were being imported specifically as slaves. Several of the laws that were enacted in 1705 dramatically affected the lives of all non-whites. They also made an unmistakable distinction between the way white servants and blacks (whether enslaved or free) were to be treated under the law. The "act concerning Servants and Slaves" summarized and codified earlier laws that had been passed in piecemeal fashion. Those regulations governed the lives of Africans and their descendants for generations to come. This new set of laws was supposed to be read aloud in each of Virginia's parish churches (Hening 1809-1823:III:447-462). In time, the statutes that were applicable to those of African descent became known as the slave code.

One piece of new legislation declared that

> *... all negro, mulatto and Indian slaves, in all courts of judicature and other places, within this dominion, shall be held, taken and adjudged to be real estate (and not chattels) and shall descend unto the heirs and widows of persons departing this life, according to the manner and custom of land of inheritance, held in fee simple [Hening 1809-1823:III:333].*

The effect was to relegate enslaved blacks and Indians to the status of real property that could be bought and sold. However, the slaves that merchants and factors brought into Virginia, but hadn't yet sold, were to be "adjudged to be personal estate" that could be used in the payment of debts. The new law stipulated that slaves, unlike acreage,

would not escheat to the Crown if a slaveowner were to die without lawful heirs; rather, the slaves would be considered personal property that could be sold to settle debts against the decedent's estate. Similarly, owning slaves would not qualify a man as a freeholder and therefore, make him eligible to vote.[52] If a slaveowner were to die intestate, his slaves were to be inventoried and appraised and then apportioned among his widow and children. If a widow or wife who had life-rights to slaves were to send them out of the country, she was obliged to forfeit all of her dower rights. Unlike real estate, those selling or otherwise disposing of slaves were not obliged to record the transaction with their local court. However, it was legal to sue to recover slaves or their value (Hening 1809-1823:III:333-335).

In 1765 the assembly began requiring sheriffs, who confiscated slaves to satisfy debts, to enter the slaves' names into the records of the court that authorized them to implement such judgements (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:121-122). This would have deterred sheriffs from making unauthorized seizures.

Another new statute enacted in 1705 stipulated that

> *... all servants imported and brought into this country, by sea or land, who were not christians in their native country, (except Turks and Moors in amity with her majesty, and others that can make due proof of their being free in England, or any other christian country, before they were shipped, in order to transportation hither) shall be accounted and be slaves, and as such be here bought and sold notwithstanding a conversion to Christianity afterwards" [Hening 1809-1823:III:447-448].*

Anyone who imported and sold a person, who had been free in any Christian country, island or plantation, was to be fined. It was noted, however, that "a slave's being in England shall not be sufficient to discharge him of his slavery, without other proof of being manumitted there." Henceforth, "no negros, mulattos, or Indians, although christians, or Jews, Moors, Mahometans, or other infidels" were allowed to purchase "any christian servant nor any other, except of their own complexion, or such as are declared slaves by this act." If, contrary to law, a black, mulatto or Indian purchased a white Christian servant, the latter was to be freed. The law took a strong stand against interracial sexual liaisons and marriage, for it declared that if a person's white servant wed a black, mulatto, Indian, Jew, Moor, Mohammedan or other non-Christian, or others the 1705 act classified as slaves, all of that individual's white Christian servants were to be freed. If a free white married a black or mulatto (whether bond or free), the white person was to be held without bond for six months and then fined. If a white female servant had a child by "a negro or mulatto," she was obliged to pay a fine to the local churchwardens as soon as her own term of service expired, or become a servant of the parish for five years. If a free white woman were to have such a child, she was to pay the fine within one month. In both cases, the child was to be bound out as a servant until the age of 31. Ministers who knowingly wed interracial couples were to be fined (Hening 1809-1823:III:449-452). This statute was nearly identical to a law that was passed in 1692.

For the first time since 1645, free black women were excused from paying a poll tax. Besides the obvious benefit to blacks, this would have relieved whites of the burden of paying taxes upon their free black female servants of tithable age. On the other hand, "all male persons of the age of sixteen years, and upwards, and all negro, mulatto, and Indian women of the age of sixteen and upwards, not being free, shall be … declared to be tithable." Every year on June 9th, the head of each family was to compile a list of the tithable persons in his or her household, which was to be provided to the local court justices on June 10th. This group of laws was reaffirmed by the assembly in November 1753 (Hening 1809-1823:III:258-260; VI:356-362). In November 1769, however, the burgesses passed legislation "exempting free negro, mulatto and Indian women from the payment of

[52] In 1736 a freeholder was defined as a white male who had at least 25 acres of land with a house upon it, a town lot that contained a house, or 100 acres or more of unseated land (Hening 1809-1823:IV:477).

levies." The burgesses noted that the original law was appealed because it had been "found very burthensome to such negroes, mulattoes and Indians, and is moreover derogatory of the rights of free-born subjects" (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:395).

In 1705, all non-whites were declared ineligible to hold any public office whatsoever. Moreover, anyone who had been convicted of a serious crime such as treason, murder, felony or forgery, was barred from holding office, whether or not he had been subsequently pardoned.[53] Appended to this law was the statement that "the child of an Indian and the child, grand child or great grand child of a negro shall be deemed, accounted, held and taken to be a mulatto" (Hening 1809-1823:III:250-252). That racial differentiation was to be upheld for many years to come.

According to the 1705 legal code, "popish recusants, convicts, negroes, mulattoes and Indian servants and others not being Christians" were prohibited from testifying in court (Hening 1809-1823:III:298). This would have prevented free blacks and Indian servants from collecting debts. It also would have kept black and Indian servants from suing for their freedom if their masters detained them after their contract expired.[54] Anyone who accepted money or a commodity from a servant or slave, without the permission of his/her master or owner, was to be punished. Neither slaves nor servants were allowed to serve in the militia, nor could a man who oversaw four or more slaves be required to participate. Certain categories of people (notably, millers, parish clerks, school-masters and others whose positions were considered essential) were exempt from service (Hening 1809-1823:III:336).

In 1705 the General Assembly agreed that it was important to provide a speedy prosecution for slaves incriminated in capital crimes. Therefore, the 1692 law was upheld, whereby such individuals would be tried in a local court of oyer and terminer, i.e., by a panel of judges rather than jurors. The accused person was to be arrested and detained until the governor could be notified of the need to convene a court of oyer and terminer. He would then determine who would serve. All that was required to determine guilt was a confession or "the oath of two credible witnesses, or of one with pregnant [weighty] circumstances." The accused slave's owner was to be given an opportunity to testify. If a slave were found guilty and executed or transported out of the colony, his or her owner was to be compensated for his or her estimated worth (Hening 1809-1823:III:269-270).

Mariners were prohibited from transporting debtors, servants and slaves out of Virginia, unless they could produce a license, pass or other evidence that they had permission to leave. Specifically mentioned were "any negro, mulatto, Indian or other slave." Mariners and others who disobeyed the law were subjected to a stiff fine (Hening 1809-1823:III:270-271).

In 1705 the regulations that addressed how runaway servants and slaves were to be treated became much more tightly circumscribed. A reward was to be paid to anyone who captured a runaway servant. Also, if "any negro or other runaway that doth not speak English, and cannot, or through obstinacy will not, declare the name of his or her masters or owner," a local justice of the peace was authorized to have the fugitive jailed until that person's identity could be determined. If a county justice decided to pass the runaway along to another jurisdiction, that county's constable was to give him or her no more than 39 lashes. As the runaway was passed from county to county, whippings were to be administered at each jail. If a runaway were to escape from the constable or sheriff by whom he/she was being detained, that law enforcement officer became liable for the servant's or slave's value. To discourage runaway slaves from hiding out on other people's property, those

[53] Governor William Berkeley and his loyalists, who became annoyed with attorney William Sherwood of Jamestown, succeeded in having him temporarily banned from serving as a burgess because he had been convicted of a felony while living in England (Sainsbury 1964:7:564, 801, 1124; C.O. 1/26 f 194; 1/27 f 83).

[54] Ironically, this change occurred at a time when Virginia's tributary Indians were making increased use of the colony's judicial system instead of settling disputes on their own.

who knowingly permitted such fugitives to stay longer than four hours without their owner's authorization became liable for a fine. The laws pertaining to runaway slaves and servants were reaffirmed in October 1765 (Hening 1809-1823:III:455-459; VIII:135-136).

Any slave, who resisted his or her master or owner, could be "corrected." If the person administering corporal punishment happened to kill the slave, it was not to be considered a felony or any other crime. If any "negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free, shall at any time lift his or her hand in opposition against any christian, not being negro, mulatto or Indian," the offending person was to receive 30 lashes at the county whipping post. Slaves were not permitted to possess guns, swords, clubs or other weapons and they were not to leave their home property without written permission from their owner or overseer. If a slave were caught off premises without a note or pass, he or she was to receive 20 lashes before being sent home. If a slave, who lived at a quarter that had no Christian overseer, were found guilty of trespassing or doing damage to another's property, the slave's owner was to be held responsible. This was reaffirmation of an earlier law (Hening 1809-1823:III:459-462; VI:109-110, 362-369).

In 1726 the law concerning runaway servants and slaves was amended to eliminate or ameliorate some of the inconvenience and expenses involved in their detention. Runaways who could not or would not reveal their owner's name and were detained in county jails were to be transferred to the public jail in Williamsburg. There, such fugitives, with the consent of the General Court, could be hired out to others who became responsible for them. This relieved county justices and jailors of the burden of confining and maintaining the runaways, who under the new law were forced to earn their own keep. Each runaway, who was maintained off premises, was be outfitted with "a strong iron collar" that had stamped upon it "P.G."[55] Runaways (including slaves) who belonged to colonists in Maryland or Carolina were subject to extradition. The masters of watercraft were required to take an oath that they would not knowingly or willingly transport out of the colony anyone who lacked a pass, or any servant or slave unless accompanied by his or her owner or master. White servants who fled in disguise or utilized another name were made to serve an additional six months (Hening 1809-1823:IV:169-174).

In October 1748 the assembly reaffirmed and consolidated the 1705 legislation pertaining to runaway servants and slaves. Penalties were set for those who purchased goods or accepted money from a servant or slave, unless that person had his or her master's written consent. Rewards were increased for those who captured runaways and those who were detained in the public jail in Williamsburg were to have their physical description and clothing published in the *Virginia Gazette*. Unclaimed runaways could be sold at auction. Again the assembly noted that "a slave's being in England shall not be a discharge from slavery without other proof of being manumitted there." The rights of white servants under the law, and how their complaints were to be treated, were reiterated (Hening 1809-1823:V:547-550, 552-558). The breach between white servants and those who were black, mulatto or Indian slaves had become irrevocably wide.

The 1705 legal code, like the law passed in 1692, denied slaves the right to own cattle, horses, and hogs. Churchwardens were empowered to seize the livestock of slaves and sell it, using the funds derived from such sales toward the support of the poor. If a slave stole a hog, his or her owner was obliged to pay 200 pounds of tobacco to the hog's owner; in 1748 the size of the fine was doubled. Because the assembly acknowledged that "many of the tributary Indians keep hogs, and are suspected, on pretence thereof, to steal and destroy the stocks of the English," all Indians that had hogs were to mark them in accord with "the proper mark of the town of Indians to which such Indian shall belong." Those who purchased pork from Indians were to make sure that it came from a hog that actually was theirs. If a slave hunted deer at "unseasonable times," i.e., during the animals'

[55] That is, public gaol.

breeding season, he would receive 20 lashes. Another legal statute declared "that baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage; and that all children shall be bond or free, according to the condition of their mothers" (Hening 1809-1823:III:276-277, 459-460, 462-463; VI:121-124).

In 1765 the burgesses enacted legislation which specified that "if any woman servant shall have a bastard child by a negro or mulatto, or if any free christian white woman shall have such bastard child by a negro or mulatto," the child was to be bound out by local churchwardens until he or she was age 31. Children born to mulatto women servants, who were obliged to serve until age 31, were required to work for their mother's master for a specific length of time: age 21 for male offspring and age 18 for females. Another portion of the same law stated that anyone who tried to sell a mulatto servant as a slave would be fined 50 pounds (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:133-135).

In an attempt to quickly bring under control groups of slaves who ran away "and lie out, hid or lurking in swamps, woods and other obscure places, killing hogs, and committing other injuries" to the colonists' property, local justices were authorized to issue proclamations in which they listed the names of such renegades and their owners and ordered the slaves to surrender. If slaves, who had been declared outlaws, failed to return home, they could be killed by any means deemed necessary. If a local sheriff apprehended the runaway, his or her owner had the right to request the county court to order punishment such as "dismembering or any other way, not touching his life … for reclaiming any such incorrigible slave, and terrifying others from the like practices." The owner of such runaways, who were maimed or died as a result of punishment, were to be compensated for their value as estimated by the justices of the county court (Hening 1809-1823:III:460-461).[56]

Gradual Denigration of the Native Population

A 1711 law required both tributary and non-tributary Indians to wear badges whenever they ventured into colonized areas. Three years later, a law was passed prohibiting the use of the titles "king" and "queen" in reference to Native leaders. Thus, as Virginia's Indians became increasingly acculturated and assumed a more visible (but less forceful) role in society, and as they declined in population and strength, they became legally susceptible to the same types of discrimination to which blacks and other minorities were subjected (Hening 1809-1823:III:251, 298, 449-459; McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:286, 365).[57]

Importation Taxes on Slaves

From 1699 until 1730, a duty of 2 pounds current money per slave was to be paid by his or her importer (Bergstrom 1984:5). In 1704 historian Robert Beverley II said that "The duty on Servants and Slaves is fifteen shillings for each Servant, not being a Native of England or Wales, and twenty shillings for each Slave or Negro." He indicated that duties on the former amounted to around 600 pounds a year, whereas the latter depended upon how many "Negro ships happen to arrive" (Beverley 1947:250-251). On the other hand, a law enacted in October 1705 stated that all incoming ships were to pay six pence per poll "for every passenger, servant, slave or other person imported" except the vessels' mariners (Hening 1809-1823:III:346).

[56] If a slaveowner believed that local officials had underestimated the value of his slave, he could file an appeal. For example, in 1854 a runaway slave named John, who belonged to Francis M. Jones of James City County, was caught in Middlesex County, where he set the jail ablaze and escaped. When he was caught he was sentenced to banishment. Jones was offered $250, what Middlesex County officials thought John was worth. However, he disagreed with the value placed on John and filed an appeal with the General Assembly, which gave him $600 (York County Legislative Petitions 1777-1858).

[57] In October 1705 the assembly offered to reward those who killed wolves with 300 pounds of tobacco if they caught them in a trap, or with 200 pounds if they killed them another way. Natives who killed wolves were to receive a reward of 100 pounds of tobacco "and no more" (Hening 1809-1823:III:282).

In 1705, when a new town-founding act was passed and Jamestown again was made one of 16 official ports of entry, it was stated that

> *... from and after the said twenty-fifth day of December 1708, all servants, slaves and salt, which shall be imported into this colony by water, shall be reported and entered at some one or other of the ports, wharfs, keys or places by this act appointed as aforesaid, before they shall be landed, bought or sold upon pain of forfeiture and loss of every such servant and slave so landed, sold or put to sale [Hening 1809- 1823:III:405].*

Conversely, only servants, slaves and salt could be sold on board vessels. Those who moved to the newly sanctioned towns were exempt from paying poll tax "except for their slaves" (Hening 1809-1823:III:406).

When 1710 drew to a close, Virginia's burgesses expressed their concern that the number of slaves being imported into the colony was increasing too rapidly.[58] As Lt. Governor Spotswood's instructions prevented him from supporting a bill that limited the slave trade, the burgesses adopted another strategy. They decided to increase the amount of duties (or import taxes) imposed upon those who brought liquor and slaves into Virginia. While the newly proposed law stood to produce additional revenue, indirectly it would have put a damper on the importation of slaves. Although Spotswood protested against passage of the bill, it was enacted by the legislature and in November 1712 was extended. Some form of duty was in effect through 1718 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1712:281; Tate 1965:17-18; Hening 1809-1823:III:225, 229-235, 482; IV:30; Winfree 1971:47, 50-51, 67).

In May 1723 Virginia's assembly again decided to impose a duty upon liquor and slaves being imported into the colony. However, British merchants persuaded the king to repeal the law and others that followed in its wake. Finally, in 1732 the burgesses succeeded in enacting a law that was acceptable to the Crown and influential British merchants. It required a newly imported slave's buyer to pay the duty, rather than his or her seller. This "value added tax" was in effect up until the time of the American Revolution, with the exception or a brief period during 1751. In 1760 and 1761 the amount of the import duty on slaves was reduced (Tate 1965:18; Hening 1809-1823:IV:135, 182, 317-322, 394, 468-473; V:28-31, 92-93; VI:217-221; VII:81, 281, 363, 383; Winfree 1971:237-238, 241, 246).

In March 1757 the Rev. Peter Fontaine of Westover Parish in Charles City County wrote his brother that Virginia's burgesses were aware of "the ill consequences" of importing so many slaves and "hath often attempted to lay a duty upon them which would amount to a prohibition … but no Governor dare pass such a law, having instructions to the contrary from the Board of Trade." He added that "This plainly shows the African Company hath the advantage of the colonies and may do as it pleases with the Ministry." Fontaine said that there was a cash shortage, thanks to the recent war, and that importation had almost stopped. Acknowledging the important role slaves played in the life of the Virginia economy, he said that even before the war, "you could not hire a servant of slave for love or money, so that unless robust enough to cut wood, go to mill work, work at the hoe, etc. you must starve, or board in some family where they both fleece and half starve you." He added that the need to support one's self made it necessary to use slave labor, which he described as original sin and "a curse of the country." He blamed the shortage of merchants, traders and artisans on the tendency of everyone to become planters in a short time.

Peter Fontaine said that:

> *A common laborer, white or black, if you can be so much favored as to hire one, is a shilling sterling or fifteen pence currency per day; a bungling carpenter two shillings or two shillings and six pence per day, besides diet and lodging. That is, for a lazy fellow to get wood and water, £ 19, 16.3 current per annum; add to this seven or eight*

[58] Some may have viewed as a wake-up call the escape attempt that was planned for Easter Sunday 1710. Also, more slaves meant an increase in the production of tobacco, which would have served to depress the overall price of the crop.

pounds more and you have a slave for life [Donnan 1935:IV:142-143].

Thus, the Rev. Peter Fontaine, while condemning slavery, extolled its efficacy.

The Practice of Entailing Slaves

As previously noted, one of the laws passed in 1705 declared that planters could entail slaves as well as land. In 1711 the assembly decided that those serving as executors or administrators of a deceased person's estate had to take an accurate inventory of his/her estate and present it at court. If a person died intestate, the crops, servants and slaves on his/her property were to "be continued on the plantations" until the 25th of December of the current year. Afterward, "the slaves employed in the said crop, as aforesaid, shall … be delivered to such person or persons to whom the same is said to belong," in accord with the 1705 law "declaring the Negro, Mulatto, and Indian Slaves within this Dominion to be Real Estate." It was noted that executors were not to be held responsible for slaves or servants who died before December 25, although they should be included in the deceased person's estate inventory. An inventory, but not an appraisal, was required of those whose assets were known to be large enough to satisfy their debts (Hening 1809-1823:IV:21-22).

In February 1727 a newly enacted piece of legislation made it possible to attach slaves to specific pieces of real estate so that both land and its workers would be passed on to a single heir. By enacting this legislation, the assembly made sure that those who inherited land received the workers they needed to make it profitable. On the other hand, if a decedent were in debt, his executors, with the permission of the assembly, had the right to dispose of slaves in order to satisfy the claims of legitimate creditors. However, if certain slaves had been brought to the marriage by a wife, they could not be sold to satisfy her late husband's debts. One provision of the February 1727 act stipulated that slaves, who had been bequeathed by a husband to his wife remained part of his estate. Likewise, slaves that women owned in their own right automatically became their husband's property when they wed. This stripped married women of certain legal rights they formerly had enjoyed. In accord with the new law, a widow had nine months in which to renounce her husband's will and receive life-rights to her dower share of his estate. However, she could only do so by relinquishing all claims to his other property and his legal heirs retained a reversionary interest. In such instances, the decedent's estate was to be partitioned (Hening 1809-1823:IV:222-228).[59]

Lorena S. Walsh found that Lewis Burwell II did not entail his slaves, when he made his will in 1710. However, his sons and grandsons did so. It appears that only Virginia's elite tied their slaves to the land. Most slaveholders seem to have considered their slaves personal property (comparable to livestock and household furnishings) that should be divided among their heirs. Whenever a slaveholder died intestate, his eldest son inherited his land and slaves, although he had to pay other heirs the appraised value of the slaves they might otherwise have received (Walsh 1997:44-45). Waverly F. Winfree's compilation of laws that supplement W. W. Hening's *Statutes at Large* contains numerous examples in which entails were docked so that estates could be settled. In 1712 John and Frances Parke Custis had the entail docked on the land and slaves she had inherited from her father. The assembly approved the request, so that the late Daniel Parke II's estate could be settled. In 1732 Robert Carter, the father-in-law of Mann Page I of Rosewell, who by virtue of his January 24, 1730, will had entailed his slaves, was obliged to secure the assembly's permission to sell both land and slaves in order to cover the decedent's debts and distribute his estate to his heirs (Winfree 1971:60-61, 359-361).

In October 1748 the assembly reiterated its classification of African, mulatto and Indian slaves

[59] Women occasionally did so. In 1771 Barbara Bryan, the widow of York County sheriff Frederick Bryan, informed the court that "I am not satisfied with the provisions made for me by my said husband's will … I therefore will not accept it." Instead, she opted to take what the law entitled her to (York County Wills and Inventories 22:30, 241). Other examples exist.

as real estate. W. W. Hening noted that the act the legislature passed in 1748 was among the revised laws repealed by the king's October 1751 proclamation. The October 1748 legal code also dealt with the equitable distribution of intestate people's estates. Again, the widow was entitled to her dower third of her late husband's slaves, who would be returned to his estate at her death. A number of distribution schemes were outlined in the new law; many of them pertained to how slaves would be distributed equitably among heirs-at-law (Hening 1809-1823:V:432-433, 444-450).

In April 1757 the assembly enacted legislation that addressed a legal problem that had arisen. Debtors, who wanted to prevent their slaves from being seized by a creditor, sometimes claimed that they already had given them to their children and others. This enabled the debtor to escape loss through foreclosure. The text of the legislation passed in 1757 suggests that bestowing slaves as gifts had become a common means of eluding the claims of one's creditors. Therefore, the burgesses decided that anytime slaves were conveyed by one person to another as a present, the donor had to execute a deed of gift that was recorded at the courthouse or bestow the gift by means of his or her will. Those who had made such gifts were given two years in which to file the proper paperwork. Recipients of slaves as gifts, who were infants at the time of receipt, had to produce two witnesses willing to certify that the transfer had occurred. The April 1757 legislation was updated and refined in September 1758 (Hening 1809-1823:VII:118-119, 238).

Slaves Brought into Virginia from Other Areas

When the burgesses convened in November 1759 they were obliged to deal with another legal problem that had surfaced. Residents of Virginia were found to have been bringing in "great numbers of negro and other slaves" from Maryland, North Carolina and other parts of America, as a means of evading the import duties that applied to slaves. The new law specified that anyone bringing slaves into Virginia from other locations in America had 20 days in which to present the county court with a list of the slaves (by gender) and their cost. An import duty would then be levied based upon that list (Hening 1809-1823:VII:388-389). In November 1766 the legislation enacted in 1759 was continued for three more years. The statutes were renewed in April 1770 (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:190-191, 336-337).

Population Growth and Change

By 1700 there were 16,390 blacks in Virginia, the majority of whom worked in the agricultural fields of the Tidewater region. By this time enslaved blacks for the most part had replaced white indentured servants as field hands and slavery was considered an indispensable component of what was still a tobacco-based economy. Within 30 years blacks comprised the majority of James City County's total population. This trend accelerated and between ca. 1776 and the eve of the Civil War, approximately two-thirds of James City County's population was black (Morgan 1984:1-2, 56; Tate 1965:7-8, 93). It is estimated that Virginia's black population went from 16,390 in 1700 to 26,559 in 1720 to 30,000 by 1730. By 1756 that number had climbed to an estimated 120,156, just under half of the colony's total population (Tate 1965:12-13, 26-28). By the 1720s and 30s, Virginia officials grew worried that those whom they had enslaved might rise up against them. Virginia Governor William Gooch articulated those concerns on several occasions (see ahead).

By the eighteenth century, farmers in Tidewater Virginia had come to rely upon a mixed crop system that featured the cultivation of wheat, rye, oats and other cereal grains, rather than tobacco. This transformed Virginia's agricultural economy from one that was tobacco-based to one that was more diverse and included small grains, corn, forest products and livestock. Farmers, who lived in areas where tobacco was only marginally successful, adopted alternative forms of agriculture that they found more profitable. These changes had a major impact upon agricultural workers and slavery it-

self. Whereas the cultivation of tobacco was lengthy and labor intensive, cereal agriculture was seasonally defined and required field hands only when it was time to plant or harvest. However, there were many other chores involved in the production of cereal grains. The harvested crop had to be transported to market, stored, processed and shipped. The need for wagons and carts to transport agricultural products gave rise to the need for specialized laborers who tended to draft animals, worked as wheelwrights, blacksmiths, teamsters, leatherworkers, and shoemakers, or perhaps were employed in flour mills. Other types of artisans were needed to perform specialized tasks (Berlin 1998:134-136).

The variety of enslaved specialized workers on hand at Green Spring in 1770, when Philip Ludwell III's estate was partitioned, demonstrates that large plantations were relatively self-sufficient and had on hand artisans who met numerous day-to-day needs. As relatively little information is available on the Travis plantation, it is uncertain how its specialized needs were met. However, the abundance of records on the Ambler plantation, especially during the occupancy of John Ambler II, reveals that he had carpenters in residence there, but had his blacksmithing performed at Green Spring and relied upon artisans in nearby Williamsburg to perform many other tasks (see ahead).

A White Virginian's Perception of Enslavement

The Rev. Hugh Jones, rector of the James City Parish, when writing an account of life in Virginia in 1722 (published in 1724), included information about people of African descent and how they fared as slaves. He noted that they were "not at their own liberty or disposal, but are the property of their owners." He added that "When they are free, they know not how to provide so well for themselves generally; neither did they live so plentifully nor (many of them) so easily in their own country, where they are made slaves to one another, or taken captive by their enemies."[60] Jones said that "The children belong to the master of the woman that bears them; and such as are born of a Negroe and an European are called Molattoes; but such as are born of an Indian and Negroe are called Mustees."

When discussing the work done by enslaved blacks, the Rev. Hugh Jones said that they

> *... take care of the stock, and plant corn, tobacco, fruits, etc. which is not harder than thrashing, hedging, or ditching; besides, though they are out in the violent heat, wherein they delight, yet in wet or cold weather there is little occasion for their working in the fields, in which few will let them be abroad, lest by this means they might get sick or die, which would prove a great loss to their owners, a good Negroe being sometimes worth three (nay four) score pounds sterling, if he be a tradesman; so that upon this (if upon no other account) they are obliged not to overwork them, but to cloath and feed them sufficiently, and take care of their health [Jones 1956[1724]:76].*

He went on to say that:

> *Several of them are taught to be sawyers, carpenters, smiths, coopers, etc. and though for the most part they be none of the aptest or nicest; yet they are by nature cut out for hard labour and fatigue, and will perform tolerably well; though they fall much short of an Indian that has learned and seen the same things; and those Negroes make the best servants that have been slaves in their own country; for they that have been kings and great men there are generally lazy, haughty, and obstinate; whereas the others are sharper, better humored, and more laborious [Jones 1956[1724]:76].*

Jones indicated that Virginia planters considered tobacco such an important money crop that "they think it folly to take off their hands (or Negroes) and employ their care and time about any thing, that may make them lessen their crop of tobacco" (Jones 1956[1724]:81).

In speaking of white servants, the Rev. Hugh Jones said that some came over for wages, some were bound by indentures and usually had to serve for four or five years, and some were convicts or

[60] Here, Jones offered the argument others later used in their attempts to justify slavery.

felons who were transported out of England. He noted that the latter generally were "loose villains" and that the government had enacted legislation to prevent too many of them and Africans from coming into the colony (Jones 1956[1724]:87).

A Concerted Attempt to Gain Freedom

In March 1710 "a great number" of enslaved blacks "and others" (Indian slaves and possibly indentured servants) in James City, Isle of Wight, and Surry Counties, reportedly planned to make a break for freedom on Easter Sunday, vowing to overcome all who opposed them. However, one of the slaves, a black male named Will, who belonged to Robert Ruffin of Surry County, disclosed the plan and the escape attempt was quelled before it actually got underway. Among the James City County slaves jailed for complicity in the plot were blacks belonging to the Rev. James Blair (the rector of James City Parish and owner of the Jockey's Neck plantation); Philip Ludwell II (the owner of Green Spring, Rich Neck, Indigo Dam, the Hot Water tract and several other properties, and Jamestown Island Study Unit 4 Tract K, which contains Structure 115; Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A and Bays 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group; and possibly of Study Unit 1 Tract H); Sheriff Edward Jaquelin (of Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, and D); George Marable II (of Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B and Structure 17), ferryman and gunner Edward Ross (of Study Unit 4 Tract R); and John Broadnax, almost all of whom had property in Jamestown (Stanard 1911:250-254).[61]

On March 19, 1709/10 Philip Ludwell II informed Council President Edmund Jennings that he had had all of Blair's slaves and all but one of Jaquelin's, plus six of his own "Secured under guards at James Town." He also said that Marable, Broadnax and Jaquelin had joined him in interrogating them. Ludwell said that "The gentlemen were of opinion [that they] should be discharged for ye present haveing noe Evidence against some & very little against others of them & being Satisfied that they would not Run away." He added that two of his own slaves "upon my promise of procureing theyr releasement verry readily made a free Confession of all they knew (I believe) & discovered to us 2 Considerable rogues that we knew not of before Viz: John Broadnax's Jamy & Edw'd Ross's Essex." Ludwell said that Marable, Broadnax and Jaquelin were in favor of Ludwell's letting his slaves go home, but he said that he had declined to do so until he had Jennings' consent. He added that he would "be verry [sic] willing to have them out [released from custody] because of ye danger of Catching Cold this sickly time." Ludwell said that Jamy (a Broadnax slave), Essex (a Ross slave), and Will (a Jaquelin slave) were implicated in the plot and therefore were detained. However, they would "Confess nothing but what is got out of them by Pumping & Trapping them in theyr words tho' the 2 first seemed to us to have beene very instrumentall in ye designe & are doubtless great Rogues." He indicated that "These five remain Prisoners in ye Constables" hands and no one was allowed to speak with them (Stanard 1911:23-24). Warrants were issued for four York County slaves, three of whose names (Angola Peter, Bumbara Peter and Mingo) suggest that they were "new Africans," people who had arrived in the colony relatively recently (Stanard 1909:34).[62]

When the Governor's Council met in Williamsburg on March 21, it was noted that:

> *Whereas there hath been lately happily discovered a dangerous Conspiracy formed and carryed on by great numbers of Negros, and other Slaves for makeing their Escape by force from the Service of their Masters and for the destroying and calling off such of her Majtys Subjects as should oppose their design ... the Cheif Conspirators and their accomplices have been apprehended in the*

[61] John was the brother of Jamestown landowner William Broadnax I and may have occupied part of the land he owned: 127.7 acres that extended from the east side of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D, eastward into Study Unit 3, to a point just east of the mouth of the nameless creek encircling Fox Island (Ezell 1995:135). In 1694 when John Broadnax patented some land in Henrico County, he included "Dick a negro" among his headrights (Nugent 1969-1979:II:396).

[62] The fourth slave was named Robin.

Countys of Surry and Isle of Wight and are now in Custody.

The Council then ordered the justices of Surry and Isle of Wight Counties to examine those implicated in the plot, administering to those "ignorantly drawn into the said Conspiracy" or who had minimal involvement "such Correction as they judge the nature of their offense may deserve." Those found to be "the Principal Contrivers or otherwise remarkable in promoteing the aforesaid Conspiracy" were to be held in jail until further word came from Council President Jennings. All but one of the slaves (Jamy) being detained in the James City County jail, who were "so criminal as to undergoe a tryal for their lyfe," were to released into the care of their owners and brought before the next monthly court. At that time it was to be decided whether or not the slaves should receive corporal punishment (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:234-235).

The justices of Surry County convened on March 24th, in response to orders from the Governor's Council. Afterward, they reported that they had examined

> *... Sevell Negro and Indian slaves concerned in a Late Dangerous Conspiracy, formed and Carried on by greate numbers of ye said negroes and Indian slaves for making their Escape by force from ye Service of their masters, and for ye Destroying and cutting off Such of her Majties Subjects as Should oppose their Design [Palmer 1968:I:129].*

They indicated that they had

> *... punished and Discharged all Except Mr. William Edwards' Scipio, Mr. Joseph Jno. Jackman's Salvadore, and Tom Shaw, Belonging to Mr. Samuel Thompson, who, we are of opinion, are the Principal Contrivers and most remarkable in ye aforesaid Conspiracy, who do still Continue in the Goal of the County till further ordrs from your Honr [Palmer 1968:I:129].*

The justices indicated that they had determined that

> *... Scipio and Mr. Samuel Thompson's Peter, who is now outlawed, were the first and Chief promoters of that wicked and pernicious designe, their Behaviour, as well as that of Tom Shaw, having allways been, but more Especially for some little time past, very rude and Insolent. As to Salvadore, he has been a grat promoter and Incourager in persuading of them to ye probability of Effecting their design and in promissing of 'em his Assistance therein [Palmer 1968:I:129].*

On March 24, 1710, the justices of Isle of Wight's monthly court convened to examine "certain Negroes." The justices determined that Manuell,

> *... a negro of Mr. Jno. George, by the Confession of Scipio, a negroe of Mr. William Edwards at Surry Court, and by his own Confession was Knoweing of the designe of the negroes goeing away, Ordered that he receive fforty lashes upon his bare back, well layd on... . Upon the Examinacon of James Booth, a free negroe, the Cort finding he was Knowing of the negroes Intensions of goeing away, and likewise enterteyned diverse of them att his house, ordered that he receive twenty-nine Lashes upon his bare back [Palmer 1968:I:130].*

The worst was yet to come. On April 18, 1710, William Byrd II of Westover noted in his diary that "the negroes [were] to be arraigned for high treason" (Byrd 1941:167). Council records reveal that William Edwards and Ethelred Taylor, who were Surry County justices, were ordered to bring before the General Court

> *... Jack belonging to the sd Mr. Taylor, Tom and Cato belonging to the said Mr. Edwards, Mr. John Edwards' great Jack & little Jack, Mrs. Mason's Tony, Henry Hartwell's Will, William Chamber's Jack and Wm Newit's Matt to give evidence... . William Edwards [was] to also appear & give notice to Henry Hart to appear in like manner ... against the said Negroes [McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:236].*

"Peter, a Negro belonging to Mr. Samuel Thompson of Surry County," who was believed to be one of the "Chief Actors" in the conspiracy, had fled. Therefore, a reward was offered for his capture, dead or alive.

On April 19, 1710, all of the accused men except Peter were brought to trial. Two days later,

William Byrd II noted in his diary that "Two of the negroes were tried and convicted for treason." Council minutes reveal that one of the men, Salvadore, actually was a Native American,[63] and the other, Scipio, was of African descent. Both, who were identified as slaves, were sentenced to death for high treason. They were to be executed (probably by hanging) and then quartered. Later, their heads and quarters were set up for public display. Salvadore was to be executed in Surry County, at the courthouse, on the first Tuesday in May. Afterward, his head and two of his quarters were to be delivered to James City County sheriff Edward Jaquelin, who was to put the head on display in Williamsburg and to "sett up" one of Salvadore's quarters "at the great guns" (gun platform) in Jamestown, probably in the immediate vicinity of Study Unit 4 Tract P. There, the gruesome exhibit would have been close to Jamestown's public ferry-landings (on Tracts O and R) and the main road into Jamestown Island.[64] The James City County sheriff was to see that the sheriff of New Kent County was furnished with Salvadore's other quarter and Surry County officials were supposed to see that the Indian slave's remaining quarters were put on display. The black slave named Scipio was sent to Gloucester County, where he was executed at the courthouse. His head and quarters were to be displayed in Gloucester, Middlesex, King and Queen and Lancaster Counties (Byrd 1941:168-169; McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:234-236, 242-243). Edmund Jennings later reported that two slaves were executed so that "their fate will strike such a terror" that others would not attempt an uprising (Sainsbury 1964:25:83).

In October 1710, the slave named Will, who had disclosed the conspiracy and put a stop to the uprising, was granted his freedom by Virginia's governing officials. His master, Robert Ruffin of Surry County, received 40 pounds sterling, Will's estimated value. Will had the right to stay in the colony if he so desired and to "enjoy and have all the liberties, priviledges and immunitys of or to a free negro." For his own protection, he was encouraged to move to the Northern Neck (Hening 1809-1823:III:537). Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood later made reference to the trials of Salvadore and Scipio, noting that "We are not to depend on Either their Stupidity, or that Babel of Languages among 'em; freedom Wears a Cap which Can without a Tongue, Call Together all Those who Long to Shake of[f] The fetters of Slavery" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1710:240).[65]

Court Appointed Representation

In October 1711, when the General Court authorized its clerk to subpoena witnesses on behalf of certain plaintiffs, reference was made to the procedure used "when Slaves move for their freedom and Council [legal representation] is Assigned them by this Court to examine their Witnesses" (McIlwaine 1924:604). Thus, it appears that slaves, who sought their own freedom, occasionally appeared before the General Court, where they were represented by a court-appointed attorney.

Increased Restrictions Upon Blacks

In 1680 legislation was passed that restricted the freedom of movement of those who were enslaved.

[63] His name raises the possibility that he may have been from a Spanish or Portuguese colony.

[64] During the 1950s National Park Service archaeologists found the left half of a human pelvis and leg bone in Well 19, directly behind Structure 115 (Cotter 1958:127, 157). Dr. Douglas Owsley, who examined the skeletal material, concluded that the decedent had "no evidence of traumatic dismemberment." He also decided that the pelvis and leg belonged to a man aged 33 to 39 of indeterminate ancestry, with some Caucasian features (David Riggs, personal communication, August 9, 1999). The possibility exists that these human remains were associated with Salvadore, for documentary records suggest strongly that he and Scipio were the only individuals drawn and quartered in Virginia since the early seventeenth century.

[65] In 1712, Richard Wharton, John Holloway and John Clayton asked Spotswood and his Council for compensation for assisting the Attorney General in "the Proseution of severall Negores & Indians, then under accusation of High Treason … and did assist at the Tryalls & two of the Traytors, Scipio & Salvadore were found guilty & sentence of death passed on them" (Palmer 1968:I:161).

As whites were fearful of "the frequent meetings of considerable numbers of negroe slaves under pretence of feasts and burialls," it became illegal for a slave to venture from his/her home property without without written permission. Those who did so were to receive 30 lashes and it was legal to kill runaways if they resisted arrest (Hening 1809-1823:II:481-482). In November 1682 a new law provided for the punishment of those who allowed other people's slaves to visit their property for more than four hours at a time, unless the slave bore written permission (Hening 1809-1823:II:492-493). This law would have made life difficult for slaves who wanted to visit spouses, friends or kin who lived on other people's property and it would have been disruptive to family life, an essential component in African societies.

In May 1723 the assembly passed a complex piece of legislation that pertained to the trial of slaves accused of committing capital crimes, punishing those involved in conspiracies, and "for the better government [control] of Negros, Mulattos, and Indians, bond or free." Thus, blacks and Indian, whether enslaved or free, were categorized together. Henceforth, whenever six or more blacks or Indians were found to have conspired to rebel or to commit murder or any other felony, they were to be denied the benefit of clergy, that is, they could not ask for their death sentence to be commuted because they professed to be of the Christian faith. In accord with earlier dated laws, slaves accused of capital crimes could be tried by county court justices without the benefit of a jury and the testimony of blacks, mulattoes and Indians, if credible, was to be considered admissible evidence in such cases. However, if witnesses, who were non-Christians, were found to have given false testimony, they were to have first one and then the other of their ears nailed to the pillory and then cut off. Afterward, the false witness was to receive 39 lashes at the public whipping post. The owner of a slave accused of a capital crime had the right to testify in the arraigned person's defense. Again, the owners of slaves convicted and sentenced to death, or transported out of the colony, were to be compensated with a sum equal to their estimated worth (Hening 1809-1823:IV:126-128).

In 1748 the assembly enacted legislation that prohibited slaves from preparing or administering medicine without the permission of their masters, allegedly "because many persons have been murdered, and others have languished under long and tedious indispositions." Slaves who disobeyed the new law were to be judged guilty of a felony and sentenced to death, without the right to receive the benefit of clergy. On the other hand, if the court justices decided that a slave had not prepared or administered medicine "with an ill intent," a benefit of clergy plea could be entered. Also, a slave was permitted to prepare medicine at the request of his or her owner. If a slave received the benefit of clergy, thereby avoiding execution for a capital crime, he or she was to be "burnt in the hand" in open court. No free blacks, mulattoes or Indians were to be allowed to testify in court, unless they were Christians testifying against a slave were being tried for a capital offense. Steeper penalties were set for blacks, mulattoes and Indians who gave false testimony. Again, the laws pertaining to the treatment of captured runaways, killing slaves during punishment, and dismembering habitual runaways were reiterated. In 1748 it became legal to dismember slaves "going abroad at night or running away and staying out," if they had not already been disciplined by someone else. To regulate the movement of blacks and safeguard against possible insurrection, another new law required owners to issue a certificate of authorization to slaves leaving their home plantations. Whites who caught runaway slaves were empowered to kill them if they resisted arrest (Hening 1808-1823:III:447-462; VI:106-107, 109-111).

If a slave were sentenced to death, execution was not supposed to be carried out until ten or more days after conviction. On the other hand, in cases of conspiracy, insurrection or rebellion, execution could take place at once. Those who stole another's slave were declared guilty of a felony (Hening 1809-1823:V:104-112, 553-558). In 1766 the colony's laws were amended to allow local court justices, functioning as courts of oyer

and terminer, to see that slaves were executed for capital crimes (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:137-138). This would have brought public executions to Virginia's county seats.

In 1723 the owners and overseers of blacks and slaves were prohibited from allowing six or more of them to visit another person's property at one time. The burgesses noted that this restriction did not apply to blacks or slaves assembling on their own master's property, with his (or his overseer's) permission, as long as such meetings did not take place at night or on a Sunday. The new law stipulated that it was not intended "to prohibit any slaves repairing to and meeting at church to attend divine service on the lord's day" or any other time set aside for public worship. Any "white person, free negro, mulatto or Indian" who attended an illegal meeting of blacks or slaves, or who entertained "any negro or other slave whatsoever, without the consent of their owners," was to be fined and all blacks, mulattoes and Indian slaves who attended such meetings were to receive up to 39 lashes at the whipping post. Local sheriffs and constables were ordered to suppress illegal meetings of blacks and slaves, or face a stiff fine (Hening 1809-1823:IV:128-130).

Any slaves (whether black, mulatto or Indian) who left their home property without their owners' permission were to receive ten lashes per offense. That punishment, which could be administered by an owner, master or overseer, made it legal for slaves to be flogged without due process of the law. This would have enabled whites with cruel or sadistic tendencies to administer harsh punishments at will. Henceforth, slaves were prohibited from keeping firearms, ammunition and other offensive or defensive weapons, unless they lived upon frontier plantations. Under the latter circumstances, the owner of such slaves was supposed to obtain a license, authorizing them to possess a gun. "Every free negro, mulatto of indian, being a house-keeper, or listed in the militia," was allowed to keep one gun, some powder and shot. However, militia members were to serve as drummers, trumpeters or pioneers: those who cleared brush, cut down trees and did other physically demanding tasks "or other servile labour" while participating in operations carried out by the militia.[66] Free blacks, mulattoes and Indians, who had firearms but were neither housekeepers nor in the militia, were ordered to sell their weapons (Hening 1809-1823:IV:118-120, 130-131; VII:94). This would have restricted their ability to hunt and to protect themselves. A 1755 law authorized the drafting of blacks and mulattoes into the military to serve as drummers, trumpeters or pioneers; however, they were not allowed to have firearms (Katz 1969:140-141; Hening 1809-1823:VI:31-33; VII:518).

In May 1723, when the burgesses enacted legislation that restricted the meetings of slaves and controlled their access to weapons, they probably were reacting to recent events that reminded them of their own vulnerability to being attacked. A group of slaves who lived in the Middle Peninsula and belonged to Mathew Kemp, Thomas Smith, Armistead Churchill, John Rhodes, Elizabeth Burwell (Nathaniel's widow)[67] and Elizabeth Richardson (also a widow) were found to have conspired to kill their owners and anyone who opposed them. The alleged ringleaders in the plot were rounded up and tried by the General Court, found guilty, and sentenced to be transported out of the colony. All of the slaves were to be taken to Barbados, Jamaica, or another island in the West Indies, where they would be sold. The slaves' owners were to be compensated for their loss (Winfree 1971:257-259).

The legislation passed in May 1723 stipulated that the only way black, mulatto or Indian slaves could be set free was on account of meritorious service; such manumission only could be conferred by the governor and his council. Slaves whose owners freed them, contrary to law, could be reenslaved by parish churchwardens. It became legal to dismember slaves who were "incorrigible runaways" and could not be forced to mend their ways

[66] Later, free blacks, mulattoes and Indians who served in the militia were not allowed to have firearms of any kind (Hening 1809-1823:VII:94).

[67] This individual should not be confused with the man of the same name, who inherited a lot in urban Jamestown from Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and died in 1734.

by other corrective measures. If a slave died as a result of being corrected, the person who administered punishment was not to be prosecuted unless the slave was killed willfully or purposefully. Anyone indicted for killing a slave was to be tried for manslaughter, not murder. However, anyone who killed another person's slave could be held responsible. Excluded were surgeons or others undertaking the dismemberment of a slave, unless they were negligent in performing their duties. All free blacks, mulattoes and Indians of both sexes (with the exception of tributary Indian tribes) were to be considered tithable if age 16 or older. The offspring of mulatto or Indian servants, who previously were obliged to serve until age 30 or 31, were required to work until they attained the same age their mother was required to reach when eligible to be freed (Hening 1809-1823:IV:132-133).

In 1732 the House of Burgesses decided that neither Native Americans or those of African descent, whether enslaved or free, could testify in a court of law except when providing testimony in a case that involved a slave accused of a capital crime (Hening 1809-1823:IV:326-327). Thus, non-whites were not allowed to appear as witnesses whenever cases were tried that involved a matter less serious than a capital offense.[68] Simultaneously, the new law deprived free non-whites of the right to seek justice under the law. For example, they would have been unable to sue in order to recover a bad debt. A decision was made that blacks convicted of a capital offense could enter a one-time plea for the benefit of clergy, as long as they "could give some account of the principles of the christian religion" and were not guilty of manslaughter or stealing goods worth five shillings or more by breaking-and-entering during the daytime. Blacks and Indians who were convicted of a capital crime and received the benefit of clergy were to be burned in the hand "and suffer such other corporal punishment, as the court shall think fit to inflict." If they were convicted of a capital crime on a second occasion, they were to be denied the benefit of clergy (Hening 1809-1823:IV:326-327).

Passage of this new law probably was the result of a case tried before the General Court in which Mary Aggy, a female slave, was found guilty of stealing and requested benefit of clergy. As the court's judges were evenly divided in their opinions, Governor William Gooch forwarded the case to England. He also said that a rumor that Alexander Spotswood had brought an order from the king "to sett all those slaves free that were Christians" had caused a considerable amount of unrest among enslaved blacks, which had culminated in some potentially dangerous gatherings of large groups of slaves and had resulted in the execution of their ringleaders (Stanard 1924:322-325).[69]

In February 1772 the assembly decided that slaves who broke into a house at night would not be excluded from the benefit of clergy unless the incident was comparable to a burglary for which a freeman would be found guilty. Two other important changes were made in the law. County courts hearing cases of oyer and terminer were unable to pronounce the death sentence upon a slave unless at least four justices agreed. Also, runaway slaves were not to be considered outlaws unless they had committed what was classified as a capital crime. Therefore, county justices were not allowed to authorize those who caught ordinary runaways to kill them (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:522-523).

[68] This policy endured until December 1800, at which time the delegates of Virginia's General Assembly decided to permit "any negro or mulatto, bond or free" to testify for or against "negroes or mulattoes, bond or free." Such witnesses also were allowed to testify in civil cases where free blacks or mulattoes were litigants (Shepherd 1970:II:300).

[69] The postscript to a July 30, 1730, letter from Virginia states that the writer had "at this Instant an Account of an Insurrection of the Negroes about Williamsburg, occasioned by a Report of Coll. Spotswood's Arrival, that he had Direction from his Majesty to free all baptiz'd Negroes; many Masters and Mistresses having baptized their Slaves in order to instruct them in the Christian Faith: The Negroes have improv'd this Notion to a great Height: It is said that some of the Ringleaders are taken: Five Counties are in Arms pursuing others, with Orders to kill them if they do not submit" (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 8, 1730).

Disenfranchisement Is Legalized

In May 1723 a newly enacted piece of legislation stipulated that "no free negro, mulatto, or indian whatsoever" was to be allowed to vote in elections in Virginia (Hening 1809-1823:IV:133- 134). Although it is uncertain to what extent free men of color, who were landowners, formerly had participated in elections, this law officially disenfranchised them. Kathleen Brown pointed out that the Lords Commissioners' legal council, Richard West, took exception to this facet of the May 1723 legislation, for he felt that "every freeman who is possessed of a Certain proportion of property" was entitled to vote. West insisted that "When severall Negroes have merited their Freedom and obtained it and by their industry have acquired that proportion of property so that the above mentioned incedentall Rights of liberty are actually vested in them," there was no legal basis for depriving them of their voting rights. While West's objections went unheeded for another 12 years, the new law indicates the extent to which Virginia's governing officials had departed from English legal tradition by using race rather than class as the litmus test of voting rights. In 1736 Governor William Gooch informed his superiors that free blacks and mulattoes usually were suspected of being involved in conspiracies planned by slaves and therefore deserved to be deprived of the vote, "that great Priviledge of a Freeman." He said that free blacks and mulattoes "always did, and ever will adhere to and favour the slaves." Gooch added that "the Pride of a manumitted slave … looks on himself imediately on acquiring his freedom to be as good a man as the best of his Neighbours," especially if he had a white parent. Therefore, Gooch felt that it was important to make a clear distinction between free whites and free blacks and mulattoes (Brown 1996:219-221). When voting qualifications were made more explicit in 1762, free blacks, mulattoes, Indians, underage white males, and women were specifically excluded from enfranchisement, along with all convicts and deported aliens. The types of freeholders deemed eligible to vote also were defined (Hening 1809-1823:VII:518-519).

The Life of a Slave

Although relatively little is known about the life of a typical field hand, one English observer noted that a slave's workday began at dawn and ended at dusk, with time for a brief breakfast and a dinner break. Household slaves led somewhat different lives. They had more material advantages, but less privacy. Those fortunate enough to be trained artisans had a greater opportunity to refine their manual and social skills and intellectual prowess (Tate 1965:19-20).

Undoubtedly one of a slave's greatest fears was the prospect of permanent separation from close kin. Slaves sometimes were sold when their owners fell on hard times or simply were unable to support all of the household members for whom they were responsible. Census records and personal property tax rolls reveal that middling planters' households during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sometimes included 30 or more members (both black and white) who required food, clothing, shelter and medical care, whether or not they were able to work. This responsibility, which sometimes proved overwhelming, might force an owner to sell one or more of his slaves. Another set of circumstances that led to the disruption of black families was the settling of estates, which often required the sale or redistribution of the decedent's slaves among several heirs. In Williamsburg, slaves were auctioned off from time to time in front of the Raleigh Tavern or occasionally at the James City County courthouse. Such sales typically involved one or two individuals. Slaves also were sold by means of newspaper advertisements (Tate 1965:47).

As slave marriages were not recognized by law, all too few eighteenth century owners made a conscientious effort to keep families together. Even so, the slaves took their own weddings very seriously, whether they were married in a special ceremony or simply moved in together. This contrasted sharply with customs in Africa, where marriage was

a religious rite often accompanied by weeks of celebration. Anthony Johnson, Virginia's first demonstrably free black, married his wife, Mary, in a Christian ceremony in ca. 1622 and other free blacks were united in matrimony. However, after black servants were relegated to the status of property and slavery became an established institution, such weddings probably were relatively rare. Although there were no laws sanctioning or defining slave marriage, there also were none forbidding it. According to oral tradition, owners usually insisted that their slaves obtain their consent before marrying. Once approval was received, the bride and groom participated in a ceremony generally known as "jumping the broomstick," i.e., with friends and family looking on, they solemnly stepped across a broomstick that was placed on the floor. Sometimes, this rite of passage included a scriptural reading. Occasionally, owners saw to it that their slaves were united in a conventional religious ceremony. When slaves from neighboring plantations married, the husband usually obtained a pass from his master to visit his wife on Saturday nights (Breen et al. 1980:10; Katz 1969:79-81).

According to Allan Kulikoff, a slave woman who married probably stayed with her mother (or parents) until a child was born, unless her husband could provide her with a place to stay. After the birth of a child, however, most women moved to a hut of their own. Motherhood sometimes gave slave women some additional privileges. Young children were to be "well looked after" (Kulikoff 1986:375). For example, one nineteenth century slave owner wrote that "The females, during a state of pregnancy, should be exempt from all labor that would have a tendency to injure them, such as lifting heavy burdens, fencing, plowing and &c."[70] He added that after childbirth they should be kept indoors for five or six weeks. The same man said that "As far as practicable families of negroes should be kept together." He added that "With a family of children around them, they feel more attached to home and do not form the habit of running about the neighborhood at night, when they should be asleep" (Breeden 1980:13, 15).

Slave parents often named a child after themselves or other blood relatives as a means of drawing attention to kinship ties, which all too often were ignored by white masters. Slaves sometimes fled to the homes of their loved ones. For instance, 14-year-old Judy, a runaway, was thought to be harbored by her "Mother at Mr. Hornsby's Plantation in James City" and Sam was believed to have fled to "Mr. Benjamin Warburton's Quarter, near Morton's Mill in James City, where he has a wife." The pain and emotional trauma slave families experienced when loved ones were sold is evident in the statement of one Virginia ex-slave, who said that "When your child dies you know where it is, but when it is sold away, you never know what may happen to him" (Morgan 1984:26-30; Tate 1965:46).

The Relationship between Blacks and Indians

Although Dr. Walter A. Plecker, registrar of the Virginia Bureau of Vital Records during the early twentieth century, and a staunch believer in eugenics or racial purity, classified Virginia Indians as "colored," claiming that most had African ancestry, in fact there is very little evidence demonstrating that intermarriage (or sexual liaisons) between the two races occurred (Rountree 1990:219-221). An exception was a slave named Frank, who between 1770 and 1772 repeatedly fled to the Pamunkey Indians. According to an advertisement that appeared in the *Virginia Gazette*, Frank regularly sought refuge with the Pamunkeys because "in one of his former Trips he got himself a Wife amongst them" (Purdie and Dixon, September 12, 1771). Several other ads for runaway slaves state that the missing person was believed to have fled to the Indians (Purdie and Dixon, November 29, 1770; March 5, 1772; November 26, 1772; December 3, 1772; Rind, March 12, 1772; Dixon and Hunter, March 11, 1775). In 1787, Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes On Virginia*, commented that

[70] Joel Gathright, overseer on the Travis plantation (on Jamestown Island) during the early 1790s, was not so considerate, for he forced at least one pregnant slave to plow (see ahead).

the Pamunkey Indians were "tolerably pure from mixture with other colours," but that the Mattapony "have more negro than Indian blood in them" (Jefferson 1954:96). A dearth of information on this topic leaves it open to conjecture.

The Slave Trade: Increased Importation

Slave trade statistics, 1698 to 1703, reveal that ships registered in Jamestown (James City County's seat of government until around 1715) transported blacks from Barbados to the upper James River. Many of these Africans came in with private ("separate") traders. K. G. Davies, who studied shipping records, observed that between June 24, 1698, and October 12, 1708, only 679 Africans were brought into Virginia by the Royal African Company. In contrast, 5,928 Africans (including 236 from Barbados) were transported to the colony by "separate traders." By the early eighteenth century, approximately 10 percent of the Africans transported across the Atlantic died during the Middle Passage. Improvement in the shipboard conditions to which Africans were subjected was linked to the price for which they could be bought and sold. It appears that before 1689, Africans commanded such a low price that their lives were considered expendable. Conditions finally improved when they became more valuable, economically (Davies 1957:143, 292-293). In 1709 diarist William Byrd II spoke of a ship that had "arrived with negroes" and in 1724 James City Parish minister, the Rev. William Leneve spoke of the newly landed African slaves who were "imported daily" (Byrd 1941:183; Perry 1870:264-266).

During 1725 and 1726 ships licensed in Williamsburg and owned by Jeffrey Flowers, Dudley Digges, John Hutchings, and John Phripp brought blacks from Barbados, Jamaica, Anguilla, and the Windward Coast of Africa to the port of entry at Yorktown and the Lower James River's Naval Office, for which Lewis Burwell of Kingsmill was responsible. During the 1730s, Andrew Mead, John Holt, David Mead, Samuel Riddick, John Tucker, John Saunders, Samuel Barron, Samuel Skinner, Alexander Campbell, Edward Pugh, Cornelius Calvert and other local men imported slaves, most of whom were brought in from the Caribbean, especially Barbados. Edward Champion Travis's sloop, the *James Town*, carried small numbers of blacks from Barbados to Virginia during the 1750s (Minchinton et al. 1984:57, 59, 67, 73, 77, 79, 81, 83).

In 1748, the House of Burgesses made it illegal "to cast corpses in the rivers and creeks," noting that the masters of slave ships frequently threw the dead overboard "to the annoyance of the adjacent inhabitants" (Hening 1809-1823:VI:100-101). During that period numerous Africans were being brought into Virginia, some of whom were ill and infected with contagious diseases. In May 1722 the burgesses decided that whenever ships arrived in Virginia, they were to be quarantined if they came from places infected with the plague. In 1772 that legislation was reaffirmed and made more specific. Henceforth, the master, mate and boatswain of every incoming vessel bearing convicts, servants and slaves was obliged to take an oath before one of Virginia's naval or customs officers, certifying that no one aboard had been infected with jail fever or small pox within the past 50 days. Moreover, none of the passengers aboard such ships could disembark until the sworn statement had been signed (Hening 1809-1823:IV:99-103; VIII:537-538).

Slave trade statistics compiled by Minchinton et al. indicate that between 1719 and 1721 approximately 1,720 slaves were imported into Virginia each year. During that period, around a dozen slave ships visited the colony annually. In 1726 and 1727 the number of imported slaves soared to more than 3,000 per year; they arrived in two dozen ships. Although there was a sharp decline in the number of slaves imported between 1728 and 1731, from 1732 through 1746 newly arrived slaves streamed into the colony at a rate of around 1,900 a year and sometimes as many as four dozen slave ships came in. The number of imported slaves declined briefly and then peaked again between 1749 and 1752. After a seven year hiatus, between 1760 and 1763 slaves again flooded the market. Minchinton

et al. found that between 1699 and 1775, more than 70,524 slaves were brought into Virginia. Customs records indicate in 1772 a total of 2,104 slaves were imported into Virginia, 60 percent of whom came from Africa and 40 percent from the West Indies. These figures do not include individuals who were brought in overland or from neighboring mainland colonies (Minchinton et al. 1984:xiv-xv).

Ira Berlin has noted that the increased direct importation of Africans into Virginia during the 1730s resulted in the Africanization of slavery. Men and women with "country markings" such as ritual scarring, filed teeth and plaited hair were conspicuous among the population of creolized African-Americans, who had adopted some of the ways of white society. Many whites probably found the unfamiliar languages, religious practices, music, and material culture of Africans somewhat disturbing, because of their "differentness." Transplanted Africans would have been vulnerable to New World diseases. Only after the sex ratio became more evenly balanced were there opportunities for newly arrived Africans to establish families. According to Berlin, "The Africanization of slavery marked a sharp deterioration in the conditions of slave life." Planters made increased demands upon their slaves, making them work longer hours and more days, while paying little heed to their nutritional and medical needs, clothing, and shelter. These changes occurred as the number of white servants declined and those of African descent steadily lost rights. Successful planters, who placed their slaves under the supervision of overseers, distanced themselves from those who toiled on their behalf (Berlin 1998:110-112, 116-117).

A letter written on May 26, 1723, by Edward Hallden, captain of the slave ship *Greyhound*, provides some insight into his activities. He informed the ship's owners that it had taken him 23 days to travel from Barbados to Tindall's (Gloucester) Point. He had brought in 172 slaves, all but three or four of whom were "full and harty, free from any Destemper or Disaorder." He said that his cargo of slaves consisted of 89 men, 63 women, 14 boys and 6 girls and that it was "impossible to bring in Likelier or Better hear or elsewhere on all accounts." Hallden said that he had heard that "noe slaves came into this River [the York] this year," which made him hopeful of obtaining a good price (Survey Report 06592:2-3). In an April 30, 1723 letter, Hallden said that it had taken him seven weeks to travel from Bonny (in modern Nigeria) to Barbados and that he had set out with 339 slaves (189 men, 128 women, 16 boys, and 6 girls). By the time he arrived in Barbados, only 214 were alive (Donnan 1935:II:299-300). These statistics suggest that children weathered the voyage more successfully than adults and women, better than men.

Not only were Africans brought into Virginia as slaves, other ethnic groups were involved. Slave trade statistics reveal that during the 1710s Native Americans from the Carolinas arrived aboard slave ships and were sold to planters. Some of these individuals probably were taken captive during the Tuscarora War in Carolina (Minchinton et al. 1984:21-52). In 1737 when two male servants in Gloucestertown stole a pistol and some clothes and then spirited away on horseback, one was described as an "East Indian" (Parks, April 22, 1737).

The Royal African Company's Agents in Virginia

Sometime after William Sherwood's death late in 1697, Edward Hill III of Shirley plantation in Charles City County became the Royal African Company's factor in Virginia. In March 1702 Company officials sent word to Hill that the *Gambia Galley* had left Africa in May 1701. It had taken aboard a hundred or more Africans at Sierra Leone, touched land at Barbados, and was ordered to go to Jamaica. The galley had been seen in August near Cape St. Antoine and was believed to be heading for Carolina or Virginia. The Royal African Company told Hill to inquire after the ship, seize it if necessary, and dispose of the Africans onboard. The *Gambia Galley* was described as a long, sharp square-sterned vessel of 70 tons burthen. It had three masts and a deck-and-a-half with a fall in the forecastle and cabin. The ship had been built in Ireland around 1696-1697 and four years later had

been sheathed with ½ inch boards. The *Gambia Galley* was armed with six guns and two "patteraroes" (short pieces of chambered ordnance) and was painted yellow. It had small, round ports with decorative carving and carved work on each side of her quarter deck, imitating small galleries or windows. Five officers and ten crewmen reportedly were aboard the *Gambia Galley* when it was last seen. Royal African Company records dating to December 7, 1704, reveal that in Virginia, Africans reportedly sold for 30 to 35 pounds sterling each, by bill of exchange (Survey Report 5753:1-3). Thus, the Africans aboard the missing vessel were considered valuable.

John Carter, like his father-in-law Edward Hill III, was involved in the slave trade. However, he served as a "separate" or independent trader's factor, not as an agent for the Royal African Company. From 1737 to at least 1739 he sold slaves on behalf of Foster Cunliffe of Liverpool, placing notices in the *Virginia Gazette* to announce shipments of blacks from Guinea and other parts of Africa. Carter told Cunliffe that he considered Shirley an advantageous place for selling slaves, but that if a better site could be found, he would willingly transport the Africans there in one of his sloops or take them overland. In 1737, when the supply of slaves exceeded the demand, John Carter informed his business partners that if he were unable to sell the most recent arrivals, he'd be forced to deal with a wholesaler (Parks, June 23, 1738; August 4, 1738; June 29, 1739; McCartney 1997:n.p.).

The Supervision of Slaves

Robert Carter, who owned Merchant's Hundred (later known as Carter's Grove), appointed an experienced male slave as the foreman or "driver" in each of his quarters. Such individuals would have been skilled at raising corn and tobacco and managing livestock. Carter's slave foreman enjoyed some of the privileges extended to white overseers, including "halfe a middleing beefe[,], one barrow Hogg for bacon and one small hogg for Pork and other such things as [are] … reasonable for such a trusty negro." Each of Carter's slave foremen was provided with a house, whether he was single or not. One of these men had two wives, a custom that was common in Africa but not in Virginia. Slave supervisors most likely were responsible for regulating the behavior of other slaves and seeing that they worked at a steady and acceptable pace. During the early eighteenth century trusted slaves, who worked as foremen under the supervision of a white overseer, were relatively common in Virginia and Maryland. This occurred despite laws requiring that resident white overseers be present upon slaveholders' property. Blacks serving as foremen or drivers were relatively common on West Indian plantations and in South Carolina. If Robert Carter's work force at Merchant's Hundred in 1733 was typical of his quarters, there were almost twice as many men as women, and young adults predominated. African-born women apparently were slow to bear children, for only half of the slave households on Carter's quarters included youngsters. Of those children, the majority were between the ages of 6 and 15, which raises the possibility that some in the older group were recently captured Africans. A few of Robert Carter's quarters were populated by single men. Some had seemingly unrelated men and women. Collectively, these observations suggest that in 1733 there was less stability in Carter's slave population than there had been in those owned by the Bacons and Burwells between 1694 and 1710 (Walsh 1997:86, 88-90).

Papers associated with the settlement of Philip Ludwell III's estate suggest that some of his quarters may have been entrusted to the care of black foremen, who probably were under the supervision of Ludwell's white overseer, Cary Wilkinson.[71] When Ludwell bequeathed Powhatan Mill to his daughter, Hannah Philippa Lee, he said that he was leaving her the miller, which suggests

[71] At Kingsmill, black overseers also appear to have been used. In 1725 when an inventory was made of James Bray II's estate, reference was made to the quarters of Jacko and Debb, slaves to whom Bray appears to have entrusted those subsidiary properties. At Debb's quarter were cattle and swine; at Jacko's were cattle, swine and sheep. No household goods whatsoever were attributed to any of Bray's quarters (Kelso 1984:21-212).

that that individual was a slave. She also was entitled to the slaves at Green Spring. An inventory of Ludwell's estate suggests that he used Rich Neck as a quarter (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416). The remarkably detailed inventory of Philip Ludwell III's personal possessions, made in ca. 1767, reveals that a broad variety of agricultural products were being produced upon his property, along with large quantities of bovine hides and skins that may have been used in leatherworking. Blacksmithing tools also were present (Stanard 1913:395-416). This raises the possibility that some of the decedent's slaves were highly skilled.

A plat made in 1770 reveals that Green Spring had been subdivided into several quarters, which were of manageable proportions. Each of these subsidiary farms had a sizeable number of slaves (men, women and children of both sexes) and herds of livestock, plus agricultural equipment and iron pots, grindstones, and rudimentary utensils that the slaves would have used in processing their food (Stanard 1913:395-416). The slaves who lived upon Philip Ludwell III's property would have been under the overall supervision of Cary Wilkinson, a white overseer. Although it is unclear whether each of Ludwell's subsidiary properties was entrusted to a slave foreman, the distance separating the various quarters makes it likely that they were.

According to Isaac Weld, who toured America during the late 1790s:

> *The large estates are managed by stewards and overseers, the proprietors just amusing themselves with seeing what is going forward. The work is done wholly by slaves, whose numbers are in this part of the country more than double that of white persons. The slaves on large plantations are in general very well provided for, and treated with mildness. During three months, nearly, that I was in Virginia but two or three instances of ill treatment towards them came under my observation [Weld 1968:1:148-149].*

The latter remarks contrast sharply with statements made by schoolteacher Philip Fithian and others eighteenth-century writers, who spoke of slaveowners' and overseers' cruelty to those for whom they were responsible.

Living Conditions: Family Life and Housing

Eighteenth century accounts suggest strongly that Virginia planters usually kept women and their small children together, but generally did not attempt to keep husbands and teenagers with the rest of their family. Estate inventories reveal that slave owners who had a large number of blacks usually bequeathed a slave mother and her child or children (as a unit) to their own sons or daughters. As planter families tended to live close to their immediate kin, slaves who were distributed among various family members often lived within the same general vicinity. Slaves who lived on small farms were less fortunate, for they were fewer in number and their owners often distributed them among their widow and several children. Slaves whose owners' financial resources were inadequate sometimes were mortgaged or sold to settle a debt. According to Allan Kulikoff's research:

> *Most slaves were either members of a kin-based household or could call upon kindred on their own or nearby quarters for aid and encouragement… . A slave not only had a place in the plantation work hierarchy, mostly determined by the master, but a position within his kin group. Slave culture and religion developed within this system: blacks participated as kindred at work and in song, dance, celebrations, prayer, and revivals at home [Kulikoff 1986:359, 380].*

Virginia planters with a substantial number of slaves typically housed them in separate quarters a relatively short distance from the main house or in crude shelters on subsidiary farms. Those with only a few slaves often provided them with space in a loft, kitchen, barn or other outbuilding. As slave families became an integral part of plantation life, separate housing (usually small huts, log buildings or sometimes, small frame dwellings) were provided to groups of people related by *de facto* "marriage" or other kinship ties. Single adults often lived alone, whereas house servants and other domestics typically resided within their master's home or outbuildings.

Isaac Weld's account, written during the 1790s, portrays a relatively favorable picture of slaves' living conditions. It states that:

> *Their [slaves'] quarters, the name by which their habitations are called, are usually situated one or two hundred yards from the dwelling house, which gives the appearance of a village to the residence of every planter in Virginia; when the estate, however, is so large as to be divided into several farms, then separate quarters are attached to the house of the overseer on each farm. Adjoining their little habitations, the slaves commonly have small gardens and yards for poultry, which are all their own property, they have ample time to attend to their own concerns, and their gardens are generally found well stocked, and their flocks of poultry numerous. Besides the foods they raise for themselves, they are allowed liberal rations of salted pork and Indian corn. Many of their little huts are comfortably furnished, and they are themselves, in general, extremely well clothed. In short, their condition is by no means so wretched as might be imagined. They are forced to work certain hours in the day; but in return they are clothed, dieted, and lodged comfortably, and saved all anxiety about provision for their offspring. Still, however, let the condition of a slave be made ever so comfortable, so long as he is conscious of being the property of another man, who has it in his power to dispose of him according to the dictates of caprice [Weld 1968:1:148-149].*

Weld added that as long as a slave hears others talk about the blessings of liberty, he considers himself "in a state of bondage" (Weld 1968:1:149).

Lorena S. Walsh has surmised that daily routines probably changed as slave communities began to include more dependent children and young adults. Because young mothers would have been absent for extended periods of time, working in the fields or performing other chores, other adults (perhaps the elderly or infirm) may have provided care to infants and very young children who needed close supervision. It is probable that adult slaves rearing children spent more time gardening and providing for their families. For example, men may have done more hunting and fishing, whereas women would have devoted more time to sewing, doing laundry and raising poultry. The presence of young children also would have affected the various social and religious activities that took place within slave quarters (Walsh 1997:144-145).

In 1724 the Rev. Hugh Jones noted that:

> *The Negroes live in small cottages called quarters, in about six in a gang, under the direction of an overseer or bailiff; who takes care that they tend such land as the owner allots and orders, upon which they raise hogs and cattle, and plant Indian corn (or maize) and tobacco for the use of their master; out of which the overseer has a dividend (or share) in proportion to the number of hands including himself; this with several privileges is his salary and is an ample recompense for his pains, and encouragement of his industrious care, as to the labour, health and provision of the Negores [Jones 1956[1724]:75].*

Jones indicated that:

> *The Negroes are very numerous, some gentlemen having hundreds of them of all sorts, to whom they bring great profit; for the sake of which they are obliged to keep them well, and not overwork, starve, or famish them, besides other inducements to favour them; which is done in a great degree, to such especially that are laborious, careful, and honest; though indeed some masters, careless of their own interest or reputation, are too cruel or negligent [Jones 1956[1724]:75].*

He concluded by saying that the work done by blacks, "(or chimerical hard slavery) is not very laborious," adding that their greatest hardship was that they and their descendants were not free (Jones 1956[1724]:75-76).

Architectural historian Camille Wells, when studying eighteenth century slave housing in the Northern Neck, concluded that they occupied a wide variety of accommodations. On one plantation in King George County, two black households occupied an unlit loft over a kitchen. On another, slaves lived in a tobacco house. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, most slaves seem to have occupied small one or two room frame structures

that varied in size. Some were covered with weatherboard, others were miserable hovels. One English visitor who spent the night in a shelter occupied by an overseer and six slaves said that it was a small building that stood on blocks about a foot from the ground. It was neither lathed nor plastered, and lacked a ceiling, loft and brick chimney. The structure was covered with thin boards, had two doors, and a window that had no glass. Wells noted that "Slave housing was never vastly inferior in terms of size and finish to that occupied by most of the Chesapeake's common planters and landless laborers," who were poor and had few material resources (Wells 1994:58-59).

In 1796 noted architect Benjamin Latrobe executed a watercolor painting, depicting the old manor house at Green Spring. On each side of the main dwelling was a line of dependencies (Carson 1954:7-8,10; Gaines 1957:33-34). Some of these structures probably were occupied by servants or slaves. The only information that is available on slave housing at Jamestown dates to the mid-nineteenth century. In November 1844 when Goodrich Durfey, then-owner of Jamestown Island, offered it for sale, he described its improvements in considerable amount of detail. He stated that besides the mansion (the Ambler house) there was an overseer's house and " negro houses, all of which are new and in good order." He said that since the draining of some fresh water ponds, his farm had been "very healthy for white persons, never having been otherwise for negroes" (Durfey 1844). Around 1850, artist George W. Mark produced a painting entitled "Jamestown, Virginia," which depicts the Ambler house and shows to its west four dependencies or slave quarters, neatly aligned in a row, on an axis that was perpendicular to the main house (Marks ca. 1850).

The Living Conditions Slaves Endured

Whereas most white Virginians, who matured during the second half of the seventeenth century probably had relatively little interaction with black servants or slaves, many of those born around the turn of the eighteenth century (and later) would have grown up in households that included black slaves, perhaps domestic workers such as nurses or nannies, who oversaw their day- to-day activities. While very young, many white children (especially boys) had black playmates. As the number of African-born slaves decreased, especially during the last third of the eighteenth century, the elderly who had survived probably were exempt from some of the plantation's more strenuous work routines and were treated with a measure of respect (Walsh 1997:146-148).

Edward Kimber, who visited Tidewater Virginia in 1742, said that the slaves he saw "live as easily as in any other Part of America, and at set Times have a pretty deal of Liberty in their Quarters, as they are called." However, he wrote of plantation owners giving their male slaves a number of wives, or "setting them up for Stallions to a whole Neighbourhood." He declared that Virginians' treatment of their slaves was "monstrous and shocking." Kimber claimed that it was difficult to train a newly arrived African, "if he must be broke, either from Obstinacy, or, … from Greatness of Soul." He indicated that their resistance was amazing to observe. He said:

> *Let an hundred Men shew him how to hoe, or drive a Wheelbarrow, he'll still take the one by the Bottom and the other by the Wheel; and they often die before they can be conquer'd. They are, no Doubt, very great Thieves, but this may flow from their unhappy, indigent Circumstance, and not from a natural Bent.*

He added that

> *... you may lash them for Hours before they will confess the Fact; however, were they not to look upon every white Man as their Tormentor; were a slight Fault to be pardon'd now and then; were their Masters, and those adamantine-hearted Overseers to exercise a little more Persuasion, Complacency, Tenderness and Humanity toward them, it might perhaps improve their Tempers to a greater degree of Tractability [Kimber 1998:47-49].*

Henry Beaumont, an Englishman who visited Jamestown Island in 1818, went ashore further upstream, probably in Henrico or Prince George County. There, he spoke with some slaves in their quarters. Beaumont said that he and his companions

> *... visited several of the Negroes Huts all of which we found in a most deplorable and wretched state - poor creatures. All the furniture was composed of a wooden stool or two and a little straw in one corner which we supposed was their Bed. Some of them had a little fire on the floor and themselves not half clothed. In fact the children were nearly naked.*[72] *My feelings were no little hurt to see human beings though black in such a wretched condition. And to think they are bought and sold the same as cattle and many of them used much worse [Beaumont 1818].*

Beaumont added that he had purchased a few apples from the blacks he visited and that they seemed overjoyed to receive the money. He added that "They all appeared very unhappy and wished very much for their freedom" (Beaumont 1818).

In the slave quarters, blacks usually could congregate for food and fellowship after their work was done. There, beyond the pale of white supervision, they could relax, converse with friends and kin, and enjoy folk traditions distinctly their own. Slaves often had a small garden plot in which they could raise food crops for their own consumption or to barter for goods they lacked. Planters with large amounts of land under their control sometimes subdivided it into quarters or subsidiary farms that had a gang of slaves who labored under the supervision of an overseer, often a relatively young white male. As noted previously, Philip Ludwell III's estate inventory, compiled in the 1760s, reveals that his slaves were furnished with the bare necessities they needed for farming and food preparation. The Burwells at King's Creek, Carter's Grove and Kingsmill did likewise (Walsh 1997:182-183). The inventories made of James Burwell's estate in 1718 and of the late Philip Ludwell III's estate in 1767 shed a great deal of light upon the types of fundamental equipment that was provided to slaves for their own subsistence (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 15:421-426) (see ahead).

Records maintained by the Carter family during the 1730s reveal that each slave was outfitted with winter clothing every year and that they received some lighter garments for use during warm weather. Men generally were provided with linen breeches, shirts, and fustian jackets and women were given shifts, petticoats and aprons. Children received only a frock. Adults were issued imported shoes, Irish stockings or plaid hose, and milled caps. Bed rugs and blankets (or hair coverlets) were issued as they were needed. Robert Carter provided his slaves with weekly rations of ground or unground maize, plus a bit of meat and some fat that they could use to "grease their Homony." During the summer months, Carter's slaves were expected to do without meat other than what they provided for themselves. However, in 1729, when some of his slaves were digging a mill race, which he considered "hard work," he provided each man with a pound of fresh meat one or two days a week (Walsh 1997: 89-90).

Robert Carter's writings indicate that he tried to see that his slaves were furnished with "very good Cabbins" so that their beds were a foot-and-a-half above ground. Such cabins would have been small, crude log buildings that had a dirt floor, wooden chimney and unglazed windows. The household equipment Carter supplied would have included wooden pails and containers, an iron pestle, iron pots and pothooks, and perhaps a handmill for the grinding of corn (Walsh 1997:90).

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[72] Walsh, in speaking of the eighteenth century, has said that "In most contemporary West African societies, children did not begin to wear clothing until they approached puberty. After that, conventional modesty required only that adults cover their genitals" (Walsh 1997:97). William Hugh Grove, who went aboard two slave ships in Virginia in 1732, noted that they were from Guinea and Angola. He said that one vessel had nearly 500 African passengers. The men "are Stowed before the foremast, then the Boys between that and the mainmast, the Girls next, and the Grown Women behind the Missen." He observed that "The Boyes and Girles [were] all Stark naked so Were the greatest part of the Men and Women. Some had beads about their necks, arms and Wasts, and a ragg or Peice of Leather the bigness of a figg Leafe" (Stiverson et al. 1977:18-21, 31-32).

In 1767 Philip Ludwell III's slaves were furnished with the same types of household paraphernalia. Slaves would have had to rely upon craft skills they had acquired in Africa or learned from others, until they had developed contacts with other local slaves with whom they could barter for goods. They also would have had to learn how to fish, hunt and gather in Tidewater Virginia, which natural environment was quite different than Africa, and it would have been necessary for them to adapt their skills in working with wood, fibers and clay to the materials available locally. Slave artisans would have been able to market their goods and services within the local economy. The writings of Robert Carter and of John Ambler II of Jamestown reveal that they sometimes hired doctors to tend to their slaves' medical needs. However, it is likely that the slaves sometimes used herbal remedies of their own (Walsh 1997:90- 92; Ambler Family Papers 1770-1880).

Religious Conversion

In 1724 the Rev. Hugh Jones said that although some people disapproved of baptizing blacks and Indians "because it often makes them proud, and not so good servants," he disagreed. He felt that if the people receiving religious instruction were "sensible, good and understand English, and have been taught (or are willing to learn) the principals of Christianity, and if they be kept to the observance of it afterwards," they would be better servants than they were before conversion. However, he said that he questioned the wisdom of "baptizing wild Indians and new Negroes, who have not the least knowledge nor inclination to know and mind our religion, language and customs, but will obstinately persist in their own barbarous ways." In fact, he said that he did not favor baptism "till they be a little weaned of their savage barbarity." Jones ventured his opinion that

> *... the children of Negroes and Indians, that are to live among Christians, undoubtedly they ought all to be baptized; since it is not out of the power of their masters to take care that they have a Christian education, learn their prayers and catechism, and go to church, and not accustom themselves to lie, swear and steal, though such (as the poorer sort in England) be not taught to read and write, which as yet has been found to be dangerous upon several political accounts, especially self-preservation [Jones 1956[1724]:99].*

He added that "The language of the new Negroes are various harsh jargons and their religions and customs such as are best described by Mr. Bosman in his book intitled (I think) *A Description of the Coasts of Africa*" (Jones 1956[1724]:76). In another passage of his book, Jones said that native-born blacks "generally talk good English" (Jones 1956[1724]:80).

In 1724 Edmund Gibson, the Bishop of London, questioned Virginia clergy about conditions in their parishes. The responses of James City County's Anglican clergymen shed a considerable amount of light upon local conditions. The Rev. William LeNeve of James City Parish reported that his territory was approximately 20 miles long and 12 miles wide and had 78 families. He indicated that approximately 130 people attended the services he conducted in the church at Jamestown. He also led services in the Mulberry Island Parish one Sunday a month and lectured in Williamsburg on Sunday afternoons. LeNeve said that his parish had neither a school nor a library. He reportedly had worked with a number of Virginia-born black slaves, whom he felt that he could convert to Christianity, but he said that he did not believe that "we have any freemen Infidels, but our Negro Slaves imported daily, are altogether ignorant of God and Religion, and in truth have so little Docility in them that they scarce ever become capable of Instruction." He added that he had "examined and improved several Negroes, Natives of Virginia" and said that he hoped "by a due observance of the Directions of the Catechists &c. printed by order of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts I shall labour to plant that seed among them which will produce a blessed harvest" (Perry 1870:264-266).

The Rev. John Brunskil of Wilmington Parish, which straddled both sides of the Chickahominy

River and ran inland to the upper limits of James City County in 1724 reported that his parish was 30 miles long and 9 miles wide and included land that lay in both James City and Charles City Counties. Brunskil said that the whites in his parish made little effort to provide their slaves with religious instruction despite his urgings, with the result that "the poor creatures generally live and die without it" (Perry 1870:I:264-266).

In 1724 the Rev. James Blair, rector of Bruton Parish and Commissary of Virginia's Anglican clergy, said that he encouraged the baptism "of such of them as understand English and exhort their Masters to bring them to Church and baptize the infant slaves when the Master or mistress become sureties" (Perry 1870:I:299). Five years later Blair informed the Bishop of London that his letter about offering religious teachings to blacks

> *... has put several Masters and Mistresses upon the Instruction of them." He added that "the Negroes themselves in our Neighbourhood are very desirous to become Christians; and in order to it come and given an Account of the Lords Prayer, and the Creed and ten Commandments, and so are baptized and frequent the Church; and the Negro children are now commonly baptized [Tate 1965:73].*

Blair added that while he thought some of the blacks were sincere converts, "the far greater part of them little mind the serious part" and were "in hopes that they shall meet with so much the more respect, and that some time or other Christianity will help them to their freedom." He said that he hoped that their coming to church eventually would "infuse into them some better principles than they have had." Blair added that "Some allege it makes them prouder, and inspires them with thoughts of freedom; but I take this to be rather a common prejudice than anything else" (Tate 1965:73-74).

The Bishop of London, who had written tracts in which he promoted the Christianization of blacks, may have been prompted to ask Virginia clergy about their pursuit of that objective because he had received a letter from an anonymous Virginia slave. That remarkable document informed Bishop Gibson that even though mulattoes were baptized and brought up in the Church of England, they were enslaved for life, as were their children. The writer asked the Bishop to call upon the king for release from "this Cruell Bondegg." He added that although Christians were commanded to keep the Sabbath holy, "wee doo hardly know when it comes for our task mastrs are has hard with us as the Egyptians was with the Chilldann of Issraall." He added, "wee are kept out of the Church and matrimony is deenied us" (Ingersoll 1994:777-782).

However, some mid-eighteenth religious leaders (Dr. Thomas Bacon's being one notable example) used their religious teachings to encourage African-Americans to obey their white masters and mistresses. In one sermon, Bacon admonished blacks to "be obedient and subject to your Masters in all Things" and quoted scripture to underscore his point. He also told them to work diligently, whether or not their masters and mistresses were watching, i.e., not to be "eye-servants" who only worked when someone was watching them. Bacon said that God-fearing blacks should "be faithful and honest" and "serve your Masters with Chearfulness, and Reverence, and Humility" (Bacon 1750:32-37).

Despite these self-serving teachings, slaves seem to have been comforted and encouraged by the religious instruction they received. It is likely that they drew strength from the teachings of black preachers.

A Patrol System to Control Travel

In November 1738 a state-wide patrol system, intended to control the movement of slaves, was authorized. Each county had an officer and four men who were authorized to visit "places suspected of entertaining unlawful assemblies of slaves, servants or disorderly persons" and arrest any slave found away from home without a pass from his or her master or overseer. Slaves who broke the law could receive up to 20 lashes from a patroller (Hening 1809-1823:V:16-17, 19, 23). A 1748 law automatically invoked the death penalty whenever five or more blacks were convicted of conspiring

to rebel or commit murder. In 1754 the assembly decided that once a month patrollers (or militia members) should "visit all slave quarters and other places suspected of entertaining unlawful assemblies of slaves, servants, or other disorderly persons." The patrollers also had the right to take into custody any servant or slave they encountered abroad without a pass (Hening 1809-1823:VI:421-422).

In November 1769 the assembly enacted a new piece of legislation that specified how unruly servants and slaves were to be treated under the law. At that time the burgesses admitted that the laws passed in 1723 to punish habitual runaways by dismembering them "is often disproportioned to the offence, and contrary to the principals of humanity." Castration apparently had been a favored mode of dismemberment, for the 1769 law stated that "it shall not be lawful for any county court to order and direct castration of any slave" other than for the crime of raping a white woman.[73] Those who captured runaways were to take them to their owner or overseer, or bring them to the county jail. Runaways, who were unclaimed after two months time, were to be taken to the public jail in Williamsburg, where an advertisement would be placed in the *Virginia Gazette*. Those who allowed their slaves to "trade as a freeman" were to be fined (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:358-359). The successful slave revolt in Dominique in 1792-1793 undoubtedly inflamed Virginia colonists' fears that the blacks they suppressed would rise up against them (Schweninger 1991:3).

Jamestown Island Landowners with Black Servants or Slaves

Aside from those who inherited and/or inhabited the Ambler and Travis plantations on Jamestown Island, there were others to whom documentary records ascribe the ownership of black servants or slaves. Joseph Copeland I, who on November 21, 1690, was in possession of a lot in the immediate vicinity of Study Unit 4 Tract P, prepared his will in February 1726 and died sometime prior to the following July. He was survived by his wife, Mary, and at least three children. Joseph Copeland I distributed several black people among his heirs (a woman, two boys and three girls), whom he failed to identify by name (Patent Book 8:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:342; McGhan 1982:197).

William Drummond III, the grandson of executed rebel William Drummond I and the son of William Drummond II, inherited his late father's lot in Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C), which he sold to Edward Champion Travis on June 15, 1753. He also was in possession of his forebears' leasehold in the Governor's Land (Ambler MS 114). In 1739 Natt, who was one of William Drummond III's slaves, ran away and boarded a man-of-war, where he was captured and returned home. In 1753 a slave named Natt (perhaps the same man) was arrested and tried for breaking into Peyton Randolph's home and stealing several items. Natt was judged not guilty, but his accomplice was convicted and sentenced to a whipping. In 1751 Natt, who was identified as a Christian slave, testified against another slave who was accused of burglary (Parks, June 22, 1739; York County Judgements and Orders 1:399-401, 426-431; 2:173-175).

Richard Ambler of Yorktown occasionally had problems with his slaves breaking the law. As slave ships docked at Yorktown fairly often, Ambler probably purchased newly arrived Africans from time to time. In September 1763 a black male slave named America broke into the kitchen of William Nelson of Yorktown, between 9 P.M. and midnight. The items America stole (a child's bed and 3 yards of fabric) suggest that he may have been trying to provide for his own family. America was found guilty of burglary (a felony and therefore, a capital crime) but received the benefit of clergy. As a result, instead of being executed, he was burned in the hand and sentenced to receive 39 lashes at York County's public whipping post (York County Judgements and Orders 4:88-89).

[73] In 1804 the General Assembly decided that any slave attempting to rape a white woman would be considered guilty of a felony and "shall be punished as heretofore" (Shepherd 1970:III:119).

On May 9, 1759, two of Philip Ludwell III's adult male slaves, George and Jemmy, were summoned before the justices of York County, who convened a court of oyer and terminer. Both slaves were accused of breaking into the late Daniel Parke II's mill house on Queens Creek, near Williamsburg, and stealing two bags of meal. Jemmy pled guilty, but George insisted upon his own innocence. Therefore, witnesses were called to testify in the case against George. Ultimately, both slaves were found guilty and sentenced to be hanged on May 25. The two men's value was set, so that their owner could be compensated. Afterward, they were pardoned and their lives were spared (York County Judgements and Orders 3:28-29).[74]

Runaways Associated with Green Spring and Jamestown Island

In January 1720, Colonel Philip Ludwell II of Green Spring placed an ad in the *Philadelphia American Weekly Mercury*, indicating that his coachman had run away (*American Weekly Mercury*, January 5, 1720). Then, in November 1759 Philip Ludwell III, who then owned and occupied Green Spring plantation, placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, in an attempt to recover a slave named Anthony. The notice said:

> *Negro man Anthony ran away from Greenspring yesterday - had on a blue cotton jacket and breeches and a fine whited linen shirt. He is a tall fellow, remarkably hollow-eyed, has on one wrist a large scar from a burn and his left hand is somewhat withered and the fingers contracted by having cut himself across the inside of his wrist some time ago [Claiborne, November 30, 1759].*

Ludwell closed by offering a reward for the return of the missing man.

While Philip Ludwell III was living in England, Green Spring was entrusted to the care of overseer Cary Wilkinson, a local man. After Ludwell's death in 1767, the plantation descended to his daughter, Hannah Philippa, and her husband, William Lee, who allowed Wilkinson to retain his position, but bombarded him with detailed instructions on how the property and its slaves should be managed. As Lee had no practical experience with farming or the management of slaves, his decisions sometimes created problems. In March 1770, Cary Wilkinson, placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, seeking to recover a runaway slave:

> *Run away from the estate of the Honorable Philip Ludwell, Esq., sometime January last, a likely Virginia born negro man named Phil, about 5 feet 8 inches high and clothed in the usual manner of labouring negroes.[75] It is probable he may go into the Northern neck as he formerly belonged to the estate of Colonel Charles Grymes[76] [Purdie and Dixon, March 8, 1770].*

Finally, after numerous testy exchanges between owner and overseer, Wilkinson quit. He was replaced by Edmond Bacon.

The arrival of a new overseer may have caused some unrest, for on August 8, 1771, Bacon advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for a:

> *Runaway slave, negro woman named Jenny,[77] about 23 years of age, 5 feet 5 inches high, has a small scar on one of her cheeks, which seems to have been occasioned by the stroke of a whip. Has been seen in Williamsburg with James Anderson (blacksmith) and*

[74] Despite Jemmy and George's questionable behavior, at least one of Philip Ludwell III's other slaves demonstrated personal integrity. In January 1752 Ludwell advertised that one of his "Negroe Boys" had found "a Green Cloth Housing, with a Silver Flower on each Flap" and that the item could be claimed at Ludwell's house. Three years later, a parchment-bound pocket book containing documents was found by "a Negroe Man on the road near Col. Ludwell's Mill." The rightful owner was advised to claim it from John Brown, who lived near the capital (Claiborne, January 30, 1752; November 7, 1755).

[75] A black slave named Phil was living at the Pinewood Meadow quarter in 1767, when Ludwell's estate was inventoried (Stanard 1913:398).

[76] Grymes was the late Philip Ludwell III's father-in-law.

[77] A black slave named Jenny was living at Rich Neck in ca. 1767 when an inventory was made of the Ludwell estate (Stanard 1913:401).

Robert Hyland. Whoever delivers her to me at Greenspring shall have reward [Rind August 8, 1771].

In 1777, the arrival of a new overseer appears to have disrupted the lives of the plantation's slaves, who responded by running away. In April 1777 John Ellis, whom William Lee had just hired, placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*:

> *Run away from the Subscriber in James City County, the 1st February last, a negro fellow named Marcus,[78] about 5 ft. 4 inches high, 35 years old, of a yellow complexion and was brought up a waiter in the house. He had on, when he went away, a blue Newmarket coat, with coat, waistcoat and breeches of the same color. Whoever delivers the said negro to me at Greenspring shall have 3 £ reward and upon information so that I get him again, 40 s. John Ellis [Purdie, April 11, 1777].*

Perhaps because Jamestown then had few permanent residents and a multitude of people were passing through, at least one runaway slave fled there. According to an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, there was:

> *Five dollars reward for apprehending a negro fellow named George, late the property of William Hunter of this city. He is about 17 years of age; had on an osnaburg shirt, a negro cotton jacket and an old hat much worn. He has been seen lurking about Jamestown Church" [Dixon, December 5, 1777].*

In late October 1777 Edward Champion Travis, who indicated that he had moved to Timson's Neck in York County, placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, seeking to recover a slave who had fled from his plantation on Jamestown Island. The newspaper notice stated:

> *Run away from my plantation at Jamestown, sometime this last August, a likely mulatto man named Jessee, 17 or 18 years old, tall and slender. I expect he is either enlisted into the army or enlisted on board some vessel as a sailor and freeman. Whoever secures the said slave in any jail so that I get him again or delivers him to me at Queen's Creek in York County, shall have 20 dollars reward [Purdie, October 31, 1777].*

Again, the upset that was inevitable when a property changed hands (or overseers) probably affected the slaves who lived there. In July 1778 Edward Champion Travis offered a reward for the return of a 10-year-old slave named David, whom Travis believed had fled to Portsmouth in "a craft conducted by negroes," with the idea of going to sea. Travis offered a $100 reward for David's return (Purdie, July 10, 1778).

Remarkably, the relatively extensive records associated with the Ambler plantation suggest that traditionally, the family did not have problems with their servants or slaves running away. As both the Ambler and Travis plantations were located on a major river, where commercial activity was brisk, those who wished to flee would have had a better than average opportunity to slip away.

Richard Ambler did, however, have problems with some of the slaves associated with his property at Yorktown. In April 1739 Ambler placed a notice in the *Virginia Gazette*, offering a reward for

> *... a Negro Man named Kingsale, about Twenty Four Years of Age; is very likely, except only a Belmish on one Eye. Had on, when he went away, an Oznabrig Shirt almost new, a Cotton Jacket, and Breeches of the same, or of white Plains. It is suppos'd he will shape his Course over James River, and so to North Carolina, having been lately sent from thence [Claiborne, April 6, 1739].*

This advertisement not only demonstrates that slaves who were sold or transferred from one location to another were traumatized, it also reveals much about how Richard Ambler clothed his slaves.

Belief Systems

By the mid-eighteenth century many whites had decided that it was appropriate to provide their slaves with religious instruction, a belief local Quakers already had acted upon. The register of Bruton

[78] Marcus was one of Green Spring plantation's slaves in 1767, when Philip Ludwell III's estate was inventoried by his executors (Stanard 1913:403).

Parish Church reveals that approximately 1,000 slaves, whose owners lived in James City and York Counties and the city of Williamsburg, were baptized there.

White preachers typically exhorted enslaved blacks to "Be obedient unto them that according to the flesh, are your masters." But to many, the words of the *Bible* offered a promise of better things to come. During the late eighteenth century many local slaves turned to the Baptist faith. They combined the principals of Christianity with African traditions and produced worship services that included hand-clapping, rhythmic body movements, speaking in tongues, and belief in the presence of the Holy Spirit. This led William Lee of Green Spring to declare that the county's blacks were "crazy with the New Light and their new Jerusalem." Around the time of the Revolutionary War two free black preachers, Gowan Pamphlet and Moses, held Baptist meetings near Williamsburg. Sometimes blacks held religious services in specially constructed brush arbors, one of which was at Green Spring and another at Raccoon Chase, near Ludwell's Mill Pond (Lake Matoaka) (Morgan 1984:34-36, 39-40; Katz 1969:247).

Employment Utilizing Specialized Skills

Slaves played an important role in the plantation economy, for they cleared new land of forestation; planted, tended and harvested field crops; assisted in the construction and repair of buildings; tended livestock; and carried out many other specialized tasks. In 1704 Robert Beverley II commented that "the Labour of a dozen Negroes does but answer" the salary of a parish minister, which amounted to 16,000 pounds of tobacco a year (Beverley 1947:261, 263).

Although many James City County slaves were involved in agriculture or were domestic servants, advertisements for runaways reveal that quite a few were skilled artisans. A 26-year-old black man who absconded from a plantation near Williamsburg was described as "an extraordinary sawer, a tolerable good carpenter and currier, pretends to make shoes, and is a very good sailor." He also was said to be literate. Other James City County runaways that possessed special abilities included "a very good sawyer and clapboard carpenter," a miller, a baker, a waiter, and a foreman described as "a sensible fellow" who "has no striking fault but an impudent tongue." A considerable number of the enslaved blacks who lived in Williamsburg worked as barbers, blacksmiths, butchers, cabinetmakers, harness-makers and tailors. Sometimes, slaves escaped to urban areas where they could use their specialized skills to find employment and pass as free (Morgan 1984:19-20).

The American Revolution, A Catalyst for Change

In 1769, a number of Virginians decided to protest against Great Britain's treatment of her American colonies by signing a nonimportation agreement, which included agreeing not to purchase slaves unless the slaves had been on the European continent for at least a year. In 1771 the burgesses asked the governor to approve legislation that would close the slave trade, but he refused. Three years later, the Virginia Convention's delegates agreed not to allow the overseas slave trade to continue. Although some may have been motivated by a desire to end "a Wicked, Cruel & unnatural Trade," for most, the motivation was a mixture of politics and economics (Tate 1965:116-117). By late summer 1775, the breach between Great Britain and her American colonies had become irreparable. The November 10th edition of the *Virginia Gazette* carried King George III's August 23rd declaration that the colonies were in "open and avowed rebellion" and his call for loyal British subjects to aid in suppressing them (Purdie, November 10 and 17, 1775).

African-American Involvement in the American Revolution

In early 1776, Lord Dunmore and his men, despite the colonists' resistance, were relatively free to cruise Virginia waters, touching land almost any-

where. On November 7, 1775, while the British were in control of Norfolk, Portsmouth and Gosport, Dunmore, who had declared martial law, signed an Emancipation Proclamation that freed all of the rebelling colonists' slaves and indentured servants and invited them to bear arms on behalf of the king. White Virginians generally saw Dunmore's "Damned, infernal, Diabolical proclamation" as the undermining of society itself. The Virginia Convention, which met in Richmond on December 1, 1775, decided to impose the death penalty upon slaves recaptured from Lord Dunmore, although a pardon was offered to those who left his forces voluntarily. It is estimated that around 800 enslaved blacks joined Dunmore in response to his proclamation. However, in 1783, when the British evacuated some African-Americans who had accepted Lord Dunmore's promise of freedom, approximately 3,000 Virginians participated (Hall et al. 1991:29:149; Van Schreeven et al. 1973-1979:6:10; Selby 1976:23; Tate 1965:116-117). One (Robert Bowland), who reportedly fled from Edward Champion Travis's plantation around 1779, went to Nova Scotia (Hodges 1996:208).

According to the *Virginia Gazette*, two slaves, who "mistook one of our armed vessels at Jamestown for a tender, and expressed their inclination to serve Lord Dunmore, are under sentence of death and will be executed in a few days as an example to others" (Dixon, April 13, 1776; August 3, 1776). Later, the two men reportedly were executed at Jamestown by the Americans they mistakenly approached. However, a significant number of blacks (enslaved and free) served on behalf of the American cause and later, some slaves were freed on account of their meritorious deeds (see ahead).

The American Revolution's Impact Upon the Institution of Slavery

It is fair to say that the American Revolution's impact upon the institution of slavery was significant and that some of the changes that were made endured for two or more decades. Those who sympathized with the plight of enslaved blacks succeeded in putting a stop to Virginia's overseas slave trade, saw that private manumission was legalized, and implemented the emancipation of slaves by public law. While only the prohibition of the overseas slave trade achieved enduring success, the progress made on the other two issues was fleeting (Tate 1965:122-123).

The New Government's Laws Affecting Slaves

In December 1775, when the Virginia Convention's delegates met, a group of statutes were formulated to govern the colony which had just declared its opposition to the policies of the Crown. At that time, procedures were established so that blacks and whites who took up arms against the Virginia government could be punished. One statute stated that "if any slave or slaves shall be hereafter taken in arms against this colony, or in possession of an enemy through their own choice," the Committee of Safety had the right to transport those individuals to the West Indian islands, where they could be sold. The funds derived from the sale of such slaves were to go toward the purchase of arms and ammunition for Virginia troops. Payment would be made to the slaves' owner or owners after the cost of deportation was deducted from the sale price (Hening 1809-1823:IX:105-107). In October 1776, when naval officers were appointed and their duties were described, it was specified that before leaving port they would be required to take an oath that they were not taking servants or slaves out of Virginia without their master or owner's knowledge (Hening 1809-1823:IX:187).

One new law that had far-reaching consequences was enacted in October 1776. It changed the legal status of entailed property. Anyone then in possession of entailed lands or slaves henceforth would own that property in fee simple (Hening 1809-1823:IX:226-227). This put an end to the

rules of primogeniture that had been in effect since the late seventeenth century.[79]

During 1775 African Americans were excluded from Continental enlistments, largely at the insistence of commander-in-chief George Washington. However, after Lord Dunmore's proclamation, Washington was persuaded to allow free blacks to enlist in the Continental army. A majority of the blacks who signed on came from the northern colonies. Most were scattered through the regiments, with the exception of two special companies that came from Rhode Island and Connecticut. It is estimated that approximately 5,000 black troops fought on the American side (Tate 1965:119).

In 1776 free blacks were permitted to serve as drummers, pipers, and pioneers, assignments not usually requiring the bearing of arms. A rumor that slaves who enlisted in the army would be freed after the war impelled blacks to flee to recruiting officers. As a result, in May 1777 Virginia's General Assembly passed a law specifying that all young men over the age of 16 who were free could be recruited for the military. As "several negro slaves have deserted from their masters, and under the pretence of being free men have enlisted as soldiers," recruiting officers were warned not "to enlist any negro or mulatto into the service of this or either of the United States, until such negro or mulatto shall produce a certificate from some justice of the peace for the county wherein he resides that he is a free man" (Hening 1809-1823:IX:280). Slaves apparently continued to enlist in the army illegally, partially because of the rumor that enlistment was a route to freedom and partially because whites sometimes enrolled their black slaves in the military as substitutes, misrepresenting them as freemen (Tate 1965:120).

In October 1778 the General Assembly of Virginia enacted legislation that forbade "the farther importation of slaves into this commonwealth." Anyone who disobeyed the law and brought one or more slaves into Virginia was to be subjected to a stiff fine. Likewise, slaves imported into Virginia under those circumstances were declared free. Slaveowners who moved to Virginia from other parts of the United States were required to take an oath, declaring that they had not brought slaves into the state for the purpose of selling them, nor had they imported any from Africa or the West Indies since November 1, 1778. It was noted that people who claimed slaves by right of descent, marriage or bequest were not affected. The delegates formally repealed the act of assembly that was passed in 1753 for the governing of slaves (Hening 1809-1823:IX:471-472).

In May 1779, when the General Assembly's delegates were trying to raise funds to support the war effort, they levied a number of new taxes. One was a poll tax that was to be paid "for all negro and mulatto slaves" other than those who "through old age or bodily infirmity, shall be incapable of labour and become a charge to the owner." The new tax was to be paid by all owners of slaves or those who were responsible for orphans and estates (Hening 1809-1823:X:12, 166). Another new law that the assembly enacted was designed to repair roads, mill dams and bridges so that they would be in usable condition. Exempt from working on Virginia's roads were the masters of two or more male tithable slaves (Hening 1809-1823:X:164-165). Thus, the more successful were spared the responsibility of seeing that roads were in good repair.

In May 1780 the legislature made provisions for refugees from South Carolina and Georgia to bring their slaves to Virginia and remain there for one year. All of the slaves from those two states who were still in Virginia a year after the British had been expelled from the state were to be freed. People who were obliged to sell off some of their slaves for "necessary support and maintenance"

[79] Because traditionally, the laws of primogeniture were part of Virginia's legal code, property that descended to a primary heir was "entailed" or attached to the decedent's estate and descended from generation to generation. If an heir needed to dispose of entailed land or slaves (for example, to settle debts against the estate), he needed the assembly's consent to do so. This was called docking an entail.

could do so, as long as they notified the nearest county clerk within a month of their arrival in Virginia (Hening 1809-1823:X:307-308).[80]

Freedom for Meritorious Service

In May 1779 a Brunswick County slave named Kitt was freed because he had provided information that led to the discovery of "several persons concerned in counterfeiting money." Kit was formally emancipated and his owner was compensated for his estimated worth (Hening 1809-1823:X:115). In October 1779, slaves in Yorktown and in Albemarle and Sussex Counties were manumitted at the request of their owners, as was a Mecklenburg County slave in October 1780 (Hening 1809-1823:X:211, 372). In each case, the approval of the General Assembly was required.

In October 1783 the assembly decided to free slaves who had served in the military. A newly passed act noted that "during the course of the war, many persons in this state had caused their slaves to enlist in certain regiments or corps … having tendered such slaves to the officers appointed to recruit forces within the state, as substitutes for free persons." Although the owners of these slaves had told recruiting officers "that the slaves so enlisted by their direction and concurrence were free men," after the term of their enlistment had expired, they "attempted again to force them to return to a state of servitude, contrary to the principles of Justice, and to their own solemn promise." The majority of the delegates to the General Assembly agreed that those who had faithfully completed their terms of enlistment and "contributed towards the establishment of American liberty and independence" were entitled to "enjoy the blessings of freedom as a reward for their toils and labours." Therefore, all slaves whose masters had enrolled them in the military as though they were free, and who had fulfilled their military obligation, were deemed "fully and compleatly emancipated, and shall be held and deemed free in as full and ample a manner as if each and every of them were specifically named in this act" (Hening 1809-1823:XI:308-309). In 1789 two enslaved men, who were property of the Commonwealth of Virginia, were released from bondage on account of their many years of service aboard armed vessels. Also, both ships had been decommissioned, so the men's services no longer were needed (Hening 1809-1823:XIII:103). As a considerable number of Virginia's slaves were experienced watermen, some were used as crewmen on Virginia's naval vessels and one man was placed in command (Tate 1965:120).

Manumission Becomes Legal

At the close of the Revolutionary War, some prominent Virginians declared that freedom was the natural condition of all men and that slavery was as unnatural as subservience to a monarch. In May 1782 Virginia's General Assembly broke new ground when it passed a law enabling slave-owners to manumit (or free) their slaves. Those who wished to free their slaves could do so by executing a deed of manumission, which had to be entered into the records of the slaveowner's county court, or by bequeathing the slave his/her freedom. The act stipulated that all slaves freed in accord with the new law were to be given a copy of their deed of emancipation or the will under which they were freed. This documentation was critically important to freed slaves, who were obliged to carry it with them whenever they left their home county. The 1782 law stated that whenever slaves were freed who were of unsound body or mind, or were over the age of 45, the person liberating them had to provide them with support and maintenance. The same conditions applied to freed male slaves who were under the age of 21, or females under the age of 18. If a freed slave failed to pay his taxes, he could be hired out to earn the funds that were owed (Hening 1809-1823:XI:39-40).

[80] Around 1784 Henry Martin of Tortola purchased Kingsmill plantation and began readying it for his family's use. He obtained permission from the House of Burgesses to bring a dozen of his slaves from Tortola to Virginia. Personal property tax rolls suggest that he supplemented his work force with local blacks (Goodwin 1958:38-40).

Another legal statute that was passed in May 1782 dealt with the hiring out of slaves, which was said to have been causing "great inconveniencies." The new law's wording suggests strongly that some slaveholders, executors and guardians had been allowing slaves to hire themselves out to others, while giving their owners a share of their earnings. Henceforth, any slave found to have made himself available for hire was to be jailed and then sold. In December 1800 this law was reenacted and added to the code governing the conduct of slaves, free blacks and mulattoes. It was upheld in 1807 (Hening 1809-1823:XI:59; Shepherd 1970:II:300; III:372).[81]

According to Loren Schweninger, the practice of slaves' hiring themselves out began during the early colonial period. Sometimes, slaves, whose special skills were in great demand, sought employers on their own. This practice became more common as the eighteenth century wore on.[82] In 1782 some Henrico County citizens complained that "Many Persons have suffr'd their Slaves to go about to hire themselves and pay their Masters for their hire, and others under pretence of putting them free set them out to live for themselves." Such independence, while hardly equivalent to freedom, would have been preferable to the strict supervision to which most slaves were subjected. It also would have allowed slaves to purchase their own freedom or enhance their material worth. In 1782 when Virginia's House of Burgesses enacted legislation that restricted slaves' mobility and ability to trade, similar limitations also were placed upon free blacks (Schweninger 1991:2-3).

[81] When Matthew Ashby, a free black resident of York County, died in 1771, an inventory was made of his estate. That document suggest strongly that he enjoyed a standard of living that placed him among the ranks of the middle class (York County Wills and Inventories 22:34-36).

[82] During the late 1820s George Mason, the owner of Green Spring, rented 10-16 of his slaves to Dr. Thomas Martin of nearby Powhatan Plantation. In return, Martin paid the personal property tax on the slaves he had hired (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1827-1828). Likewise, John Ambler II of Jamestown Island during the late 1780s and 90s had his blacksmithing done at Green Spring, for which he paid the plantation's overseer (Ambler Family 1770-1860).

The Enactment of New Tax Laws

In November 1781 the General Assembly decided to levy taxes upon those who owned real estate and personal property that was deemed taxable. This was the onset of a prolonged attempt to reduce war debt and provide funds for the workings of government. In February and March 1782 locally-appointed tax commissioners commenced compiling assessments on real estate and personal property, which were submitted to the state auditor's office and the county's clerk of court. Tax assessments were listed in pounds, not dollars, until around 1820, despite the fact that an American monetary system already had developed. At first, land tax rolls included only a property owner's name and the quantity of acreage in his/her possession. But as time went on, the amount of information tax commissioners recorded became more comprehensive. For example, in 1815 tax assessors began listing each tract's distance and direction from the county courthouse and when and by what means property changed hands. To establish parity in the value of the land being assessed, state officials divided Virginia into four enormous tax districts that were geologically similar. James City County was assigned to a district that included almost all of the counties east of the fall line. The clerk of the county court had to furnish tax commissioners with a list of all land transactions that had occurred within the previous year. Assessors sometimes listed this information in special "alteration" books. Tax commissioners, appointed by the county court, made periodic visits to the properties within their assigned territory, estimating each one's worth. Those who owned real estate or personal property were required by law to respond truthfully when queried by the tax commissioners. People who felt that their assessment was unjust could file an appeal with the county court. Commencing in 1820, tax commissioners began recording the collective worth of all buildings that stood upon a landowner's acreage.

When tax officials compiled personal property tax rolls, they listed each household head (re-

gardless of gender) and noted the number of tithes (free white males age 16 or older) and slaves that were part of each household. The property of deceased people was attributed to their estates. Tax criteria changed from year to year, but slaves of various ages, livestock and wheeled passenger vehicles usually were deemed taxable. In 1815 certain types of wooden furniture (such as bedsteads and tables made of walnut or mahogany) were taxed as luxury items, as were gold watches, clocks, gold and silver plate and large musical instruments, such as pianos and harps. The following year, furniture was excluded from taxation (Hening 1809-1823:X:501-505; XI:93-94, 113, 142-145, 247-249; Richie 1819:II:10-25). Real estate and personal property tax rolls provide a yardstick by which individual wealth can be measured.

Recovering from the War

The Battle of Green Spring's impact upon the plantation and its surroundings apparently was considerable. On July 15, 1781, William Lee's brother informed him that Richard Taliaferro of Powhatan Plantation and Champion Travis of Jamestown Island had lost all of their slaves when the British came through and that John Paradise of Rich Neck had only one. He said this was typical of areas the British Army occupied and that:

> *The enemies Generals here appear to carry on the war much more upon views of private plunder and enriching individuals than upon any plan of national advantage… . The British General [Cornwallis] has been traversing an undefended part of Virginia, with an Army employed in taking off Negroes, plate, &c. and destroying Corn, Cattle and Tobo… . So soon as our militia could be collected and joined by a few regular corps from the army, his Lordship rapidly retreated [Ballach 1911-1914:II:242-244].*

He said that the British had taken 60 head of cattle from Green Spring.

After the French and British went home, the people of James City County set about rebuilding their lives. Some local people asked the General Assembly to reimburse them for losses they sustained during the war. John Pierce of James City County presented a claim for money Lord Dunmore owed him for two years' hire of a slave. Mrs. Anne Cocke of Surry requested reimbursement for a slave captured by Lord Dunmore's forces while he was ferrying the 2nd Virginia Regiment from Jamestown to Edward's Landing below Cobham. The citizens of James City and four other Tidewater counties were told to forward their claims against the French to Dudley Digges, who would give them to Count Rochambeau. However, William Lee took a more direct approach. In February 1782 he informed his brother that he had dispatched a complaint to the Marquis de Lafayette about "all [the] damage done to the Estate at Green Spring last Campaign" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:21; Church 1984:#96, #107, #161, #240, #962; Stanard 1929:292; 1930:44).

In May 1782 the General Assembly enacted some legislation that was designed to assist Virginians in recovering slaves, horses and other personal property that had been lost as a result of the recent war. In an attempt to see that "owners should be enabled to recover their property in an easy and expeditious manner," the new law required anyone who knowingly had slaves or livestock that belonged to another person to place an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, so indicating. Those who failed to do so would be fined. Anyone who thought that another person was in possession of his personal property could report it to the county court. Slaves found "wandering about" were to be committed to the nearest jail while the jailor advertised that they had been recovered. Slaves whose owners failed to claim them could be hired out to others (Hening 1809-1823:XI:23-25).

For many people, times were hard. In October 1782 the General Assembly decided that slaves and land could be attached, or taken, whenever a creditor needed to foreclose on a loan to a debtor. In 1792, however, sheriffs and other public officials were prohibited from seizing slaves from people who owed back taxes, if other property could be taken instead. That law was reaffirmed a year later (Hening 1809-1823:XI:179; Shepherd 1970:I:47, 213).

Those who leased portions of the Governor's Land near Jamestown refused to pay their annual rent unless they were absolved from paying taxes upon their property. This occurred at a time when the General Assembly was considering whether to sell publicly-owned real estate, such as the Governor's Land; the farm associated with the royal Governor's Palace; and property belonging to parishes of the defunct State Church. In 1784 the assembly decided to bestow all public land (except that of the church) upon the College of William and Mary, along with authorization to sell it. The college nullified the leases of those renting portions of the Governor's Land and threatened to sue them if they didn't vacate the premises. This prompted William Lee, John Ambler II, and others to file a November 1785 petition with the General Assembly, asserting that their rental agreements were legally binding. Ultimately, the lessees were given the opportunity to buy the acreage they had been renting. Real estate and personal property tax rolls suggest that during the late 1780s and early 1790s the fortunes of Champion Travis and other James City County planters waned, for the quantity of livestock and slaves they owned decreased markedly. They, like many other supporters of the American Revolution, probably found themselves deeply in debt at a time when the new nation's economy was weak (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:124; Hening, 1809-1823:X:189; XI:349, 406; Shepperd 1970:I:237).

Although most local people didn't seem to mind playing host to the French after the surrender at Yorktown, their refusal to return the slaves they'd seized from the British generated a certain amount of ill feeling. One French officer said that the army had "garnered a veritable harvest of domesticks. Those among us who had no servant were happy to find one so cheap." A few citizens eventually filed claims for the French troops' damage to their property (Selby 1976:312). Some of the accounts penned by the French were unflattering to Virginians. One military officer said that the men (i.e., white males) in Tidewater were "exceptionally lazy" and lived like lords whether or not they could afford it. They drank a lot, chewed tobacco, and left to their wives the task of running the household. Another French officer said that corn, which was grown in substantial quantities, was ground into flour and baked into bread or cakes that comprised the mainstay of black slaves' and poorer whites' diet. A third Frenchman had a great deal of compassion for the enslaved black, whom he felt was doomed to misery, but he also spoke of the "miserable huts inhabited by whites whose wane looks and ragged garments bespeak poverty." He attributed slaves' plight to their owners' vanity and sloth and ascribed poorer whites' lack of opportunity to the greed of plantation owners, who monopolized many thousands of acres of land (Rice et al. 1972:I:66, 71).

Modifications to the Legal Code

Court cases tried in James City County during the late 1780s reflect the somewhat more lenient attitude toward enslaved blacks that prevailed at the close of the Revolutionary War, especially when times were hard, economically. During the postwar period many James City County households found it difficult to keep their taxes from falling into arrears, even though commodities such as wheat, rye, oats, barley, corn and bacon were an acceptable medium of payment. Sheriff William Barrett, when accused of delinquency in collecting local taxes, "cited the hardships of the people due to shortness of crops during the past year [1784] as a reason for their not being able to pay taxes promptly." In 1785 he asked for a deferment because local citizens "were exceedingly poor and unable to pay taxes." Two years later a group of approximately 120 James City freeholders from virtually every part of the county signed a petition requesting relief from fiscal problems they attributed to the state government's monetary policy. In 1787 Charlotte Dickson's slave, Sall, was spared the death penalty although she was found guilty of burglary, normally a capital offense. A year later the death sentence of Mary Dickson's slave, Samson, also a convicted burglar, was commuted. The inference was that both slaves had been stealing on behalf of their impoverished owners, or that they were essential to their owners' survival. Cole

Diggs' slave, Harry, who lived in James City County, was found guilty of murder in 1788, but before he could be executed, new evidence surfaced and the county justices granted him a reprieve. Harry was convicted of manslaughter and then pardoned (Hening 1809-1823:X:490; Palmer 1968:IV:77; Hall et al. 1991:144- 148, 151; McIlwaine 1925-1945:IV:176, 210, 278, 281, 283).

Despite subtle changes in attitude, a considerable amount of racially-based suspicion endured. In May 1784 when the legislature passed a law that limited the number of ports at which foreign ships could dock, one statute specified that no more than one-third of any crew, employed in the navigation of a watercraft that plied waters east of the fall line, could be black (Hening 1809-1823:XI:404).

When the legislature convened in October 1785, a new law was enacted concerning the settlement of estates. It closely resembled a law enacted in February 1727. A widow had a year (as opposed to the nine months specified in 1727) in which to renounce her husband's will and she could receive life-rights to her dower share of his personal estate, including his slaves. However, she could not allow her late husband's slaves to leave Virginia, nor could she remove them herself. One new statute stipulated that if a person were to die after March 1, the servants and slaves he had employed upon his plantation were to remain there until the last day of the following December. That was intended to allow the year's crops to be planted and harvested, to generate income that could be used in settling the decedent's estate. Similarly, whenever a person died who had hired slaves for life, the slaves were supposed to stay on the decedent's land until the end of December. In 1790 the legislature decided that whenever slaves belonging to an intestate person's estate could not be divided equitably, they were to be sold and the funds apportioned among the legal heirs. Five years later, the law pertaining to widows who elected to receive their dower share of their late husband's estate in lieu of what what he bequeathed them, was charged. They were given the right to claim to a third of his slaves, whether or not he had freed them under his will. In 1804 the law was modified slightly. A widow, who received slaves as part of her dower share of her late husband's estate, was supposed to provide the local clerk of court with a list of their names, age and sex (Hening 189-1823:XII:140-151; XIII:123; Shepherd 1970:I:365; III:66-67).

One law enacted in October 1785 that pertained to slaves' freedom of movement was similar, but slightly more lenient, than some of the legislation passed during the colonial period. Although slaves were prohibited from traveling without a pass or other tangible evidence that they had the permission of their master, overseer or employer, and they still were prohibited from having firearms or traveling armed, they could do so if they had written permission or were part of a military company. As of October 1785, slaves who participated in riots, gave seditious speeches, or trespassed, were supposed to be whipped, whereas previously this was viewed as a capital offense. No one was allowed to purchase anything from a slave without the consent of his/her master, owner or overseer. Anyone who moved into the state of Virginia was supposed to sign an oath that he/she did not bring slaves into the state for the purpose of selling them. The newcomer also had to certify that none of the slaves brought in had been imported from Africa or the West Indies after November 1, 1778. For the first time since 1705, a new legal definition of the word "mulatto" was entered into the Virginia government's records. From January 1, 1787, on, anyone was to be considered a mulatto "whose grandfathers or grandmothers … shall have been a negro, although all his other progenitors except that descending from the negro, shall have been white persons" (Hening 1809-1823:12:182-183). This definition (the 1/16 rule) was legally binding in many southern states until the 1960s. When the General Assembly met in October 1786, a decision was made to continue allowing county justices to try slaves in a court of oyer and terminer, a practice that had commenced with the General Court in 1692 and been transferred to county courts in 1766. However, the new law required a mandatory waiting period of 30 days between conviction and execution, whereas the 1766 law required only ten.

A 1758 law pertaining to the exclusion of slaves from creditors' claims was reaffirmed (Hening 1809-1823:XII:345, 505).

In 1787 the state assembly formulated a means of punishing those who had "seduced or stolen the children of black and mulatto free persons and have actually disposed of the persons … as slaves." Anyone guilty of committing that crime, which was classified as a felony, was subject to the death penalty without benefit of clergy (Hening 1809-1823:XII:531). In 1788 that portion a 1723 statute was repealed that classified the killing of a slave during correction as manslaughter rather than murder. Another act that was passed made it easier for people from other states to move their slaves to the district of Kentucky, which was a part of Virginia. Those who did so were obliged to sign an oath like the one administered to those who came from South Carolina and Georgia and brought slaves into Virginia. The 1788 law apparently wasn't very effectively enforced, for in October 1789 when the General Assembly reconvened, it was noted that "many persons who have migrated into this state, and have become citizens of this Commonwealth, have failed to take the oath within the prescribed time." Therefore, amnesty was given to those who signed the required oath by June 1, 1790. In the future, newcomers were to be given 60 days in which to sign the oath and to see that it was recorded in their county clerk's office.[83] In 1800 a newly enacted law specified that slaves who had been brought into Virginia had to be removed without delay. In 1805 that statute was modified to require the sale of such slaves. The proceeds of the sale were to go to county Overseers of the Poor, who were legally bound to enforce the laws that forbade the importation of slaves (Hening 1809-1823:XII:681, 713-714; XIII:62; Shepherd 1970:II:301; III:251-252).[84]

In October 1789 the General Assembly addressed the issue of who was qualified to receive the benefit of clergy. It was decided that anyone found guilty of murder; burglary; arson (especially the burning of a jail, courthouse or clerk's office); stealing goods from a church, chapel or meeting-house; robbing a house while the owner and/or his family was home; committing highway robbery; or stealing horses would be ineligible to receive the benefit of clergy. Likewise, anyone who participated as an accessory to any of those crimes was deemed ineligible. However, the benefit of clergy would be extended to those who committed other types of crimes. Under the new law, males and females were to be treated equally and "a slave shall in all cases receive the same judgement and stand in the same condition with respect to the benefit of clergy, as a free negro or mulatto. However, no one was supposed able to enter such a plea more than once. Those given the benefit of clergy were to be "burnt in the hand" (Hening 1809-1823:XIII:30-32; Shepherd 1970:III:377-378). The 1789 law was a revision of an act passed in 1732, which allowed blacks to have the benefit of clergy under very limited circumstances. In 1790 the Hustings Courts of Williamsburg, Richmond and Norfolk were authorized to try slaves for crimes that occurred within their legal jurisdiction and to summon grand juries. This most likely occurred in response to the growing number of blacks who moved to urbanized areas seeking employment. In 1793 the legislature decided that free blacks and mulattoes employed or residing in cities and towns had to register with the clerk of that municipality. Each registrant was to provide his or her name, age, skin color, and height and indicate by whom and in what court emancipation had occurred; those born free were required to so indicate. In 1802 registrants had to disclose whether they had any scars or other distinctive marks on their heads,

[83] In 1803, slaveowners who resided within Alexandria County, which was supposed to be part of the newly created District of Columbia, were declared exempt from this restriction (Shepherd 1970:III:76).

[84] In 1786, the General Assembly passed the Statute of Religious Freedom, which disestablished the State Church, denied it the right of general taxation, and allowed abandoned parish-owned real estate to revert to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Churches that were in continuous use were not threatened. Money yielded by the sale of parish-owned real estate was set aside for the education of local children or was given to county Overseers of the Poor, who were responsible for public welfare.

faces, or hands.[85] In 1800 the assembly decided that whenever free blacks or mulattoes moved from one area to another, they had to register and prove that they had honest employment. In 1805 they were forbidden to have firearms in their possession without a license from their county court (Hening 1809-1823:XIII:200-201; Shepherd 1970:I:238; II:301, 417; III:274-275).

In October 1792 Virginia's legal code was modified so that several individual acts pertaining to slaves, free blacks and mulattoes could be consolidated into one law. The new legislation dealt with who should be considered slaves, the prohibition against the importation of slaves, the travel restrictions on slaves, the prohibition against blacks having firearms (except for those who lived in frontier areas), the punishment of slaves for assembling illegally, who should be classified as a mulatto, and numerous other issues, all of which had been dealt with in the recent past. In all, 51 laws were consolidated into one. The statutes governing the settlement of estates also were summarized (Shepherd 1970:I:121-130). No significant changes were made, however.

Emancipation and Sentiments Toward Abolition

At first, public sentiment favored allowing those who wanted to free their slaves to do so, even though it ran contrary to tradition in Virginia. The result of the 1782 emancipation law's passage was that during the 1780s and 90s an estimated 20,000 Virginia slaves were set free, including more than 250 in James City County. Eventually, however, there was a backlash of opinion, for those who owned slaves and were disinclined to free them were convinced that newly freed blacks were a disruptive influence in the community. In December 1796 a new legislative act was passed that stipulated that if a master took a slave to a state where slavery was illegal and later brought the same individual back to Virginia, that person still would be considered enslaved. Whenever people who lived in other states had their slaves bring produce to markets within Virginia, such individuals were to be considered traveling servants. By 1806 political pressure had culminated in a major revision of the laws pertaining to manumission and newly freed slaves had to be transported out of Virginia. Even so, a significant number of owners already had seized the chance to free them. Some neighboring states responded by forbidding Virginia's free blacks from taking up residence within their territory. In 1816 Virginia officials began to promote the overseas colonization of free blacks (Tate 1965:123-124; Russell 1969:72-73; Katz 1969:140-141; Morgan 1984:59; Shepherd 1970:II:19-20; III:290).

Although some of Virginia's champions of the Revolution hoped (on the basis of philosophical and political principles) that slavery might be abolished (in George Washington's words) "by slow, sure and imperceptible degrees," little progress was made in that direction. In fact, much of the pressure for abolition came from people whose religious convictions persuaded them that it was necessary, notably Quakers and some Baptists and Methodists. Also, some people believed that the market for tobacco was destined to decline, rendering slavery unprofitable. George Wythe and Thomas Jefferson worked out a plan for emancipation, which they intended to introduced in the state legislature in 1779. However, their proposal (which involved freeing slaves born after passage of the act, seeing that they received some training, and then settling them outside of Virginia), never was introduced. Among those who favored the abolition of slavery, who at best constituted a minority, the consensus was that it should be phased out gradually. Slavery, however, was so pervasive and played such a large role in the state's economy, that no workable solution was found. Perhaps the American Revolution's most significant contribution in freeing enslaved blacks (at least, in the short term) was the fact that substantial numbers of Americans be-

[85] In 1766, a *Virginia Gazette* advertisement for a runaway slave described him as "an Ibo Negro fellow, about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, about 40 years old, has on a blue coat with metal buttons, a cotton waistcoat, a pair of buckskin breeches, has five gashes of his country mark on each cheek, and says that he was sold about 6 years ago by Colo. Hunter, late of Hampton" (Purdie, May 9, 1766).

gan to realize that slavery was inconsistent with the doctrines on which they had based their struggle for political independence. Patrick Henry, who in 1773 declared that slavery was "repugnant to humanity," admitted that he was a slaveowner and was "drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them" (Tate 1965:120-121, 125-126).[86]

[86] In June 1774 the freeholders of Prince George County passed a resolution in which they declared that "We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by another person, after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place (Donnan 1935:IV:161-162).

Chapter 14. Microcosms: The Travis and Ambler Plantations, the Broadnax Holdings, Urban Jamestown and Green Spring

The Travis Plantation's Descent

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his plantation on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently did not attempt to enhance the property's size. He did, however, acquire some other land on Jamestown Island. On January 13, 1717, he bought Study Unit 1 Tract E, a 28½ acre parcel at the western end of the island, adjoining the isthmus, and he purchased Study Unit 4 Tract M, a lot by the churchyard. Both of those parcels abutted the road that led to the mainland. On July 17, 1719, Travis conveyed Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tract M to William Broadnax I. That same year, Travis purchased some of John Broadnax's personal property (Ambler MS 92, 106-107; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 15:510). It is uncertain whether any slaves were included in the latter transaction.

Edward Travis III and his wife, Rebecca, produced a son, Edward Champion Travis, who was born in ca. 1720, the same year his father died. The widowed Rebecca Champion Travis inherited life-rights in her late husband's Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home (Meyer et al. 1987:377-378; Tyler 1907-1908:142). Rebecca quickly married William Broadnax I, who owned three river front parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M and Q. He also held William Edwards III's mortgage for Study Unit 4 Tracts L and O, eventually acquiring both parcels by default. Rebecca died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 3-year-old son, Edward Champion Travis inherited the family's plantation on Jamestown Island (Meyer et al. 1987:377-378; Tyler 1907-1908:142; Ambler MS 53, 63, 92, 97-98, 106-107; Stanard 1909a:141-145). William Broadnax I and his little stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis came of age in 1741 and wed Susannah, the daughter of Colonel Joseph Hutchings of Norfolk. As a result of their marriage, some Hutchings slaves may have become part of the Travis plantation's work force. The couple produced sons Champion, Edward IV, and John and a daughter, Susannah. In 1768 Major Edward Champion Travis was credited with 44 slaves of tithable age in James City County and 1,652 acres of land in that jurisdiction (Stanard 1909a:142; Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769). His plantation on Jamestown Island, which encompassed 802$^{3}/_{4}$ acres, comprised approximately half of the land he owned in James City County. His other acreage was Piney Grove, a tract that was situated between Deep Creek (now known as Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River (Thompson [1780]). In 1769 the county tax assessor attributed 1,652 acres to Major Edward Champion Travis, along with 33 slaves of tithable age. Son Champion was credited with 10 tithable slaves but no land (Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769). The Travises also owned a townstead in urban Jamestown, which was located on Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J, and Edward Champion Travis built

a home in Williamsburg in 1765 (Tyler 1907-1908;142).

By 1750 Edward Champion Travis had become involved in the slave trade, and his sloop, the *Jamestown*, was transporting Africans from Barbados to Virginia. The firm known as Edward C. Travis and Company was involved in the slave trade until at least 1758. Newly arrived Africans may have been sold on the water front, near his townstead in urban Jamestown.

By 1772 Edward Champion Travis had vacated his property on Jamestown Island and taken up residence in York County at his recently-purchased plantation, Timson's Neck.[87] Travis's minimal amount of frontage on the James River (two small lots within the New Towne) may have been at the root of his decision to develop a new family seat on the York River, where he would have had direct access to deep-water shipping lanes. When Major Edward Champion Travis moved to York County, he left his Jamestown Island property in the hands of sons Edward IV and Champion. However, he did not give either of them outright ownership of that acreage during his lifetime (Purdie, October 31, 1777; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458; Tyler 1907-1908:142; Smith et al. 1745; Minchinton et al. 1984:145, 159; Stanard 1965:128-170; McIlwaine 1925-1945:5:391; 6:512). In late October 1777 Edward Champion Travis, who indicated that he was living at Timson's Neck, placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, seeking to recover Jessee, a slave who had fled from his plantation on Jamestown Island (Purdie, October 31, 1777).

In April 1772 when the marriage of Edward Champion Travis's son, Edward Travis IV, to Miss Betsy Taite was announced in the *Virginia Gazette*, the bridegroom was described as a resident "of Jamestown" (Purdie and Dixon, April 2, 1772). His presence there raises the possibility that he was occupying his father's townstead on Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J.

During the American Revolution, Jamestown Island was in the midst of what became a war zone. In mid-November 1775, a British man-of-war fired upon the Travis family's domestic complex at Jamestown and one shot struck the kitchen chimney (Purdie, November 17, 1775). It probably was the Travis townstead that was shelled, for it was located upon the bank of the James, just east of a battery the Americans had constructed. In April 1776 Champion Travis informed his fellow delegates to the Virginia Convention that his "dwelling-house and offices thereunto belonging in the town of Jamestown for many months past have been and are now occupied and appropriated by a detachment from the Virginia army as guardhouses" (Schreeven et al 1972:6:9-10). The wording of Travis's statement suggests strongly that he was speaking of his domestic complex in urban Jamestown, not the ancestral plantation in the eastern part of the island.

In December 1778, when Edward Champion Travis made his will, he bequeathed all of his James City County land to his son, Champion, while giving Timson's Neck to son, John, and his land in Brunswick and Surry Counties to son, Edward IV, the naval officer.[88] Edward Champion Travis died in August 1779 and his will was presented for probate a month later (York County Wills and Inventories 22 [1771-1783]:458-459; Dixon, August 21, 1779). Unfortunately, the inventory of his estate, which was filed in York County, omitted any personal property or possessions he may have had in James City County. However, some of the slaves on his Timson's Neck property in York County were mentioned by name.[89] John Travis, who inherited the Timson's Neck plantation, was given the slaves on the property, notably Moses, Aaron,

[87] He was living there on November 16, 1772, when he was accused of failing to have his overseer, Philemon Davis, provide the court of York County with a list of his tithes (York County Judgements and Orders 3:151).

[88] Edward apparently already had taken possession of the Brunswick County property, for in August 1774 he advertised for the return of William Fogg, a runaway servant and blacksmith, who had fled with Moses Willis, a waggoner. Both men were believed to have gone to South Carolina (Purdie and Dixon, August 25, 1774).

[89] On November 15, 1779, Champion Travis was censured by the justices of York County, who indicated that he had not accounted for the tithables associated with the late Edward Champion Travis's estate (York County Order Book 4:242).

and Isham (who were identified as three of Cuba's children), Sylvia and her children; Sukey, Jenny and Natt (who were Jenny's children); Priscilla's son, Jacob; plus Judy, Dick, Rowland, Nero, and Betty and her children. Initially, Edward Champion Travis left the rest of his slaves to sons Champion and Edward. However, on March 22, 1779, he added a codicil to his will, noting that he had given his eldest sons "a much greater number of negroes than I have to my son John." Therefore, he left John several more slaves: Moses (a boy purchased from Captain Alexander Walker), Old Ben and his wife Old Sarah, and Daphne-the-cook (York County Wills and Inventories 22:458-459).

Around the time of Edward Champion Travis's death in late summer 1779, one of his Jamestown Island slaves, 35-year-old Robert Bowland, fled to the British. In 1783, when the British withdrew from New York, many of the those African-Americans who had accepted Lord Dunmore's promise of freedom and acted as loyalists during the Revolution were evacuated to safety. An estimated 3,000 Virginians participated in the mass exodus. Robert Bowland, who reportedly had left home "about 3½ years ago," was included in the list of slaves turned loyalists. He and his fellow passengers aboard the *L'Abondance* were headed for Port Matoon in Nova Scotia (Hodges 1996:208).

Champion Travis and Edward Travis IV

By 1779 Champion Travis had legal possession of his late father's James City County property, which included his plantation and townstead on Jamestown Island and his Piney Grove acreage (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458). Champion and his wife, the former Elizabeth Boush, produced seven children (Stanard 1909:143; Travis n.d.:68). Champion Travis was residing on Jamestown Island at the onset of the American Revolution and he probably was still living there at the time of his father's death. It is uncertain whether he was occupying his late father's plantation house in Study Unit 2 or sharing the Travis townstead (if habitable) or Ambler house (in urban Jamestown) with his brother, Captain Edward Travis IV. Champion also could have been making use of the dwelling the late Edward Champion Travis built in Williamsburg.

Champion Travis, like his forebears, took an active role in public life. He served as a James City County justice and sheriff and from 1768 to 1771 he represented Jamestown in the House of Burgesses. He also participated in the Conventions of 1774 and 1775. Travis was a colonel in the state regiment and in 1776 was appointed a naval commissioner (Stanard 1910:141-145).

In early Autumn 1781, French troops streamed into the Jamestown area as part of the overall military build-up that preceded the siege of Yorktown. A Revolutionary War cartographer's map indicates that in 1781 there was a French army encampment in the eastern end of Jamestown Island, within Study Units 2 and 3, and that ships were congregated nearby, in the James (Brown et al 1972:II:Plate 84). Some of the Travises' slaves may have left Jamestown Island with the French, for postwar correspondence reveals that many African-Americans followed the army.

Edward Travis IV was living at Jamestown on April 1, 1780, when he offered for sale his "lots and houses in the city of Williamsburg." He also said that he had for sale "a blacksmith, extremely well acquainted with the business" (Dixon, April 1, 1780). It is unclear whether that particular slave was at Jamestown or in Williamsburg. On March 6, 1784, Edward IV, who was still at Jamestown, advertised that he had "four very likely slaves" to sell. He said that:

> *One [was] a young fellow well acquainted with the business of a house carpenter and cooper; also his wife, a very likely wench of middle age, accustomed to cook and domestic work, with two healthy children, a boy and a girl [*Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, March 6, 1784].*

Edward Travis IV died sometime prior to January 1785, at which time his estate was credited with five slaves of tithable age and seven who were non-tithable (James City County Personal

Property Tax Lists 1784). On July 1, 1804, Joseph H. Travis, as "the only heir-at-law of Edward Travis, dec'd, his father, who was a Captain in Virginia State Navy and who died intestate," sought to exercise the decedent's military warrant which entitled him to a land grant (Burgess 1929:1148-1149). No mention was made of the decedent's slaves.

After the war, times were hard. Champion Travis probably lost livestock and field crops to the foraging armies that passed through the area and it is certain that he lost slaves. According to a July 15, 1781, letter Richard Henry Lee sent to his brother, who owned Green Spring, Champion Travis lost all of his slaves to the British (Ballach 1911-1914:II:242). Tax records suggest that during the late 1780s and early 1790s Champion Travis's fortunes waned, for the quantity of slaves and livestock he owned slowly but steadily decreased (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1785-1795). His plight was not unique. Financial problems plagued many local families during the post-war period, even though taxes were payable in agricultural commodities.

In 1782 when real estate tax rolls first were compiled for James City County, Champion Travis was in possession of 2,038 acres of local land. His holdings then included the 802$^{3}/_{4}$ acre ancestral plantation on Jamestown Island, Piney Grove and probably his townstead in urban Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J) (James City County Land Tax Lists 1782).

When personal property tax records were compiled in 1782, Champion Travis of James City County was credited with an aggregate of 24 slaves of tithable age, 32 cattle and a two wheeled-vehicle. As he then owned two plantations in the county, it is uncertain how his slaves and livestock were distributed between them. By 1783 Travis was in control of 15 tithable individuals and 13 who were non-tithable, 11 horses, and 65 cattle. In 1784 the assessor identified Champion Travis as a tithable male head of household and he was one of 10 free white male tithes upon whom he paid taxes. He was credited with 21 slaves of tithable age and 10 who were underage; 47 cattle, 5 horses and a four-wheeled carriage. It is very likely that Champion Travis divided his time between Jamestown Island and his home in Williamsburg, for it does not appear that he ever resided at Piney Grove. Personal property tax rolls for 1787 reveal that Champion Travis then employed an overseer named William Steiff (a free white male under the age of 21) who assisted with his farming operations. Listed with Travis and Steiff were 19 slaves age 16 or older, 10 who were under 16, 12 horses, and 41 cattle. Also listed under Champion Travis's name were 6 slaves age 16 or older, 2 who were less than 16, and 55 cattle. These slaves and livestock may have been at Piney Grove. Between 1788 and 1793 Champion Travis was credited with 23 to 37 slaves and less than a dozen horses (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1794) (Appendix A).

James City County's personal property tax rolls for 1784 and 1785 list Champion Travis's slaves by name. He was then tax commissioner for the Lower James City Parish. In 1784 Champion was credited with the following 21 slaves of tithable age: James, Sam, Topsale, Jiles, George, Emanuel, Arthur, Agnes, Sam, Jacob, Fanny, Betty, Silva, Cuba, Dina, Milly, Violet, Hannah, Frances, Cesar, and Guy. His ten non-tithable slaves included Janny, two people named Amorca, Daphney, John, Bob, Violet, Nancy, Caty, and Sukey. In 1784 the late Edward Travis IV's estate included five tithable slaves (Ben, Pris, Patt, Esther, and Will) and seven who were non-tithable: Champion, Jacob, Jony, Silva, Louisa, Will, and Peter. In 1785 Champion Travis had 25 tithable slaves: Cesar, James, Sam, Jiles, Tobe, Sam, Cyrus, Arthur, Will, Harry, Ned, Dick, Ned, Jonas, Michael, Bartley, Cuba, Fanny, Billy, Dinah, Sylvia, Violet, Fanny, Hannah and 12 who were non-tithable: Jane, two people named Anesca, Nann, Nell, Sally, John, Bob, Champion, Sukey, Lucy, and Violet (James City County Personal Property Tax List 1784-1785). Thus, it appears that Champion Travis had come into possession of at least two of his late brother's slaves: Champion and Will. When tax assessment records for 1784 and 1785 are compared, it is evident that there was a nearly 39 percent rate of

turnover[90] in the population of slaves controlled by Champion Travis during that two year period. This contrasts sharply with the Amblers' approximately 12 percent turnover rate and William Lee's average turnover of 20 percent per year. (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784-1785). It is likely that a higher rate of turnover in the Travis plantation's slave population would have created stress by disrupting established routines and family life.

In ca. 1795, when Champion Travis's brother, John, died and his personal property at Timson's Neck was sold at a public auction, Champion purchased two slaves, a man named Nero and a boy named Bob (York County Wills and Inventories 23:465-471). He may have taken them to his Jamestown Island plantation or one of his other properties.

The Broadnax Holdings on Jamestown Island

William Broadnax I

William Broadnax I, who owned three river front parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M and Q, married Rebecca, the widow of Edward Travis III, who had life-rights to her late husband's plantation on Jamestown Island. Broadnax also held William Edwards III's mortgage for Study Unit 4 Tracts L and O, eventually acquiring both parcels by default. Rebecca died in 1723, at which time her 3-year-old son, Edward Champion Travis inherited the family's plantation on Jamestown Island. William Broadnax I died in 1727 (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Tyler 1907-1908:142; Ambler MS 53, 63, 92, 97-98, 106-107). Unfortunately, no documentary records have come to light that disclose the composition of Broadnax's work force. It is likely, however, that some were of African descent, or were newly arrived Africans.

William Broadnax II

William Broadnax II, who was born in ca. 1705, inherited his late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island. William II also received via a bequest from ferryman Edward Ross at least one town lot where the ferry was kept (Study Unit 4 Tract R). Sometime prior to April 22, 1736, William Broadnax II purchased from Francis Bullifant 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) and he bought the late William May's 100 acre patent (which included Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) from John Hopkins (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250; Ezell 1995:106).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with substantial landholdings on the south side of the James, in Brunswick County. He represented Jamestown in the February 1728, session of the legislature, at a time when land ownership (but not residency) was a requirement for office-holding (Stanard 1965:107; McIlwaine 1925-1945:4:236; Hudgins 1994:V:136). On January 1, 1744, William Broadnax II sold all of his property on Jamestown Island (both rural and urban) to Christopher Perkins, a Norfolk County merchant. He also conveyed to Perkins a slave named William Liverpool (Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107, 250). This gave Perkins control of virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and a large parcel at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. He also had the lot or lots then used for the Jamestown ferry. Perkins kept the Broadnax acreage for precisely a year and then conveyed it to Richard Ambler, the Yorktown merchant who developed his land on Jamestown Island into a major plantation and family seat. Perkins also sold to Ambler the slave named William Liverpool (Ambler MS 106-107, 250). Liverpool probably had special skills, but their nature is uncertain. As Broadnax, Perkins, and Ambler successively owned the Jamestown lots used as a ferry-landing, William Liverpool may have been the ferryman.

[90] That is, some slaves left and others were introduced into the group.

The Ambler Plantation

Edward Jaquelin

In 1706 Edward Jaquelin, by then a widower, married Martha, the daughter of Lt. Colonel William Cary of Elizabeth City and the widow of John Thruston of Martin's Hundred. Their union may have brought new slaves and servants into the Jaquelin household. The Jaquelins continued to reside at Jamestown, in the brick dwelling built by the late William Sherwood (Meade 1966:I:95; Tyler 1895-1896:49-50; 1896:51-53, 243; Meyer et al. 1987:606; Ambler MS 73, 101).

In 1729 Edward and Martha Cary Jaquelin's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Richard Ambler, a Yorktown merchant (Ambler 1798; Ambler 1826; Tyler 1895-1896:50). In November 1739 Edward Jaquelin died. At age 71, he had outlived both of his wives and all of his sons. Edward Jaquelin was survived by three daughters: Elizabeth (Mrs. Richard Ambler), Mary (the newly married Mrs. John Smith), and Martha, a spinster. The only grandchildren Jaquelin had at the time of his death were the offspring of Elizabeth and Richard Ambler (Ambler 1828). Edward Jaquelin's will was "delv'd, proved & recorded in James City County court the tenth day of December 1739" (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler 1828). Therefore, it was among the numerous volumes of local records destroyed in 1865 when Richmond burned. Fortunately, family accounts and real estate transactions that postdate the settlement of Edward Jaquelin's estate shed some light upon how he disposed of his assets. Even so, no references have come to light that describe or list the servants and/or slaves Edward Jaquelin utilized as a workforce on his plantation or in his mercantile activities.

According to a family history written in 1826, in 1739 Edward Jaquelin left his landholdings on Jamestown Island to four-year-old John Ambler I, his second oldest grandson. On the other hand, a slightly different text (also a family history) produced by the same writer in 1828 states that the late Edward Jaquelin's Jamestown property descended to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, who passed it on to her son, John I (Ambler 1826:26; 1828:25). Whichever the case, in 1756 when Elizabeth Jaquelin Ambler died, John Ambler I, who had just come of age, took immediate possession of his grandfather's Jamestown Island property. A subsequent land transaction reveals that Edward Jaquelin left his land at Powhatan to his spinster daughter, Martha (Meade 1966:I:95; Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606; Tyler 1895-1896:49-50; Smith 1957:48; York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-391). It is likely that slaves accompanied both bequests of land.

Richard Ambler

In early 1745 Richard Ambler systematically began purchasing a number of parcels that abutted the plantation of his late father-in-law, Edward Jaquelin. On January 1, 1745, Ambler bought approximately 298 acres of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins, who had come into possession of the Jamestown Island acreage that previously had belonged to William Broadnax I and II. Through this acquisition, Ambler came into possession of Study Unit 3 Tracts A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and Tract K Lot B; Study Unit 2 Tracts M, O, Q, and R; and Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots A, B, C, D; and Study Unit 1 Tract E (Ambler MS 53, 106, 107). Then, on April 24, 1745, he procured a quit-claim deed from his wife's sisters and brother-in-law that entitled him to fee simple ownership of the 2 acres to which he had life-rights, very probably a subunit of Study Unit 1 Tract E (Smith et al. 1745). Richard Ambler, by consolidating the Jaquelin and Broadnax/Perkins landholdings, amassed just over 698 acres of land in the southeast, central and western portions of Jamestown Island, within Study Units 1, 3 and 4. Thus, he controlled almost all of the river frontage on the James and more than half of the land bordering the Back River.

On October 6, 1753, Richard Ambler purchased a ½ acre lot (Lot C of Study Unit 1 Tract F) from Edward Champion Travis. It was situated in front of the site upon which Ambler built a large brick mansion and dependencies (Ambler MS

115). Richard Ambler's purposeful land acquisitions and the construction of a substantial dwelling probably reflect his attempt to provide his second oldest son, John I, with a suitable family seat. Richard's well documented and almost continuous presence in Yorktown from 1745 until his death in 1765 suggests strongly that he never intended to move to Jamestown, personally (Ambler MS 123). The Amblers may have made occasional use of the late Edward Jaquelin's brick dwelling at Jamestown, the structure built by William Sherwood right after Bacon's Rebellion. On the other hand, they may have placed the property in the hands of an overseer or entrusted it to a tenant.

Throughout the eighteenth century, agricultural operations on the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island were run in tandem with those of the Ambler farm on the mainland. Further supplementing the Amblers' productivity was their quarter known as Powhatan. Martha, the late Edward Jaquelin's unmarried daughter, inherited Powhatan, which she sold to Richard Ambler (York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-391). The Amblers' almost continuous presence upon Jamestown Island from the mid-1750s through the early nineteenth century suggests that they made personal use of the Georgian mansion Richard built but that their overseer resided upon their farm on the mainland.

In 1766 when Richard Ambler made his will, he left to his son, John I, all of the slaves and cattle upon his property at Powhatan; the "Negroe Slaves which are employ'd at James Town Island and the Main and also all their Negroe and Molatta Children together with all the Stocks of Cattle, Sheep, Horses, Mules and Hogs and Plantation utensils;" and "all the House furniture left in my House at James Town together with the Dairey Woman named Moll Cook, Negore Hannah, Phillis, boy Cupid, The three Carpenters vizt Old Ben, Mark and John." The testator left to his son, Jaquelin, two young male slaves (Ned and George) on his Black Swamp plantation and several of his young slaves at Yorktown (George, Guy, Grace, and Venus) and an elderly slave woman named Grace. Edward Jaquelin received Old Edith, Peg, Abel, America (perhaps the slave who broke into William Nelson's kitchen in 1763), Sawney, Polly, Jerry, James, Genny, and Sharper (a carpenter) and his son, Ben. Richard Ambler left three young boys (Ned, Scipio, and Peg's boy, Billy) to his grandsons Edward and John and he bestowed upon his granddaughters two other slaves: Peg's youngest child, Hannah, and Polly's child, Tamo (Ambler MS 123; York County Wills and Inventories 21:278-282). The bequests Richard Ambler made to his grandchildren probably would not have separated slave mothers from their children, for they would have remained part of Edward Ambler's household at Yorktown. In February 1768 when an inventory was made of Richard Ambler's estate, the 63 slaves on his Jamestown Island property and on the mainland (56 adults and 7 children) and the 14 slaves (13 adults and a child) at Powhatan were listed by name.[91]

Mothers and children sometimes were grouped recognizably and four individuals' occupations (a dairy woman and three carpenters) were listed (York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-388). The late Richard Ambler was credited with 14 additional slaves (13 adults and a child), who were upon his plantation on Powhatan Swamp (Appendix B).

The total value of Richard Ambler's James City County slaves was £ 2,549.10.00, a sum comparable to the combined worth of the slaves on his farms in Hanover, Louisa and Warwick Counties. Edward Champion Travis of Jamestown (Study Unit 2), Richard Taliaferro of Powhatan Plantation, and Cary Wilkinson, overseer at Green Spring and a leaseholder in the Governor's Land, were

[91] At Jamestown Island and the Main were Abell (Sarah's child); Aberdeen; Alice; Alice (a girl); Amy; Ben; Ben (carpenter); Ben; Betsey (Sarah's child); Betty; Betty; Billy; Bob; Bridget; Chubby and [torn]; Cupid; Dick; Dinah; Dinah; Doll; Duncan; Edith (Chubby's child); Fanny (Lydia's child); Grace and her child Jacob; Hannah; Hannah (Sarah's child); Hannah and her child Charles; Harry; Jack; Jacob; Jeffrey; Jeremy; Joe; Johnny (York); Johnny; Judah; Jupiter; Kate; Lawrence; Lucy; Lydia; Mark; Moll; Moll; Nan; Phill; Rachel; Sall; Sam; Sarah; Suky; Sylva and her child Tom; Tom; York; and young Hannah and child Sarah. At Powhatan were Amy; Betty and her young child; Clara; Harry; Jenny; Nancy; Nanny; Nell; Nelly; Peter; Phillis; Robert; and Sharper.

the men appointed to inventory the late Richard Ambler's estate (York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-388)

John Ambler I

John Ambler I was educated in England and traveled extensively throughout Europe and then returned to Virginia. He attained his majority in December 1756 and probably took up residence at Jamestown around that time. In February 1766 he inherited life-rights in an acre of his father's land in Yorktown, where a smith's shop was located, plus all of the decedent's land on Jamestown Island, including the ferry-house and landing and the lot Richard had bought from Edward Champion Travis in 1753. John I also received the acreage his father had bought from Christopher Perkins and the Jaquelin heirs in 1745; the time remaining on his lease for a 310 acre plot in the mainland; and the land on Powhatan Swamp that Richard had purchased from Martha Jaquelin. Moreover, Richard left John I the 2-acre lot he had been given by Edward Jaquelin. John Ambler I inherited all of his late father's slaves and cattle upon the Powhatan property and all of those upon Jamestown Island and the mainland. Included were a dairy woman and three carpenters (Ambler MS 123; York County Wills and Inventories 21:278-282).

After residing at Jamestown for nearly a decade, John Ambler I contracted consumption (tuberculosis) and became seriously ill. He died in May 1766, only three months after his father's decease. John I, who was unmarried, designated his elder brother, Edward I, as heir to his real and personal property. Edward, as John I's executor, announced in the *Virginia Gazette* that he intended to sell "before Mr. Trebell's door in Williamsburg, pursuant to the will of John Ambler - 2 valuable English stallions and some house servants" (Stanard 1925:187; Meade 1992:I:104; Ambler 1826:36; Purdie and Dixon, October 17, 1766). This sale probably disrupted the Ambler plantation's slave households.

Edward Ambler I

During 1768 Edward Ambler I moved from Yorktown to Jamestown Island, which he made his family seat (Ambler 1826:50-51). However, his lifespan, like that of his brother, John I, was abbreviated and he died in October 1768 "after a tedious illness." Edward Ambler I was survived by his widow, Mary Cary, and three young children (Stanard 1925:187; Tyler 1899:31).

An inventory of the late Edward Ambler I's personal estate, compiled in 1769, indicates that his agricultural operations on Jamestown Island and on the mainland were run in tandem and that his slaves moved back and forth between the two properties. It is probable that his quarter at Powhatan also was part of the same managerial scheme. The late Edward Ambler I's inventory reveals that his plantation's outbuildings included a kitchen, a nursery, a coach house that had a heated chamber, a wash house, and a dairy. It is likely that the Amblers' house servants, coachman, and stable boys had accommodations in those buildings. An inventory of "Sundry New Goods," which included substantial quantities of tools, farming equipment, cloth, fish lines, nails, and other items raises the possibility that the late Edward Ambler I had a storehouse and was carrying on mercantile activities at Jamestown Island or was receiving goods there that he transferred to his facilities in Yorktown. If so, his slaves very probably played an important role in his mercantile activities (Ambler 1769)

The inventory of Edward Ambler I's estate lists by name the slaves who were on his property at Jamestown, on the mainland and at Powhatan (Ambler 1769) (see Appendix C). Edward had the three carpenters he had inherited from his father in 1763 (Old Ben, Mark, and Sharper), plus "House James" (probably a house servant) and a gardener named Tommy. Five elderly slaves were included in Edward's inventory: Ben-the-carpenter, Hannah, Dinah, Sarah, and another man named Ben). Edward also had possession of Liverpool, perhaps the slave that Richard Ambler purchased from Christopher Perkins in 1745. Approximately 87 percent of the individuals listed in Edward Ambler

I's 1769 inventory had been included in the inventory of Richard Ambler's estate, prepared in February 1768. Thus, it appears that most of the slaves living upon the Ambler property on Jamestown Island and on the mainland farm when Richard Ambler died were still there after John Ambler I and Edward Ambler I had expired. This trend toward stability in the Amblers' slave population continued for at least one more generation. Edward Ambler I kept fewer slaves at Powhatan than his father had had (9, as opposed to 14), and of those 9 slaves, five were children.

Mary Cary Ambler (Mrs. Edward Ambler I)

The widowed Mary Cary Ambler stayed on at Jamestown. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, in late December 1768 one of the outbuildings on the Ambler plantation "by some accident took fire, and was burnt to the ground. A valuable Negro man, attempting to save some of his effects, perished in the flames" (Purdie and Dixon, December 29, 1768). In 1768 and 1769, when quitrent rolls were compiled for James City County and Williamsburg, the estate of Edward Ambler I was credited with 1,050 acres of land, which would have included his plantation on Jamestown Island, his leasehold, and his land at Powhatan. In 1768 Edward I's estate was taxed upon 46 tithables, most (if not all) of whom would have been slaves. In 1769 the estate was credited with 49 tithables (Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769). In 1777 when Ebenezer Hazard visited Jamestown Island, he made a sketch of a wheat machine that he saw behind the Ambler mansion (Shelley 1954:411-416). It probably was one of the pieces of agricultural equipment utilized by skilled slaves.

During the Revolutionary War, Mrs. Mary Cary Ambler took her children and withdrew to The Cottage in Hanover County, a family-owned property she considered a position of greater safety (Ambler 1826:51; Meade 1992:110). On November 27, 1779, she signed a rental agreement whereby she leased her late husband's Jamestown Island plantation to Captain Edward Travis IV (a naval officer and Edward Champion Travis's son) for a period of four years. He was given use of "all buildings and other appurtenances and advantages" on the property "except a Nursery adjoining the Mansion House which is to be reserved for the use of the Ferry and the Ferry to the same belonging." The rental agreement, which took effect on January 13, 1780, would have given the Travis family temporary possession of Jamestown Island in its entirety, with the exception of a few town lots. Captain Travis was obliged to subdivide Mrs. Ambler's arable land into three parts, only one of which was to be placed under cultivation at any one time. He was to rotate his crops among the three tracts from year to year, but could only plant wheat or oats where Indian corn had been grown the year before. He was prohibited from converting forested land into open fields and the only timber he was allowed to harvest was for the plantation's use. Mrs. Mary Ambler was entitled to half of any profits derived from her orchard and in exchange, she agreed to supply half of the labor for "beating &c. the apples." She had the right to gather "Hay from the marshes in such Quantity as she may choose" and to allow her cattle to range on the island. She also was permitted to have a patch of flax every year and if Captain Travis agreed to fence it, he could have half of the annual yield (Ambler MS 129). These statements suggest that Mary Cary Ambler left some of her slaves and livestock locally, perhaps upon Jamestown Island or on the mainland.

Maps produced by French cartographers during the American Revolution, though schematic, suggest that there were a number of buildings in the western end of Jamestown Island. Although some of those structures presumably were attributable to the Amblers and the Travises, at least two other individuals were in possession of lots that contained improvements, notably William Lee (who inherited Philip Ludwell III's property) and Thomas Harris. All three maps indicate that development was concentrated between the Ambler mansion and the church. According to Jean Nicholas Desandrouins' map, which is topographically sensitive, three structures were perched upon the river

bank just west of the Ambler house. They may have been associated with the ferry landing abandoned in 1779 or perhaps with the Amblers' mercantile operations. A structure was located just north of the Ambler mansion, in an area analogous to Study Unit 1 Tract F or the eastern part of Tract D, and another was situated on the north side of Pitch and Tar Swamp, within Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B. One or more of these structures may have been agricultural buildings such as a coach house, barns and tobacco houses, and one may have been living accommodations provided to the Amblers' overseer (Desandrouins 1781).

John Ambler II

John Ambler II, Edward Ambler I's son, was his only surviving male heir. Therefore, he inherited his father's vast ancestral estate, which included land and slaves in several counties. These properties consisted of the plantation on Jamestown Island, the farm on the mainland, and the Powhatan quarter in James City County; Hog Island in Surry County; Westham in Richmond; The Cottage in Hanover County; the Mill Farm, Loheland, and Nero's in Louisa County; Glenambler and St. Moore in Amherst County; an estate in Frederick County; 1,015 acres in Piedmont Manor; 10,000 acres in the Manor of Leeds; the Mill Tract in Henrico County; and lots in Yorktown, Manchester and Richmond. The late Edward Ambler I reportedly left his son literally hundreds of slaves, large quantities of livestock, and investments in three banks, the Dismal Swamp Canal, and the Richmond Dock (Ambler 1826:57; 1828).

James City County real estate tax rolls first compiled in 1782, the year before John Ambler II came of age, indicate that he owned 1,275 acres of land in James City County. This included 900 acres on Jamestown Island and 375 acres on the mainland (his forebears' 310 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land, which he had purchased from the government after the Revolution; the 24 acre Glass House parcel; the 25-27 acre Perkins-Woodward tract; plus 14 to 16 additional acres) (James City County Land Tax Lists 1782). Excluded was Powhatan, which may have been in the hands of a tenant, who paid whatever taxes were owed upon the acreage.

In 1782 the tax assessor listed 20-year-old John Ambler II as head of a household, while indicating that there were no free white males over the age of 21 then associated with his personal property in James City County. Credited to Ambler were 22 slaves and 20 cattle (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782). Personal property tax rolls for 1783 indicate that household head John Ambler II, who had turned 21, then had 14 slaves of tithable age and 8 who were younger; he also paid taxes upon 30 cattle. In 1784 John and farm manager William Chick (both of whom were listed as tithable males) were attributed to the Ambler household, along with 26 slaves of tithable age and 12 who were younger, 5 cattle, and 5 equines (horses, colts, mares and mules) (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1783-1784) (Appendix D). Comparative research utilizing Tidewater's census and probate records and personal property tax rolls demonstrates that approximately half of a typical slaveholder's slaves were age 12 or older and therefore tithable. Therefore, John Ambler II probably had 70-75 slaves of tithable age.

John Ambler II married Frances Armistead in 1782 and took up residence at Jamestown during the early 1780s. When she died, he married Lucy Marshall. At Lucy's death, he wed the widowed Catherine Bush Norton, with whom he had eight children (Amber 1828). Through each of these marriages, John Ambler II probably enhanced his fortune and acquired additional slaves, for during this period the number of slaves under his control slowly but surely increased (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1783-1790).

The size of John Ambler II's livestock herd also increased. William Chick, John Ambler II's farm manager in 1784, stayed on the job until 1787, when he was replaced by Robert Chancellor. In 1786 a younger overseer (i.e., under age 21), James Anderson, also was employed on the Ambler property. By 1787, Ambler was credited with 52 tithable slaves, 11 horses, 70 cattle and a coach or

chariot. John Ambler II at age 28 was one of James City County's wealthiest farmers. He prospered during the 1790s and in 1794 his household included two additional free white males whose names weren't listed in the tax rolls. He then had 35 slaves who were age 16 or over and 2 who were between 12 and 16 (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784-1798).

Personal property tax rolls for 1785 and 1786 identify John Ambler II's slaves by name, separating those who were of tithable age (16 or older) from those who were not. In 1785 29 tithable slaves by the name of Jacob, Harry, Will, Joc, Daniel, Billy, Richmond, James, Dean, Dick, Ben, Moses, York, Ben, Harry, Ede, Sall, Fanny, Bridget, Ede, Sall, Tamm, Lyddia, Dinah, Else, Nancy, Moll, Rachel, and Sarah were credited to John Ambler II, whereas the following 17 individuals were listed as non-tithables: Black, Moses, Cue, Sam, Dick, Abraham, Bob, Zeb, Lydia, Sall, Nancy, Hannah, Criss, Daphne, Sylvia, Moll, Whinny. In 1786 the tax assessor credited John Ambler II with 30 individuals of tithable age: Jacob, Will, Harry, John, Joe, Dan, Billy, James, Dean, Dick, Ben, Moses, Ben, Harry, Richmond, York, Eadith, Dinah, Lydia, Eady, Ellen, Lydia, Nancy, Moll, Rachel, Sarah, Fanny, Amey, Bridget, Betty. Ambler's 15 non-tithable slaves were: Clarissa, Cue, Sam, Dick, Moses, Abraham, Bob, Daphney, Cressy, Hannah, Nancy, Sall, Silvia, Betty, Sal (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1785-1786).

When the names of the Ambler slaves included in the tax lists of 1785 and 1786 are compared, it appears that there was very little turnover in population of Africans/African Americans who lived and worked on John Ambler II's landholdings in James City County. Within the tithable age group, only three individuals (two women named Sall and a person named Tamm) died or departed and two individuals (Amey and John) arrived. Within the non-tithable age group, there were four deaths or departures (Black, Moll, Whinny and Zeb) and three arrivals (Betty, Clarissa and Sal) (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1785-1786). Thus, there was only 11 percent turnover in the slave population. This apparent stability (perhaps coupled with tolerable living and working conditions) may explain why John Ambler II's blacks seemingly did not run away. Collectively, tax rolls suggest that the slave population on the Ambler plantation was much more stable than that of the Travis plantation, where the turnover rate was nearly 39 percent, and that of Green Spring, where the turnover rate averaged 20 percent per year (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784-1786).

John Ambler II's plantation accounts reveal that during 1783 he had his blacksmithing done at Green Spring and sent payment to William Lee's overseer, Edward Valentine. At Green Spring, Ambler had hilling hoes, lynch pins, a railed cart, and a chain made by the blacksmith. He also had points put on plow hoes; had a wheat fan's handle mended; had a new froe made; and bought 3,000 nails. Ambler had a flat built at Green Spring and paid local men, such as his mainland neighbor, William Wilkinson Jr., for repairing his saddle, mending farming equipment and making a wheat machine. Sometimes, John Ambler II sent funds with a servant who was authorized to pay his bills. His business records indicate that his jointly-run properties at Jamestown and on the mainland comprised a thriving and productive working plantation (Ambler Family 1770-1860).

In 1786, John Ambler II hired Nat, one of builder Humphrey Harwood's men, to do three days work at Jamestown. Harwood noted in his records that on October 1786 he had been paid "by cash of your overseer" (Humphrey Harwood Account Book, 1776-1794:Part I, May 1786). In 1793 Ambler paid tailor Thomas Waller for making five pair of breeches and "two suits of servants clothes." Two years later, he paid Williamsburg tailor James Moir for making breeches for Tom and Jeff. During 1796 he purchased 230 wt. of pork from William Weathers but sold 23 joints of bacon to his neighbor, Champion Travis. Weathers, during the late 1790s, mended tools for the Ambler plantation. In 1800 John Ambler II had his son and two of his servants inoculated for smallpox. He also paid for medical treatment for his slaves, including

"visits for Sarah, Letty and Charity" and "visit to little negro and reducing fractured thigh bone." On one occasion Ambler sent his slave, Mingo, to procure five pieces of leather from Peter Powell, and on another he paid Powell for repairing a saddle and mending a cart. He apparently trusted Mingo, for on another occasion he sent him to procure a receipt for some whiskey and brown sugar. Although Ambler did business with merchants in Richmond, many of his transactions involved people in Williamsburg (Ambler Family 1770-1860).

Green Spring Plantation

Philip Ludwell II

Around 1693-1694, when Philip Ludwell II came of age and his father departed for England, he seems to have vacated the family home at Rich Neck and moved to Green Spring, which he used as his permanent seat.[92] In 1697 young Philip II married Hannah, the daughter of Benjamin Harrison, a member of the Governor's Council (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238; Shepperson 1942:454). When Philip Ludwell I died, his son, Philip II inherited his property. Among the distinguished visitors Philip Ludwell II and his wife, Hannah, entertained at Green Spring were William Byrd II of Westover Plantation. Byrd, an avid diarist who sometimes made note of his own lecherous behavior, on April 29, 1711, indicated that while stopping over at Green Spring, he had "romped with the girls at night," which context suggests that he was frolicking with his host's slaves or maid servants, or perhaps doing something more risque (Byrd 1941:337).[93]

In March 1710 three of Philip Ludwell II's slaves were among several in Surry, Isle of Wight and James City Counties who planned to make a break for freedom on Easter Sunday, vowing to overcome all opposition. When the conspiracy was discovered, those implicated were rounded up, interrogated, and detained. Philip Ludwell I reportedly wanted his people released from jail because "of ye danger of catching cold this sickly time" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:234-236; Stanard 1911:23-24).

Although relatively few documents have come to light that describe precisely how Philip Ludwell II utilized the extensive acreage he had inherited from his father, it is likely that he raised tobacco and other crops, used part of his plantation as pasturage and rented his excess land to others. In 1712 Philip Ludwell II commenced leasing 102 acres in the southeastern portion of the Governor's Land tract, acreage that in 1690 had been in the possession of Henry Jenkins, a tanner (Jeffreys 1712). Philip Ludwell II inherited from his father and stepmother the remaining time on Sir William Berkeley's 99 year lease for 70 acres in the Governor's Land, which was to expire in 1773. As that particular parcel was contiguous to Green Spring and lay along its south-southeastern border, the common boundary line between the two properties probably became somewhat indistinct. The course of that dividing line was at the crux of some litigation that Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood initiated in 1716.

In 1714, while Philip Ludwell II was in possession of Green Spring, he had surveyor Simon Jeffreys lay off a tract in the northeast corner of the plantation, a 170 acre parcel that Ludwell intended to lease to Robert Goodrich. In 1723 Ludwell had the surveyor demarcate a 150 acre parcel (the southwest corner of the Hot Water Dividend) for Edward Hooker. It lay east of some land Hooker's father had patented in 1683 (Jeffreys 1714, 1723). Philip Ludwell II died in January 1727, less than a month before his 55th birthday. His primary heir was an 11-year-old son, Philip Ludwell III (Morton 1956:238; Bruce 1899-1900:356.

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[92] Philip Ludwell I never returned to Virginia. He died in England in 1716 (Shepperson 1942:453).

[93] On August 10, 1709, Byrd commented upon the good meal he had had at Colonel Ludwell's, and noted that they had been "served very well," but one of his host's young male servants or slaves "broke a glass" (Byrd 1941:69). Byrd failed to note whether a scolding or other punishment ensued.

Philip Ludwell III

While Philip Ludwell III was in his youth he began taking an active interest in managing the land he stood to inherit. In 1737 he married Frances, the daughter of Charles Grymes of Morattico Plantation in Richmond County. The Ludwells resided at Green Spring, which was a center of social activity (Stanard 1911:289; 1912:380; 1913:395-416; Shepperson 1942:18-19). During Governor Robert Dinwiddie's administration, Philip Ludwell III commenced leasing 825 acres of the Governor's Land. Three-quarters of that acreage bordered directly upon the James River and the remainder was in the northeastern corner of the Governor's Land, near the Church on the Maine. Both of the leased parcels were contiguous to Green Spring (Bruce 1897-1898:247-248). One of the pieces of land that Ludwell rented included the 70 acres Sir William Berkeley had commenced leasing in 1646, and in 1674 had extended his lease for another 99 years.

Philip Ludwell III had a keen interest in horticulture and took an active role in running his plantation (Shepperson 1942:23). As noted previously, in late November 1759, he advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for an absconded slave named Anthony, who

> *... ran away from Greenspring yesterday - had on a blue cotton jacket and breeches and a fine whited linen shirt. He is a tall fellow, remarkably hollow-eyed, has on one wrist a large scar from a burn and his left hand is somewhat withered and the fingers contracted by having cut himself across the inside of his wrist some time ago [Claiborne, November 30, 1759].*

He offered a reward for the return of the missing slave. Ads placed by Ludwell during February indicate that he expected Anthony to try to escape from Virginia (Claiborne, February 6, February 13, February 20, 1760).

Anthony apparently was caught, but fled a second time, for on March 18, 1760, Philip Ludwell III again indicated that:

> *Ran away, last Night, from the Subscriber, a Negroe man named Anthony; he is a tall slim young fellow, hollow-eye'd, and has a large Scar of a burn on one of his wrists; he is very subtil, and frequently changes his Name when run away, and is suppos'd to be concern'd in a Robbery, committed in the Neighbourhood a few Nights ago, which is thought to be the Cause of his running away, as no other appears yet: Together with him went, I suppose for the same reason, another Fellow, named Matt Cooper, who is a squat well-set young Fellow, and has a Scar of a Boil on one of his Cheeks, just below the under Jaw-bone. Whoever takes up the said Runaways, or either, and conveys them to me, according to Law, shall be generously rewarded [Claiborne, March 18, 1760].*

It is uncertain whether either runaway was recovered.

In Spring 1760, Philip Ludwell III and his daughters set sail for London. During his absence, Philip entrusted the management of his plantations to Cary Wilkinson, a neighbor and farmer in whom he had great confidence. Philip Ludwell III's health gradually deteriorated and he died in March 1767. His eldest daughter, Hannah Philippa, stood to inherit Green Spring plantation and Powhatan Mill (Shepperson 1942:23-24,32; Stanard 1911:288-9; 1913:395-416; Headley 1987:213).

Daughter Frances Ludwell was to receive Rich Neck, some land in Archer's Hope and some lots in Williamsburg. Her property was to include the Rich Neck mill, which was constructed or refurbished around 1751. Daughter Lucy was to receive Chippokes. The confluence of Powhatan Swamp was supposed to serve as the dividing line between the Green Spring and Rich Neck tracts. When Philip Ludwell III bequeathed Powhatan Mill to Hannah Philippa, he said that he was leaving her the miller, which suggests that the mill was being run by a slave. He also specified that Hannah Philippa was entitled to the slaves, livestock, certain household furniture and other personal estate on hand at Green Spring. An inventory of Ludwell's estate suggests that he used Rich Neck as a quarter or subsidiary farm. If so, Rich Neck's main dwelling probably was occupied by a farm manager or tenant (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416). Philip Ludwell III left 100 pounds sterling to his daugh-

ter, Hannah Philippa, who was supposed to bring Jane and Sarah, the daughters of his slave, Cress, to England and "put [them] in a way of getting their living." Philip noted that he had promised Jane and Sarah their freedom "for the faithful and unwearied care in nursing my dear little Orphans from the death of their mother" (Stanard 1911:288-289).

Philip Ludwell III's inventory, which is undated but appears to have been prepared soon after his death, reveals that at the time he departed for England, he had been using Green Spring as his manor plantation and that his other James City County tracts were subsidiary farms or quarters upon which his slaves raised crops and livestock (Stanard 1911:288-289; Stanard 1913:395-416). Ludwell also had legal possession of the 825 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land that he had commenced renting during the early 1750s (Bruce 1897-1898:245-248).

The remarkably detailed inventory of Philip Ludwell III's personal possessions reveals that tobacco, corn, wheat, peas and indigo had been produced on his property in James City County. Large quantities of cowhide and calfskins were on hand that may have been used in shoemaking or the production of leather goods. Tools for blacksmithing also were present (Stanard 1913:395-416). This indicates that some of the decedent's slaves were highly skilled.

Frances Ludwell died unmarried shortly after her father's death. As a result, her share of her late father's estate had to be parceled out to her sisters. In 1769, when Philip Ludwell III's real and personal estate was being divided between his two surviving daughters, Hannah Philippa and Lucy, surveyor James Morris made a plat of the Hot Water plantation, which was assigned to Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee. Morris's plat indicates that the Hotwater tract was comprised of 1,728 acres and encompassed much of the land between Colby Swamp branch of Gordon's Creek and the forerunner of Route 614 (Morris 1769). A plat of the Green Spring property, prepared in ca. 1770 by William Goodall, when the estate of Philip Ludwell III was being settled, defines the plantation's boundaries. It consisted of 4,296½ acres and was subdivided into three major units: Scotland, Pine Meadows and Green Spring (the home tract upon which the mansion was situated) that enveloped "Mr. Warburton's Land." The Mill Quarter, though not identified by name, lay to the southeast, near the Powhatan Mill Pond and formed a fourth quarter.

That Green Spring in 1767-1770 consisted of several quarters or subsidiary working farms, reveals that Philip Ludwell III, like other wealthy Virginians whose landholdings were vast, had subdivided his property into lesser-sized units of manageable proportions. Ludwell's father or grandfather (or perhaps Governor William Berkeley) may have been the first to adopt this land management system. On March 25, 1767, when Philip Ludwell III's estate was appraised, each of his subsidiary farms had a sizeable number of slaves and herds of cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses. Also on hand were plows, hoes, ox carts and other agricultural tools, along with iron pots, grindstones, and rudimentary utensils that the slaves would have used in processing their food. Ludwell's inventory indicates that all of his plantations were producing tobacco, corn, and wheat. Green Spring's manor house quarter had a slave population of 73. Farming and agricultural equipment on hand at Green Spring included 31 broad and narrow hoes, 11 narrow axes, 7 harrow teeth, 4 plows, 6 old harrows, 2 ox carts and gear, a carry-log and chain, a tumbrel, 9 pair of cart wheels, 4 grindstones, and a pair of hand millstones (Stanard 1913:395-416). At the Mill Quarter were eight slaves and at the quarter called Scotland were 22. At Pinewoods Meadow were 22 slaves (Stanard 1913:395-416). Thus, at the time of Philip Ludwell III's death, Green Spring's quarters collectively comprised a substantial and productive working plantation. It is likely that the farming operations underway on Ludwell's other properties were managed in a similar manner (Appendix E).

The late Philip Ludwell III's estate inventory reveals that on March 25, 1767, there were 29 adult male slaves at Green Spring: Billey, Matt, Edmond, George, Charles, Bacons, Will, Adam, Sam, Marcus, Jemmy, Cupid, Simon, Jack, Scipio,

Sam, Billey, Nero, Pompey, Roger, Parriss, Horriss, Dick, Harry, Dick, Johnny Ralph, Toney, Guy, and Ned. A total of 13 boys were present there: Isaac, Aaron, James, Anthony, Joe, Roger, Paul, Cato, Cupid, Jacob, Mercury, Godfrey, and Sawney. The 22 adult female slaves at Green Spring included: Rachel, Daphney, Marcy, Nanny, Sukey, Betty, Margery, Sarah, Fay Chamber, Hannah, Winney, Mourning, Betty, Amey, Belinda, Hannah, Bess, Sally, Distimony, Fay, Silah, and Dinah. The 13 enslaved girls on the property were: Letty, Chloe, Grace, Polley, Ciceley, Nanny, Nell, Judith, Aggey, Sillah, Eadith, Lydia, and Chris (Tyler 1913:395-416).

On the decedent's Hot Water property were eight adult male slaves: Wil, Manuel, Peter Currier, Peter Fox, Tinker, Lott, Jack, and Damus. Also present were seven boys: Anthony, Lewis, Charles, Billey, Frank, Thomison, and Keziah. The decedent's slave women included: Sukey, Till, Beller, Fanny, Moll, Sarah, Tempey, Rachel, Amey, Letty, Sall, Betty, and Sukey. The enslaved girls on the Hot Water property were Rose, Judith, Phillis, and Lucy. At the quarter named Scotland were seven adult male slaves: George, Daniel, Vulcan, Gaby, Sam, Dick, and Robin. There were five enslaved boys: Peter, Toby, Isaac, Tom, and Jack. Also at Scotland were five slave women (Dinah, Beck, Crager, Silvy, and Phillis) plus five enslaved girls (Beck, Jane, Pheby, Judith, and Hester). At Ludwell's New (or Rich Neck) Quarter (1,024 acres near Williamsburg) were seven adult male slaves: Brewer, Ralph, Jemmy, George, Will, Tasso, and Lewis. The five enslaved boys on the property were Will, Anthony, Johnny, Stephen, and York. Adult females (of whom there were ten) included Grace, great Betty, Moll, Jenny, Betty, old Nanny, Belinda, Doll, Nanny, and Hester. There were two enslaved girls: Grace, Patt. Four adult male slaves lived at Cloverton (Cupid, Jack, Robin, and Colley) along with six boys (Solomon, Giles, Michael, Hannibal, Will, and Cupid). There were four adult females (Sarah, Juno, Sue, and Nanney), plus six girls (Winney, Fay, Chloe, Sukey, Nancey, and Sall). Philip Ludwell III's Archer's Hope property was home to three adult male slaves (Robin, Will, and Patrick) and two boys (Parsiss and Will). Adult female slaves (of whom there were six) included Sue, Moll, Fanny, Lucy, Bess, and Lucy Fox. At Pinewood Meadow were four adult male slaves: Phill, Harry, Duncan, and Abel. Also present were six boys: Kitt, Edmond, Dick, Mike, Joe, and Mallard. Enslaved adult females at Pinewood Meadow included Thomison, Sarah, Nanney, Eve, Phillis, and Mimey. The five girls who lived on the property were Phillis, Lydia, Betty, Eady, and Fanny. The three adult male slaves at Philip Ludwell III's Mill Quarter were named Jemmy, Mingo, and Simon. The enslaved boys there were Bob, James, and Charles. Only one woman was on hand: Milley. Also present was a girl named Molley. Rich Neck was the home to ten adult male slaves: Daniel, Tom, Guster, Harry, Jemmy, Tom, Peter, Shocker, John, and Bacon. Three boys (Ben, Nero, and Isham) also were present. Rich Neck's five adult female slaves included Hester, Judith, Jenny, Mary, and Dinah. Three girls (Nanny, Fanny, and Peg) also resided there (Tyler 1913:395-416).

Philip Ludwell III provided the slaves who occupied his quarters with a minimal amount of household equipment, such as an iron pot and grindstone, plus agricultural equipment such as grubbing hoes, broad and narrow hoes, axes, harrow teeth, iron wedges, and other essential tools. Most of his quarters also had an ox cart and gear. On the Hot Water plantation, there was a brass barreled gun, perhaps a defensive weapon furnished to a resident overseer (Tyler 1913:395-416).

In 1768 when James City County's tax assessments were made, that portion of Philip Ludwell III's estate which lay in James City Parish (which included Green Spring plantation and its quarters, plus the Rich Neck and Hot Water plantations) was credited with 126 tithable individuals. In 1769 the Ludwell estate paid taxes upon 120 tithables who lived in James City Parish (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1768-1769).

William and Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee

Because Philip Ludwell III's youngest daughter, Frances, died unmarried a little over a year after her father's demise, Frances's share of the estate

was divided between her two sisters, the surviving heirs. Hannah Philippa Ludwell, who had inherited Green Spring and her father's other landholdings on the west side of Powhatan Creek, married William Lee, a London merchant and the son of Virginia's acting governor. He seems to have relished the opportunity to manage his wife's property. The Lees continued to reside in Europe and relied upon William's brother, Richard Henry Lee, for advice on the management of Green Spring (Tyler 1897-1898:58; Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; Headley 1987:204; Shepperson 1942:42; Morton 1956:244).

At first, William Lee entrusted Green Spring to the care of Cary Wilkinson, a local farmer who had managed Philip Ludwell III's properties during his absence and was employed by his trustees, after his decease. The personal correspondence of William Lee, some of which has been preserved in letter-books, sheds a considerable amount of light upon how Green Spring was managed during the years Hannah Philippa and William Lee lived abroad. On July 7, 1770, Richard Henry Lee wrote to his brother, William, that when the late Philip Ludwell III's estate was divided between his two daughters, Hannah Philippa received:

> *The whole land west of Powhatan [Swamp] ... by will together with 164 slaves… . Out of the 164 slaves mentioned above but 59 are crop negroes. I mean exclusive of boys. Twelve are house servants, 4 carpenters, one a wheelwright, two shoemakers, three gardeners and hostlers… . The woolens sent in last year for your people are through [worn out]- light and insufficient. Good Welch cotton seems upon the whole to answer best. The weeding hoes were good for nothing-much loss is sustained from not having proper instruments of husbandry [Stanard 1929:293-294].*[94]

A tabulation made in 1770, when the late Philip Ludwell III's estate was divided between his two surviving daughters, lists his slaves by name, along with their occupations. It also provides a great deal of insight into the wide range of activities carried out on the decedent's property. At Green Spring were Billy, Mat, Jack and Mercury, who were carpenters, and Jacob who was a sawyer. Scipio, Will, and a boy named Paul were wheelwrights. Anthony was employed as a blacksmith. There were several gardeners: Sam, Marcus, and John Ralph, who also was a ditcher (ditch-digger). Cupid and Godfrey were shoemakers and Guy was a hostler, or stableman. Tommy was a footman. The rest of Philip Ludwell III's male slaves at Green Spring (both men and boys) and some of the females (some of the women and all of the girls) were classified as "planters" or field hands. The adult female slaves with specialized skills included Daphne (the cook), Sarah and Fay (dairy maids), Mary, Nanny and Winny (who spun and sewed), Sukey and Margery (housemaids), and Fay (a midwife). The information on Philip Ludwell III's Green Spring property was collected by Griffin Fauntleroy. Virtually all of the slaves at Scotland, Cloverton, and Pinewood Meadow, who were under the supervision of overseer Edmund Saunders, were planters. Likewise, all of the slaves on the Hot Water tract, who were under the care of overseer Richard Branch, were classified as planters. Several of the Ludwell slaves were disabled. At Green Spring was Winny, a spinner and seamstress, who was lame. At Pinewood Meadow was Harry, a planter, who was blind. Despite his handicap, he was the most valuable planter on the property. Also at Pinewood Meadow was Phillis, who reportedly "got no fingers or toes." Despite her disability (perhaps a result of the dismemberment or maiming to which habitual runaways were subjected) she was a highly valued planter (Corbin et al. 1770-1774).

Hardly had William Lee taken custody of his wife's Virginia properties than he commenced dispatching lengthy letters to Cary Wilkinson, in which he described exactly how he wanted his farming operations to be run. Wilkinson was to make an accurate annual inventory of the slaves and livestock that were on the Lee acreage, plus an ac-

[94] Reference was made to the fact that in order to make an equitable distribution of the Ludwell estate, "a few negros from G.S." were given to Lucy Paradise. William Lee would have preferred to relinquish his interest in his late father-in-law's houses in the city of Williamsburg.

count of any profits derived from hiring out skilled slaves or leasing land to tenants. Lee furnished his overseer with detailed instructions on how to manage the plantation's slaves. Wilkinson was to "let some of the girls & infirm old women be taught to spin flax & kept constantly at it, as flax grows very well in every part of Virginia & is much more worth your regard than cotton." Young slaves were to be made apprentices to the older ones trained in trades. He added that since there was no smith on his property, "I think you sh'd directly put two of the most ingenious & likely young fellows of 16 or 17 years old 'prentices for 3 or 4 years to the best Country blacksmith that you have." Lee said he'd heard that traveling preachers had "put most of my Negroes crazy with their New Light and their New Jerusalem," a reference to his slaves' participation in local evangelistic meetings. He therefore proposed rewarding slaves who attended local parish services by giving them a larger food allowance or an extra shirt (Shepperson 1942:49-51).

Cary Wilkinson, who had received a batch of quarrelsome letters from his employer, responded by pointing out some of Lee's own shortcomings. He said "If the Hoes you sent last year had been good we might have dun with fuer [fewer] this year but the largest Hoes was No. 2 which was fit for nun but Boys, they wore out before the Crop was finnished so that we had no Hoes to work this Spring." He closed by submitting his resignation. Thus, Cary Wilkinson, who had managed Philip Ludwell III's properties for at least a decade, departed from Green Spring. Although Lee sent Wilkinson what he believed was a conciliatory letter, hoping to persuade him to stay on, and he shipped linens, woolens, blankets, hose, thread, and sifters for the slaves at Green Spring, it was too little too late (Shepperson 1942:54,56-57; Lee, March 20, 1771).[95]

Cary Wilkinson's departure most likely caused some upheaval in the lives of the slaves who had been under his charge, if only because his replacement probably had a somewhat different management style. On August 8, 1771, Edmond Bacon, who succeeded Wilkinson as overseer, advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for a runaway slave named Jenny. By January 3, 1775, Edmond Bacon had been replaced by George Fauntleroy. William Lee, when writing to a business contact in Ostend, Belgium, who appears to have been sending supplies to Green Spring, stated that:

> *George Fauntleroy should be kept in the strictest order. The servants you must [provide for as] well as you can, but the women at 4 years will not pay their passage,*[96] *especially Mrs. Merrit, who is I suppose, mistress or wife to the famous Amos Merrit. The bedding, etc. that are not wanting on the passage by all means contrive to my Estate for I cannot send anything for its use this year; write to Fauntleroy and tell him he must make the best shift he can, as I will not permit anything to be bo't [bought] in the Country [Stanard 1929:295].*

The following month he wrote to the same man, asking what he'd heard from Green Spring and instructing him to "take care of the Trents particularly" (Stanard 1929:295).

A February 10, 1775, letter William Lee wrote to his brother, Richard Henry, reveals that his concern stemmed from the manner in which his overseer, George Fauntleroy, was managing Green Spring. He said:

> *This year Fauntleroy tells me I am to expect little Tobo and no money, at the same time talks of buying goods in the Country besides sending a much larger Invoice than was ever before demanded by the Estate, tho' the negroes have decreased in No. ever since they were divided. All this surely requires some attention else in a little time the only use of the Estate will be to support Mr. F. like a gentleman [Stanard 1929:295-296].*

By June 28, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, as his brother's agent, had discharged George Fauntleroy and placed the following advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*:

[95] Wilkinson continued to serve as overseer for John Paradise, whose wife, Lucy Ludwell, had inherited Rich Neck.

[96] This suggests that Lee was importing indentured servants for Green Spring.

Wanted: a steward for the estate of Mr. Alderman Lee of Greenspring, near Williamsburg. As the business is considerable and the trust great, any person willing to undertake the same will meet with the most generous and satisfactory encouragement by applying to Thomas Ludwell Lee, Esq., of Belleview in Stafford or to the subscriber at Chantilly in Westmoreland. Richard Henry Lee [Purdie, June 28, 1776].

Subsequent correspondence indicates, however, that a new overseer was not found until the following spring, by which time a man named John Ellis was filling the position. Again, the arrival of a new overseer appears to have disrupted the lives of the plantation's slaves for in April 1777 Ellis placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, in an attempt to recover a runaway slave (Purdie, April 11, 1777).

William Lee apparently was satisfied with the way John Ellis carried out his duties as Green Spring's farm manager, for on September 1, 1777, he wrote brother, Richard Henry, that although

Fauntleroy has turned out as I always expected ... I hope Ellis will do well, as the specimen of the accounts he has sent show an attention to things that have not been regarded before. I am fully sensible from my own experience how much your private interest must have suffered by your application to Public Concerns, therefore instead of complaining I have to thank you heartily for what you have done for me [Stanard 1929:296-297].

In January 1778, when Richard Henry Lee was in Williamsburg attending meetings of the assembly, he visited Green Spring to check on conditions there. Favorably impressed with what he saw, he concluded that it would be advantageous for Green Spring's overseer, John Ellis, to take on the management of Rich Neck, operating the two plantations jointly. Later, when Richard Henry Lee put his thoughts in writing, he pointed out that both estates traditionally had been under the same management and that "from their situation [are] capable of cooperating and assisting each other."[97] He told William that he had instructed John Ellis to communicate with him directly on the subject (Maxwell 1848:179-180). Richard Henry Lee commented that:

... considering the most infamous condition Fauntleroy left everything here, I think Ellis has done well and is going to do much better. I can assure you that as far as I can judge you have got a prize in him and I hope to soon see your affairs here in a flourishing condition. To the things Ellis has written for, I think you should add a small box of well assorted medicines for the use of your people. This is certainly a very sickly place and medicine here is now so scarce and so excessively dear, that in this way they are without remedy [Stanard 1929:297-298].

On February 15, 1778 William Lee informed his brother, Richard Henry, that:

With respect to the affairs at Green Spring ... I wish particular attention may be paid to rearing young negroes and taking care of those grown up, that the number may be increased as much as possible; also putting several of the most promising and ingenious Lads apprentices to different Trades; such as Carpenters, Coopers, Wheelwrights, Sawyers, Shipwrights, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Shoemakers and Blacksmiths; some women also should be taught to weave [Stanard 1929:298-299].

In June 1778 William Lee wrote John Ellis that he hoped that he would be able to make the plantation profitable, for it had suffered losses during the last three years. He told Ellis to put some of the slave boys to work as apprentices, perhaps as house-joiners, bricklayers and ship carpenters, and noted that "The women with child should never be hard worked or oppressed, and the children should always be plentifully fed and have necessary clothing. I wish them all to be treated as human beings whom Heaven has placed under my care" (Stanard 1929:299). By the end of 1778, William Lee had become discouraged and he asked his brother to sell all of the Virginia properties his wife had inherited, including Green Spring. However, he said that he wanted the plantation sold in its entirety or not

[97] As Rich Neck was owned by Lucy Ludwell Paradise and her husband, John, who like William Lee, were living abroad, Richard Henry Lee was proposing a joint business venture.

at all (Church 1984:95,298; Shepperson 1942:136).

Nonetheless, Green Spring plantation was not sold, for conditions in Virginia and the course of the American Revolution swept aside William Lee's carefully laid plans. During late Spring 1781, British General Charles Lord Cornwallis and his men joined forces with those of General William Phillips. They pressed their offensive against the Allies, who retreated down the James-York peninsula. Finally, on June 26th the two armies faced off at Spencer's Plantation, not far from Green Spring and William Lee's Hot Water tract. It was the prelude to a major battle that occurred at Green Spring plantation only two weeks later (Hatch 1945:170-196).

On June 30, 1781 Cornwallis informed his superiors that in accord with orders, he was withdrawing from Williamsburg to Jamestown, so that his men could cross the James and head for Portsmouth, where they could set sail for New York. By July 4th, the main body of the British Army was encamped on the mainland near Jamestown Island. Part of the land they occupied was the Ambler plantation (Hatch 1945:170-196). One of Cornwallis's men bribed "a white man and a negro to go out and if they met with any American detachments, to inform them that the British army, except a small portion of it, had crossed the river" (Maxwell 1853:202-203). Lafayette, unaware that he had fallen prey to false intelligence data, drew closer to the British position, so that he could attack the relatively few British troops he presumed had been left behind. When he arrived at Green Spring and went to a vantage point on the bank of the James, he learned that the British had not crossed the river after all, and that he had been tricked. The Allies narrowly escaped with their lives (Hatch 1945:170-196; Bruce 1893-1894:2).

Two cartographers in Rochambeau's Army prepared maps that include Jamestown Island and the terrain over which the Battle of Green Spring was fought. D'Abboville (1781) identified the Green Spring property by name and indicated that in 1781 much of the plantation was densely wooded. Jean-Nicholas Desandrouins (1781), one of D'Abboville's contemporaries, produced a map upon which he indicated that the L-shaped manor house was surrounded by a cluster of 13 outbuildings. An elaborately curved wall emanated from each of the Green Spring mansion's front corners. In front of those walls was a line of advance buildings. A row of buildings also flanked the rear of the mansion and a solitary structure was positioned on a point overlooking Powhatan Swamp. A considerable distance to the rear of the domestic complex were two other buildings. Some of these structures probably were occupied by William Lee's servants and slaves. To the east of Green Spring was the Wilkinson plantation, home of Lee's first overseer, Cary Wilkinson (Desandrouins 1781).

On July 15, 1781, Richard Henry Lee informed his brother, William, that he was enclosing an account prepared by Mr. Valentine, who had succeeded the late John Ellis. He added

> *... that every precaution for security was taken that could have been which has occasioned your loss to be so much less than that of others in similar circumstances &c. Your neighbors, Colo. Taliaferro and Colo. Travis*[98]
>
> *lost every slave they had in the world and Mr. Paradise has lost all his but one.*[99] *This has been the general case of all those who were near the enemy… . It would have been next to an impossibility to have prevented your loss, for reasons that you shall know hereafter. The enemies Generals here appear to carry on the war much more upon views of private plunder and enriching individuals than upon any plan of national advantage… . the British General has been traversing an undefended part of Virginia, with an Army employed in taking off Negroes, plate, &c. and destroying Corn, Cattle and Tobo. [Ballach 1911-1914:II:242-244].*

Thus, William Lee's losses, though substantial, apparently weren't as severe as his neighbors'.

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[98] Taliaferro then owned Powhatan Plantation, whereas Travis possessed the northeastern part of Jamestown Island and Piney Grove (what became the Governor's Land At Two Rivers subdivision).

[99] John Paradise's wife, Lucy, had inherited Rich Neck.

In October 1781 William Lee's friend, Ralph Izard of South Carolina, paid a visit to Green Spring even though the Lees were still living abroad. On October 30, he sent a note to his wife and enclosed a letter from Green Spring's overseer, Mr. Valentine, that was to be forwarded to William Lee. Izard told his wife that:

> *L'd Cornwallis & his plundering associates had robbed Mr. W. Lee of between 60 & 70 negroes. Half of them are recovered, but I fear the others are lost [Stanard 1901:24-25].*

Izard said that "Mr. Valentine, the manager, has behaved with the utmost civility & attention & seems to be a very honest, good sort of man" (Stanard 1901:24-25; 1929:292). In November 1782 William Lee thanked Richard Henry's son, Thomas, for "getting back so many of our Negroes as you assisted Mr. Valentine to recover after the Siege of Yorktown" (Stanard 1930:38-39).

In 1782, the year James City County's land and personal property tax rolls commenced being compiled, William Lee was credited with 7,107½ acres, an aggregate that included Green Spring, plus the outlying quarters on the west side of Powhatan Creek that his wife had inherited from her father. The size of Lee's landholdings remained constant through 1793. In 1782 William Lee, who was then residing in Brussels, paid taxes upon 93 slaves, 8 horses, 124 cattle and 4 free tithables, i.e., Mr. Valentine and the men who would have assisted him in managing Green Spring and the Lees' subsidiary farms (James City Land Tax Lists 1782-1793; Personal Property Tax Lists 1782).

Early in 1783 William Lee wrote to Mr. Valentine at Green Spring, and asked how many slaves, cattle, sheep, and horses were there. He also told his overseer to make note of the slaves' ages and whether they were field workers or house servants (Stanard 1930:39). One of Valentine's duties as overseer was to see that William Lee's slaves received adequate medical attention. The slaves at Green Spring were under the care of Dr. John Galt of Williamsburg, whose account book lists a house call he made there on December 24, 1782 (Tyler 1899-1900:261).

William Lee arrived in Virginia in September 1783. He kept Mr. Valentine (the overseer) in his employ and occasionally used him as his agent (Lee, October 14, 1783; Stanard 1930:43). In 1784 William Lee paid personal property tax upon 55 tithables and 42 non-tithables, plus 7 horses and 112 cattle. Tax records for 1785 reveal that he was then employing four men as farm managers: Thomas Williams, Francis Thompson, John Kite, and Thomas Wilson Sr. Entrusted to their care were 48 slaves over the age of 16; 41 slaves who were less than 16; 9 horses, and 109 cattle. By 1786 Lee may have commenced leasing his plantation quarters to tenants or allowed his former overseers to work those farms as sharecroppers, for the tax rolls list him as the only free white adult male tithe for whom he paid personal property taxes. Personal property tax lists for 1785 and 1786 include the names of William Lee's slaves. Throughout the next decade, William Lee was a prosperous gentleman farmer, for the number of slaves in his possession, which were numerous, remained relatively constant (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784-1787) (Appendix F). However, Lee was somewhat dissatisfied with his accommodations at Green Spring and told Williamsburg merchant Samuel Beale that if he were still interested in buying or renting his estate, "'tis possible we may agree on either plan. The lands are valuable and all improvable in skillful hands and the Negroes are [as] likely and ingenious as any set in this Country" (Stanard 1930:44).

The personal property tax rolls for 1784, 1785 and 1786 list William Lee's slaves by name. In 1784, Lee's 55 tithable slaves were: John, Ralph, Guy, Joe, Aaron, Paul, Julius, Jack, Jacob, Cupid, Hanna, Joe, James, Charles, Frank, James, Mary, Betty, Polly, Judy, Letty, Edy, Alis, Tiller, Nancy, Liddy, Phillis, Robin, Jiles, Isaac, Michael, Judah, Crager, Judy, Edy, Luddia, James, Damus, Edmond, Robin, Billy, Tom, Milly, Sue, Temp, Fanny, Tinker, Roger, Rachel, Harry, Moll, Nina, Killalook, Sall, and Phillis. His 44 non-tithable slaves were: Sarah, Peggy, Jamy, Ned, John, Kitty, Charles, Betty, Sarah, Violet, Moll, Anthony, Daphne, Sukey, Dinah, Amey, Harry, Beck,

Mercing, Humphrey, Daniel, Moll, Sam, Joshua, Peter, Will, Cate, Nanny, Grace, Beck, Hannah, Phado, Ally, Nancy, Betty, Keziah, Amey, Milly, Clarisa, Hannah, Nancy, Lily, John, and Swener. In 1785, the tax assessor noted that William Lee had 48 tithable slaves: Sep [blot], Paul, Joe, Aaron, Guy, James, John, Ralph, Cupid, Horace, Joe, Tom, Charles, Mary, Polly, Betty, Clarissa, Sarah, Judah, Letty, Eady, Siller, Lyddia, Robin, Jiles, Isaac, Michael, Creager, Judah, Eady, Judah, James, Damus, Jenny, Robin, Edmund, Billy, Ben, Tinker, Rachel, Milly, Temp, Sukey, Fanny, Kitt, Lewis, Phillis, Sall, Lyddia, and Phillis; 41 non-tithable slaves: James, Ned, Peggy, Anthony, Charles, [stain], Daphne, Mary, Sarah, Jukey, John, Harry, Buck, Beck, Amey, Keziah, Daniel, Humphrey, Matt, Hannah, Peter, Cate, Davey, Jessee, Nancy, Grace, Phebe, Elly, Billy, Sam, Minney, Betty, Joshua, Milly, Hannah, Cresses, Nancy, Johnny, Lebinah, and Blina. In 1786, Lee had 50 tithable slaves: Scipio, Paul, Jacob, Jack, James, Frank, Joe, Aaron, Guy, James, John, Cupid, Horace, Tom, Joe, Kitt, Lenny, Robin, Jiles, Isaac, Michael, James, Robin, Tinker, Damas, Billy, Edmund, Mary, Polly, Betty, Lydia, Judy, Letty, Sillah, Phillis, Eady, Crager, Judy, Milly, Fanny, Rachel, Temp, Sukey, Ludia, Amey, Phillis, Sall, Eady, and Nancy. He also had 44 non-tithables: Judy, Humphrey, Daniel, Jenny, Matt, Peter, Sarah, Nanny, Kate, Sukey, Joshua, Sam, Betty, Violet, Elly, Grace, Dinah, China, Matt, Sarah, Suckey, Nanny, Phoebe, Will, Anthony, Daphney, Daniel, Sam, Betty, Kitty, Hannah, John, Peggy, Abell, Lucy, Harry, Buck, Amey, L[blot], Moses, Milly, Lydia, Cressy, Hannah, and Buck (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784-1786).

When the lists of slaves extracted from personal property tax rolls are compared, it is found that between 1784 and 1786, there was an approximately 20 percent of turnover in the population of William Lee's slaves. This figure would include attrition that was attributable to deaths, sales, and runaways. It is uncertain how many of the 99 slaves credited to William Lee in 1784 had belonged to the late Philip Ludwell III in 1767. However, when the names listed in personal property tax rolls for 1784 are compared with the names of the slaves mentioned in Ludwell's 1770 estate settlement, at least 67 names are replicated. This raises the possibility that Lee retained more than two-thirds of the slaves his late wife had inherited from her father.[100]

Tax records for 1792-1793 reveal that during 1792 William Lee increased his landholdings by 1,238 acres. It was then that he purchased part of the Governor's Land, which had devolved to the College of William and Mary. Two years later he enhanced the size of Green Spring by purchasing some acreage from the executors of his deceased neighbor, Major John Warburton (Lee, December 29, 1794). Thus, it appears that he bought all of the late John Warburton's 300 acre estate, which was located on the west side of Deep Creek and abutted the Pine Meadows quarter (Goodall [ca. 1770). In 1795 the tax assessor credited Lee with Warburton's 300 acre estate plus another 50 acre parcel (James City County Land Tax Lists 1792-1795). During the early-to-mid 1790s William Lee had between 59 and 66 slaves that were deemed taxable (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1790-1795).

[100] The Rich Neck slaves were excluded from this calculation, as they were split off and assigned to Lucy Ludwell Paradise.

Chapter 15.
1793-1803: Steps Along the Path to Freedom

Maintaining the Old Social Order

In December 1797 Virginia's General Assembly enacted legislation that amplified the summary legal code passed five years earlier. Henceforth, every free person who offered advice or assistance to a slave by enabling him or her to rebel or kill another person, was to be deemed a felon ineligible to enter a plea for the benefit of clergy. Free whites who enabled slaves to hide from their owner or overseer were to be fined; free blacks and free mulattoes were to be fined and then sentenced to a public whipping. Members of societies supporting the abolition of slavery were excluded from serving upon juries trying cases that involved slaves seeking freedom. Free blacks and mulattoes who loaned their registration certificates to enslaved blacks so that they could run away were to be adjudged felons and subjected to the appropriate penalty. Mariners who planned to transport blacks or mulattoes out of Virginia (whether free or enslaved) were obliged to present them to a court magistrate, along with documentation certifying that they were free. Those who disobeyed the law were to be fined and could be sued by the owner of any slave they transported out of Virginia.[101] Another new law that was passed in December 1797 forbade those who procured sales licenses to allow blacks and mulattoes (whether enslaved or free) to sell goods on their behalf. In 1801 the law was modified to say that people could buy commodities from slaves only with the written consent of their owner or overseer. A penalty was applied if permissible sales transactions took place on Sunday. In 1798 the assembly declared it a felony to steal someone else's slave and anyone who did so was subject to the death penalty without benefit of clergy. It was noted, however, that as soon as the governor announced that the penitentiary was "fit to receive criminals," anyone who stole a slave was to be confined there no less than three years but no more than eight. In 1800 the sentence was changed to no less than one year but no more than ten (Shepherd 1970:II:76-78, 94, 147-148, 302, 326).

In 1800 when the state legislature convened, the delegates decided that slaves who had been sentenced to death for conspiracy or leading an insurrection would be transported out of the colony and sold. The disposition of a slave by that means would set aside his death sentence; however, if he ever returned to Virginia, the death sentence was to be reinstated. Anyone whose slave was transported out of the colony was to be compensated for his or her loss (Shepherd 1970:II:279-280, 314).

The Right of African Americans to Congregate

In December 1803 some legislation presented to the General Assembly dealt with the fact that "it is a common practice in many places within this Commonwealth for slaves to assemble in considerable numbers" in meetinghouses and churches at night. As people were somewhat uneasy about large groups of blacks gathering, "which may be productive of considerable evil to the community," such meetings were prohibited and local law enforcement officials had the right to disperse such gatherings and punish their participants. In December 1804 the new law was modified, however, for lawmakers had realized that the 1803 act would have made it illegal for blacks to meet in groups to attend worship services. Therefore, it was stipulated that "nothing in the said act … shall be so con-

[101] This law was updated in December 1804 and the amount of the fine was raised (Shepherd 1970:III:123).

strued as to prevent the masters or owners of slaves" from permitting them from taking their slaves to church or allowing blacks to gather for religious worship as long as services were conducted by "a regularly ordained, or licensed, white minister" (Shepherd 1970:III:108, 125). Therefore, it would have been illegal for blacks to assemble to participate in services or rites conducted by black religious leaders.

Deprivation of the Right to Read and Write

In December 1804 a newly formulated law specified that orphaned black and mulatto children, when entrusted to the care of county Overseers of the Poor, were not to be taught to read and write, if such children were bound out (Shepherd 1970:III:124). These restrictions on literacy would have deprived black and mulatto youngsters of an important means of becoming self-supporting when they became adults.

The Emancipation of Slaves After January 25, 1806

Official records reveal that in 1804 there were 606 free blacks and mulattoes in York and James City Counties (Palmer 1968:IX:443). Statewide, their numbers were growing rapidly. In December 1805, when the General Assembly convened, its delegates articulated their concern about the increasing numbers of emancipated slaves in the state. The act they devised was passed in January 1806. It required all slaves who were emancipated after the act's passage to leave the state of Virginia within 12 months or "forfeit all such right." Moreover, former slaves who failed to leave the state "may be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor of any county or corporation in which he or she shall be found" (Shepherd 1970:III:251-253). Thus, newly freed slaves would be re-enslaved if they failed to leave Virginia.

Fortunately, passage of the new law postdated the emancipation of the slaves who had belonged to William Lee's son and heir, William Ludwell Lee of Green Spring. On July 14, 1802, when the latter made his will, he instructed his executors to free his slaves on January 1st of the year following his death. He also made provisions for their support and for those under age 18 to be sent out-of-state, where they could receive an education (Fredericksburg Circuit Court Records: File No. 124). Lee died on January 24, 1803, and his will was recorded on March 14th. Thus, from his slaves' perspective, the timing of his death was propitious (see ahead).

Young William Ludwell Lee may have been heavily influenced by his uncle, Dr. Arthur Lee, an outspoken advocate of abolition. Dr. Lee, a physician and the son of Thomas and Hannah Ludwell Lee, was educated in Europe. When he returned to Virginia in 1766, he settled in Williamsburg. On March 19, 1767, an editorial by Dr. Lee was published in the *Virginia Gazette*. In it, he argued eloquently that "slavery is in violation of justice and religion" (McMaster 1972:141-157).

Chapter 16. Microcosms: The Travis and Ambler Plantations, Urban Jamestown, and Green Spring

The Travis Plantation

Champion Travis

As noted above, in 1779 when Edward Champion Travis died, all of his James City County property (including his plantation and townstead on Jamestown Island and his Piney Grove acreage) descended to his son, Champion (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458). Between 1788 and 1793 Champion Travis was credited with 16 to 33 slaves and less than a dozen horses. Also in his possession was a coach (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1788-1793).

The balance of power between slave and master was delicate and many whites feared that blacks, who outnumbered them by a substantial two-to-one margin, would rise up in defiance. Occasionally, they did. Sometimes, they simply fought back, despite almost inevitable consequences.

On May 31, 1793, Daphne and Nelly, two of Champion Travis's slaves, allegedly attacked and killed their overseer, Joel Gathright, on Jamestown Island. According to the testimony provided by two African American boys, who were present when the incident occurred and "saw the greater part of the transaction," they were leading the oxen that pulled the plows Daphne and Nelly were using to till the soil. When Joel Gathright, the overseer, came on the scene "at his usual time," he commenced berating Nelly for leaving a gate open, which had allowed sheep to get into a corn field. When Nelly denied it and "used some impertinent language," the overseer began flailing her with a small cane. Despite her pregnancy, she abandoned her plow and fled from his blows. However, Nelly stumbled and fell to the ground, whereupon Gathright struck her repeatedly. When she regained her footing, she began to fight back, at which point Daphne joined in the fray. Together, the two women seized Gathright and threw him to the ground and began beating him with their fists and some sticks. According to the two boys, Gathright repeatedly tried to get to his feet, to escape the women's blows, and asked if they intended to kill him. Finally, he ordered one of the boys to go to a remote part of the field, where some male slaves were working, to bring one of them to his assistance. A few minutes later, he sent the other boy. By the time the two boys returned, Daphne and Nelly had fled and "an old negro man belonging to Col. Travis assisted to raise the overseer from the ground, who soon after expired." Another witness who testified against Daphne and Nelly was "an old negro man, who kept a mill in the neighborhood of Col. Travis's plantation." He said that on the day in question, the two women "passed the mill on their way to Williamsburg." He testified that when he asked the women where they were going, "they replied that they had whipped their overseer, and were going to town to their master." The elderly miller urged them to go on, "lest the overseer should overtake them." They admitted that they had left him unable to move and Daphne asked if a woman could be hanged for killing a man. According to James City County coroner James Shields, the left side of Gathright's skull had been crushed with a large stone, which was found close to his body, and he had received a severe blow to his back, in the vicinity of his kidneys. When an inquisition was held at Jamestown on June 1, 1793, the consensus was

that Daphne and Nelly, who had not had "God before their Eyes" and were "moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil," should be indicted and brought to trial. The slave women, who were tried separately by James City County's court justices without legal representation, were allowed to question those testifying against them. Nelly claimed that she was innocent and asked the court for mercy. Ultimately, however, both women were found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang. Daphne was led to the gallows on July 19th but Nelly's execution was delayed until October 4th, after she had given birth. As was customary in a capital crime, the slaves' owner was compensated for their value as personal property. Nelly was valued at 50 pounds and Daphne at 60 (Palmer 1968:VI:461-465, 521, 532-533, 543).

The circumstances surrounding Nelly and Daphne's case apparently aroused some public sympathy, for in September 1793 a group of neighborhood men asked Governor Henry Lee to commute Nelly's sentence.[102] But simultaneously, another group of citizens filed a counter-petition, recommending that clemency be denied. William Lee of Green Spring, who favored execution, contended that "the alarming commotions in this neighborhood and the dangerous example of such a murder" might inspire other slaves to rise up against their owners. The governor (William Lee's brother) agreed and postponed Nelly's hanging only long enough for her baby to be born (Palmer 1968:VI:521, 532-533, 543). The circumstances surrounding this tragic and emotionally-charged case are open to conjecture.

From 1794 through 1796 Champion Travis had a substantial number of slaves on his James City County property, where two or three free white male tithes were located. However, from 1797 on, the number of slaves in Travis's possession began to dwindle. Even after he disposed of his Piney Grove tract in 1800-1801, he failed to enhance his investment at Jamestown, where there were no free white males of tithable age upon his 802$^{3}/_{4}$ acres. In 1810 Champion Travis died and the following year the names of his sons, Samuel and Robert, commenced being listed in the personal property tax rolls. Meanwhile, his plantation was attributed to his estate. Finally, in 1813 Robert's name disappeared from the personal property tax rolls and Samuel Travis commenced being credited with approximately a dozen slaves (James City County Land Tax Lists 1782-1821; Personal Property Tax Lists 1794-1818). The Travis plantation passed out of the family in 1830 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1830-1831).

The Ambler Plantation

John Ambler II and son Edward Ambler II

Before the close of the eighteenth century John Ambler II undertook the construction of a log-and-stone causeway that connected Jamestown Island to the mainland, at the mouth of Sandy Bay. John Jaquelin Ambler said that his father "encountered great cost and trouble and personal exposure" in building the causeway and failed to complete it because he moved away. The causeway, though incomplete, was functional in 1798 (Ambler 1828; Barraud 1798). It is very likely that much (if not all) of the work on the causeway was done by slave labor.

In January 1800 John Ambler II hired Henry Taylor to oversee his Jamestown Island plantation. Taylor's one year contract required him to have Ambler's slaves "rise early and to do each day as good a days work as the weather and their circumstances permit." He was to take good care of his employer's livestock and crops and if he performed his duties satisfactorily, he was allowed to have $^{1}/_{12}$ of all the grain produced on the plantation, with the exception of corn. He also was entitled to $^{1}/_{12}$ of all the cider, cotton and tobacco produced on his employer's property (Ambler Family 1770-1860) (Appendix G). The wording of Henry Taylor's contract implies that Ambler expected to spend less time at Jamestown. John Ambler II's accounts for 1800 contain a notation

[102] This raises the possibility that Gathright was known as a cruel overseer.

that he received funds from the ferry that ran from Jamestown to Swann's Point, which included use of his boat and "Boater Bob, his man, and 2 horses" (Ambler Family 1770-1860).

If John Jaquelin Ambler's family history is accurate, John Ambler II's decision to take a less active role in the management of his plantation at Jamestown coincided with his 1799 marriage to Catherine Bush Norton. The writer said "Though Jamestown was the home to which the third Mrs. Ambler was carried, the family only passed the winters here. The summers were all spent in the town of Winchester" (Ambler 1826:59-60; 1828). Personal property tax rolls indicate that although there were 3 free white males of tithable age at Jamestown in 1800 and 1801, in 1802 there were none. Likewise, the number of slaves declined from 45 who were age 12 or older, to 21 (James City Personal Property Tax Lists 1800-1802).

Plantation account books associated with the Ambler property in Amherst County include copies of two overseers' contracts. They stipulate that the overseer was to require the slaves to keep their houses clean and tightly covered (roofed); to refrain from entertaining "unnecessary company" or to allow relatives or friends to reside upon the Ambler property; to provide the slaves with proper clothing and nursing care when sick; to provide the livestock with adequate care; and to cultivate and improve the land as the Amblers' saw fit (Ambler 1770-1860). Personal property tax rolls reveal that in 1809 Edward Ambler II commenced residing at Jamestown, where he had 28 slaves age 16 or older and 6 who were between 12 and 16. He also had 7 horses in his possession and by 1810 he was credited with a two-wheeled carriage (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1809-1810).

According to John Jaquelin Ambler, when his half-brother, Edward II, was old enough, he began attending the College of William and Mary. He said that as soon as Edward II came of age, their father gave him the Jamestown plantation and 40 to 50 slaves (Ambler 1826:65; 1828). As real estate tax rolls indicate that John Ambler II retained the title to his family's ancestral estate until 1815, he may have given son Edward II possession (but not outright ownership) of his acreage, slaves and livestock on Jamestown Island (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815). Edward Ambler II attained his majority in 1804, five years before the tax assessor began to credit him with slaves (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1804-1809). In 1815 the assessor noted that 900 acres "was deeded to Edward Ambler by John Ambler" who kept his 375 acre farm on the mainland (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815). According to John Jaquelin Ambler, Edward Ambler II resided at Jamestown until the War of 1812 began. He disposed of the property in 1821 (Ambler 1826:65; James City County Land Tax Lists 1819-1821).

The Ambler Farm on the Mainland

John Ambler II and daughter Mary Ambler Smith

John Ambler II reportedly gave life-rights to the farm known as "The Maine" or "Amblers" to his married daughter, Mary Ambler Smith, the wife of John Hill Smith, a Williamsburg lawyer. The Smiths were in possession of the property in 1832. Although family historian John Jaquelin Ambler said that when the Smith couple fell upon hard times, they were obliged to sell their property, real estate tax rolls indicate that John Ambler II never relinquished outright ownership of it. In 1839 it passed out of the family (Ambler 1826:50-51; James City County Land Tax Lists 1783-1861).

Miscellaneous Lots in Urban Jamestown

During the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century there were a few lots within Study Units 1 and 4 that did not belong to the Amblers or the Travises. At least three families owned lots in the New Towne: Philip Ludwell III's heirs, John Parke Custis, and Thomas Harris. The Burwells may have constituted a fourth. Although the Ludwell and Burwell (Bacon) lot locations have been identified, it is uncertain where those belonging to Custis and

Harris were situated. In time, most of the lots that belonged to absentee owners (except for the parish churchyard) probably became part of the Ambler plantation or the Travis townstead. Some may have been bought for back taxes, or simply been abandoned property.

The Ludwell Lots

In 1771 William Lee and his wife, Hannah Philippa, daughter and heir of the late Philip Ludwell III, came into possession of two lots that her father had owned in Jamestown, one of which was described as "improved." The improved lot may have enveloped the eastern end of Structure 115 (Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D, Bays 3 and 4), which was acquired by Philip Ludwell II after being rebuilt. The unimproved lot probably adjoined the ruinous remains of Bays 2, 3 and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, which Philip Ludwell I patented in 1694. Both properties (unless sold) would have descended to Philip Ludwell III and his heirs. In 1771 William and Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee, who were living abroad, authorized their trustees to lease the Jamestown lots she had inherited for up to 21 years or three lives (Lee et al. 1771). It is, therefore, unlikely that Lee slaves or servants were associated with that property.

When Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee died in 1784, husband William Lee inherited her property. At his death, which occurred on June 27, 1795, the Ludwell lots in Jamestown descended to his 22-year-old son, William Ludwell Lee (Fredericksburg Circuit Court 1796). It is uncertain whether young Lee disposed of his lots in Jamestown before his own demise in 1803 (Palmer 1968:VIII:497, 507; Mumford 1921:VI:163-164). He may have sold them when raising the funds he needed to build a new house at Green Spring.

The Harris Lot or Lots

An advertisement in the July 2, 1772, edition of the *Virginia Gazette* announced that William Davis's personal belongings were to be offered for sale in Jamestown at the late Thomas Harris's house. It stated:

> *To be sold on Wednesday the 15th Instant (July) at the late Dwellinghouse of Thomas Harris, deceased, in Jamestown: All the estate of William Davis, deceased, consisting of household and kitchen furniture, such as beds, chairs, tables &c. Also a Country sloop, with her rigging, sails, &c., one large and one small boat, a negro woman, and sixteen shoats. Credit will be allowed till the 1th of January next for all sums above 25 shillings, the purchasers giving bond, with approved security to William Perkinson, administrator [Purdie and Dixon, July 2, 1772].*

The late William Davis's possession of a sloop and boat suggests that the property he was renting was on or near the waterfront. As the Amblers and Travises monopolized Jamestown Island's frontage on the Back River and almost all of that on the James, it is likely that the Harris property was situated in Study Unit 4, within the New Towne. However, its location is unknown. At this time, nothing more is known about William Davis or the late Thomas Harris.[103]

The Bacon-Burwell Lot

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who patented Study Unit 4 Tract S in 1683, in 1692 left all of his undesignated real and personal estate to his niece, Abigail Bacon Smith Burwell of Gloucester County, stipulating that it was to descend to her husband, Lewis Burwell II, and her sons, Nathaniel and James. Bacon also made a bequest to his great-nephew, Lewis Burwell III. As Abigail outlived her uncle by only a few months, Lewis Burwell II came into possession of the Bacon property in Jamestown. Lewis II, who died in 1710, bequeathed Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's estate to his own children. Son Nathaniel Burwell apparently inherited Study Unit 4 Tract S (Bacon's lot), for he served as

[103] If Harris owned Study Unit 4 Tract T and neighboring Tract H (two lots which chains of title are incomplete), he would have had room for pasturage and access to the waterfront.

Jamestown's burgess from 1710 to 1712 (Leonard 1976:58, 65, 76; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:116-118; 14:64; McGhan 1993:452; Stanard 1965:17; Meyer et al 1987:145). After Lewis Burwell III's decease, Study Unit 4 Tract S may have become part of the Ambler plantation.

As previously noted, documentary records indicate that Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's work force, which included servants and slaves of both sexes and whites, Native Americans, Africans and African-Americans. When Bacon's estate in York County was inventoried, he was credited with numerous blacks, who were mentioned by name. They included Jack Parrott, Gabriel, Andrew, Jack Crook, Yaddo, Tom, Jack, Cuffey, Denbo, Robin, James, Peter, Hanna, old Betty, Betty, Hester, Bridgett, Sama, Martha, Natt, Colly and Will Colly, Sarah, Alice, Bungy, Parratt, Roger, Lidia, Christopher, Jockey, Bridgett, Jone, Cumbo, Franke and Roger, Robin Cross, 2 children, Judy, Harry, Jacob, Frank (the wife of Jacob), Lewis (the son of Frank and Jacob), Molly (the daughter of Frank and Jacob), and Martha (the daughter of Frank and Jacob). Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's heirs, the Burwells, also were slave owners. When Lewis Burwell II made his will, he made reference to three black males who were carpenters. Later, when James Burwell, Lewis II's heir, made his will, he bequeathed his slaves to his heirs. When an inventory was made of James's estate, the slaves he had in York County were identified by name. James Burwell also had at least two white servants, Ann Gwilliam and a tailor named John Glendenning (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:329; 4:70, 141, 209, 372; 5:47, 88, 139; 6:28, 67, 299, 352, 479; :187; 8:261; 10:483; 9:116; 10:274-277, 280; 14:60-64; 15:334, 421). None of the late James Burwell's servants or slave were attributed to James City County.

Green Spring Plantation

William Lee

In 1793, William Lee paid personal property tax upon 66 slaves, 10 horses and a two wheeled carriage. In 1794 Lee and his son, William Ludwell Lee, were listed together as free white tithes. Present were 54 slaves, age 16 or over, and 11, who were between 12 and 16 (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1793-1794). Lee informed his brother, Henry, who was Virginia's governor, that two of Champion Travis's female slaves had killed their overseer at the Travis plantation on Jamestown Island. Both had been found guilty of murder and one of them already had been executed. Lee tried to dissuade his brother from granting a stay of execution to the remaining slave, on whose behalf a group of local citizens sought clemency. He contended that pardoning a slave who had been convicted of murder would give "very great uneasiness to the people in this neighborhood" and could "promote a perpetuation of those horrid evils which have lately existed in St. Domingo" (Palmer 1968:532-533).

William Lee's agricultural accounts and letter books make reference to the corn and tobacco produced at Green Spring during 1794 and sold to others. In January 1795 he asked Richmond merchant Robert Gamble to send him two firm, solid grindstones that measured 3 feet 6 inches and 3 feet 9 inches in diameter, of the greatest thickness available; these stones presumably would have been used in Lee's Powhatan Mill, a gristmill on Powhatan Creek. A few months later Lee ordered four strong, well-tempered scythe blades of a certain size (Lee January 8, July 6, November 12, and December 29, 1794; January 2 and June 27, 1795).

William Lee died at Green Spring on June 27, 1795, at which point Green Spring plantation and the bulk of his other property passed into the hands of his son, William Ludwell Lee (Stanard 1929:293). William Lee wanted two female house servants to be assigned to take care of his home at Green Spring and a man and a boy to maintain the gardens and stables there and the fruit trees on all of his property (Ford 1968:III:949-955). Later, Lee added two codicils to his will. On June 11, 1796, the late William Lee's will and its codicils were presented to the General Court in Richmond. As William Ludwell Lee had come of age, he was

appointed his late father's administrator (Ford 1968:III:961-962).

William Ludwell Lee

William Ludwell Lee came of age in 1794 and was only 22 years old when he inherited the bulk of his parents' real and personal property in Virginia. In 1794 he paid personal property taxes upon 54 slaves who were over the age of 16 and 11 who were at least 12 but under 16. He also was credited with 10 horses/asses/mules and a chariot. Meanwhile, the late William Lee's estate was credited with 8,690.5 acres of James City County land. In 1798, after all debts against the decedent's estate had been settled, William Ludwell Lee came into legal possession of 8,000 acres of his father's land, plus 125 acres that he had acquired from William Wilkinson in exchange for 167 2/3 acres he may have considered less useful (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1794-1797; Land Tax Lists 1796-1798).

Shortly after William Lee's decease, William Ludwell Lee asked Benjamin Latrobe to draw up plans for the new dwelling he intended to build at Green Spring, a replacement for the old mansion. The noted architect visited the plantation in 1796 and in 1797 and prepared a finely detailed watercolor rendering that showed how the ancient domestic complex looked. On each side of the main dwelling was a line of dependencies (Carson 1954:7-8,10; Gaines 1957:33-34). Some of these structures probably were occupied by servants or slaves. On July 28, 1796, Benjamin Latrobe noted that during the recent Revolution, when the British occupied Green Spring, a brick barn caught on fire and the Lees' slaves were unable to extinguish it (Latrobe August 3, 28, 1796).

When Latrobe returned to Green Spring in 1797, he discovered that the old mansion had been razed and replaced with a new "gentleman's house." Green Spring's young owner, William Ludwell Lee, may have disposed of some slaves in order to raise the money he needed to build a new dwelling, for between 1797 and 1798 the number of taxable African Americans in his possession dropped by more than half, from 57 to 28. He also paid taxes upon only one free white male of taxable age, which suggests that he was attempting to run the plantation himself or had placed it in the hands of sharecroppers (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1797-1798; Land Tax Lists 1797-1798).

Between 1800 and 1803 William Ludwell Lee was credited with four tracts of land: 5,911 acres (what was left the Green Spring plantation after it had been reduced by the 167 2/3 acres he had traded to William Wilkinson); 1,015 acres (part of the Governor's Land); 125 acres (the land he had acquired from Wilkinson); and another 50 acres. By 1804 Lee's land was attributed to his estate (James City County Land Tax Lists 1800-1804). He had insured his new dwelling at Green Spring, which had a declared value of $10,000, and indicated that he occupied the building personally (Mutual Assurance Society 1804). William Ludwell Lee made his will on July 14, 1802, and died at Green Spring on January 24, 1803. He was buried near his father in the old churchyard at Jamestown. He bequeathed his library books (except the family Bible) to Bishop James Madison; ordered his executors to free all of his slaves; made a special bequest to the College of William and Mary; made provisions for the establishment of a local free school; and left the balance of his real and personal estate to his sisters, Cornelia Hopkins and Portia Hodgson (Stanard 1929:289-300; Fredericksburg Circuit Court Records: File No. 124).

Chapter 17. Looking to the Future

Genesis of a Free Black Community

In his July 1802 will, William Ludwell Lee declared that virtually all of his slaves were to be freed on January 1st of the year following his death. Those who had reached puberty and wished to stay on locally were authorized "to settle on such part of my Hot Water land as my executors may designate." He said that "comfortable houses [were] to be built for them" at the expense of his estate, that they were to be furnished with a year's supply of corn, and that they should be allowed to live on his property for 10 years, "free from any charge." He left to "Joe a Blacksmith all the tools in my blacksmith's shop with the use of the shop free from rent during his natural life." Slaves who were less than age 18 were to be transported to a state north of the Potomac River and educated at the expense of Lee's estate. That, he felt, would enable them "to acquire an honest and comfortable support." Lee appointed his brother-in-law, William Hodgson, as an executor (Fredericksburg Circuit Court Records: File No. 124).

The timing of Lee's will and demise proved crucial to his slaves' achieving their freedom, for in January 1806 the General Assembly enacted legislation that required all slaves emancipated after its passage to leave the state of Virginia (Shepherd 1970:III:251-253). Fortunately, the Lee slaves already had been freed.

In 1803 the late William Ludwell Lee's estate was credited with 28 slaves over the age of 16, 4 slaves who were between 12 and 16, and 11 horses/asses/mules. By the time the assessor returned in early 1804, that number had dwindled to less than half and in 1805 the estate was credited with only 8 slaves over age 16 and 5 horses/asses/mules (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1803-1805). Land tax records suggest that the bulk of the late William Ludwell Lee's landholdings remained intact until 1810. When he died in 1803, he was credited with 5,911 acres (Green Spring); 1,238 acres (identified as "part of Green Spring"); 50 acres, 125 acres (from Wilkinson), 223 acres (from Nettles), and 300 acres (from St. George). Thus, up until the time of his decease, William Ludwell Lee continued to purchase James City County land. By 1805 the assessor had combined all of his property into two tracts: 6,386 acres (5,911 + 50 + 125 + 300) and 1,238 acres (1,015 + 223) (James City County Land Tax Lists 1803-1809). It was during this period that the College of William and Mary and William Ludwell Lee's sisters were arguing over what to do about the Hot Water tract and the annual bequest of corn.

William Hodgson, William Ludwell Lee's executor and brother-in-law, apparently was conscientious about implementing the terms of his will. Personal property tax rolls for 1804 suggest more than half of Lee's slaves were freed within twelve months of his death and almost all of the remainder departed the following year.[104] However, fifteen years later, Lee's ex-slaves' homesteads were placed in jeopardy thanks to the wording of his will. Lee, as a proponent of public education, had bequeathed an annual stipend of 500 bushels of corn toward the support a free school he wanted the College of William and Mary to build in the center of James City County. He also had pledged a thousand acres of the Hot Water tract toward fulfilling that obligation. In 1818, the College brought suit against Lee's executor, contending that he had failed to produce the annual allotments of corn to which William and Mary was entitled. William Hodgson, on the other hand, insisted that in ac-

[104] It is uncertain how successful Lee's executor was in sending young slaves out-of-state to receive an education. No evidence has come to light that sheds light upon that issue.

cord with the decedent's will, he had laid off 1,000 acres of the Hot Water tract for the college's use, which officials had declined to accept (Mumford 1921:VI:163-164).

Ultimately, the case went before Virginia's Supreme Court of Appeals, which decided that the college's annual allowance of corn was linked to a thousand acres of the Hot Water plantation, not to Lee's estate *per se*. Otherwise, the justices said, the decedent's bequest to the college would thwart his "benevolent and humanitarian interest" in freeing his slaves. This was true because the law allowed blacks liberated under the terms of their owner's wills to be re-enslaved and then sold as a means of raising money to settle the debts against the decedent's estate. Although it is doubtful that the college ever attempted to build a free school in the middle of James City County, from the time of William Ludwell Lee's death in 1803 until 1843, the local tax assessor attributed the Hot Water tract to his estate and noted annually that the bounds of the "school lands" were uncertain. Between 1844 and the late 1860s the Hot Water plantation was in the hands of absentee owners who seemingly did nothing to improve the land. It is likely that any blacks who resided there were left to their own devices (Mumford 1921:VI:163-164; James City County Land Tax Lists 1803-1869).[105]

Personal property tax rolls for the 1830s reveal that thirteen free black families then occupied the Hot Water plantation or "free school lands." They were the Cumbo, Cannaday, Tyler, Browne, Wallis, Johnson, Taylor, Lightfoot, Harwood, Moore, Armstrong, Cox, Roberts, Mason and Crawley households. In 1837 ten of those thirteen households consisted of nuclear families - i.e., a husband, wife and children. One included only a father and son and there were two female household heads with children. All but one of the households on the Hot Water tract were involved in farming, the exception being Juba Lightfoot, a bricklayer and plasterer. Almost all of these people were there throughout the 1830s (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1834-1839).

Approximately 13 percent of James City County's 119 free black households lived upon the Hot Water tract, whereas 17 percent of the remainder occupied acreage they owned outright. But 70 percent of the county's free black households resided upon white-owned property or that which belonged to deceased whites' estates. During the 1830s James City County's free blacks included three carpenters, two shoemakers, a wheelwright, a bricklayer-plasterer, and a midwife. Five of these individuals occupied their own land, which suggests that their marketable skills enabled them to accumulate enough disposable income to acquire real estate (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1834-1839).

Free Blacks in Nineteenth Century James City County

Census records disclose that in 1800 there were 168 free African Americans in James City County who comprised 6.6 percent of the local black population. By 1860, however, 28.8 percent (or more than 1,000 individuals) were free. Some of these people owned real estate and taxable personal property and at least five owned slaves, perhaps spouses or other family members legally unable to obtain their own freedom. Between 1830 and the eve of the Civil War, the amount of acreage owned by James City County's free blacks increased markedly. One man, who lived near the head of Ware Creek, possessed taxable personal property that exceeded in value that of several white neighbors (Morgan 1984:11, 22; James City County Land Tax Lists 1817-1850; Personal Property Tax Lists 1817-1850).

Census records and personal property tax rolls reveal that James City County's free blacks grew crops for their own consumption and perhaps for sale to others, but they also supplemented their income by working as millers, watermen, tailors, sailors, mechanics, midwives, shoemakers,

[105] The property was part of William Ludwell Lee's estate until 1845, at which time it was conveyed into private hands. The Hot Water tract was occupied by free blacks up until the end of the Civil War and was identified as such on contemporary maps (James City County Land Tax Lists 1808-1845; Gilmer 1863, 1864).

blacksmiths, painters, bricklayers, teamsters, carpenters and farm laborers. Approximately one-third of James City County's free black heads of household were described as "mulattoes," i.e., they were racially mixed (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1837-1850). William Ludwell Lee's 1802 bequest was an important impetus to change.

Chapter 18. Recommendations for Future Research

Recommendation 1

The records generated by the Royal African Company are voluminous and include letter books, minute books, account books, invoice books, ledgers and miscellaneous books. Virginia Colonial Records Project Survey Reports exist for excerpts from these records. A few items have been microfilmed, but most have not. Through a visit to the British Public Record Office, a systematic review of the Royal African Company's records should be made. Emphasis should be placed upon certain groups of documents that were identified by K. G. Davies, which deal with the supply of slaves to Virginia. Davies recommended that certain folios in P.R.O. T. 70/76, 70/77, 70/78, 70/80, 70/81, 70/82, 70/50, 70/57, and 70/61 be examined and indicated that his list should not be considered complete.

Recommendation 2

Although research was conducted in the seventeenth century court records of Isle of Wight, Surry, Charles City, and York Counties, more extensive research is recommended in these and the following counties: Henrico, Elizabeth City, Warwick, Accomac, and Northampton. It is recommended that Surry and Isle of Wight be assigned the highest priority, for their local records are intact and a significant number of Jamestown Island property owners were in possession of land in those areas or resided there.

Recommendation 3

An attempt should be made to locate the ships log or account book maintained by Captain Daniel Elfirth of the *Treasurer*, which was sent to England in January 1620. This record book can be expected to shed a considerable amount of new light upon the history and circumstances of the first Africans who arrived in Virginia in 1619.

Recommendation 4

The slave populations on the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ambler and Travis plantations and at Green Spring should be studied in depth through the use of estate inventories and tax records. As the Amblers and Travises had plantations in James City and York Counties, it should be possible to determine whether both families moved their slaves from property to property, or let them stay put. It also should be feasible to determine how Ambler and Travis slaves were transferred from generation to generation. As the Ludwells and Amblers also had property in Surry County, those records should be examined in order to determine whether their slaves were shifted back and forth across the James River. As the Amblers lived at two sites (Jamestown and Yorktown) where slave ships docked regularly, it may be feasible to determine the rate at which newly arrived Africans were purchased and assimilated into the Amblers' population of slaves.

Recommendation 5

Because the Amblers kept meticulous agricultural and financial records on the operation of their plantations in James City, Hanover, and Amherst Counties and elsewhere, and had urban residences in Williamsburg and Richmond, it should be feasible to learn more about how family members managed their slaves. These plantation records are on file at the University of Virginia's Alderman Library. However, they have been microfilmed and are available

at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library.

Recommendation 6

Through a careful study of the papers generated by the settlement and distribution of Philip Ludwell III's estate in 1767-1770, an attempt should be made to learn more about the decedent's slaves and their involvement in the operation of his plantation. This research also should include determining the relationship between Ludwell's Green Spring, Rich Neck and Chippokes plantations.

Recommendation 7

Efforts should be made to identify archaeological sites on Jamestown Island and at Green Spring that are likely to contain evidence of African and/or African American occupation.

Recommendation 8

A study should be made of the use of indentured servants on Jamestown Island and at Green Spring. Such an undertaking should include research into how the laws governing servitude evolved over time.

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Appendix A.
Travis Plantation Personal Property Tax Assessments

1768
Major Edward Travis: 44 tithes

1769
Edward C. Travis: 33 tithes
Champion Travis: 10 tithes

1782
Champion Travis, owner: 1 free white male tithe; 24 tithable slaves; 10 horses; 32 cattle; 2 wheels

1783
Champion Travis: 15 tithes; 13 non-tithes; 11 horses; 65 cattle; 4 wheels

1784
Champion Travis: 10 free white male tithes; 21 tithable slaves; 10 non-tithable slaves; 47 cattle; 5 horses; 4 wheels
Edward Travis estate: 0 free white male tithes; 5 tithable slaves; 7 non-tithable slaves; 6 cattle; 3 horses and mules

1785
Champion Travis: 1 free white male >21; 25 slaves 16 or older; 12 slaves under 16; 8 horses; 69 cattle; 4 wheeled vehicle

1786
Champion Travis's name not listed
Edward Travis's name is listed but no information is provided

1787
Champion Travis and Wm. Steiff: 1 free white male 21 or older; 19 slaves 16 or older; 10 slaves under 16; 12 horses; 41 cattle; [also under C. Travis] 6 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves under 16; 55 cattle

1788
Champion Travis: 25 slaves; 11 horses

1789
Champion Travis: 16 slaves; 7 horses; "ditto" 10 slaves; 2 horses

1790
Champion Travis: 20 slaves; 9 horses

1791
Champion Travis: 23 slaves; 6 horses

1792
Champion Travis: 32 slaves; 9 horses

1793
Champion Travis: 33 slaves; 8 horses; 1 4-wheeled carriage

1794
Champion Travis: 1 free male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 or older; 5 horses; ditto 2 free male tithes; 9 slaves 16 or older; 1 slaves 12 or older; 3 horses; 1 coach

1795
Champion Travis: 3 free white male tithes; 30 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 or older; 9 horses; 1 coachee

1796
Champion Travis: 2 free white male tithes; 26 slaves 16 or older; 7 slaves 12 or older; 7 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 coachee

1797
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 16 slaves 16 or older; 4 slaves 12 or older; 4 horses

1798
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 19 slaves 16 or older; 4 slaves 12 or older; 7 horses

1799
Champion Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 15 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 or older; 6 horses

1800
Champion Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 14 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 or older; 7 horses

1801
Champion Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 16 slaves 16 or older; 4 horses

1802
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 17 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 1 horse

Source: (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1810).
Note: Tax criteria vary from year to year.

Appendix A (cont'd).
Travis Plantation Personal Property Tax Assessments

1803
Champion Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 14 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 4 horses

1804
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 13 slaves 16 or older; 1 slaves 12 to 16; 4 horses

1805
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 16 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 or older; 2 horses

1806
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 13; slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 2 horses

1807
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 13 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 1 horse; 1 2-wheeled carriage

1809
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 8 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 1 horse

1810
Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 2 slaves 16 or older; 1 slaves 12 to 16

Appendix B.
Richard Ambler's Slaves in James City County, Feb 15, 1768

At Jamestown Island and the Main

Abell (Sarah's child) at 15 £
Aberdeen at 45 £
Alice at 50 £
Alice (a girl) at 25 £
Amy at 30 £
Ben valued at 15 £
Ben (carpenter) at 35 £
Ben at 25 £
Betsey (Sarah's child) at 22.10 £
Betty at 25 £
Betty at 30 £
Billy at 40 £
Bob at 30 £
Bridget at 25 £
Chubby and [torn] at 50 £
Cupid at 60 £
Dick at 45 £
Dinah at 15 £
Dinah at 40 £
Doll at 20 £
Duncan at 50 £
Edith (Chubby's child) at 10 £
Fanny (Lydia's child) at 10 £
Grace and her child Jacob at 50 £
Hannah at 25 £
Hannah (Sarah's child) at 25 £
Hannah and her child Charles at 40 £
Harry at 25 £
Jack at 25 £
Jacob at 40 £
Jeffrey at 60 £
Jeremy at 60 £
Joe at 50 £
Johnny (York) at 60 £
Johnny at 50 £
Judah at 20 £
Jupiter at 50 £
Kate at 25 £
Lawrence at 60 £
Lucy at 40 £
Lydia at 45 £
Mark at 50 £
Moll at 15 £
Moll at 30 £
Nan at 20 £
Phill at 35 £
Rachel at 40 £
Sall at 45 £
Sam at 40 £
Sarah at 60 £
Suky at 40 £
Sylva and her child Tom at 50 £
Tom at 60 £
York at 15 £
Young Hannah and child Sarah at 60 £

At Powhatan

Amy at 55 £
Betty and her young child at 50 £
Clara at 7 £
Harry at 50 £
Jenny at 30 £
Nancy at 25 £
Nanny at 50 £
Nell at 10 £
Nelly at 35 £
Peter at 40 £
Phillis at 40 £
Robert at 60 £
Sharper at 40 £

Source: York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-388

Appendix C.
Slaves Listed in an Inventory of Edward Ambler I's Estate in James City County, 1769

Negroes in the Island

Spark £ 60, House James £ 25	85:00:00
Ned £ 40, George £ 60, Lewis £ 60	160:00:00
Zeb £ 60, Lawrence £ 60, Dick £ 30	150:00:00
Old Ben £ 5, Sharper (carpenter) £ 60	65:00:00
Jupiter £ 20, Gardener Tommy £ 60	80:00:00
Dean £ 60, Mark £ 30 (carpenter)	90:00:00
Old Ben the Carpenter £ 15	15:00:00
Billy £ 25, Phil £ 40	65:00:00
Bob, Chubby's son £ 35	35:00:00
Jacob, Sylvia's Son £ 40, Hannah £ 20	60:00:00
Amy, Hannah's daughter £ 40	40:00:00
Moll do. £ 35, Charles do. son £ 15	50:00:00
Pegg £ 40, Hannah £ 30	70:00:00
Edith £ 15, Mingo £ 10, Hannah £ 40	65:00:00
her Infant Child £ 5, Mary £ 20	25:00:00
David £ 20, Lydia £ 40	60:00:00
Betty £ 30, Fanny £ 15	45:00:00
Old Hannah £ 10, Moll £ 10, Alice £ 15	35:00:00
Old Dinah £ 2, Little Sarah £ 40, Old do. £ 40	82:00:00
Hannah £ 30, Betsey £ 25, Sal and Child Ned £ 50	105:00:00
Phillis £ 40, Duncan £ 40, Jenny £ 40	120:00:00
Liverpool £ 15, Young Ben (carr.) £ 60	75:00:00
Jenny £ 10	10:00:00

In the Maine

1 Negro Tom £ 60, 1 do. John £ 40	100:00:00
1 do. Jeffery £ 60, 1 do. Joe £ 50	110:00:00
1 do. Sam £ 50	50:00:00
1 woman Silvy and Child Sukey	50:00:00
1 do. Sukey £ 30, 1 do. Lucy & child Ben £ 50	80:00:00
1 do. Joanna & child Sarah	60:00:00
1 do. dinah & child Fanny	45:00:00
1 Girl Rachel £ 45, 1 do. Betty £ 40	85:00:00
1 ditto Cate £ 35, 1 do. Bridgett £ 25	60:00:00
1 ditto Doll £ 20, 1 ditto Alice £ 20	40:00:00
1 ditto Judith £ 20, 1 do Edith £ 20	40:00:00
1 boy Jack £ 30, 1 do. Harry £ 30	60:00:00
1 do. Ben £ 30, 1 do. Scipio £ 25	55:00:00
1 do. Ned £ 25, 1 do. York £ 20	45:00:00
I do. Tom £ 20, 1 do. Billy £ 15	35:00:00
1 Woman Chubby & Child John	45:00:00
1 Negro Man Harry	50:00:00

Source: Ambler 1769

Appendix C (cont'd).
Slaves Listed in an Inventory of Edward Ambler I's Estate in James City County, 1769

At Powhatan

1 Negroe Bob £ 60, 1 Woman Betty £ 40 ..... 100:00:00
1 Woman Nanny £ 45, 1 do. Amey £ 45 ..... 90:00:00
1 Girl Nanny £ 30, 1 do. Edith £ 40 ..... 70:00:00
1 do. Clary £ 15, 1 Boy Peter £ 40 ..... 55:00:00
1 Boy Billy £ 20, 1 ox cart & gear £ 3 ..... 23:00:00

The Negro Woman Duncan long Hannah & all her children except Amey & Nanny a child of Graces were on the Maine Plantation at the time of the Testator's death. Chubby and all her children were within the Island at that time.

Appendix D.
Ambler Plantation Personal Property Tax Assessments

1768
Edward Ambler I: 46 tithes; 6 wheels

1769
Edward Ambler I: 49 tithes

1782
John Ambler II, owner: no free white male tithes; 22 tithable slaves; 20 cattle

1783
John Ambler II, owner: no free white male tithes; 14 tithable slaves; 8 non-tithable slaves; 0 horses; 30 cattle; no wheels

1784
John Ambler II, owner: William Chick (overseer); 2 free white male tithes; 26 tithable slaves; 12 non-tithable slaves; 5 horses, colts and mares; 5 cattle; no wheels

1785
John Ambler II, owner: William Chick (overseer); 1 free white male tithe; 29 tithable slaves; 17 non-tithable slaves; 4 horses, colts and mares; 35 cattle; no wheels

1786
John Ambler II, Wm. Chick: 2 free white male tithes 21 or older; 30 slaves 16 or older; 15 slaves under 16; 5 horses; 54 cattle; 0 vehicles

1787
John Ambler II chargeable with tax; John Ambler II and Robert Chancellor: 2 free white males 21 or older; 32 slaves 16 or older; 20 slaves under 16; 11 horses &c; 70 cattle; 1 coach or chariot

1788
John Ambler II chargeable with tax: 37 slaves; 11 horses; 1 coach or chariot

1789
John Ambler II: 36 slaves; 8 horses; 1 coach or chariot; 1 stud horse

1790
John Ambler II Esq.: 39 slaves; 8 horses; 1 coach or chariot; 1 2- wheeled carriage; 1 stud horse; 1 Ban. covering 20 p

1791
John Ambler II: 36 slaves; 12 horses; 1 4-wheeled carriage; 1 2-wheeled carriage; 1 stud horse; 2 Ban. covering 20 pence

1792
John Ambler II: 41 slaves; 9 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 stud horse

1793
John Ambler II: 41 slaves; 9 horses; 1 4-wheeled chaise; 1 2-wheeled chaise

1794
John Ambler II: 3 male tithes; 38 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 or older; 7 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 stud horse

1795
John Ambler II: 1 free male tithe; 34 slaves 16 or older; 1 slave 12 or older; 7 horses; 1 4-wheeled coach or chariot; 1 2-wheeled carriage; 1 stud horse

1796
John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 35 slaves 16 or older; 7 horses; 1 chariot; 1 2-wheeled vehicle; 1 stud horse

1797
John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 34 slaves 16 or older; 8 horses; 1 chariot; 1 stud horse

1798
John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 35 slaves 16 or older; 1 slaves 12 or older; 9 horses; 1 chair; 1 stud horse

1799
John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 35 slaves 16 or older; 9 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 stud horse

1800
John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 39 slaves 16 or older; 6 slaves 12 or older; 9 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 stud horse

Source: James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1831
Note: tax criteria vary from year to year.

Appendix D (cont'd).
Ambler Plantation Personal Property Tax Assessments

1801
John Ambler II: 2 free white male tithes; 38 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 or older; 10 horses; 1 chariot; 1 stud horse

1802
John Ambler II: 0 free white male tithes; 18 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 29 horses

1803
John Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 4 slaves 12 to 16; 2 horses

1804
John Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 6 slaves 12 to 16; 2 horses

1805
John Ambler II: 2 free white male tithes; 17 slaves 16 or older; 6 horses; 1 stud horse

1806
John Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 1 slave 12 or older; 6 horses

1807
John Ambler II: 0 free white male tithes; 21 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 2 horses

1809
Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 28 slaves 16 or older; 6 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses

1810
Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 27 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses; 1 2-wheeled carriage

1811
Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 25 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses

1812
Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 23 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses

1813
Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 0 free blacks 16 or older; 23 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses

1814
Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 8 horses

Appendix E.
Slaves Listed in Philip Ludwell III's Inventory, 1767

Green Spring Plantation

Men: Billey, Matt, Edmond, George, Charles, Bacons, Will, Adam, Sam, Marcus, Jemmy, Cupid, Simon, Jack, Scipio, Sam, Billey, Nero, Pompey, Roger, Parriss, Horriss, Dick, Harry, Dick, Johnny Ralph, Toney, Guy, Ned

Boys: Isaac, Aaron, James, Anthony, Joe, Roger, Paul, Cato, Cupid, Jacob, Mercury, Godfrey, Sawney

Women: Rachel, Daphney, Marcy, Nanny, Sukey, Betty, Margery, Sarah, Fay Chamber, Hannah, Winney, Mourning, Betty, Amey, Belinda, Hannah, Bess, Sally, Distimony, Fay, Silah, Dinah

Girls: Letty, Chloe, Grace, Polley, Ciceley, Nanny, Nell, Judith, Aggey, Sillah, Eadith, Lydia, Chris

Hot Water Land

Men: Wil, Manuel, Peter Currier, Peter Fox, Tinker, Lott, Jack, Damus

Boys: Anthony, Lewis, Charles, Billey, Frank, Thomison, Keziah

Women: Sukey, Till, Beller, Fanny, Moll, Sarah, Tempey, Rachel, Amey, Letty, Sall, Betty, Sukey

Girls: Rose, Judith, Phillis, Lucy

Scotland

Men: George, Daniel, Vulcan, Gaby, Sam, Dick, Robin

Boys: Peter, Toby, Isaac, Tom, Jack

Women: Dinah, Beck, Crager, Silvy, Phillis

Girls: Beck, Jane, Pheby, Judith, Hester

Cloverton

Men: Cupid, Jack, Robin, Colley,

Boys: Solomon, Giles, Michael, Hannibal, Will, Cupid

Women: Sarah, Juno, Sue, Nanney

Girls: Winney, Fay, Chloe, Sukey, Nancey, Sall

Pinewood Meadow

Men: Phill, Harry, Duncan, Abel

Boys: Kitt, Edmond, Dick, Mike, Joe, Mallard

Women: Thomison, Sarah, Nanney, Eve, Phillis, Mimey

Girls: Phillis, Lydia, Betty, Eady, Fanny

Mill Quarter

Men: Jemmy, Mingo, Simon

Boys: Bob, James, Charles

Women: Milley

Girls: Molley

Archers Hope

Men: Robin, Will, Patrick

Boys: Parsiss, Will

Women: Sue, Moll, Fanny, Lucy, Bess, Lucy Fox

Rich Neck

Men: Daniel, Tom, Guster, Harry, Jemmy, Tom, Peter, Shocker, John, Bacon

Boys: Ben, Nero, Isham

Women: Hester, Judith, Jenny, Mary, Dinah

Girls: Nanny, Fanny, Peg

New Quarter

Men: Brewer, Ralph, Jemmy, George, Will, Tasso, Lewis

Boys: Will, Anthony, Johnny, Stephen, York

Women: Grace, great Betty, Moll, Jenny, Betty, old Nanny, Belinda, Doll, Nanny, Hester

Girls: Grace, Patt

Source: Tyler 1913:395-416.

Appendix F.
Ludwell-Lee Slaves in James City County

1768
Philip Ludwell estate: 126 tithables in James City Parish.

1769
Philip Ludwell estate 120 tithables in James City Parish.

1782
William Lee: 4 free white male tithes; 93 tithable slaves; 8 horses; 124 cattle

1783
[L's missing]

1784
William Lee: 55 tithables, 42 non-tithables, 7 horses, 112 cattle

1785
William Lee: Thomas Wilson Sr., Thomas Williams, Francis Thompson, John Kite, overseers; 5 free white male tithes; 48 slaves age 16 or older; 41 slaves under age 16; 9 horses; 109 cattle. Slaves listed by name.

1786
William Lee: 1 free white male tithe age 21 or older; 50 slaves age 16 or older; 44 slaves under age 16; 8 horses; 108 cattle; no wheels. Slaves listed by name.

1787
William Lee: 1 free white male tithe age 21 or older; 47 slaves age 16 or older; 45 slaves under age 16; 9 horses; 151 cattle; no wheels.

1788
William Lee: 61 tithable slaves; 10 horses; 1 2-wheeled carriage

1789
William Lee: 57 tithable slaves; 7 horses; 1 2-wheeled carriage

1790
William Lee: 59 tithable slaves; 8 horses; 1 2-wheeled carriage

1791
William Lee: 63 tithable slaves; 11 horses; 1 2-wheeled carriage

1792
William Lee: 67 tithable slaves; 12 horses; 1 2-wheeled carriage

1793
William Lee: 66 tithable slaves; 10 horses; 1 2-wheeled carriage

1794
William Ludwell Lee: 2 free white male tithables; 54 slaves age 16 or older; 11 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 10 horses, 1 mule, 1 chariot

1795
William Ludwell Lee: 2 free white male tithables; 57 slaves age 16 or older; 11 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 10 horses, 1 mule, 1 chariot

1796
William Ludwell Lee: 1 free white male tithable; 61 slaves age 16 or older; 7 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 11 horses, 1 chariot, 1 2-wheeled chair

1797
William Ludwell Lee: 1 free white male tithable; 57 slaves age 16 or older; 10 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 14 horses, 1 chariot, 1 2-wheeled chair

1798
William Ludwell Lee: 1 free white male tithable; 28 slaves age 16 or older; 3 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 14 horses, 1 chariot, 1 2-wheeled chair

1799
William Ludwell Lee: 1 free white male tithable; 29 slaves age 16 or older; 4 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 14 horses, 1 chariot, 1 barouche

1800
William Ludwell Lee: 1 free white male tithable; 28 slaves age 16 or older; 4 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 11 horses, 1 chariot

1801
William Ludwell Lee: 1 free white male tithable; 27 slaves age 16 or older; 3 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 11 horses, 1 chariot

Source: James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1768-1806

Appendix F (cont'd).
Ludwell-Lee Slaves in James City County

1802

William Ludwell Lee: 1 free white male tithable; 28 slaves age 16 or older; 4 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 11 horses, 1 chariot

1803

William Ludwell Lee's estate: 28 slaves age 16 or older; 4 slaves age 12 or older but under 16; 11 horses, 1 chariot

1804

William Ludwell Lee's estate: 12 slaves age 16 or older; 1 slave age 12 or older but under 16; 9 horses

1805

William Ludwell Lee's estate: 8 slaves age 16 or older; 7 horses

1806

no listing

Appendix G.
Contract Between John Ambler II and Overseer Henry Taylor

Articles of agreement entered into this 25th day January 1800, Between John Ambler and Henry Taylor, both of James City County, Witnesseth, that the said Taylor obliges himself to serve the said Ambler as an overseer on the plantation of the said Ambler, known by the name of the James Town plantation, and to perform the following Duties during this year before mentioned.

First the said Taylor obliges himself to pay the most constant and unremitted attention to the Labourers, which may be put under him, and cause them to rise early and to do each day as good a days work as the weather and their circumstances will permit. The said Taylor also obliges himself to take the greatest possible care of every kind of stock which may be put under his care. The said Taylor also obliges himself to obey all orders which may from time to time be given him by the said Ambler during the aforesaid year. The said Taylor also agrees that if in the term of the year any of the produce on the said plantation should be lost or destroyed through the neglect of the said Taylor, in that case with opinion on both sides the said Ambler and Taylor agree, that the matter in his part will be left to the decision of two respected men within four miles of the said plantation, the said Ambler to make choice of one of the two men and the said Taylor of the other, and in case of their disagreement, the said two men are to draw a straw to determine between them, and if in the opinion of the men so chosen the said Ambler has lost anything by the neglect of the said Taylor, then the said Taylor agrees to make good the loss according to the estimate of the men so chosen, out of his proportion of the crop.

The said Taylor also obliges himself never to leave the said plantation without the approbation of the said Ambler. The said Ambler also agrees to find the said Taylor his provisions.

The said Taylor complying with all and every part of the above agreement, then the said Ambler obliges himself to give the said Taylor one twelfth part of all grain made on the said plantation in the aforesaid year (with corn excepted) and also the same proportion of cyder, cotton and tobacco. In witness thereof we affix our hand and seals in the presence of

John Ambler
Henry Taylor

G. Glass

Source: Ambler, January 25, 1800

Appendix H.
Jamestown, Structure/Lot Concordance

Table 1.
Correlation of Structure Numbers with Study Units/Tracts

Structure 1 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B
Structure 2 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B
Structure 3 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B
Structure 4 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B
Structure 5 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D
Structure 6 ..... Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J Lot B
Structure 7 ..... Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J Lot B
Structure 8 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot B
Structure 9 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot B
Structure 10 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 11 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 12 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 13 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 14 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 15 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 16 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 17 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract C Lots A and B
Structure 18 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J
Structure 19 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 20 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 21 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 22 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B
Structure 23 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 24 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A
Structure 25 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J
Structure 26 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract D
Structure 27 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract H
Structure 28 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract D
Structure 29 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A
Structure 30 ..... Study Unit 1 Tracts F and D
Structure 31 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 32 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 33 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 34 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 35 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots B and E
Structure 36 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 37 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 38 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 39 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 40 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 41 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 42 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 43 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 44 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 45 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 46 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 47 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 48 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 49 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 50 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 51 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 52 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 53 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 54 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 55 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 56 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lots A and B
Structure 57 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 58 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lots A and B
Structure 59 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 60 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A
Structure 61 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B
Structure 62 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B
Structure 63 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B
Structure 64 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A or Tract Y
Structure 65 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 66 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A
Structure 67 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract D
Structure 68 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract Y
Structure 69 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E
Structure 70 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A
Structure 71 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 72 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 73 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 74 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 75 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 76 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 77 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 78 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 79 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract H
Structure 80 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract H
Structure 81 ..... Study Unit 3 Tract H (not mapped)
Structure 82 ..... Study Unit 3 Tract H or Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E (not mapped)
Structure 83 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 84 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C

Structure 85 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 86 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 87 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C
Structure 88 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot A
Structure 89 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 90 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 91 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E (44JC900)
Structure 92 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E (44JC900)
Structure 93 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E (44JC900)
Structure 94 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E
Structure 95 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E (44JC900)
Structure 96 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E
Structure 97 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 98 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot A
Structure 99 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 100 .... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lots A, B and C
Structure 101 .... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 102 .... Study Unit 4 Tract T
Structure 103 .... Study Unit 4 Tract T
Structure 104 .... Study Unit 4 Tract T
Structure 105 .... Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot C
Structure 106 .... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 107 .... Glasshouse Point
Structure 108 .... Glasshouse Point
Structure 109 .... Glasshouse Point
Structure 110 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 111 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 112 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 113 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 114 .... Study Unit 4 Tract T
Structure 115 .... Study Unit 4 Tract K
Structure 116 .... Study Unit 4 Tract E
Structure 117 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 118 .... Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B
Structure 119 .... Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B
Structure 120 .... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 121 .... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 122 .... Study Unit 4 Tract K
Structure 123 .... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 124 .... not mapped, Barneys' bungalow
Structure 125 .... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A
Structure 126 .... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Lot B
Structure 127 .... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E
Structure 128 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 129 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 130 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H or Study Unit 4 Tract K
Structure 131 .... Study Unit 4 Tract F
Structure 132 .... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Lot B
Structure 133 .... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 134 .... Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A
Structure 135 .... Study Unit 4 Tract K
Structure 136 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 137 .... Study Unit 4 Tract S or Tract O
Structure 138 .... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 139 .... Study Unit 4 Tract O
Structure 140 .... Study Unit 4 Tract P (not mapped)
Structure 141 .... Study Unit 1 Tract D periphery (brick bridge, not mapped)
Structure 142 .... Study Unit 4 Tract V (Church)
Structure 143 .... Study Unit 4 Tract V (cemetery)
Structure 144 .... Study Unit 4 Tract U Lots A and B, Tract W, Tract Q
Structure 145 .... Study Unit 4 Tracts M, N, O, P, S, and V
Structure 146 .... Study Unit 3 Tract J
Structure 147 .... Study Unit 2 Tract L (44JC907)
Structure 148 .... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B and Tract E (44JC930)
Structure 149 .... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot D (44JC932)
Structure 150 .... Study Unit 2 Tract N (44JC893)
Structure 151 .... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B
Structure 152 .... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B
Structure 153 .... Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot B
Structure 154 .... Study Unit 4 Tract Q
Structure 155 .... Study Unit 4 Tract C
Structure 156 .... Study Unit 4 Tract C
Structure 157 .... Study Unit 4 Tract F Lots A and B
Structure 158 .... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)
Structure 159 .... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)
Structure 160 .... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)
Structure 161 .... (not mapped)
Structure 162 .... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)
Structure 163 .... Study Unit 4 Tracts X and H
Structure 164 .... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)

Table 2.
Correlation of Study Units/Tracts with Structures

Study Unit 1

Tract C Lot B ..... Structures 1, 2, 3, 4, 148, 152
Tract C Lot D ..... Structure 149
Tract D ..... Structures 5, 30
Tract D Lot A ..... Structure 31, 38, 54, 59, 65, 73, 133, 141
Tract D Lots A and B ..... Structure 56, 58
Tract E ..... Structure 148
Tract F ..... Structure 30, 100
Tract F Lot A ..... Structure 88, 98, 99
Tract F Lot B ..... Structures 32, 44, 53, 89, 90, 97, 101, 138
Tract F Lot C ..... Structure 87
Tract H ..... Structures 110, 111, 112, 113, 117, 128, 129, 136
Tract H or Study Unit 4 Tract K ..... Structure 130

Study Unit 2

Tract E ..... Structures 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
Tract H ..... Structures 79, 80
Tract L ..... Structure 147
Tract N ..... Structure 150

Study Unit 3

Tract H ..... Structure 81
Tract H or Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E ..... Structure 82 (not mapped)
Tract J ..... Structure 146

Study Unit 4

Tract A ..... Structures 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77
Tracts A and J Lot B ..... Structures 6, 7
Tract B ..... Structures 42, 43, 50, 51, 52, 57, 120, 121
Tract C Lots A and B ..... Structure 17
Tract C Lot B ..... Structures 118, 119
Tract C Lot C ..... Structure 105
Tract D ..... Structures 26, 28, 67
Tract C ..... Structures 155, 156
Tract E ..... Structure 116
Tract F ..... Structure 131
Tract F Lot A ..... Structures 24, 28, 29, 134
Tract F Lots A and B ..... Structure 157
Tract G ..... Structures 19, 23, 45, 48, 49, 55, 75,106
Tract H ..... Structure 27
Tract I Lot A ..... Structures 60, 64, 66
Tract I Lot B ..... Structure 22, 61, 62, 63
Tract J Lot B ..... Structures 8, 9, 153
Tract K ..... Structure 115, 122, 135
Tract L Lot A ..... Structure 70, 125
Tract L Lot B ..... Structure 151
Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 ... Structure 86
Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 and Lot E ... Structure 35
Tract L Lot C ..... Structures 36, 83, 84, 85, 123
Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 and Lot E ... Structure 37
Tract L Lot E ..... Structures 69, 127
Tract L Lots E and B ..... Structures 126, 132
Tract L Lot E and Lot C Parcel 1 ..... Structure 78
Tract L Lot J ..... Structures 18, 25
Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 ... Structures 33, 34
Tracts M, N, O, P, S, and V ..... Structure 145
Tract O ..... Structure 139
Tract O or Tract S ..... Structure 137140
Tract P ..... Structure 140
Tract Q ..... Structure 154
Tract T ..... Structures 102, 103, 104, 114
Tract U Lots A and B, Tract W and Tract Q .... Structure 144
Tract V ..... Structures 142, 143
Tract Y ..... Structure 64, 68
Tract X and Tract H ..... Structure 163
(not mapped) ..... Strctures 158, 159, 160, 162, 164

Glasshouse Point ..... Structures 107, 108, 109

Appendix I.
Guide to the Database

This is a guide to a collection of photocopies and other facsimiles of primary and secondary documents about African Americans associated with Jamestown Island, Green Spring Plantation, and some surrounding counties in Tidewater Virginia. The photocopies are in large file boxes stored with Colonial National Historical Park.

A substantial part of the database is comprised of facsimiles of published and unpublished data relating to vital records, laws, land patents, court cases, property tax lists, newspaper accounts, diaries, and biographical data. Some published analytical essays about African Americans in early Virginia, slavery in general, and the slave trade are included to broaden the scope of the database.

While most of the references are about Africans, African Americans, Anglo-Americans, and Native Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, materials about the later years of slavery in Virginia are included. The database is divided into two main file sets.

Master List of Landowners and/or Slaveholders

The first set groups information about landowners and/or slaveholders, by name, on Jamestown Island and Green Spring, drawing data from specific surrounding counties. These counties include James City, Surry, York, Charles City, Isle of Wight, and Prince George. The database is also useful as a general guide about sources for the study of African Americans in early Virginia.

These are the main files in the collection. Although they contain materials on land records, deeds, and the activities of Anglo-Americans, the primary focus is on enslaved and free African Americans who were associated with major landowners and slaveholders. References about Native Americans and indentured servants of European descent are also in these files.

General Subject Files

The second set of files lists information by topic. These files have general and specific references on Africa, Africans, and enslaved and free African Americans. Data on slave resistance, the slave trade, skills, and crime are included in the general subject files. Less emphasis was placed on gathering information for these files.

Photographic Records

Slides and photographs of cartouches, maps, paintings, and other works are collated in a separate folder. References and repositories are included with this collection.

Sources and Repositories

The data was collected by a team (comprised of Andrew Butts and Beresford Callum) working under the direction of Ywone Edwards-Ingram, Staff Archaeologist with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Department of Archaeological Research. It was collected from a number of sources, including the following.

Digital/Electronic

> *Family Tree Maker's Family Archives. The Virginia Vital Records #1 1600s-1800s CD-ROM.* Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc. and Broderbund Software 1997.

This CD has materials on wills, land records, tax, military, genealogical, and other relevant information about different individuals in Virginia. The materials are actually images of pages from *Virginia Vital Records, Virginia Marriage Records, Virginia Will Records, Virginia Land Records, Virginia Military Records,* and *Virginia Tax Records.* The Genealogical Publishing Company originally

published these volumes. The CD has an alphabetical name index of these six volumes, allowing for easy searching for some of the individuals on the master list.

Education and Social History Database

This electronic database is maintained at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. It was useful for searches for information about general subjects and specific landowners and/or slaveholders.

Published and Unpublished Materials

The York County Project Files

This database is housed at the Department of Historical Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. It stores information about enslaved and free people in Tidewater Virginia. Inventories, court records, deeds, wills, and land records are included in this collection. Needless to say, it was invaluable to the project.

Diaries

The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712 is one of the main diaries used in the project. There are several references to the Ludwell family and Green Spring, and the Ludwell slaves are infrequently mentioned. The diary contains some pertinent data about slave life in early Virginia. References were also obtained from the diary of John Blair.

Slave Laws

The files on slave laws contained materials about slaves and slavery from published sources namely *The Statutes at Large* (Hening 1809-23 and Shepherd 1792-1806, respectively). Some indexes are included along with the facsimiles from these sources.

Journals

Major journals including the *William & Mary Quarterly*, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, *Tyler's Magazine*, and *Slavery and Abolition* provided both primary and secondary information.

Secondary Sources: Journal Articles, Books, and Newspaper Items

Both the General Subject files and the Master List of Slaveholders and or Landowners include copies of articles from journals and other sources. Documentation about slavery include analytical papers, statistical data on the slave trade, and activities of slaves in Virginia.

Index of Data Files by Landowners and/or Slaveholders

The first set of files contains information sorted by landowner and/or slaveholder. The following individuals and families are represented:

Edward Ambler I
Edward Ambler II
John Ambler II
Richard Ambler
William Armiger
Col. Nathaniel Bacon
Richard Bennett
William Berkeley
Robert Beverley II
Richard Bland
William Broadnax II
William Browne I
William Browne II
William Browne III
Lewis Burwell
John Burrows
John Chew
William Drummond I
William Drummond III
William Drummond IV
William Edwards II
William Edwards III
Edward Grindon
Charles Harmer
Edward Jaquelin
John Johnson
Richard Kemp
John Kicotan
Richard Kingsmill
William Lee
William Ludwell Lee
Philip Ludwell I
Philip Ludwell II
Philip Ludwell III
Thomas Ludwell
The Ludwell Family
George Menefie
Nicholas Meriwether
John Moone
John Page
William Peirce
Abraham Peirsey
Christopher Perkins
William Sherwood
Madam Mary Swann
Samuel Swann
Col. Thomas Swann
Thomas Swann II
William Thompson
Champion Travis
Edward Travis I
Edward Travis IV (Capt. Edward Travis)
Edward Champion Travis
John Upton
George Yeardley

The index on the following pages gives general information about each.

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Ambler, Edward I					
1769	Inventory	Many slaves mentioned by name		James City	Inventory
1768-69	Tax List	Many slaves		James City	Tax List
Ambler, Edward II					
1809-14	List of Tithables	Many slaves		James City	Many slaves listed as tithables
Ambler, John II					
1800	Contract	Implied		James City	Contract between Ambler and overseer H. Taylor
1782-1807	Court Record	Many slaves		James City	Slaves listed on Personal Property Tax list
Ambler, Richard					
1739	*Virginia Gazette*	Kingsale		York County	Advertisement for the return of a runaway slave
1745	Deed	William Liverpool		James City	Christopher Perkins' deed to Richard Ambler (land and slave). See C. Perkins file
1763	Court Record	America		York County	Slave tried and punished for felony
1765	Will	Several slaves mentioned by name and occupation		Several counties	Estate division, mentions slaves on several plantations and on Jamestown Island
1766	Court Record	Mentioned		James City County	Ambler's estate is to be appraised
1768	Inventory	Several slaves mentioned by name and occupation		James City	Inventory
Armiger, William					
1681	Land Record/ Genealogical Data				Mentions Arminger's marriage to Susanne Fisher of James Town
1700-01	Slave Trade Record	Implied			Armiger as Captain of a slave ship; his role in the slave trade
Bacon, Col. Nathaniel					
1666	Land Record (Patent)	6 "Negroes"			Africans as headrights
1680	Court Record				Indentured servants
1681	Court Record				Gelding with distinguishing mark at quarter on Queen's Creek
1681	Court Record				Servants imported

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1684	Court Record			York County	Presided over case about servants
1667-68	Court Record			James City County	Servants as weavers
1671-73	Court Record			James City County	Indentured servants
1674-75	Court Record			James City County	Servants and runaways
1677-78	Court Record				Indentured servants adjudged for age
1677-79	Court Record			James City County	Ages of Nathaniel Bacon's servants determined
1681, 1683	Court Record				Indentured servants
1691/2	Will	Moll			The dispersal of his estate
1692, 1697	Court Record	Nan, Tonie, Sue			Seizure of "Negros" in former Bacon dwelling
1695-1697	Court Record	Implied			Release of executors

Bennett, Richard

1635	Land Record (Patent)	Augt			Headright

Berkeley, William

1647	Estate Inventory			Green Spring	Berkeley purchased servant with bedding and clothing
1677	Inventory			Green Spring	Irish woman servant (see also William Drummond I's file)
1677	Book	A "negro" servant		Green Spring	"Negro servant" sent to be tortured and questioned about an incident with Berkeley's coach
1677	Colonial Papers	A "negro" servant		Green Spring	"Negro servant" sent to be tortured and questioned about an incident with Berkeley's coach
1678	Will			Green Spring	Will—division of his estate
	Article			Green Spring	Biographical and genealogical information
1955	Archaeological Report	Implied		Green Spring	Biographical data on Berkeley and historical info on Ludwells and Green Spring

Beverley, Robert II

1678/1694/ 1696	Land Record (Patent)	Many		Virginia	Headrights
	Book	Many		Virginia	General and specific information about slavery

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Bland, Richard					
1687	Land Record (Patent)	Six		Tidewater Virginia	Six Africans as headrights
Broadnax, William II					
1744	Deed	William Liverpool		James City	Slave sold to Christopher Perkins (see Christopher Perkins and Richard Ambler files)
Browne, William I					
1677	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1678	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Five African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1679	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1680	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
Browne, William II					
1681	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Six African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1682	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1683	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Six African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1684	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1685	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Six African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1686	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1687	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Ten African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1688	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1689	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1690	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Ten African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1691	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1692	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eleven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1693	Deeds,Wills,& Etc.	Ten African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1694	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1695	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1696	Deeds,Wills,& Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1697	Deeds,Wills,& Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1698	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eleven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1699	Deeds, Will, & Etc.	Ten African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1700	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1701	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1702	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Six African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1703	Deeds,Wills,& Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List

Browne,William III

1699	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1700	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1701	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Three African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1703	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Burrows, John					
17th c	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.			Virginia	Married Richard Buck's daughter
Burwell, Lewis					
1697	Deeds, Orders, and Wills	"Negro" man Tonie and "Negro Gerle Sue"		York County(?)	Slaves detained by Burwell
Chew, John					
1636	Land Record (Headrights)	One "Negro" woman		Charles River Co.	Headrights
1636	Land Record (Patent)				Footnote to another document
1636	Land Record				Land Patent
1636	Land Record (Headrights)			Charles River Co.	Headrights
1637	Land Record (Headrights)			Charles River Co.	Headrights
1638	Land Grant			James City County	Land Grant to Chew
1646	Court Record				His servant indenture extended
1651	Court Record	Tony, Sampson, Ann, Kate		York County	Sale of slaves to his wife's heirs
1668	Land Record (Patent)			York County	Land Assignment to Goodwin
Drummond, William I					
1674	Land Record	Mingo		James City County	Mingo "a negro" listed among persons transported to colony
1677	Inventory	Three "negroes" mentioned by name and other white servants		James City County	Servants and slaves listed on Drummond's inventory
1661-62/ 1673-74	Land Patent	Thirteen "negroes" listed as headrights		James City County	Headrights
Drummond, William III					
1751	Court Record	Natt, a Christian slave		James City County	Natt gave deposition in criminal trial
1751	Court Record	Nat		James City County	His slave Natt on trial
1753	Court Record	Natt a mulatto		James City County	
[17]39	*Virginia Gazette*	Natt		James City County	Advertisement for the return of a runaway
1750/51	Court Record	Natt		James City County	Natt, accused of various crimes

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Drummond, William IV					
1769	Tax Record			James City County	Tax records
1773	Court Record	Slaves as part of estate appraisement		James City County	Drummond to pay relatives part of the appraisement of his father's slaves
Edwards, William II					
1677	Court Record	Kiketan		Surry County	William Edwards purchased a servant (a mulatto boy)
1678	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1679	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1679	Land Record (Patent)			Surry County	Land Grant
1680	Land Record (Patent)			Surry County	Land grant of William Edwards I to William Edwards II
1681	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned		Surry County	Tithable List
1682	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1683	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1684	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1685	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1686	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1687	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four African/African American slaves mentioned by name and Kignetan		Surry County	Tithable List
1688	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four African/African American slaves mentioned by name and Kignetan		Surry County	Tithable List
1689	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Six African/African American slaves mentioned by name and Kignetan		Surry County	Tithable List
1690	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Six African/African American slaves mentioned by name and Kignetan		Surry County	Tithable List

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1691	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name and Kignetan		Surry County	Tithable List
1692	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name, an "Indian" servant or slave and Jack Ciquotan		Surry County	Tithable List
1693	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name, Tom, an "Indian" servant or slave and Jack Kicotan		Surry County	Tithable List
1694	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name and Tom, an "Indian"		Surry County	Tithable List
1695	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves and an "Indian" mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1696	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Five African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1697	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1698	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Five African/African American slaves mentioned by name and Tom and Indian		Surry County	Tithable List
1698	Land Record (Patent)			James City County	Land grant to William Edwards

Edwards, William III

1694	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Will & Frank		Surry County	Tithable List
1695	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Will & Frank		Surry County	Tithable List
1700	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1701	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Three African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1702	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Five African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1703	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1709	Court Record	Scipio		Surry County	1709 slave and Native American insurrection
1709/10	Book	Scipio		Surry County	1709/10 insurrection

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Grindon, Edward					
1627	Court Record				Servant theft
1626-50	Book			Surry County	Described as an "ancient planter"
1626-85	Land Record (Patent)			Surry County	Land Patents
Harmer, Charles					
1635	Land Record (Patent)	8 Africans mentioned by name			Africans as headrights
Jaquelin, Edward					
1709	Court Record	Slave involved in plot		James City County	His slave was involved in a plot
1766	Will			James City County	Jaquelin was owner of property on Jamestown Island left to R. Ambler
Johnson, John					
1638	Land Record			James City County	Land patent transferred from Johnson I to Johnson II
	Footnote to an Article			Surry County	Family genealogy
Kemp, Richard					
1637	Land Record (Patent)			James City County	Land patents
1638	Land Record (Patent)			Rich Neck Plantation	Land Patents; blacks mentioned as headrights
1656	Will			Rich Neck Plantation	Will
	Article (McCartney unpublished research notes)			Rich Neck Plantation	Rich Neck Plantation
1638/1639/ 1649	Land Record (Headrights)	Many Africans, some mentioned by name		James City County	Headrights
Kicotan, John					
1687	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.			Surry County	Tithable List
1688	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.			Surry County	Tithable List
1689	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.			Surry County	Tithable List
1690	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.			Surry County	Tithable List

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1691	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.			Surry County	Tithable List
1692	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.			Surry County	Tithable List
1693	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.			Surry County	Tithable List
1694	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.		Freed servant, probably Native American	Surry County	Freed servant mentioned on Tithable Lists (see William Edward II file)

Kingsmill, Richard

1624	Census	Edward (probably a servant)		James City County	Servant in the custody of Richard Kingsmill
1625	Muster	Edward (probably a servant)		James City County	Servant in the custody of Richard Kingsmill

Lee, William

1782-93	Property Tax	Many		James City County	Many slaves listed as Tithables
1789/95	Will	Many		James City County	Slaves as part of estate
1789/96	Will	Implied		James City County	William Lee decd. estate division

Lee, William Ludwell

1794-1805	Personal Property Tax	Numerous		James City County	Slaves listed as tithables
1802	Will	Numerous		James City County	Freed slaves at his death

Ludwell, Philip I

1663	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Patent		James City	Headright
1686	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Ten African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1687	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Ten African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1688	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Ten African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1689	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves listed (no names mentioned)		Surry County	Tithable List
1690	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves listed (no names mentioned)		Surry County	Tithable List
1691	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1692	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1693	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eighth African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1694	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Fifteen African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1695	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1697	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1698	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1699	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1700	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1701	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Eight African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1702	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Nine African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1703	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven African/African American slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
1709	Diary (*William Byrd's Secret Diary*)			Green Spring	50 cows burnt in Luwell's barn
1709	Diary (*William Byrd's Secret Diary*)	"Ludwell's boy"			Ludwell's "boy" broke a glass at dinner
1710	Diary (*William Byrd's Secret Diary*)	3 or 4 "Negros"		Green Spring	Philip Ludwell lost "3 or 4 negros more"
1709/10	Colonial Papers	Slaves involved in conspiracy		James Town	Slaves arrested for conspiracy

Ludwell, Philip II

1707	Deed			James City County	Property deeded to James and Sarah Blair
1713	Land Record (Patent)			James City County	Philip Ludwell's land on the Chickahominy river
1719/20	Advertisement			James City County	Coachman ran away

Ludwell, Philip III

1737	*Virginia Gazette*			James City County	P. Ludwell's marriage to Fanny Grymes
1751	Diary (J. Blair)			Williamsburg	Dinner with the Governor
1751	Diary (J. Blair)			James City County	The construction of a mill

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1751	*Virginia Gazette*	Implied		Green Spring	Ludwell advertised for good overseers
1752	*Virginia Gazette*	Anthony		Green Spring	Ludwell advertised reward for the return of a runaway slave
1752	*Virginia Gazette*	"one of his negro boys"		Williamsburg	"Boy" found green cloth housing
1755	*Virginia Gazette*			James City County	Steer concealed by overseer at the Ludwell Plantation
1755	*Virginia Gazette*	a "negroe" man, (not sure if he was Ludwell's slave)		James City County	Pocketbook found near Ludwell's mill
1759	Court Record	George and Jemmy		James City County	Slaves to be executed but pardoned
1767	Will	Jane, Sarah, and (Cress, deceased)		Green Spring	Jane and Sarah to be freed
1767	Will	Many		Green Spring, Rich Neck, Hot Water, etc.	Appraisement of the estate of P. Ludwell (1767)
1767/ 1768/1771	*Virginia Gazette*	Probably included as tithables		Green Spring	Estate sale
1768/1769	Tax Records	Many		James City County	Tax Records (Tithables)
18th c	Letter Book	Many		James City County	Runaway slaves
Colonial	18th c info compiled by Martha McCartney		Gilbert Wooten & John Cassidy	James City County	Historical notes on Green Spring (Slaves, Ludwells and the Lees)
Colonial	Land Record				Lease for the Governor's Land

Ludwell, Thomas

1663	Land Record (Headright)			James City County	Headrights
1674/75	Land Record			James City County	Thomas Ludwell sold land to Ballard

Ludwell Family

1769/1770	Letter (Lee Manuscript)	77 slaves		James City and Surry	1770 division of P. Ludwell estate
1769/1848	Inventory	Over a hundred slaves listed by name		London, England	Estate settlement
1894	Journal Article			James City	Ludwell family history
1911	Journal Article	Many		James City County/ Williamsburg	Ludwell family history/Bruton, England history
	Journal Article	Many		Green Spring	Historical notes on Green Spring
	Journal Article			Green Spring	Primary and secondary data about Green Spring and various owners

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Menefie, George					
1635	Land Record (Patent)			James City County	Rich Neck Plantation land grant
1635/1638	Land Record (Patent)	Tony, an East Indian and Africans brought out of England		James City County	Africans and an East Indian as headrights
Meriwether, Nicholas					
1677	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two African/African American slaves mentioned (one named Richard)		Surry County	Tithable List
1690	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two slaves mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable List
	Family Papers				Meriwether family
Moone, John					
1635	Land Record	Solon		Warresquioake Co.	African listed as headright
1635	Land Record	Solon			African listed as headright
Page, John					
1741	Newspaper Article	Eleven slaves		Gloucester	Mrs. Page's slaves are burnt to death
1772	Will (John Page)	Implied			Slaves willed to family members
1777	Will (R. Burwell)			Isle of Wight	Land willed to John Page; two negro women mentioned
Peirce, William					
1624	Census	Angelo an African/African American servant		Jamestown	Census
1625	Muster	Angelo an African/African American servant		Jamestown	Muster
1640	Court Record	Six servants of Pierce plotted with negro of Mr. Reginolds			Treatment of runaway servant and "negro"
Peirsey, Abraham					
1624	Census	Six Africans/African Americans at Flowerdew		Prince George Co.	Census
1625	Muster	Seven Africans/African Americans at Flowerdew		Prince George Co.	Muster

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Perkins, Christopher					
1745	Deed	William Liverpool		James City County	Christopher Perkins deeded land and slave to Richard Ambler
Sherwood, William					
1697	Will	Mary Antrobus (?) Servant or slave (?) Dorothy Jubile		James City	Mary Antrobus to receive money when freed. Indian woman Jubile to be freed and given money
Swann, Madam Mary					
1681	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Tony and Kate		Surry County	Slaves listed as tithables
1682	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Tony and Kate		Surry County	Slaves listed as tithables
Swann, Samuel					
1634	Land Record (Headrights)			James City County	Sam Swann as a headright
1677	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	"Indian" woman		Surry County	Tithables (see Native Americans file)
1684	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	William a "negro"		Surry County	Tithables
1685	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two Africans/African Americans mentioned by name (one a mulatto)		Surry County	Tithables
1686	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two Africans/African Americans mentioned by name (one a mulatto)		Surry County	Tithables
1687	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Three Africans/African Americans mentioned by name (one a mulatto)		Surry County	Tithables
1689	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four Africans/African Americans mentioned by name (one a mulatto)		Surry County	Tithables
1690	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Three Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1691	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Three Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1693	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Three Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1698	Marriage			North Carolina	Marriage
Swann, Col. Thomas					
1638	Land Record (Patent)			James City County	Land patented by Thomas Swann
1655	Land Record (Patent)			Surry County	Land patented by Swann

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1656	Court Record			Surry County	Seventeenth-century housing
1658	Land Record (Patent)			Surry County	Land patented by Swann
1664	Land Record (Patent)			Surry County	Land patented by Swann
1672	Court Record			Surry County	Col. Swann present in court (reference to slave activities and clothing)
1677	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1678	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1679	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1680	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables

Swann, Thomas II

1687	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Five Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1688	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1689	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Seven Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1690	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1691	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1693	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1694	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Two Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1695	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1696	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Five Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1697	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1698	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Four Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Thompson, William					
1680	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	One African/African American mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithable
1685	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Three Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
1686	Deeds, Wills, & Etc.	Three Africans/African Americans mentioned by name		Surry County	Tithables
Travis, Champion					
1793	Court Record	Six slaves		James City	Daphne and Nell convicted for murder
1768-69	Tax Records	Slaves		Williamsburg	Tithables
1769/1782-1810	Personal Property Tax	Many slaves listed		James City	Slaves on property tax list
Travis, Edward I					
1637	Land Record (Patent)			Surry & James City	Acres of land owned
1637	Land Record (Patent)			Jamestown	Biographical notes on Edward Travis I
1638	Land Record (Patent)			Surry &James City	Acres of land owned
Travis, Edward IV					
1772	*Virginia Gazette*/ Announcement			Jamestown	Travis married Betsy Taite
1774	*Virginia Gazette*/ Advertisement		Moses Willis (?)	Brunswick County	Advertisement for the return of a runaway indentured servant
1780/1784	*Virginia Gazette*/ Announcement	Five slaves		Jamestown and Williamsburg	Travis advertised lots and houses in Williamsburg and slaves including a blacksmith for sale
Travis, Edward Champion					
1765	Land Record (Patent)			Williamsburg	Travis purchased lots in Williamsburg
1766	Court Order			James City County	Travis to help appraise slaves and the rest of the estate of R. Ambler
1775	*Virginia Gazette*/ Announcement			Jamestown	Travis's houses at Jamestown hit by shots
1778	Will	Several listed		James City, Surry & other counties	Travis's will and estate division

Date	Document Type	Slaves	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1779	*Virginia Gazette*/ announcement			Near Williamsburg	Death of Travis
1779	Court Order	As tithables		York County	Failed to list tithes
1779	Notes from *Virginia Gazette*			James City County	Notice about the death of Travis
1897	Biographical Data			James City County	Biographical data
1768-69	Personal Property Tax	Slaves listed as tithables		James City County	Slaves listed as tithables
1777-78	*Virginia Gazette*/ Advertisement	Jesse and David		Jamestown &York County	Advertisement for the return of runaway slaves
1783-1811	Land Tax Record			James City County	Acres of land owned
18th and 19th c	Personal Property Tax	As tithables		James City County	Slaves listed as tithables

Upton, John

1635	Land Record	Antho., and Mary, negroes		Isle of Wight	Headrights
1652	Will	Chattels and servants		Isle of Wight	Will
1622-52	Land Record			Isle of Wight	Biographical information about John Upton

Yeardley, George

1624	Census	Reference to servants (no number)		Jamestown	Census
1625	Muster	Eight servants		Jamestown	Muster
1625	Court Record	Implied			Negro employed by Lady Yeardley
1967	Article	Implied		James City County	Yeardley at Flowerdew
1609/27	Biographical Notes	Implied		James City County	Exploits in Virginia

Index of Data Files by General Subject

The second set of files contains information sorted by general subject. The following subjects are represented:

Africa and Africans

- Descriptions of Africa and Africans mainly from traveler's accounts. Topics include: architecture, food, living conditions, dress, and adornment.

African Americans

- Historical study on African Americans in James City County, Virginia by Martha McCartney.
- Seventeenth-century court record about a free African/African American.

Cartouche

- Cartouches from eighteenth-century maps showing Africans/African Americans in tobacco production. Anglo-Americans are included in the scenes.

Cultural Information

- Seventeenth-century court record about African-American clothing and meetings.

Free African Americans

- Information on free African Americans in Surry, James City, Charles City, and York Counties. References to emancipation and registration.

Green Spring

- Article on Green Spring Plantation by J. Paul Hudson.

Inventories

- Seventeenth-century inventory of Thomas Pettus of Kingsmill Plantation.
- Eighteenth-century inventory of Matthew Ashby, a free African American.

Land Records

- Seventeenth-century settlement patterns.

Maps (Historic)

- Maps showing seventeenth-century settlement patterns in Tidewater Virginia.

Native Americans

- Court records about employment and "entertaining" Native Americans.

Occupations and Skills

- African-American overseer supervisor
- Article on free African Americans

Runaways

- Newspaper advertisements calling for the return of runaway slaves.

Slaves and Freedom

- Court records about slaves.

Slave Laws

- Miscellaneous laws concerning slavery.

Slave "Leisure" Time

- Journal article about slave life.

Slave Resistance

- Court records and other documents about slave insurrection, poisoning, and information about African Americans in Bacon's Rebellion.

Slave Trade

- Primary and secondary documents about the slave trade.
- Statistical data, diary entries, and journal articles.

Slave Trials

- Materials about slave crime.

Slavery (General)

- Mainly essays about slavery and the slave trade.

Surry County

- General information about slaves and slaveholders in Surry County.

Wills

- Will of a Virginian planter.
- Will of a Virginian governor.

Date	Document	Slaveholder	Slave	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Africa and Africans						
1607	Letter				Africa	Body Adornment, Sierra Leone Africa
1697	Book				Biyrut, Africa	Housing
1705	Book				Guinea, Africa	Adornment
1731	Book				Gambia, Africa	Housing
1733	Letter					Description of a village layout
1745	Book				Guinea, Africa	Housing
1752	Poem					Poem about Africans
1760	Historical References				South Carolina & Virginia	African cultural survivals in America
1765	Journal				Williamsburg	The sale of slaves in Williamsburg
African Americans						
1624	Court Record			John Phillip (free?)		"Negro" sailor's testimony
17th-20th c.	Book	General &specific	General & specific	General & specific	James City	James City County's African-American Heritage
African Americans as Property Owners						
1656	Land Patent			Benjamin Doyle	Surry	African American as property owner
1667	Land Patent			Emanuell Cambow	James City	African American as property owner
1668	Court Record	Robert Jones	John Harris		New Kent	Slave property
1697	Court Record	John Nicholls	Two mulatto children		Lower Norfolk County	Children receive land
1955	Journal Article			Benjamin Doyle & Emmanuell Cambow	Surry/James City	Free African American as property owners
Cartouche						
1751	Cartouche (Fry/Jefferson)	General	General			Waterfront activity
1751	Cartouche (Fry/Jefferson)	General	General			Waterfront activity
Colonial	Cartouche	General	General			Tobacco monoculture
Cultural Information						
1672	Court Record		General	Implied		African-American clothing and meeting laws
Free African Americans						
1771	Inventory			Matthew Ashby	York	Inventory of the Estate of Matthew Ashby

Date	Document	Slaveholder	Slave	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1782	Deed/Estate Account	Surry County slaveholders		Over 49	Surry	Enslaved African Americans emancipated
1817	Court Record			Jerry Bailey		Free-born African American
1657/58	Order	Christopher Stafford & Ann Barnehouse	Rosa	Mihill Gowen & William	York	The freedom of Mihill & his son William
Green Spring Plantation						
1769	Ludwell family				Green Spring	Surveyor's drawing
Colonial	Article	Berkeley/Ludwell	Implied		James City	Green Spring Plantation
Colonial	Property tax lists, newspaper advertisements and other documents	Berkeley, Ludwells, and the Lees etc.	Many slaves mentioned by name	Gilbert Wooten & James Cassidy	Green Spring	Green Spring Plantation
Inventory						
1692	Inventory	Thomas Pettus	Briby, Sylliman, Webb, Nan & Moll		James City	Description of inventory
Land Records						
	Article	Richard Kingsmill, John Johnson, son Phillip Ludwell, etc.	Implied		James City	Archer's Hope History (includes extensive bibliography); 17th c land settlement patterns
Levies						
1670	Court Record					Old "negro" exempted from paying levies.
Maps, Historic						
	Map					Maps of Virginia in 1634 & 1668
	Map					Map of settlements, towns, plantations and communities 1607-1624
Native Americans						
1647	Inventory	Robert Jackson			York County	Native American girl listed on inventory
1648	Court Order				York County	Inhabitants entertaining Native American contrary to law
1662	Court Order				Charles City Co.	Testimony concerning an Native American striking someone
1677	Tithables	Samuel Swann			Surry	Native American woman as tithable
1661-64	Court Order (Fleet 1988)	Rice Hoe			Charles City County	Native American youth to receive clothing for years of service

Date	Document	Slaveholder	Slave	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
Occupations and Skills						
1669	Court Record		"Negro overseer"			Overseeing Hannah Warwick (probably a white servant)
1780-1865	Journal Article	General	General	General	Virginia general	Native American internal economy and self-hire
Runaways						
1745	Advertisement	Margaret Arbuthnott	Jack & another unnamed		Hanover	Runaway slave advertisement
1754	Advertisement/*Virginia Gazette*	William WiJun	Angola-born & Virginia born		Hanover	Runaway slave advertisement
1765	Advertisement	Wade Netherland	Sam Howell		Cumberland	Runaway slave advertisement
1766	Advertisement/*Virginia Gazette*	John Thompson	Nanny		Albemarle	Runaway slave advertisement
1766	Advertisement/*Virginia Gazette*	Robert Petway	James, Peter & Sam		Sussex	Runaway slave advertisement
1766	Advertisement	David Sallen	Ibo "Negro"		Hampton	Runaway slave advertisement
1766	Advertisement/*Virginia Gazette*	William Cureton/ Nathaniel Rein	James/Nan		Prince George	Runaways committed to prison
Colonial	Green Spring Index (McCartney Research notes, n.d.)	Ludwell & Berkeley	Runaways mentioned		Green Spring	
Colonial	Runaway Slave Index (McCartney Research Notes n.d.)	Many	Many			Runaway slaves
Slaves and Freedom						
1675	General Court Record	Capt. Mathews	Angell			Angell denied freedom
1711	General Court Record		Implied		Virginia	Issuing of subpoenas
Slave "Leisure" Time						
Colonial	Journal Article	General	Implied			Slave "leisure" time
Slave Resistance						
1730	Letter	General	Implied		Williamsburg	Slave insurrection
1763	Newspaper		Several		Williamsburg	Case of African Americans poisoning whites

Date	Document	Slaveholder	Slave	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1709/10	Book	William Edwards, John George, Joseph J. Jackson & Samuel Thompson	Scipio, Salvadore, Peter & Manuell	James Booth	Surry	Eighteenth-century slave conspiracy
1709/1710/ 1730	Book	Broadnax, Hart, Edwards, Edmonds, Thomas	Jamy, Peter, Tom, Cato, G. Jack, L. Jack & Will		Surry, Princess Anne and Norfolk	Failed slave revolts
Colonial	Book	Sir William Berkeley	General		Jamestown	African/African Americans in Bacon's Rebellion
Colonial	Article	General	Implied		James City	General article on Bacon's Rebellion
Slave Trade						
1664	Court Record	James Mills	"A boat of Negroes"		Surry	Transporting a boat of African/African Americans
1678	Court Record	Mrs. Drummond, Mrs. Berkeley & Governor Berkeley	Implied		Virginia	Importation of slaves by Royal African Company
1688	Court Record		Newly arrived Africans		Virginia	Arrival of Africans
1710	Diary		Ship with Africans		Near Williamsburg	Arrival of Africans
1739	Article	General	Implied		South Carolina	Stono Rebellion
Colonial	Book		Implied		Virginia	Importation tax on slaves repealed
	Article	General	General		Virginia	African Americans in Virginia
Colonial	Book	General	Implied		Virginia	Virginia slave trade statistics
	Article		General		West Africa	an a African Archaeology
	Article	General	Implied		New World	Slave trade
1710-18	Book		166 mentioned		Virginia	Slave trade
Slave Trials						
1673	Court Record	Geo. Light	Andrew Moore			Andrew Moore, a former negro servant freed
1709	Court Record	Many slaveholders	Scipio and others			Slaves charged in conspiracy
1793	Court Record	Champion Travis			James City	Slaves charged in the death of an overseer
Slavery, General						
1702	Traveler's Journal	General	General		Virginia	Observations about slaves and the economy in Virginia

Date	Document	Slaveholder	Slave	Free Blacks	Place/County	Subject
1766	Advertisement/*Virginia Gazette*	Leonard Keeling	"Valuable slaves"		Prince George	Auction: slaves, livestock, etc.
	Book				Virginia	The "20 and odd negroes" in Virginia
	Journal Article	General			Early South	The "origins of the Southern labor system"
	Journal Article	G. Yeardley, W. Pierce and A. Johnson (black)	Several slaves/servants mentioned	Anthony Johnson & John Phillip	Virginia	Treatment, attitudes and perceptions about African/African Americans in the 1620s
	Book				Virginia	Slavery in Virginia
	Journal Article				Virginia	Internal economy of slaves
	Journal Article				New World	Race and racism
	Journal Article	General	General		New World	Book Review: *The Making of New World Slavery*
	Journal Article				Iberia & New World	Racism and Iberian antecedents
	Journal Article	Sluiter			Virginia	The "20 and odd negroes" in Virginia
	Book Review	General	General	General	America	American slavery
	Journal Article	General & specific	First "20" and more Africans		Virginia	The first "20 and odd" Africans
Surry County, General						
	Book	Several	General		Surry	Tithables
	Book	General	General		Surry	Settlement patterns and tithables
	Book	Early settlers			Surry	Names and ages of early settlers
1668	Journal Article	Several			Surry	Tithables
Wills						
1767	Will	Francis Fauquier	Many slaves		Williamsburg and York County	Will with special provisions for slaves
1779	Will	Landon Carter	Many slaves		Sabine Hall	Estate division