## The Network March 18, 1999

The second issue of "The Network" includes information about the number of free blacks in the Williamsburg area in the 1770s and the 1780s, Williamsburg slaves who were emancipated between 1723 and 1782, births/baptisms of free black children in the Bruton Parish Register, the binding out of mulatto children by the parish vestry, slave surnames and possible connections to free blacks, and a free black musician hired to play at the balls given by Lord Botetourt.

## The Number of Free Blacks in the Williamsburg Area in the 1770s and 1780s

It is difficult to determine the number of free black men, women, and children who lived in Williamsburg and the surrounding rural area before the American Revolution because only one census of Williamsburg survives (1775) and this document does not indicate whether blacks were free or enslaved. ${ }^{1}$ In 1775, a total of 986 blacks lived in Williamsburg ( $52 \%$ of the town's population).

| Whites | Blacks |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Males | 505 | Males | 469 |  |  |
| $\quad$ Tithes | 327 |  | Tithes | 263 |  |
| $\quad$ Under 16 | 178 |  | Under 16 | 206 |  |
| Females |  | 389 | Females | 517 |  |
| Total |  | 894 |  | 986 |  |

Kevin Kelly's directory of the heads of Williamsburg's households in 1775 includes six free blacks: Adam Waterford (a cooper), Nanny Jones (a laundress), John Rawlinson (a shoemaker), Edith Cumbo (worked for William Trebell in 1764), Joseph Cooper, and Betty Wallace.

The 1782 Williamsburg Census noted that there were 722 whites and 702 blacks in 182 households in the city. An additional fifty-one individuals were lot owners. The census included the designation of "free" after the names of four women who headed households, an indication that they were free women of color:

| Name | Whites | Blacks | Lots |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sally Carter free | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Nanny Jones free | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Elizabeth Derozario free | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Betty Wallace free | 0 | 4 | 0 |

[^0]Nanny Jones, Elizabeth Derozario, and Betty Wallace had other free people of color who lived with them. A total of eleven free blacks ( $1.6 \%$ of the black population and $.8 \%$ of the entire population of Williamsburg) lived in these four households ( $2.2 \%$ of the households in town). The census also noted that Adam Waterford owned one lot in Williamsburg and that William Cole paid the tax on one lot held by the estate of his father-in-law, John Rawlinson. Neither Waterford nor Cole were described as being free men of color on this census.

There was at least one woman, known from other sources to be a free black, who was not designated by either race or status on the census. She was Edith Cumbo who appeared on the census as the head of a household with two whites. ${ }^{2}$ It is possible that four other females on the list were also free women of color:

| Name | Whites | Blacks | Lots |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Betty Blue | 5 | 4 | 0 |
| Polly Cary | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sucky Chambers | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Peggy Sweat | 4 | 0 | 0 |

If all of the individuals in these five households were free people of color, the count of free blacks in Williamsburg in 1782 would have been thirty-one ( $4.4 \%$ of the black population, $2.2 \%$ of the entire population of Williamsburg; and $4.9 \%$ of the households). There is no additional information about Edith Cumbo, Betty Blue, Polly Cary, Sucky Chambers, or Peggy Sweat in the York County Court records. It is possible that the four females rented lots on the James City County side of Williamsburg. Unfortunately, they did not appear on the 1783,1784 , or 1786 Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists.

There was a small free black population in the city limits of Williamsburg. However, a number of free people of color lived along the road to Queen's Creek and along the creek itself. Runaway advertisements indicate that free blacks lived near Queen's Creek. In November 1771, David Ross informed readers of the Virginia Gazette that sixteen-year old Jemima "was brought up in Williamsburg, and has Relations upon Queen's Creek, it is probable that she may be harboured thereabouts." Two years later, John Armistead of Mecklenburg County and Lockey Collier both believed that their runaway slaves-James and Len, respectively-might be hiding in Yorktown or Williamsburg, or at Queen's Creek. In October 1775, Samuel Portlock, the jailer of Norfolk County, announced that one of his prisoners was a man named William Parrott who claimed he was a free man. Parrott also told Portlock that he was born about a mile from Williamsburg. In 1777, John Seawell of Gloucester County, the owner of a

[^1]runaway slave named Jacob, noted that it was "more than probable that he may be lurking about Queen's Creek, being much acquainted with the free mulattoes in that neighbourhood, and perhaps change his dress and endeavour to pass for a freeman."3 It is probable that John Custis purchased land near Queen's Creek for "his boy Jack" because of the location of the property. It is known that seven of the eight lots that John Rawlinson owned at the time of his death were at Capitol Landing on Queen's Creek. ${ }^{4}$

The 1784 York County Personal Property Tax List and the 1784 James City County Personal Property Tax List include the names of free men and women of color (see Table 1 and Table 2). Nine of the forty-five free blacks in York County owned a slave and one of the nine free blacks in James City County had an enslaved laborer in 1784. Two free black residents of Williamsburg were slave owners-Lydia Cooper and John Rawlinson.

## Williamsburg Slaves Who Were Emancipated Between 1723 and 1782

Five Williamsburg slaves were freed by the Governor and the Council between 1723 and 1782. On April 18, 1744, John Custis petitioned to free "his Negro Boy Slave Christened John but commonly called Jack born of the body of his Negro Wench Young Alice." Five years later, in July 1749, Governor Gooch secured freedom for one of his slaves, a man named Captain Jack, before he returned to England. Matthew Ashby gained the freedom of his wife Ann and their children John and Mary in November 1769. ${ }^{5}$

## Births and Baptisms of Free Black Children in the Bruton Parish Register

The parents of seventy-four free black children had the birth/baptism of their sons and daughters recorded in the Bruton Parish Register between 1744 and 1790. Forty-two of the seventy-four free black children had the names of both free parents of color listed

[^2]in the parish register. It is possible that the twenty-one children who had only the name of their mother listed in the Bruton register were born to a free mother and an enslaved father (see Table 3).

## Binding Out of Mulatto Children by the Parish Vestry

The clerk of a parish vestry recorded the indenture of a mulatto child bound out by a parish vestry. Unfortunately, the vestry records for Bruton Parish do not survive. The two indentures that follow involve free mulattoes who lived in New Kent County.

This Indenture Made this Twenty Eight Day of July in the Year of our Lord Christ One thousand Seven hundred Thirty \& Eight Between Wm. Basset Gent: \& Jno Richardson of ye Parish of Blessland in ye County of New Kent Churchwardens on the one part \& Wm. Hockaday of the Parrish \& County aforeSd. on the other part Witnesseth that the aforeSd Churchwardens doth Bind unto the Said Wm. Hockaday his heires Exrs. \& Adminrs. three Mulato Bastard Children, Named Thos. Winnefrit \& Lucrecia Macklin, ye Children of Margett Macklin, \& with him or them to Serve after the manner of Such Servants From ye day of the date hereof, For \& during ye full term of time as the Law directs, during all which term ye Said Servts. their Said Master his heirs \&c Faithfully shall Serve, his or their Lawfull Commands every where gladly do. They shall do no damage to their Said Master nor see it done by others without letting or giving Notice thereof to their Said Master, But in all things as faithfull \& honest Servants shall \& will behave themselves to their Said Master his heirs \&c during the Said term of time as the Law directs. And the Sd. Wm Hockaday his heirs Exrs. \& Admrs. \&c is to find \& allow unto his Said Servants a Sufficien[ ] quantity of diet Cloathing \& Lodging with all necessaries fitting for such Servants during the Said term In Witness whereunto the Parties to this Indenture have set their hands \& Seals the day \& date firs [ ] above written

Sign'd Seal'd \& Deliver'd
In the Presence of us
Francis Cook
Benja Richardson
Fras Ratcliffe
William Hogg

W Bassett<br>John Richardson<br>William Hockaday

THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH That Thruston James and Burwell Bassett Gent. Churchwardens of the Parish of Blisland in the County of New Kent have put and placed a Mulatto Boy named Billey about twelve months old (Son of Winney Macklin a Mulatto Servant of James Pride Esqr and born during the time of her servitude) in the said Parish, Apprentice and Servant to the said James Pride of the Town and County of York Esqr with him his Executors,

Administrators and Assigns to dwell and serve untill the said Billey shall attain the Age of thirty one Years according to the Act of Assembly in that case made \& provided (being the time his said Mother was by Law obliged to serve) during all which time the said Billey his said Master and his Assigns shall faithfully serve in all Lawful business according to his power and ability, and honestly orderly \& obediently in all things demean and behave himself towards his said Master and his Assigns during the time aforesaid. And the said James Pride doth covenant and grant for himself his Executors Administrators \& Assigns to and with the said Churchwardens and their successors for the time being and every of them by these presents, that he shall and will during all the said term aforesaid find provide and allow the said Billey sufficient meat, drink, apparel and all other things necessary \& fitting a Servant of his condition so that he shall not be any ways a charge or chargeable to the said Parish or the Parishioners of the same, but of and from all charges concerning him shall and will save the said Parish and Parishioners harmelss and indemnified during the said term shall and will pay and allow the said Billey his freedom dues according to Law IN WITNESS whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and affixed their Seals this 11 Augt day of 1759

Burl Bassett<br>Thruston James<br>James Pride ${ }^{6}$

Several members of the Macklin family also lived in Bruton Parish (see Table 3).

## Slave Surnames and Possible Connections to Free Blacks

Recent research on nineteenth-century Virginia indicates that the majority of slaves did have surnames, usually different than those of their masters and that most masters chose not to use these surnames. The conventions of the slaveholding culture influenced masters to hide the surnames of their slaves. John T. Kneebone, Director of Publications and Educational Services at the Library of Virginia, included information about slave surnames in a recent posting to the Virginia History discussion list on the internet:
"The minute books of the First African Baptist Church, Richmond, 1841-1860, contain thousands of names of slaves who were baptised, had their church membership transferred, or required discipline for transgressions. The names of their masters are also given. The vast majority of slave surnames-upwards of $80 \%$-differ from those of the master. Only a tiny fraction of the slaves listed in the church minute books have only a given name.

[^3]The Library of Virginia is preparing to publish a biography of Henry 'Box' Brown (see the Spring 1999 issue of Virginia Cavalcade for his escape from Richmond in a box). Henry Brown was born at the Louisa County plantation of John Barret, and went to William Barret, a son and Richmond tobacco manufacturer, by inheritance. He married a slave woman named Nancy, who appears in the First African Baptist Church minutes as Nancy Brown, identified also as the slave of Mr. Cottrell, a detail confirmed in Brown's 1851 Narrative. Thus, it appears that when slaves married, women could take the surname of their husband and be known by that name.

But, if whites did know the full names of their slaves, conventions prevented them from identifying them that way. I have compared the accounts of fugitive slaves from Virginia given in William Still's Underground Railroad with reports and advertisements in the newspapers. More often than not, Still identifies the fugitives with both given names and surnames, while the advertisements placed by the fugitives' masters identify them by given name only.

In Charles Dew's excellent book, Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge, there is the story of a slave, a master ironworker, whose name in the records over the years goes from just the given name to a full name, with identity through the surname for his family, too. Dew rightly sees this as evidence of assertion, of a successful claim to personality, and even a political act.

On the other hand, the denial of full names in the records and the newspapers seems to me to fit the sociologist Orlando Patterson's explanation of slavery as 'social death.'"

The Bruton Parish Birth and Baptism Register contains the names of fifty-three slaves who were listed with surnames (see Table 4). Several of the slaves had surnames that were found in the free black community in the Williamsburg area-Jasper, Williams, Jones, Lewis, Poe, Wallace, and Roberts (see Table 3). It is possible that these enslaved boys and girls had a free black father and that their master allowed their enslaved mother to name them. The surnames of other baptised slaves might be the surname that an enslaved father shared with his wife and children.

## Free Black Musician Hired to Play at Balls Given by Lord Botetourt

Samuel Mordecai's Richmond in By Gone Days (published in 1856), noted that one of the musicians who played at balls given by Lord Botetourt was a black man.

[^4]The most prominent member of the black aristocracy of my early years was Sy. Gilliat, (probably Simon, or Cyrus,) the leading violinist (fiddler was then the word,) at the balls and dancing parties. He traced his claim to position to the days of vice-royalty, having held office under Lord Botetourt when governor, but whether behind his chair or his coach, is in the mist of obscurity.

Sy. Gilliat flourished in Richmond in the first decade of this century, and I know not how many of the last. He was tall, and even in his old age (if he ever grew old,) erect and dignified. When he appeared officially in the orchestra, his dress was an embroidered silk coat and vest of faded lilac, small clothes, (he would not say breeches,) and silk stockings, which rather betrayed the African prominence of the shin-bone, terminating in shoes fastened or decorated with large buckles. This court-dress was coeval with the reign of Lord Botetourt, and probably part of the fifty suits which, (according to the inventory he left) constituted his wardrobe; to complete this court costume, Sy. wore a brown wig with side curls and a long queue appended. His manners were as courtly as his dress, and he elbowed himself and his fiddle-stick through the world with great propriety and harmony.

Belonging to the vice-regal family, Sy. belonged of course to the Church of England; this was one qualification for the office of sexton, (not grave-digger,) and his residence being very near the church in Richmond, was an inducement for the wardens to confer on him the appointment; although strict constructionists might have considered, like Ephraim Smooth, that he was "a man of sin, rubbing the hair of the horse against the bowels of the cat;" he filled the office for some time, but was impelled to resign it in a fit of unrighteous indignation, excited by hearing that he was suspected of partaking of the wine without the other ceremonies of the sacrament. His declaration, that he had drunk Lord Botetourt's best wine long before his accusers knew the difference between Malaga and Malmsey, whilst it vindicated Sy.'s connoisseurship, did not obtain for him absolution from the charge, and he left the service of the church highly indignant.

Sy. could not have many associates without compromising his dignity, for there were few of the old aristocracy remaining; but in addition to those few, he permitted the intimacy of some of the leading stewards, coachmen, and head cooks of the best families.

His contemporary, Bob Cooley, had also served the nobility at Williamsburg, and when that city lost its pre-eminence, Bob was fain to follow a republican governor to Richmond, where for many years he was intrusted with the keys of the capitol, and flourished his besom over its floor and furniture. His court-dress was a time-honored suit of black velvet, ample in skirts and flaps.

If Sy. was the Chesterfield, Bob might be called the Burleigh of his day. Sy. acquired his courtly and elegant demeanor by frequenting balls and parties, and Bob his solemn deportment by attending in council chambers and courts of justice. By dusting the judge's cushion he seemed to have acquired the solemn aspect of the dignitary who sat on it. Bob did not, however, attach a handle to his
name, to indicate the dignity of office-but one was assumed by his successor, who appended the initials K. K. C., indicating keeper of the keys of the capitol. ${ }^{8}$

It is possible that the "Sy Gilliat" in Samuel Mordecai's account was Simon Gillett, a member of the free black Gillett family who lived in Bruton Parish in the eighteenth century. Another member of the Gillett family, Reuben, worked at the Governor's Palace for thirteen days in 1770. Perhaps "Fiddler Billy" also played at the balls that Lord Botetourt gave at the Palace. Fiddler Billy was one of the slaves whom Henry Wetherburn owned when he died in 1760. In 1773 Benjamin Weldon, the administrator of the estate of Wetherburn's heir (Edward Nicholson), hired Fiddler Billy to William Fearson, a dancing master in Williamsburg.

[^5]
## Table 1

Free Blacks on the 1784 York County Personal Property Tax List

| Name | White <br> Tithes | Slave <br> Tithes | Slaves <br> under 16 | Horses | Cattle | Parish or District |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :--- |
| alvis emanuel | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | bruton |
| alvis isreal | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9 | bruton |
| alvis william | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | bruton |
| armfield betty | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 15 | upper district |
| armfield mary | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | upper district |
| ashby john | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | bruton |
| banks james | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | bruton |
| banks malachi | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | lower charles |
| banks nicholas | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | lower charles |
| berry edward | 2 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 20 | upper charles |
| berry james | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | lower charles |
| blue henry | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | lower charles |
| cassady william | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | bruton |
| cattilla abraham | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | upper charles |
| cattilla edward | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | upper yorkhampton |
| combs edmund | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | lower charles |
| combs thomas | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | lower charles |
| combs william | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | lower charles |
| derosario lawrence | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | bruton |
| francis abraham | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 14 | lower charles |
| francis christopher | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | lower yorkhampton |
| francis william | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | lower charles |
| gillett peter junior | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 3 | bruton |
| gillett peter senior | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 8 | bruton |
| gillett reuben | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | bruton |
| gillett simon | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 9 | bruton |
| haley peter | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | bruton |
| hopson charles junior | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | lower charles |
| hopson charles senior | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | lower charles |
| hopson john | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | lower charles |
| huson william | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | lower charles |
| keemer james | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | lower charles |
| poe david | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | upper district |
| poe thomas | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | bruton |
| poe thomas senior | 1 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 9 | bruton |
|  |  |  | 0 | 0 |  |  |

## Table 1

Free Blacks on the 1784 York County Personal Property Tax List

| Name | White <br> Tithes | Slave <br> Tithes | Slaves <br> under 16 | Horses | Cattle | Parish or District |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | :--- | ---: | ---: | :--- |
| redcross john | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | bruton |
| roberts james | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | bruton |
| roberts john | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | bruton |
| roberts mildred | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 5 | upper yorkhampton |
| roberts milly | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 | upper district |
| roberts william | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | bruton |
| scott abraham | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | bruton |
| scott thomas | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | bruton |
| spruce david | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | lower charles |
| wilson robert | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | bruton |

Table 2
Free Blacks on the 1784 James City County Personal Property Tax List

| Name | Free <br> Males | Slaves | Horses | Cattle | Parish |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :--- |
| banks john | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | blissland |
| banks mary | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | blissland |
| brown john | 1 | 0 | 3 | 8 | upper james city |
| cannaday james | 1 | 0 | 4 | 17 | upper james city |
| cumbo stephen | 1 | 0 | 2 | 6 | upper james city |
| macklin suckey | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | blissland |
| rawlinson hughlet | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | upper james city |
| wallace james | 1 | 0 | 1 | 4 | upper james city |
| white john | 1 | 0 | 1 |  | 1 upper james city |

Table 3
Births and Baptisms of Free Blacks in the Bruton Parish Register

| Name | Sex | Birth Month | Day | Year | Mother | Father | Baptism Month | Day | Year | Note |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| alvis elizabeth | f | march | 13 | 1767 | alvis martha | alvis isreal |  |  |  |  |
| armfield daniel | m | february | 15 | 1768 | armfield elizabeth |  | april | 3 | 1768 |  |
| armfield james | m | march | 16 | 1766 | armfield elizabeth |  |  |  |  |  |
| armfield john lyons | m | january | 22 | 1783 | armfield betty |  | september | 6 | 1783 |  |
| armfield matthew | m | february | 2[?] | 1746 | armfield elizabeth | armfield daniel |  |  |  |  |
| armfield william alvis | m | april | 26 | 1765 | armfield martha |  |  |  |  |  |
| ashby john | m |  |  |  | ashby sarah | ashby john | september | 4 | 1763 |  |
| ashby mary | f | october | 24 | 1765 | ashby ann | ashby matthew |  |  |  |  |
| ashby matthew | m | july | 18 | 1765 | ashby ann | ashby john | october | 6 | 1765 |  |
| ashby philemon | m | september | 18 | 1767 | ashby sarah | ashby john |  |  |  |  |
| banks john | m |  |  |  | banks elizabeth |  | september | 2 | 1783 |  |
| bartlett [torn]y | m |  |  |  | bartlett lucretia | bartlett david | september | 4 | 1763 |  |
| bartlett godfrey macklin | m | november | 29 | 1764 | bartlett lucretia | bartlett david |  |  |  |  |
| bartlett james | m | june | 26 | 1768 | bartlett elizabeth | bartlett joseph | august | 14 | 1768 |  |
| bartlett matthew | m | january | 25 | 1783 | bartlett elizabeth |  | september | 8 | 1783 |  |
| chavis elizabeth | f | november | 5 | 1764 | chavis sukey |  |  |  |  |  |
| chavis susanna | f | june | 21 | 1767 | chavis sukey |  |  |  |  |  |
| cooper william | m | march | 9 | 1768 | cooper lydia | cooper joseph |  |  |  |  |
| cumbo elizabeth | f | november | 28 | 1787 | cumbo [torn] | cumbo solomon |  |  |  |  |
| cumbo james solomon | m | may |  | 1786 | cumbo [torn] | cumbo solomon |  |  |  |  |
| cumbo sarah | f | august | 19 | 1790 | cumbo [torn] | cumbo solomon |  |  |  |  |
| daniel | m |  |  |  |  |  | july |  | 1750 | at william and mary |
| derozario mary | f | august | 30 | 1765 | derozario susanna | derozario lawrence | october | 6 | 1765 |  |
| eaco john | m | april | 25 | 1744 | eaco joanna | eaco david |  |  |  |  |
| edwards elston | m |  |  |  |  | edwards ned | august | 7 | 1748 | ned--formerly major sweeney's slave |
| evans littlebury | m | october | 16 | 1766 | evans mary | evans robert |  |  |  |  |
| fanny | $f$ |  |  |  |  |  | may | 6 | 1754 | child |
| flowers nancy |  | july | 27 | 1766 | flowers mary |  |  |  |  |  |
| gillett reuben | m |  |  | 1784 | gillett mary | gillett reuben |  |  |  |  |
| gillett reuben | m | november | 6 | 1747 |  | gillett peter |  |  |  |  |
| grymes mary | f | february | 11 | 1765 | grymes elizabeth | grymes benjamin |  |  |  |  |
| grymes philip | m | april | 7 | 1768 | grymes elizabeth | grymes george | august | 14 | 1768 |  |
| jameson nancy | f |  |  |  | jameson jane | jameson james | february | 26 | 1785 |  |
| jasper johnny peters | m |  |  |  |  | jasper godfrey | [torn] |  | 174? |  |

Table 3
Births and Baptisms of Free Blacks in the Bruton Parish Register

| Name | Sex | Birth Month | Day | Year | Mother | Father | Baptism Month | Day | Year | Note |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| john | m |  |  |  | barbary |  | november |  | 1745 |  |
| jones alexander | m | march | 10 | 1750 | macklin margaret | jones george |  |  |  |  |
| jones eleanor | f | november | 26 | 1748 |  | jones bash |  |  |  |  |
| jones john | m | march | 28 | 1767 | jones margaret | jones james |  |  |  |  |
| lewis john | m | august | 22 | 1782 | lewis sarah | lewis john | october | 7 | 1782 |  |
| littlebury | m |  |  |  |  |  | may | 6 | 1754 | child |
| macklin [torn] | m |  |  |  | macklin tomasine | macklin thomas | september | 4 | 1763 |  |
| macklin [torn]a | f |  |  |  | macklin betty |  | september | 4 | 1763 |  |
| macklin eaddy | f | august | 2 | 1765 | macklin elizabeth |  | october | 6 | 1765 |  |
| macklin edmund | m | march | 8 | 1765 | macklin hannah |  |  |  |  |  |
| macklin elizabeth | f |  |  |  |  | macklin godfrey | may | 7 | 1748 |  |
| macklin godfrey | m | february | 23 | 1766 | macklin tomasine | macklin thomas |  |  |  |  |
| macklin johnny | m |  |  |  |  | macklin godfrey | may | 7 | 1748 |  |
| macklin margaret | f | may | 9 | 1768 | macklin hannah |  | june | 5 | 1768 |  |
| macklin mary | f | september | 27 | 1767 | macklin elizabeth |  |  |  |  |  |
| macklin mary | $f$ | july | 15 | 1768 | macklin tomasine | macklin thomas | august | 14 | 1768 |  |
| macklin mildred | $f$ | november | 17 | 1744 | macklin mary | macklin godfrey |  |  |  |  |
| maloney jane | f | december | 14 | 1768 | maloney elizabeth | speaker's moses | january | 2 | 1769 |  |
| maloney moses carter | m | january |  | 1767 | maloney elizabeth |  |  |  |  |  |
| patty |  |  |  |  |  |  | may | 6 | 1754 | child |
| peters ann | f | march |  | 1768 | peters milly | peters jasper | june | 5 | 1768 |  |
| pickett susanna | f |  |  |  | pickett charity | pickett benjamin | august | 4 | 1762 |  |
| poe thomas | m | august |  | 1766 | poe sarah | poe thomas |  |  |  |  |
| rawlinson elizabeth | f | september | 22 | 1782 | rawlinson jane | rawlinson hulett | october | 25 | 1782 |  |
| rawlinson mary robinson | f | july | 10 | 1746 | rawlinson elizabeth | rawlinson john |  |  |  |  |
| rawlinson sarah | $f$ | october | 21 | 1768 | garrett elizabeth | rawlinson john | october | 23 | 1768 |  |
| redcross fanny | f | march | 18 | 1781 | redcross mary | redcross john | october | 7 | 1782 |  |
| richardson james | m | february | 11 | 1753 | richardson Iydia | richardson william |  |  |  |  |
| roberts [torn] | $f$ |  |  |  | roberts milly | roberts william | september | 4 | 1763 |  |
| roberts ann | $f$ |  |  |  | roberts milly | roberts william | april | 3 | 1763 |  |
| roberts macklin | m | march | 22 | 1765 | roberts milly | roberts william |  |  |  |  |
| savoy john | m |  |  |  | savoy mary | savoy john | june | 3 | 1754 |  |
| stuart thomas | m |  |  |  | stuart elizabeth |  | april | 3 | 174? |  |
| tan john | m | october | 26 | 1767 | tan susanna | tan john | may | 30 | 1768 | now of southampton county |

Table 3
Births and Baptisms of Free Blacks in the Bruton Parish Register

| Name | Sex | Birth <br> Month | Day | Year | Mother | Father | Baptism <br> Month | Day | Year | Note |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wallace charlotte | f |  |  | 1784 | wallace rebecca |  |  |  |  |  |
| wallace elizabeth | f |  |  |  | wallace elizabeth |  | june | 6 | 1762 |  |
| wallace matthew | m |  |  |  | wallace sylla |  | october | 2 | 1782 |  |
| williams lydia | f |  |  |  | williams rachel | williams william | october | 5 | 1782 |  |
| wilson [torn] | f |  |  |  | wilson mary | wilson william | september | 4 | 1763 |  |
| wooding william | m | july | 23 | 1766 | wooding letty |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 4
Slaves Listed With a Surname in the Bruton Parish Register

| Name | Sex | Birth Month | Day | Year | Mother | Master | Baptism Month | Day | Year | Note |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [torn] williams | $f$ |  |  |  | lucy | prentis william | June | 2 | 1765 | child |
| [torn]ckey jones | m |  |  |  | peggy | valentine joseph | July | 7 | 1765 |  |
| [torn]is wallace | m |  |  |  | sarah | chiswell john | June | 1 | 1765 |  |
| [torn]nnakey page | f |  |  |  | dinah | holt william | July | 7 | 1765 |  |
| ann sovell | $f$ |  |  |  | elizabeth | nicholson edward estate | June | 5 | 1768 |  |
| ann williams | $f$ |  |  |  |  | blair john | November | 6 | 1748 | child |
| anthony gabriel | m |  |  |  | sally | blaikley katherine | June | 7 | 1767 |  |
| anthony jasper | m |  |  |  |  | blair john | June | 1 | 1752 |  |
| austin moore | m |  |  |  | nanny | johnson philip | November | 4 | 1764 | boy |
| bob ballard | m |  |  |  | easter | shield james | January | 1 | 1769 |  |
| charles anderson | m |  |  |  | sarah | ferguson john | August | 14 | 1768 |  |
| dick franklin | m |  |  |  |  | hay peter | February | 9 | 1766 | grown person |
| elizabeth lewis | f |  |  |  | judith | prentis elizabeth | November | 6 | 1768 |  |
| ephraim williams | m |  |  |  |  | blair john | March | 7 | 1753 |  |
| frank addison | m | October | 4 | 1768 | molly | william and mary | November | 6 | 1768 |  |
| henry harrison | m |  |  |  | cornelia | custis estate | November | 6 | 1768 |  |
| jack rioyah | m |  |  |  | sarah | shield james | January | 1 | 1769 |  |
| jack wiltshire | m |  |  |  | betty | grymes mary | November |  | 1766 |  |

Table 4
Slaves Listed With a Surname in the Bruton Parish Register

| Name | Sex | Birth Month | Day | Year | Mother | Master | Baptism Month | Day | Year | Note |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| james carter | m |  |  |  | mary carter | johnson philip | February | 9 | 1766 |  |
| james doonda | m |  |  |  | lydia | trebell william | June | 7 | 1767 |  |
| james raman | m |  |  |  | judith | hornsby thomas | April | 10 | 1768 |  |
| james westover | m |  |  |  |  | washington george | June | 7 | 1767 | grown person |
| jane herriot poe | f | July | 24 | 1768 | barbara | blair john | September | 2 | 1768 |  |
| john adam | m |  |  |  | aggy | horrocks james | September | 6 | 1767 |  |
| john beck | m |  |  |  | grace | blaikley katherine | May | 5 | 1765 | infant |
| john cambridge | m |  |  |  |  | ferguson john | May | 8 | 1768 | grown person |
| john cook | m |  |  |  | sarah | davenport matthew | June | 7 | 1767 |  |
| john granderson | m |  |  |  | sarah | ferguson john | April | 13 | 1766 |  |
| john harrison | m |  |  |  | judith | carter robert | August | 14 | 1768 |  |
| john millener | m |  |  |  | rachel | blair john | September | 26 | 1767 |  |
| john roberts | m |  |  |  | phoebe | pierce matthew | September | 2 | 1768 |  |
| jonathan soper | m |  |  |  | doll | pitt george |  |  | 1767 |  |
| joseph fleming | m |  |  |  | nelly | campbell katherine |  |  | 1767 |  |
| judith bray | $f$ |  |  |  | rachel | maupin gabriel | November | 6 | 1768 |  |
| margaret carter | f |  |  |  | molly | johnson philip | June | 5 | 1768 |  |
| mary dad | f |  |  |  | betty | cocke james | December | 7 | 1764 |  |
| mary jones | f |  |  |  | martha | carter robert | July | 6 | 1766 |  |
| meriah wager | f |  |  |  | amy | shield james | January | 1 | 1769 |  |
| moses goings | m |  |  |  | lucy | holt william |  |  | 1767 |  |
| ned prentis | m |  |  |  | jenny | davenport george | September | 6 | 1765 | infant |
| richard jones | m |  |  |  |  | spurr samuel | April | 13 | 1766 | grown person |
| robert twind | m |  |  |  | acor | custis estate | December | 6 | 1767 |  |
| sally tod | f |  |  |  | phillis | ferguson colin | December | 1 | 1765 |  |
| sam wills | m |  |  |  | nanny | shield james | November | 4 | 1764 | boy |
| samuel oliver | m |  |  |  |  | drummond amy | November | 8 | 1761 |  |
| thomas bartley | m |  |  |  | lucy | eaton william | June | 29 | 1766 |  |
| thomas cumins | m |  |  |  | keshia | dawson elizabeth | March | 13 | 1768 |  |
| tom mask | m |  |  |  | molly | william and mary | February | 9 | 1766 |  |
| william colin | m |  |  |  | phoebe | burwell lewis | September | 6 | 1767 |  |
| william franklin | m |  |  |  | sue | johnson philip | May | 8 | 1768 |  |
| william pare | m |  |  |  | belle | cocke james | November | 1 | 1767 |  |
| william parrot | m |  |  |  |  | wetherburn henry | May | 6 | 1753 |  |
| wm pall[i]ars | m |  |  |  | lydia | royle joseph | June | 3 | 1764 |  |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The 1775 Williamsburg Census is contained in The Virginia Almanack... 1776, printed by Dixon and Hunter.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ It was common for a free black man's tithe to be recorded in the "white" column instead of the "black" or "negro" column of personal property tax lists recorded before 1820. In these instances, "white" indicated one's status as a free man and "black" or "negro" indicated one's status as an enslaved man.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Virginia Gazette, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 14 November 1771, 1 July 1773, and 12 August 1773; ibid., Purdie, ed., 13 October 1775 and 7 November 1777.
    ${ }^{4}$ Penuel Penny purchased the lots at the sale of Rawlinson's estate in 1780 . See York County Wills and Inventories (23) 113-114, recorded 16 May 1786; York County Deeds (6) 176-177, dated 25 March 1783 and recorded 15 September 1783.
    ${ }^{5}$ H. R. McIlwaine, et al., eds., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-1966)5:141, 298; 6:334-335. See also pp. 209 (John Custis and Jack), 603605 (Matthew Ashby) in the Enslaving Virginia Resource Book.

    It appears that Custis did not claim that Jack had provided meritorious service. In 1752, after the death of Custis and Jack, the York County justices of the peace noted that they found "no meritorious service of the sd John otherwise Jack was ever suggested or made to appear to the governor and council." York County Judgments and Orders (2) 26-27, 18 May 1752.

[^3]:    ${ }^{6}$ C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia 1684-1786, (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1937), pp. 678-681.

[^4]:    ${ }^{7}$ John Kneeebone, posting to recipients of the Virginia History List, 13 February 1999.

[^5]:    ${ }^{8}$ Samuel Mordecai, Richmond in By Gone Days, (Richmond, 1856), p. 357; see also, Mary N. Stanard, Richmond, Its People and Its Story, (Philadelphia, 1923), p. 92.

