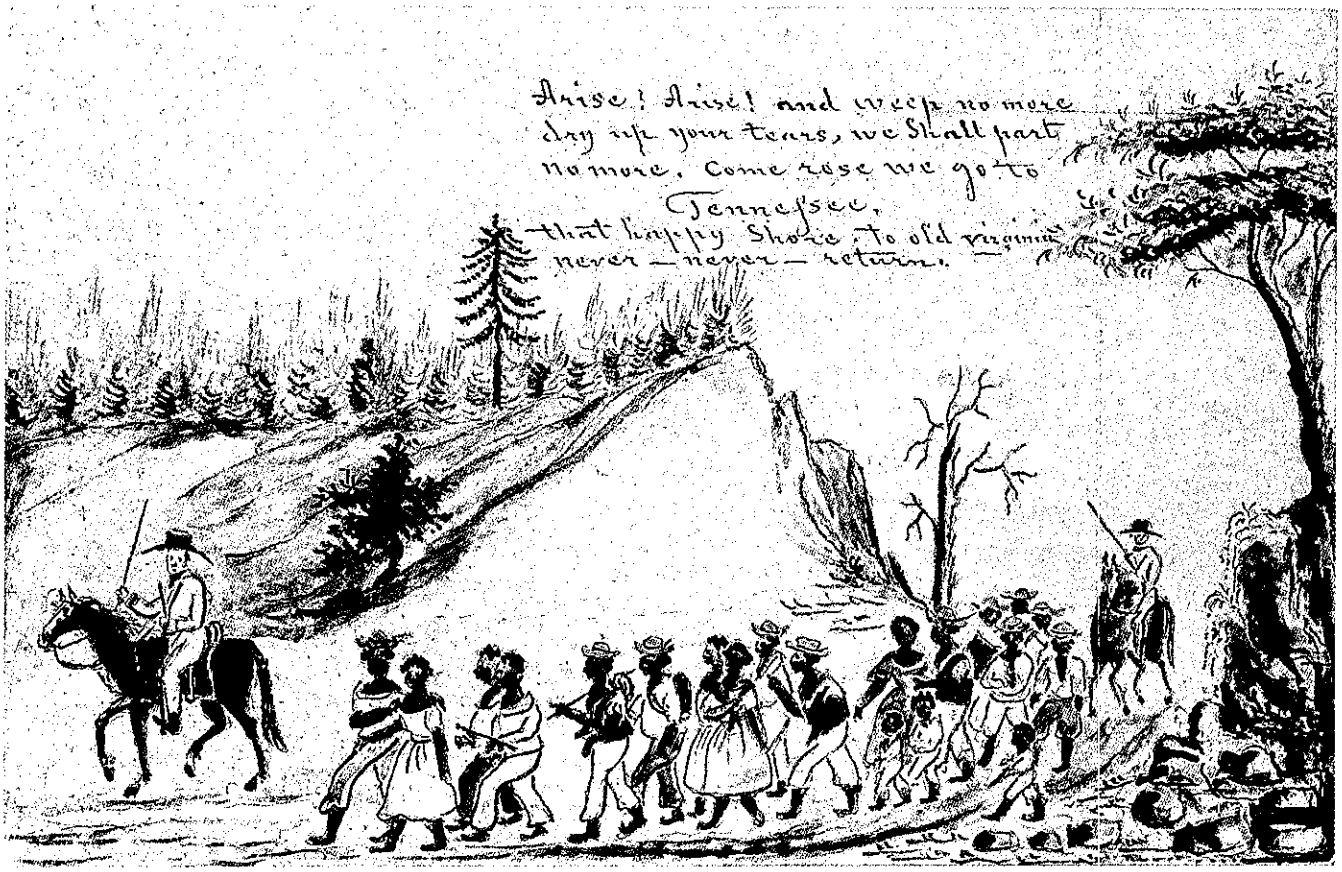
Becoming Americans

Our Struggle to Be Both Free and Equal

TAKING POSSESSION: Slavery and the Movement West



TO the READER

The *Taking Possession: Slavery and the Movement West* Resource Book has been developed to examine the nature of slavery as it spread geographically from the founding of Jamestown in 1607 to the settlement of Kentucky at the end of the eighteenth century.

This resource book has been developed to respond to your questions about the nature of slavery and the relations among races as the frontier moved west. The primary and secondary sources presented here help to illusrate the ever changing face of slavery during this period of westward expansion. Relations among races on the frontier are examined as they were conditioned by time and geographical region as well as by number and rank of the peoples who came together on each of Virginia's frontiers.

There are two sections of this resource book both of which have been arranged chronologically. Primary documents compose the first section while secondary sources make up the second section. As a reader it may be helpful for you to read the two sections together chronologically.

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Section 1
Primary Documents

1500 to 1870—Distribution of Slaves Brought to the New World

Brazil	38%
British Caribbean	17%
French Caribbean	17%
Spanish America	17%
British America/ United States	6% (approx. 80,000 taken to Virginia; 70% of this group arrived before 1750; approx. 800,000 taken to Jamaica)
Dutch, Danish, and Swedish Caribbean	6%

Source: Ronald Hoffman, Lecture for "Enslaving Virginia" Training, January 1999.

Forced Migration of Africans During the Seventeenth Century

Of the over 11 million Africans forced to migrate to the New World, approximately 12 % arrived in the seventeenth century.

1,341,100 Africans imported into the New World
- 42% to Brazil
- 22% to Spanish America
- 20% to British Caribbean
- 12% to French Caribbean

1601 to 1699
- 270,425 Africans imported into the British Colonies
  - 50% to Barbados (2.5 million between 1700 and 1810)
- 12,455 to the British mainland

Source: Lorena S. Walsh, Lecture for "Enslaving Virginia" Training, January 1999; Christy S. Matthews, Lecture for "Enslaving Virginia" Training, February 1999.

Population of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century

Year	Total Non-Indian	White Servants	Africans
1620	928		32 (3%)
1625	1,218	483	23 (2%)
1648	c. 15,000		c. 300 (2%)
1670	c. 40,000	c. 6,000	c. 2,000 (5%)

1680	c. 43,500	c. 15,000	c. 3,000 (7%)
1700	c. 64,000		c. 13,000-16,000 (20-26%)

Source: Lorena S. Walsh, Lecture for "Enslaving Virginia" Training, January 1999; Christy S. Matthews, Lecture for "Enslaving Virginia" Training, February 1999.

March 1655/6—ACT I. *An Induction to the Acts concerning Indians*

Colonial legislators created a distinction between Indians and Africans in this statute.

Secondly, If the Indians shall bring in any children as gages of their good and quiet intentions to us and amity with us, then the parents of such children shall choose the persons to whom the care of such children shall be intrusted and the countrey by us their representatives do engage that wee will not use them as slaves, but do their best to bring them up in Christianity, civillity and the knowledge of necessary trades; And on the report of the commissioners of each respective country that those under whose tuition they are, do really intend the bettering of the children in these particulars then a salary shall be allowed to such men as shall deserve and require it.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 1:396.

March 1661/2—ACT CXXXVIII. *Concerning Indians*

The legislators decided that Indian and English servants were to serve their masters the same length of time.

And be it further enacted that what Englishman, trader, or other shall bring in any Indians as servants and shall assigne them over to any other, shall not sell them for slaves not for any longer time than English of the like ages should serve by act of assembly.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, 1:143.

March 1661/2—Freedom for Metappin

In the 1650s, the relations between the Weyanocks and the Powhatans were strained. On 2 July 1659, the *weroance* of the Weyanock sold Metappin (or Weetoppen) to Elizabeth Short of Surry County as a slave for life. Members of the Assembly ruled that Metappin should be free. They noted that he spoke perfect English and wanted to be baptized.

METAPPIN, a Powhatan Indian being sold for life time to one Elizabeth Short by the king of Wainoake Indians who had no power to sell him being of another nation, *it is*

ordered that the said Indian be free, he speaking perfectly the English tongue and desiring baptism.

Source: Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, p. 108; Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, 2:155.

October 1669—ACT IX. *An Act ffor destroying Wolves*

The members of the General Assembly decided to pay tributary Indians for each wolf head that they took to the commissioner in a county. This statute contains the number of bowmen or hunters that the colony's officials believed were in each tribe. Peter H. Wood notes that "James Mooney accepted a ratio of four to one between total population and warriors among southern Indians near the Atlantic coast, and recent archaeological evidence seems to confirm this ratio, so we can estimate a Virginia Indian population of 2,900 in 1669. Several groups seem to have been missed, but their numbers would be roughly offset by the attrition of the next sixteen years, so we can put the Virginia Indian population of 1685 at 2,900 as well" (see below).

SINCE it is most evident that the inhabitants of this country doe receive dayly damage by wolves, and noe fitt way or temper yet found for the destruction or diminishing of them, *It is enacted* that the Indian tributaries be enjoyned and assessed to bring in a certaine number annually, that is to say:

		Bowmen or hunters	wolves heads
Into Nanzemond county, the Nanzemonds being about		45	9
Surrey.	Powchay-icks	30	6
	Weyenoakes	15	3
	Men-Heyricks	50	10
Charles City County.	Nottoways, 2 townes	90	18
	Appomattux	50	10
Henrico County.	Manachees	30	6
	Powhites	10	2
	Pamunckies	50	10
	Chickahomonies	60	12
New Kent.	Mattapanies	20	4
	Rapahanocks	30	6
	Totas Chees	40	8
Gloster.	Chiskoyackes	15	3

	Portobaccoes	60	12
Rapahanock.	Nanzcattico		
	Mattehatique	50	10
Northumberland.	Wickacomico	70	14
Westmoreland.	Appomatux.	10	2
		725	145

And for the putting this act into effectuall execution, *It is enacted by this grand assembly* that the county courts doe appoint a certaine person or persons in their counties to receive from the respective Indians, assigned them as aforesaid, the heads which are to be brought in by these Indians, and to keep a just accompt of the number, and to present to the said court such as are deficient to doe, and neglect to bring in their due number, against such, viz. against the greate man of the towne, the said court to issue out summons for his appearance to shew cause for his or their default, and to warne them to fulfill their number, but if after such warning given as aforesaid, the said Indians shall neglect and be wanting in their number, the court shall transmitt the contempt to the next assembly for a further remedy, *And it is further enacted* that for what number soever of wolves heads shalbe brought to the persons appointed as aforesaid, over and besides the number perticularly assessed on the townes such persons appointed as aforesaid shall pay the Indian for every head to the full and just value of one hundred pounds of tobacco and caske, of all which heads as well as those imposed on the Indians, and the supernumeraries, as those that are killed by the English, the accompts to be annually presented to the county courts who are to transmit them to the assembly there to be charged on the publique levies for that yeare; and such as pay for the heads as aforesaid, and English that kill them to be paid and reimbursed out of the publique levy of their county; alsoe those persons that receive the wolves heads from the Indians, and that grant certificates (as accustomed to the English) are to cause the eares to be cut from off the wolves heads to prevent deceite; and that the magistrate granting certificate to the English, doe administer oath that the heads of the wolves they bring in were not killed or taken by the Indians. And that the clerke of the assembly forthwith give notice to the respective counties whereto the Indians are to bring in the heads that the county courts may give suffitient notice to the Indians according to the intent of this act.

It is further enacted by the assembly that upon the retorne of the accounts of wolves heads at the next assembly, It be then considered what satisfaction shalbe made the right honourable the governour in lieu of the wolves heads brought in on the account of his tribute; & because some lawes prohibite the Indians from comeing among the English, the governour is requested by his commission to lycence them in any county desireing to employ them.

Source: Wood, "Changing Population of the Colonial South," in Wood, et al., eds., *Powhatan's Mantle*, p. 41; Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, 2:274-276.

October 1670—ACT IV. Noe Negroes nor Indians to buy christian servants

The number of blacks and Indians in Tidewater Virginia was small when this act was passed. The legislators knew that access to labor was necessary to succeed in the colony.

WHEREAS it hath beene questioned whither Indians or negroes manumited, or otherwise free, could be capable of purchasing christian servants, *It is enacted* that noe negroe or Indian though baptised and enjoyned their owne ffreedome shall be capable of any such purchase of christians, but yet not debarred from buying any of their owne nation.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 2:280-281.

October 1670—ACT XII. *What tyme Indians to serve*

This law created an additional distinction between Africans and Indians. It was an attempt to make lifetime servitude the normal condition for all Africans imported into Virginia. The legislators repealed this statute in November 1682.

David Galenson places the act in the context of similar statutes in Barbados and Maryland. He writes: "In 1664, Charles Calvert had found that it was the high price of slaves, rather than any skepticism about their capacity for labor, that prevented him and his fellow planters from being able to guarantee a market for one shipload a year. In 1664, however, the unwillingness of some Chesapeake planters to meet that high price might have resulted from uncertainty about their ability to hold the Africans in servitude for life. No such uncertainty existed in Barbados, the major destination for Africans in English America at the time, where thousands of slaves arrived annually to grow sugar on great plantations. Nearly three decades earlier, in 1636, that colony's Council had declared that 'Negroes and Indians, that came here to be sold, should serve for Life, unless a Contract was before made to the contrary,' and this act appears subsequently to have been enforced without exceptions. Although Maryland's 'Act Concerning Negroes & Other Slaves' . . . . gave an assurance of this kind to that colony's planters in 1664, it was not until 1670 that Virginia's legislature produced such a guarantee when it declared that 'all servants not being christians imported into this colony by shipping shalbe slaves for their lives.' An important part of the answer to the question of why Chesapeake planters hesitated to invest heavily in slaves during the 1660s may be that during that decade they lacked the statutory assurance concerning the security of their investments that their counterparts in Barbados had received thirty years earlier."

WHEREAS some dispute 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 yeares, *It is resolved and enacted* 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 girles, until thirty yeares of age, if men or women twelve yeares and no longer.

Source: Galenson, "Economic Aspects of the Growth of Slavery," pp. 272-273; Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 2:283.

September 1672—ACT VIII. *An act for the apprehension and suppression of runawayes, negroes and slaves*

The members of the General Assembly hoped to suppress the rebellious activities of slaves throughout the colony. In addition, they wanted to keep white indentured servants and Indians from joining slaves in unlawful activities. They decided that it was legal to wound or kill an enslaved person who resisted arrest.

FORASMUCH as it hath beene manifested to this grand assembly 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 mischeifes 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; for the prevention of which, *be it enacted by the governour, councell and burgesses of this grand assembly, and by the authority thereof,* that if any negroe, molatto, Indian slave, or servant for life, runaway and shalbe persued by the warrant or hue and crye, it shall and may be lawfull for any person who shall endeavour to take them, upon the resistance of such negroe, molatto, Indian slave, or servant for life, to kill or wound him or them soe resisting; *Provided alwayes,* and it is the true intent and meaning hereof, that such negroe, molatto, Indian slave, or servant for life, be named and described in the hue and crye which is alsoe to be signed by the master or owner of said runaway. And if it happen that such negroe, molatto, Indian slave, or servant for life doe dye of any wound in such their resistance received the master or owner of such shall receive satisfaction from the publique for his negroe, molatto, Indian slave, or servant for life, soe killed or dyeing of such wounds; and the person who shall kill or wound by virtue of any such hue and crye any such soe resisting in manner as aforesaid shall not be questioned for the same, he forthwith giveing notice thereof and returning the hue and crye or warrant to the master or owner of him or them soe killed or wounded or to the next justice of peace. *And it is further enacted* by the authority aforesaid that all such negroes and slaves shalbe valued at ffowre thousand five hundred pounds of tobacco and caske a peece, and Indians at three thousand pounds of tobacco and caske a peice, And further if it shall happen that any negroe, molatto, Indians slave or servant for life, in such their resistance to receive any wound whereof they may not happen to dye, but shall lye any considerable tyme sick and disabled, then alsoe the master or owner of the same soe sick or disabled shall receive from the publique a reasonable satisfaction for such damages as they shall make appeare they have susteyned thereby at the county court, who shall thereupon grant the master or owner a certificate to the next assembly of what damages they shall make appeare; *And it is further enacted* that the neighbouring Indians doe and hereby are required and enjoynned to seize and apprehend all runawayes whatsoever that shall happen to come amongst them, and to bring them before some justice of the peace whoe upon the receipt of such servants, slave, or slaves, from the Indians, shall pay unto the said Indians for the recompence twenty armes length of Roanoake or the value thereof in goods as the Indians shall like of, for which the said justice of peace shall receive from the publique two hundred and fifth pounds of tobacco, and the said justice to proceed in conveying the runaway to his master according to the law in such cases already provided; This act to continue in force till the next assembly and no longer unlesse it be thought fitt to continue.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 2:299-300.

June 1676—ACT I. *An act for carrying on a warre against the barbarous Indians*

In 1676 many Virginians were alarmed by Governor Berkeley's poor leadership and weak response in handling the Indian threat by merely suggesting a series of forts be built along the frontier rather than dispatching troops. Nathaniel Bacon, a member of England's gentry newly arrived in Virginia, became the military leader of a band of Virginians who armed themselves against the Indians in defiance of the governor in the spring of that year. Berkeley responded by unsuccessfully dispatching men to confront Bacon and declared him a rebel.

Until Bacon's death from natural causes on October 26, 1676, he and Governor Berkeley struggled to control Virginia militarily and politically, embroiling Virginians in civil war. After the Assembly enacted many of Bacon's demands, Bacon with five hundred men captured the government and demanded from Berkeley the power to fight the Indians. That was granted on June 25 but later withdrawn. The governor, however, could not raise loyal troops to assert his authority and was forced to retreat to the Eastern Shore. Berkeley later returned to Jamestown to prepare for Bacon's attack but was forced to return to the Eastern Shore while Bacon burned the capital. Virginians, hesitant to fight one another, continued to vacillate in their support of Berkeley and Bacon in the ever-increasing confusion. Bacon's men, however, now turned to plundering loyalist plantations in Gloucester County and elsewhere. Bacon's sudden death left his men without a strong leader, and in January 1677 Berkeley returned to power and sought reparations for the loyalists.

During the Rebellion the Indians probably suffered the most. Many were killed and a number of their villages were destroyed. In June of 1676 members of the Assembly decided that Native Americans captured during the rebellion would become slaves for life.

And bee it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all Indians taken in warr be held and accounted slaves dureing life, and if any differences shall arise in cases about plunder or slaves, the cheife commander of the party takeing such slaves or plunder is to be the sole judge thereof to make equall division as hee shall see fit.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 2:346.

April 1679—ACT I. *An act for the defence of the country against the incursions of the Indian enemy*

This statute reflected the bias against Indians in the years after Bacon's Rebellion.

And for the better encouragement and more orderly government of the souldiers, that what Indian prisoners or other plunder shalbe taken in warre, shalbe free purchase to the souldier taking the same.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 2:440.

November 1682—ACT I. *An act to repeale a former law making Indians and others ffree*

Two acts passed in November of 1682 joined Indians and Africans into one racial category—"Negroes and other slaves."

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that all servants except Turkes and Moores, whilest in amity with his majesty which from and after publication of this act shall be brought or imported into this country, either by sea or land, 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 contrary notwithstanding.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 2:492.

November 1682—ACT II. *An act declaring Indian women servants tithables*

WHEREAS it hath been doubted whether Indian women servants sold to the English above the age of sixteene yeares be tythable, Bee it enacted and declared, and it is hereby enacted and declared by the governour, councill and burgesses of this generall assembly and the authority thereof, that 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.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 2:492.

1685 to 1790—Estimated Southern Population by Race and Region

The following information about the population of Virginia is from Peter H. Wood's article entitled "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790." See Wood's article for details about the inhabitants of North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, the Natchez area of Louisiana, and East Texas.

Estimated Population for Virginia (East of the Mountains)

	Red	White	Black	Total
1685	2,900	38,100	2,600	43,600
1700	1,900	56,100	5,500	63,500
1715	1,300	74,100	20,900	96,300
1730	900	103,300	49,700	153,900
1745	600	148,300	85,300	234,200
1760	400	196,300	130,900	327,600
1775	300	279,500	186,400	466,200
1790	200	442,100	305,500	747,800

Source: Wood, "The Changing Population" in Wood, et al., eds., *Powhatan's Mantle*, p. 38.

April 1691—ACT IX. *An act for a free trade with Indians*

The members of the General Assembly repealed earlier statutes that probited colonists from trading with Indians. In later years, a number of Virginians, including St. George Tucker, interpreted this statute to mean that Indians should not have been held as slaves after 1691 because it was illegal to trade with an enslaved person.

BEE *it enacted by their majesties leiutenant governour, councill and burgesses of this present generall assembly, and the authority thereof, and it is hereby enacted*, That all former clauses of former acts of assembly limiting, restraineing, and prohibitting trade with Indians be, and stand hereby repealed, and they are hereby repealed, and that from henceforth there be a free and open trade for all persons at all times, and at all places with all indians whatsoever[.] And for the future prevention of such mischeifes as have frequently happened at huntings, commonly called fire huntings and other huntings remote from plantations, *Bee it enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That no person or persons whatsoever shall hereafter presume

to goe an [*sic*] hunting remote from the English plantations without first having obtained the lycense and permission of their majesties leiutenant governour or commander in cheife for the time being and the councell of state under such restrictions, limitations and conditions as at the time of giveing such permission shall be by them thought fit to be enjoyned and appointed.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, 3:69.

April 1691—ACT XVI. *An act for suppressing outlying slaves*

The legislators detailed a systematic plan to gather a force of men to recapture "outlying slaves" in this statute. This document also contains the first legal restriction on the manumission of slaves. The law required a master to transport an emancipated slave out of the colony within six months. In addition, partners in an interracial marriage could not stay in Virginia more than three months after they wed. Lawmakers did not want white women to bear mulatto children because the free black population would increase. They decided to punish white women who gave birth to mulattos and to require a longer term of servitude (until the age of thirty) for these children than they did for poor orphans or illegitimate white boys (until the age of twenty-one) and girls (until the age of eighteen). Finally, in this law, the General Assembly first used the term "white" as an additional way to legally separate the English and Europeans from Africans and Native Americans.

WHEREAS many times negroes, mulattoes, and other slaves unlawfully 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, for remedy whereof for the future, *Be it enacted by their majesties lieutenant governour, councell and burgesses of this present general assembly, and the authoritie thereof, and it is hereby enacted*, that in all such cases upon intelligence of any such negroes, mulattoes, or other slaves lying out, two of their majesties justices of the peace of that county, whereof one to be of the quorum, where such negroes, mulattoes or other slave shall be, shall be impowered and commanded, and are hereby impowered and commanded to issue out their warrants directed to the sherrife of the same county to apprehend such negroes, mulattoes, and other slaves, which said sherriffe is hereby likewise required upon all such occasions to raise such and soe many forces from time to time as he shall think convenient and necessary for the effectual apprehending such negroes, mulattoes and other slaves, and in case any negroes, mulattoes or other slaves or slaves lying out as aforesaid shall resist, runaway, or refuse to deliver and surrender him or themselves to any person or persons that shall be by lawfull authority employed to apprehend and take such negroes, mulattoes or other slaves that in such cases it shall and may be lawfull for such person and persons to kill and distroy such negroes, mulattoes, and other slave or slaves by gunn or any otherwaise whatsoever.

Provided that where any negroe or mulattoe slave or slaves shall be killed in pursuance of this act, the owner or owners of such negro or mulatto slave shall be paid for such negro or mulatto slave four thousand pounds of tobacco by the publique. And for prevention of that abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may encrease in this dominion, as well by negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English, or other white

women, as by their unlawfull accompanying with one another, *Be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, that for the time to come, 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 from this dominion forever, and that the justices of each respective countie within this dominion make it their perticular care that this act be put in effectuall execution. *And be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That if any English woman being free shall have a bastard child by any negro or mulatto, she pay the sume of fifteen pounds sterling, within one moneth after such bastard child be born, to the Church wardens of the parish where she shall be delivered of such child, and in default of such payment she shall be taken into the possession of the said Church wardens and disposed of for five yeares, and the said fine of fifteen pounds, or whatever the woman shall be disposed of for, shall be paid, one third part to their majesties for and towards the support of the government and the contingent charges thereof, and one other third part to the use of the parish where the offence is committed, and the other third part to the informer, and that such bastard child be bound out as a servant by the said Church wardens untill he or she shall attaine the age of thirty yeares, and in case such English woman that shall have such bastard child be a servant, she shall be sold by the said church wardens, (after her time is expired that she ought by law to serve her master) for five yeares, and the money she shall be sold for divided as is before appointed, and the child to serve as aforesaid.

And forasmuch as great inconveniences may happen to this country by the setting of negroes and mulattoes free, by their either entertaining negro slaves from their masters service, or receiveing stolen goods, or being grown old bringing a charge upon the country; for prevention thereof, *Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That no negro or mulatto be after the end of this present session of assembly set free by any person or persons whatsoever, unless such person or persons, their heires, executors or administrators pay for the transportation of such negro or negroes out of the countrey within six moneths after such setting them free, upon penalty of paying of tenn pounds sterling to the Church wardens of the parish where such person shall dwell with, which money, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, the said Church wardens are to cause the said negro or mulatto to be transported out of the countrey, and the remainder of the said money to imploy to the use of the poor of the parish.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, 3:86-88.

1698 to 1774—The Slave Trade to the Upper James

The Upper James district was the last area in Virginia into which substantial numbers of Africans were transported before the close of that colony's trans-Atlantic trade. Only about 200 slaves entered the district before 1731, and large direct shipments from Africa became common only from 1735 (Table 1 and Table 2). Ten years later the Upper James emerged as the leading slave entrepôt in the colony, and by the 1760s it received nearly two thirds of all incoming Africans, by then brought almost exclusively by Bristol and Liverpool traders. Forty one percent came from the Bight of Biafra, and almost a quarter from West Central Africa, with lesser numbers taken from the Windward and Gold Coasts, Senegambia, and

Sierra Leone. The evidence for widely mixed origins is persuasive, since place of embarkation is specified for over three-quarters of imported Africans.

These newcomers were dispersed throughout the Southside and the central Piedmont, where they joined a combination of native-born and African slaves forced to move west from throughout the tidewater. Improving prices for upland tobacco encouraged planters to expand labor forces in the interior. Although new arrivals were initially further dispersed among small, far flung quarters, both plantation size and the proportion of blacks in the local population increased rapidly. Moreover, sex ratios, both among Africans and transplanted creoles were more evenly balanced than had been the case in the tidewater earlier in the century. Finally, during the period of initial settlement, many slaves enjoyed greater autonomy than in the tidewater, living on quarters with no resident master and sometimes no white overseer. Conditions for family formation were thus quite favorable. Whether these same conditions fostered the continuation of specific languages and customs or the development of specific ethnic identities is less clear. Syncretism appears the more likely outcome of this rapid mixing of Africans of diverse origins and of numerous creoles over a wide geographic area. The concentration or mixing of groups likely differed considerably from one estate and one locality to another. In some Piedmont neighborhoods large communities of slaves were transferred virtually intact from older tidewater neighborhoods. Cultural evolution in the Piedmont requires further investigation.

Source: Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications," *William and Mary Quarterly* (forthcoming).

Table 1. Number of Ships and Slaves Arriving in Upper James Naval District, 1698-1774

	Shipper's Port of Origin	No. of Ships	No. of Slaves
1698-1703	London	2	unknown
	Virginia	5	2+
	Other Mainland Colonies	2	13+
	West Indies	2	unknown
	Total	11	15+
1704-1718	London	2	51
	Virginia	4	54
	Other Mainland Colonies	5	22
	West Indies	4	39
	Total	15	166
1719-1730	London	1	8
	Total	1	8
1731-1745	London	6	789
	Bristol	9	1,480
	Liverpool	6	850
	Other Britain	1	2
	Virginia	8	35
	Other Mainland Colonies	10	102
	West Indies	13	141
	Unknown	1	6
	Total	54	3,405
1746-1760	London	1	2
	Bristol	18	4,832
	Liverpool	2	433
	Other Britain	1	70

Table 1. Number of Ships and Slaves Arriving in Upper James Naval District, 1698-1774 (continued)

	Shipper's Port of Origin	No. of Ships	No. of Slaves
	Virginia	2	161
	Other Mainland Colonies	2	260
	West Indies	2	6
	Total	28	5,764
1761-1774	Bristol	12	3,932
	Liverpool	11	2,110
	Other Britain	1	unknown
	Virginia	3	151
	Other Mainland Colonies	11	472
	Unknown	5	59
	Total	43	6,724+
All Years		152	16,082+

Source: Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications," *William and Mary Quarterly* (forthcoming). Data from Walter Minchinton, et al., *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics, 1698-1775* (Richmond, 1984), and David Eltis, et al., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, Eng., 1999).

Table 2. Coastal Origins of Africans Imported into the Upper James Naval District 1704-1774

YEARS	TOTAL AFRICAN SLAVES	TOTAL KNOWN ORIGIN	AFRICAN REGION OF ORIGIN						TOTAL	PERCENT WITH KNOWN ORIGIN
			Senegambia	Sierra Leone	Windward & Gold Coasts	Bight of Benin	Bight of Biafra	West-central Africa		
1704-1718	92	42	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	46%
1731-1745	3,217	1,537	51	0	0	0	49	0	100	48
1746-1760	5,595	4,900	6	9	7	0	65	13	100	88
1761-1774	6,546	5,651	13	0	26	6	19	36	100	86
Total	15,450	12,129	15	4	15	3	41	22	100	79

Source: Walsh, "The Chesapeake Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications," *William and Mary Quarterly* (forthcoming). Data from Walter Minchinton, et al., *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics, 1698-1775* (Richmond, 1984), and David Eltis, et al., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-Rom* (Cambridge, Eng., 1999).

1700 to 1780—Population Information About Indians and Enslaved African-Americans in Virginia

By 1700:	3 slaves: 1 Native American in Virginia
By 1730:	55 slaves: 1 Native American in Virginia
By 1750:	There were 100,000 slaves in Virginia; no other New World slave society had a slave population that grew by natural increase so quickly and so early
In 1750:	One out of every five slaves in Virginia was African-born
In 1780:	One out of every twenty slaves in Virginia was African-born

Source: Philip D. Morgan Lecture for "Enslaving Virginia" Training, January and February 1999.

October 1705—CHAP. VII. *An act concerning Tithables*

It is possible that the decision to exempt free black women from tithes was designed to benefit white men who had such women as servants.

I. *BE it enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses of this present general assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same,* That all male persons, of the age of sixteen years, and upwards, and all negro, mulatto, and Indian women, of the age of sixteen years, and upwards, not being free, shall be, and are hereby declared to be tithable, or chargeable, for defraying the public, county, and parish charges, in this her majesty's colony and dominion; excepting such only, as the county court, and vestry, for reasons, in charity, made appear to them, shall think fit to excuse.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 3:258-259.

October 1705—CHAP. XXII. *An act declaring the Negro, Mulatto, and Indian slaves within this dominion, to be real estate*

The legislators defined enslaved men, women, and children as real property in this act See also the 1669 statute entitled *An act about the casuall killing of slaves* for another exampl of masters treating slaves as property (pp. 59-60 in the *Enslaving Virginia* Resource Book).

I. FOR the better selling and preservation of estates within this dominion,

II. *Be it enacted, by the governor, council and burgesses of this present general assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That from and after the passing of this act, 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.

III. *Provided also,* That nothing in this act contained, shall be taken to extend to any merchant or factor, bringing any slaves into this dominion, or having any consignments thereof, unto them, for sale; But that such slaves whilst they remain unsold, in the possession of such merchant, or factor, or of their executors, administrators, or assigns, shall to all intents and purposes, be taken, held, and adjudged, to be personal estate, in the same condition they should have been in, if this act had never been made.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 3:333-335.

1722 to 1727—Excerpts from Robert Carter's Diary

Entries in Robert Carter's Diary record the crops and other products the slaves on the western quarters (in Stafford, Prince William, Spotsylvania, and King George counties) were raising, and supply information about some of the new Africans Carter purchased to work on these quarters.

June 9, 1722. Carter bought 25 new Negroes of Mr. Austin Moore—15 men, 5 women, and 5 girls at £20 each for the men and women and £10 for the girls. These Africans probably arrived on the *Greyhound* of Bristol, Captain Henry Forrest, which arrived in the York River on 5 June from Calabar. Carter was busy sending sloops to the upper quarters to fetch tobacco. One sloop returned with 65 hogsheads.

December, 1722. Carter's sloops bring produce from several western quarters—3 beeves, 197 bushels wheat, and some butter and tallow.

May, 1723. Carter's sloop brings preserved pork—bacon, jowls, and gammons—gourds of fat, and hogsheads of tobacco from the western quarters.

August 9, 1723. Sloop arrives with 73 hogsheads tobacco from Stafford plantations.

January 16, 1724. Overseers came down from the western quarters with 14 hogs, and 2 beeves, and brought 10 Negroes with them.

April 18, 1724. Carter purchases 41 new Africans from one ship and 28 from another for seating new quarters, for gifts to children and grandchildren, and some for his home plantation.

October 8, 1724. Carter sends 12 new Negroes to the Falls quarter in his sloop. These Africans may have arrived in the *Little Stephen* of Bristol, Captain Edward Little, which entered the York River from Calabar on 22 September.

April 4, 1725. Carter's sloop brings from the western quarters 42 hogsheads of tobacco, 22 hogsheads of corn, 104 hams, some bacon, 30 jowls, and 30 gallons of fat. On April 27 the sloop delivered an additional 33 hogsheads of corn and more tobacco.

May 12, 1726. Carter's sloop brought tobacco from the upper plantations, including Red Oak Quarter in Prince William County and Poplar Quarter in Stafford, which proved to have been damaged in transit and moreover were of poor quality: "I took great heaps of dirt of ye hhd[.] The Red Oak Tobo wretched thin pye bald stuff cov'd with yellow mold very high Case."

June 6, 1727. "a new Negro dead at falls" [quarter in King George County]

July 12, 1727. "Capt. Denton arrived with 140 Negros." This was Captain William Denton of the *John and Betty* of Liverpool who made entry in the Rappahannock naval district on 17 July. (Minchinton, et al., *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics*, pp. 52-53.)

July 17, 1727. "I had 7 of my new negros run away in Nassau's canoe."

July 18, 1727. "I sent sev[era]l ways after my Negros." Carter then went on board the *John and Betty* where he chose 8 men and 7 women for himself costing £20 apiece.

July 25, 1727. The runaways were brought in.

September 15, 1727. "Went aboard Christian saw the Negroes did not like them at all agreed if the master would come to certain Terms would undertake the sale." This was Captain James Christian of the *Snow Rose* of Liverpool who entered the Rappahannock naval district on September 11 with 190 slaves from an unspecified African port.

September 23, 1727. Carter's sloop brings down 28 bushels of wheat raised at Nathaniel Burwell I's Prince William County quarter.

November 16, 1727. The sloop brings 6 beeves, 2 tubs butter, 8 hogsheads corn, and some wheat from the upland quarters.

December 14, 1727. The sloop arrives from Potomac River with 10 hogsheads corn, 1 hogshead beans, 1 hogshead apples, 3 casks cyder, 3 tubs butter, 26 hogsheads of tobacco raised on Carter's quarters and 25 hogsheads due from others for new Africans Carter had sold them.

Source: Robert Carter Diary, 1722-1727. Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

May 1723—ACT IV. *An Act directing the trial of Slaves, committing capital crimes; and for the more effectual punishing conspiracies and insurrections of them; and for the better government of Negros, Mulattos, and Indians, bond or free*

The legislators listened to the speech of Governor Drysdale and the fears of Virginians about slave rebellions and the growing free black population (p. 107 in the *Enslaving Virginia* Resource Book). They wrote a statute that imposed new restrictions on the colony's enslaved blacks and took away the few privileges that free men of color enjoyed. The law

imposed a ban on all assemblies of slaves that were not licensed by masters, prohibited all blacks—free and enslaved—and Indians from providing testimony against white persons in court, imposed punishment if a black person provided false testimony, and withdrew the privilege of benefit of clergy for a slave convicted of plotting or attempting a rebellion. Punishments for runaway slaves became harsher and included dismemberment. The law required a master to prove that a slave had performed "meritorius service" and to gain the consent of the Governor and Council in order to manumit the said slave.

The colonial leaders placed a financial burden on the free black population when they decided that free women of color over the age of sixteen were tithable (as they had been between 1668 and 1705). In addition, the wife of a free black or a Native American man was tithable. The only free black men allowed to own guns were those who lived on the frontier and who needed guns for protection. The legislators decided that all free children of color were to serve longer terms of servitude than did white children.

The legislators made this statute an instrument to maintain social control and stability. They required churchwardens to read it in April and October of each year and to enter a copy in each parish register. The sheriff of each county had to post the law at the courthouse in June or July.

Ira Berlin notes that Virginia's "social order required raw power to sustain it; and during the early years of the eighteenth century, planters mobilized the apparatus of coercion in the service of their new regime. In the previous century, maimings, brandings, and beatings had occurred commonly, but the level of violence increased dramatically as planters transformed the society with slaves into a slave society. Chesapeake slaves faced the pillory, whipping post, and gallows far more frequently and in far larger numbers than ever before. Even as planters employed the rod, the lash, the branding iron, and the first with increased regularity, they invented new punishments that would humiliate and demoralize as well as correct."

IV. And to the end, such Negros, Mulattos, or Indians, not being christians, as shall hereafter be produced as evidences, on the trial of any slave for capital crimes, may be under the greater obligation to declare the truth, *Be it enacted,* That where any such Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, shall upon due proof made, or pregnant circumstances appearing before any county court within this colony, be found to have given a false testimony, every such offender shall, without further trial, be ordered by the said court to have one ear nailed to the pillory, and there to stand for the space of one hour, and then the said ear to be cut off; and thereafter, the other ear nailed in like manner, and cut off, at the expiration of one other hour, and moreover, to order every such offender thirty-nine lashes, well laid on, on his or her bare back, at the common whipping-post.

X. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any white person, free negro, mulatto, or Indian, shall at any time hereafter be found in company with any such slaves, at any such unlawful meetings, as aforesaid, or harbor or entertain any negro, or other slave whatsoever, without the consent of their owners, he, she, or they, so offending, upon being thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifteen shillings, or one hundred fifty pounds of tobacco, to the informer: To be recovered, with costs, before any justice of the peace; and upon failure to make present paiment, shall have and receive, on

his, her, or their bare backs, for every such offence, twenty lashes, well laid on. And every negro, mulatto, or indian slave, who shall come or assemble to such unlawful meetings, shall, upon information thereof made to any justice of the peace of the county where such offence shall be committed, for every such offence, have and receive, on his or her bare back, any number of lashes, not exceeding thirty-nine.

XIII. *And be it further enacted,* by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro, mulatto, or Indian slave, shall at any time hereafter presume to come and be upon the plantation of any person or persons whatsoever, without the leave or consent, in writing, of his or her master, owner, or overseer, and without the consent and approbation of the owner or overseer of any such plantation or quarter, to correct and give such slave or slaves ten lashes, well laid on, on his or her bare back, for every such offence.

XIV. *And be it further enacted,* by the authority aforesaid, That no negro, mulatto, or Indian whatsoever; (except as is hereafter excepted,) shall hereafter presume to keep, or carry any gun, powder, shot, or any club, or other weapon whatsoever, offensive or defensive; but that every gun, and all powder and shot, and every such club or weapon as aforesaid, found or taken in the hands, custody, or possession of any such negro, mulatto, or Indian, shall be taken away; and upon due proof thereof made, before any justice of the peace of the county where such offence shall be committed, be forfeited to the seisor and informer, and moreover, every such negro, mulatto, or Indian, in whose hands, custody, or possession, the same shall be found, shall, by order of the said justice, have and receive any number of lashes, not exceeding thirty-nine, well laid on, on his or her bare back, for every such offence.

XVII. *And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid,* That no negro, mullato, or indian slaves, shall be set free, upon any pretence whatsoever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council, for the time being, and a licence thereupon first had and obtained. -- And that, where any slave shall be set free by his master or owner, otherwise than is herein before directed, it shall and may be lawful for the churchwardens of the parish, wherein such negro, mullatto, or indian, shall reside for the space of one month, next after his or her being set free, and they are hereby authorized and required, to take up, and sell the said negro, mullatto, or indian, as slaves, at the next court held for the said county, by public outcry; and that the monies arising by such sale, shall be applied to the use of the said parish, by the vestry thereof.

XXI. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That all free negros, mullatos, or indians, (except tributary indians to this government) male and female, above the age of sixteen years, and all wives of such negros, mullattos, or indians, (except before excepted) shall be deemed and accounted tithables; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

XXII. *And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid,* That where any female mullatto, or indian, by law obliged to serve 'till the age of thirty or thirty-one years, shall during the time of her servitude, have any child born of her body, every such child shall serve the master or mistress of such mullatto or indian, until it shall attain the same age the mother of such child was obliged by law to serve unto.

XXIII. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted and declared,* That no free negro, mullatto, or indian whatsoever, shall hereafter have any vote at the election of burgesses, or any other election whatsoever.

Source: Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone,* p. 115; Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 4:126-134. See also ibid., 6:40-42 (1748) and ibid., 7:519-520 (1762).

1727 to 1729—Excerpts from Robert "King" Carter's Letterbook

Robert "King" Carter wrote several letters about the management of his frontier quarters in King George, Stafford, Spotsylvania, and Prince William counties. The excerpts from Robert Carter's Letterbook which follow relate Carter's instructions for building and furnishing a new quarter and for managing the new African slaves sent there.

Robert Carter to Robert Jones, the manager of Carter's western quarters, 10 October 1727. Carter gave detailed instructions about setting up the newly established Lodge quarter where he intended tobacco, corn, and wheat to be raised. He ordered "Very good Cabbins to be made for my people that their beds may lye a foot and a half from the ground." The slave carpenters were to rive thick boards and hew them in place of plank. The slave quarter and the overseer's house were to be lofted for "warmth of houses" and "to lay ye peoples corn in." Jones was to buy a supply of corn "that they may not be at a pinch when ye bad weather comes," and to send some beeves and salt from other quarters so the people "may live as comfortable as they can." The overseer, one Johnson in 1727, was to have his allowance of pork, and "some beef if he wants." The people were to have some hog's flesh "that they may have a bit now and then and the fat to grease their Homony." Carter hoped there were "hollow gumbs" on hand that in which corn and salt could be sorted, but if not, a team of slave coopers were to set up half a dozen hogsheads for plantation use and to make piggins and pails for the slaves.

Many of the slaves whom Jones was in charge of were recently imported Africans, including at least one man from Madagascar (Madagascar Jack). Jones was to "take care that the negros both men & women I sent you up last always go by ye names we gave them for this reason I nam'ed them here & by their names we can always know what sizes they are of & I am sure we repeated them so often to them that every one knew their names & would readily answer to them." One new African woman had run away, but Carter was confident that "now she hath tasted of the hardship of ye woods she will go near to stay at home where she can have her belly full." Jones was to order overseer Johnson "to be kind to all the negros but especially to the new ones," seeing that they "lye warm." In the case of Ballazore, however, a chronic runaway whom Carter judged "an incorigeable rogue," he declared that "nothing less than dismembring will reclaim him[.] I would have you outlaw him and get an order of court for taking off his toes[.] I have cured many a negro of running away by this means."

In a subsequent letter, probably written in the spring of 1728, Carter advised that he was sending 10 or 11 "old hands" to disperse among the work gangs which had been depleted by an unusually high number of deaths the previous winter. Two or three of these seasoned slaves were boys not much more than 12 years old who would "go for half sharers" in the 1728 crop. Carter complained that livestock died because overseers had not laid in enough fodder or fed the animals properly. He also asserted that "the carelessness and cruelty of the

overseers in turning the people out in hard and bitter weather hath been no small occasion of so great a mortality."

Robert Carter, undated letter, probably October, 1728, to Robert Jones, manager of the upland quarters

Carter wanted 20 hogs from each of the western quarters to be driven down about Christmas, and a pot of butter sent from each quarter, especially from ones where the overseer had a wife to supervise enslaved women in dairying. He sent nails to nail up lathing in all the quarters.

"If wee can but find a way to keep ye people warm with warm houses warm bedding and warm Cloath[e]s I can't believe but wee should have fewer Mortalitys. I am sure I have done my part if ye Overseers do but theirs. There are a great many new hands in my Gangs. Overseers should take care that ye old hands does not Crow over them[.] Be sure let them have their Belly full."

Robert Carter to Robert Jones, 4 December 1728

This letter outlines plans for driving hogs from upland plantations to Corotoman. Such livestock drives afforded an opportunity for some slaves on western quarters to visit relatives in the tidewater.

"What Hoggs I am to have I must have them Drove down here and I would have them come in Two parcells as Roger Oxford indeed propos'd to Me to be the best way[.] its very common to the Southward to drive Hoggs as far[.] they put them into Large enclosures three or four days before they set off with them and Drive them about with Horses and then they tell me they manage them with a great deal of ease[.] there are several Gentlemen in the way that I daresay would afford them conveniencys for a Night, As Majr. Thornton, Coll. Smith there is Coll. Pages Qr at Nansatico [on the Rappahannock near present day Port Royal] where particular orders are given to entertainmt to my Overseers and Hoggs[.] then there is the head of Nomini next to that my Fieldings and my Merattico Qrs [on the Rappahannock on the border between Richmond and Lancaster Counties] and so down to ye office[.] these Stages in my thoughts will make the matter Easy[.] I have promis'd Ben and Jacob and the Carpenter boys that they shall come down this Christmass to see their relations[.] I reckon about that time these hoggs will be fit to come away[.] You may continue to let the Carpenters come at the same time and to make them Help down with the Hoggs which will save yr sending others."

Robert Carter to Robert Jones, 24 October 1729

Carter explains how clothing sent for the slaves should be distributed and discusses the advantages of using oxen to ease the heavy labor required of slaves settling frontier farms.

Carter has sent winter supplies for the western quarters. The bed clothes "have labels with the names of every negro they are for. The bedding for the overseers at Richland and at the mountains are marked...The Frocks for the Children are all marked Also another petty Coat for Grace my son Charles is very certain that he sent one before for her knowing her to be a large Woman & Cowkeeper; he was particularly carefull to choose a petty ct for her and set her name upon it and it was one of the Petty cts that the things were sow'd up in. I hope you will be more careful in the right delivery of those goods than you were in the cloths, for what I observed you never so much as Look'd into the Packs to see whether Everything was there before you sent them away, so that it is in the breast of any Overseers to take what they please out and deny that they came to them[.] this is like the rest of the care you use about other things. The way u'd to be Either to have all the People come down from the Several Qrs and fit them at the Falls Qr or Else to have the furthest overseers down and to open the packs before them and let them see that Everything was right for their Gang. This is the method I observe with Nominy and Richmond people. Every overseer comes down for his peoples Cloths and see that everything is right and this is the method that I will have observ'd by the person that lives in your Station."

Carter intended to have five teams of oxen trained for use at the quarters. "Wheat & Corn Etc will be Easily brought down and remov'd from one plantation to another without the sad specticl of sore backt horses & poor jades and the people where the plantations are large may have their fencing stuff drawn into place[,] their Firewood got to their doors[,] their corn remov'd to their home houses[,] their Tobo carried from their fields tho never so remoat and abundance of other benefits not to be mentioned."

Source: Robert Carter Letterbook, 1727-28, Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, ff. 72, 83; Robert Carter Letterbook, Volume 3, ff. 6, 14, 41, Carter Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

May 1732—ACT VII. *An Act for settling some doubts and differences of opinion, in relation to the benefit of Clergy; for allowing the same to Women; and taking away of Reading; and to disable certain Persons, therein mentioned, to be witnesses*

This statute extended the privilege of benefit of clergy to women, and with some limitations, to slaves. At the same time, the legislation placed a further restriction on **all** people of color—an African or an Indian, whether free or enslaved, could only provide testimony in the case of a slave accused of a capital offense.

IV. And whereas a question hath lately arisen, touching the right of negros, to the benefit of clergy: For the determination thereof, *Be it further enacted,* That when any negro, mulatto, or Indian whatsoever, shall be convicted of any offence within the benefit of clergy, judgment of death shall not be given against him or her, upon such conviction; but he or she, shall be burnt in the hand in open court, by the jailor, and suffer such other corporal punishment, as the court shall think fit to inflict; except where such negro, mulatto, or Indian shall be convicted of manslaughter, or the felonious breaking and entring in the daytime any house, and taking from thence any goods or chattels whatsoever, to the value of five shillings sterling; and where he or she hath once had the benefit of this act; and in those

cases, such negro, mulatto, or Indian, shall suffer death, and be excluded from the benefit of this act.

V. And whereas negros, mulattos, and Indians, have lately been frequently allowed to give testimony as lawful witnesses in the general court, and other courts of this colony, when they have professed themselves to be christians, and been able to give some account of the principles of the christian religion: But forasmuch as they are people of such base and corrupt natures, that the credit of their testimony cannot be certainly depended upon, and some juries have altogether rejected their evidence, and others have given full credit thereto: For preventing the mischiefs that may possibly happen by admitting such precarious evidence,

VI. *Be it further enacted,* That no negro, mulatto, or Indian, either a slave or free, shall hereafter be admitted in any court of this colony, to be sworn as a witness, or give evidence in any cause whatsoever, except upon the trial of a slave, for a capital offence; in which case they shall be allowed to give evidence, in the manner directed by one act of assembly, made in the ninth year of the reign of the late king George, intituled, An Act directing the trial of Slaves committing Capital Crimes; and for the more effectual punishing Conspiracies and Insurrections of them; and for the better government of Negros, Mulattos, and Indians, bond or free.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* 4:326-327.

1733—Inventories of Robert "King" Carter's Western Quarters

When Robert "King" Carter died in 1733, he left his land and slaves to his children and grandchildren. The following excerpts from his inventory detail the enslaved laborers, livestock, and agricultural equipment on several of his western quarters.

Robert "King" Carter established Lodge Quarter (also called New Design) in Prince William County in 1727. Timothy Dargan was the overseer.

Negroes

Nan a Woman
Bess a girl...abt. 9 yr old
Sary Do ...abt. 7 Do.
Frank Do ...Abt 3 Do.
Hannah Do ...abt. 1 Do.
[.....]
Adam a Man
Moreah his Wife
[.....]
Peter a man
Cromwell Do
Will Do. 10
[.....]
Rozinante an old horse
[.....]

Hoggs

8 Breeding Sows
12 Sp[aye]d Sows & Bar[rro]s 2 yr old
35 Do. & Do....1 Do. 55
[-----]

Cattle

1 bull...abt. 3 yr old
6 Draught Oxen
3 Steers...5 Do.
4 Do. ...3 Do.
5 Do. ...2 Do.
4 heiffers...3 Do.
2 Do. ... 2 Do.
8 Cows & 8 Yearlings
1 Barren Cow 42
[.....]
2 potts & 1 pr. hooks
2 Wedges
[1] pestle
[1] Grindstone
[1] Claw ham[me]r
[_____] Gimlett
[_____ Cross] Cutt Saw
[1] Old Musquett
2 ox Chaines & 2 yokes
1 pr. Hand mill Stones

Robert "King" Carter opened a new quarter called Range Quarter for his son, Charles Carter Esquire. William White was the overseer at Range Quarter.

Negroes

Will a Man
Gun Do.
[-----]
Samson abt. 15 yr old 3
[-----]
Phillis a mare abt. 7 yr old
A Young Grey Mare...2 Do
A Do ...1 Do.
[-----]

Hoggs

A Breeding Sow
7 Shoats...abt. 6 mo. old 8
[-----]

Cattle

1 Bull ...abt. 3 yr old
1 Steer...10 Do.
2 Do. ...4 Do.
3 Do. ... 3 Do.
3 Do. ... 2 Do.
4 heiffers...3 do.
6 Cows & 6 yearlings
4 yearlings
3 Barron Cows 33

Another Carter quarter was Frying Pan Quarter, located near present day Chantilly, Virginia. Fortune Sydnor was the overseer. The Carter family subsequently operated a lead mine on this quarter.

[Indentured Servant] Wm. Manuell a yr. To Serve in Ap[r]il. 1

Negroes

[____]wn a Man
[__]ly his Wife
[-----]
Ceasar a Man
Winney his Wife
Sawny...abt. 15 mo. old
[-----]
Patrick a man
Sharper Do.
[-----]

Horses

Jack a Stallion
Freeman Do. ...abt. 3 yr old
Phillis a mare...8 Do.
her Mare colt...2 Do.
her horse Do. ...1 Do.
Smugg a Mare
Punch a gelden [gelding]
Buck an old ditto 8
[-----]

Hoggs

1 Boar ...abt. 1 yr old
6 Breeding Sows
7 Barrows...8 mo. old
32 Boars & Sows ...4 mo Do.
13 piggs ...2 mo. old

6 Spayd Sows, 1 Barrow, In the pen
6 Barrows ...1 yr old 72
[-----]

Cattle

1 Bull ...abt. 3 yr old
6 draught oxen
2 Steers ...3 Do.
2 Do. ... 2 D0.
2 heiff[e]rs ... 3 Do.
1 Cow 1 Calf
[___] Do. ... 6 yearlings
[___] Barron Cows
[-----] 34
[___]gh Bedsteads
[Feat]her Bed, Bolster, pillow quilt & pr. Blanketts
[_____] & 4 Boltsters
[_____] pr Blanketts & 2 Cadddows
[___] old pewter plates
[___] Do. Dishes
2 Do. Basons
4 potts 7 2 pr hooks
1 pr querns
1 pr hand mill Stones

Captain William Triplett was the overseer at Carter's Falls Quarter in King George County. Produce from upland plantations was brought to this large quarter at the head of navigation on the Rappahannock. Robert Carter's sloop, captained by a white servant and manned by four enslaved sailors, transported clothing and tools for slaves on interior plantations to Falls quarter and brought tobacco and other crops down the river to Corotoman.

[Indentured Servants]
Neal Forster till 26 of August to Serve
Eleanor Robinson a year to Serve

Negroes

Sam Foreman
Grace his Wife
Gowin a boy...abt 7 yr old
Tomboy...abt. 3 Do.
[------]
Bristo a man
Beck his Wife
Robin...abt. 6 Do.
Ben...abt. 3 Do.
[.....]

Harry a man
Judy his wife
Manuel...abt. 2 Do
Nanny...abt. 2 mo. Do
[-----]
Dembo a Man
Peter Do
Will Do
Dick...abt. 13 yr old
Aaron...abt. 13 Do
[-----]
Ceasar Sawyers
Sawney
[-----]
Ben Carpenters
Jacob
Will
Harry
[-----]
Isaac...abt. 15 yr old

Horses

Button an old horse
German Do...abt. 7 yr old
Floraty a mare abt. 7 Do 3

Cattle

2 Bulls abt. 5 yr old
6 Draught Oxen
1 Steer...11 Do.
6 Do ... 7 Do.
1 Do ... 5 Do.
[?] heiffrs...3 Do
[?] ditto...2 Do.
1 Cow and Calf
3 Cows & 3 yearlings
7 Barron Cows 38
[.....]
4 potts, 2 pr hooks, a pestle
a frying pan...a Grindstone
a pr hand mill Stones[,] a five foot Chest
an old Bedstead...A Cross Leg'd Table
A pew[ter] chamb[e]r pott An Ox Cart & pr Shodd Wheels
3 Ox Chains 3 yokes A Cross Cutt Saw
A Whipsaw...An old handsaw
2 Iron Wedges an old Sword and Scabbard
A Gun

Source: Robert Carter Inventory, 1733, Carter Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

1737—John Brickell's *The Natural History of North Carolina*

John Brickell, an Irish physician who lived in Edenton, North Carolina, for about two years around 1730, published a natural history of that colony in 1737. Brickell listed a number of wild animals that both Indians and African Americans used for food or medicine, some of which Anglo-Americans also used and some which they did not. The groups probably made similar use of natural resources in adjoining Virginia.

Among the species Brickell mentioned were:

Raccoon: "The *Indians* and *Negroes* frequently eat them, and esteem them very much."

Possum: "Their Flesh is generally fat, white, and well tasted, several Persons eat of them, especially the *Indians* and *Negroes*, who prefer them before *Pork*, but their ugly Tails are enough to put one out of Conceit with them. They climb Trees as the *Racoons* do, and feed on Flesh, Poultry, Roots, and most kinds of Fruits. Their Furr is not esteemed, and therefore made very little use of, only that the *Indians* spin it into Girdles and Garters."

Bat: "The Flesh is abominable Food, yet some eat it, and it is frequently Roasted, and given to Children that eat Dirt (which is very common amongst the *Christians* and *Negroes* in this Province) and is held as an infallible Medicine for that purpose. The Blood causes the Hair to fall off, the *Gall* helps the biting of the *Shrew-mouse*, and dimness of Sight."

Logger Head Turtles: "...The third is called the *Logger-Head*, which scarce any one covets to eat, except it be the *Negroes* and *Indians*."

Owls: "The Flesh of these Birds is eaten by the *Indians* and *Negroes*. It is accounted good in Palsies and Melancholly. The Grease and Gall is good against Spots in the Eyes, and to strengthen the Eye-sight. The whole Bird, not plucked, calcined, and taken into the Throat, opens the Imposthums of the Quinsie to a wonder, and the Brain, eaten, helps the Head-ach."

Water Hens and Marsh Hens: "The *Blue-Peters*, or *Water-Hens*, are very plenty, and differ from ours neither in size or Feathers, but are seldom or never eaten (except it be by the *Indians* and *Negroes*) being very hard of Digesting and ill tasted ... The *Marsh-Hen* is much the same as with us in *Europe* in size and Feathers, but has a more different and shrill Note. Their Flesh is seldom made use of except it be by the *Indians* and *Negroes*, being Black and ill tasted."

Gulls: "...seldom eaten, only by the *Indians* and *Negroes*, their Flesh being black, hard of digestion, and tastes Fishy...Their Flesh is not good, therefore seldom or never made use of, except it be by the *Negroes* and *Indians.*"

Stingrays: "The *Seate*, or *Stingre*, is altogether of the nature of the *Thornback*, but stronger. They are the same here as are to be met with in several parts of *Europe*, and are very common; but the great plenty of other good Fish makes them little regarded, for few or none eat them in this Province (except the *Negroes* and *Indians)* though they are at every Planter's Door, as far as the salt Waters are."

Barbles (a species of carp): "The *Sucking-Fish* are nearest in taste to a *Barble*, only they have no *Barbs*, they are about a Foot and a half long, and are of very soft and flabby Fish, and therefore are seldom or never made use of except by the *Negroes* and *Indians,* they are generally taken with the Bait and are very plenty in Rivers and Creeks."

Brickell noted that Native Americans and African Americans were more at home in the woods than Europeans, but that enmity existed between blacks and Indians in North Carolina. Brickell asserted that Indians played a role in capturing some of the slaves involved in the 1730 rebellion in Norfolk and Princess Anne Counties. The accuracy of Brickell's assertion is unclear; in his account of the rebellion, Governor Gooch failed to mention Indian involvement and stated that only four of the leaders were executed (pp. 118-119 in the *Enslaving Virginia* Resource Book).

But this is a general Rule to be observed throughout all *America*, that wherever you meet any of those Paths like Roads, with the Trees marked or notched on each side, it is a sure sign that it is the publick Road from one *Christian* Town to another. Notwithstanding there are several Paths of Horses, Cows, and other Beasts in the Woods, as large as the former, which are to be avoided, by reason that the Trees are not marked as above; neither do the *Indians* ever use this Method in making their Roads, having some secret Knowledge to guide them through these large Woods, which we are entire Strangers to; so that several Christians not knowing or regardless of these Marks, have been for several Days lost in the Woods, before they could come to any Planters House, or meet with any Person to inform them which way to go; yet I never heard of any perish for want of Provisions, under these misfortunes, there being not only great Plenty of several good Fruits to be met with, all over the Woods most parts of the year, but likewise variety of Birds and Beasts, necessary for the support of Life; but I have known some lost for eight, others for fourteen Days, before they could meet with any human Creature to inform them what part of the Province they were in.

The *Negroes* sometimes make use of these Advantages in the Woods, where they will stay for Months together before they can be found out by their Masters, or any other Person; and great Numbers of them would act after the same manner (which would be detrimental to the Planters) were they not so much afraid of the *Indians*, who have such a natural aversion to the *Blacks*, that they commonly shoot them when ever they find them in the Woods or solitary parts of the Country.

* * * *

They know the Head of any River, though five, six, or seven hundred Miles off, although they were never there before, as is often proved by their appointing to meet on the Head of such or such a River, where perhaps not one of them ever had been, yet they shall rendezvous there exactly at the time prefixed. If they meet with any Obstructions in their Journey, they leave certain Marks in the way, that those who come after them will understand how many have passed before them, and which way they are gone. It is not to be imagined how they will trace and find out each other in these solitary and desolate Woods and Desarts, where there are no Roads to guide, or any humane Creature to tell the way. They are also very expeditious in finding out the *Negroes* that frequently run away from their Masters into the Woods, where they commit many outrages against the *Christians*, as it happened in *Virginia* not long since, where above *three Hundred* joined together, and did a great deal of Mischief in that Province before they were suppressed. The *Indian* Kings are sent for on these Occasions, who soon find out their Haunts, and commonly kill many of them whenever they are sent in pursuit after them, for they never cease pursuing 'till they destroy or hunt them out of the Woods: this they will do in the tenth part of the Time that the *Europeans* could do. These *Negroes* whenever they find the *Indians* in pursuit of them, they return, and chuse rather to submit to the *Christians*, whom they have injured, than fall into the Hands of the others, who have a natural aversion to the *Negroes*, and take Pleasure in putting them to the most exquisite Torments, when ever they find them thus in the Woods, being allowed so to do by the *Christians*.

I saw four and twenty of these *Negroes* hanged in *Virginia*, for conspiring against their Masters, who had taken Sanctuary in the Woods for some time before they were discovered, or hunted out by the *Indians*, who are very serviceable to the *Christians* in those Parts, and many other Provinces in the hands of the *English*.

Brickell commented about Native American creation myths.

They are generally very ignorant of the first Creation of Man, or from whence they came, for some say they are descended from an old Man who came thither in a Boat, which they call a *Canoe;* but whether this was before or after the Flood, they can give little or no satisfactory Account. Others (with whom I have frequently conversed on that Head) believe that they are made out of the fine white Mould or Earth, and that the *Blacks* or *Negroes* are formed out of black Dirt and swampy Earth; this was all that I could ever learn from them on that subject.

Source: Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina*, pp. 124, 126, 132, 137, 178-179, 200, 205, 232, 241, 262-263, 356-357, 377.

1745 to 1791—Excerpts from Burwell Account Books

Carter I and Nathaniel Burwell II's Account Books provide information about living conditions on the quarters they owned in Prince William and Frederick (later Clarke) Counties and about slaves living at Carters' Grove who made journeys between the tidewater and the west.

The first mention of the quarters on Bull Run (in Prince William County) is in 1745 when Carter Burwell paid £4 to have a tobacco house built there (f. 22). Sometime in 1745 Burwell visited these quarters incurring the following expenses:

By Cash to Thomas Ashby [probably an overseer in Prince William County] for Sundries	4..6..8
By Do given to my Negroes @ Shenandoa [Frederick County]	2..0..3
By Do paid Timothy Dargan [in 1728 Robert Carter's overseer at Lodge Quarter]	10.9

In 1746, John Ashby, who became the overseer at Burwell's Bull Run quarter in Prince William, borrowed £30 of Burwell to purchase a Negroe Man for £30. Ashby repaid Burwell in part by escorting some slaves to the west:

October 1748:

By Cash left in my hands for the purchase of a Negroe	£	25..0..0
By your Trouble in coming down for my Negroes last Winter		5..0..0

In 1751 the slaves on the Bull Run quarter raised 22 hogshead of tobacco. Quarter expenses in 1754 included:

To paid for Levies	2..0..1
To paid for [tobacco] Hogsheads	3..5..0
To paid the Inspection of 20 hhdsTobo	3..0..0
To paid for Smiths work for the Mill	1.14.6
To paid for a Bag of Salt	4.19.2
To paid the Midwife	11.6
To paid Ann Wood [wife of an adjoining landowner] for her care of Stepney	1..1..6
To paid for carting the Tobacco	24.14.6

William Nelson's accounts for Carter Burwell I's estate record supplies sent to the western quarters. These included payments for ready-made clothing sent by wagon to the slaves. The women on these quarters were apparently so busy in the fields that they did not have time to make clothes for themselves.

1 Jan. 1765	By Cash pd for 5 sutes wom[en]s sent to Mount[ain]s	0..7..6
23 Feb. 1766	By Cash pd for 5 sutes w[omen]s sent to mounts	0..7..6
16 Dec. 1769	By Cash pd for 12 sutes [of clothes]w[omen]s sent to Mounts	0.15.0

30 Nov. 1770	By [Cash] pd for bring'g up N. Cloths	10.0
24 Dec. 1770	By Cash pd for mak'g 13 sutes w[omen]s for mounts	0.19.6
23 Dec. 1771	By Makg 25 sutes m[en]s cloths, to Mounts	0.17.6
	By Makg 20 sutes w[omen]s Do 15d	1..5..0

Nelson decided to move more slaves from the tidewater to the western quarters in 1765 and 1766. Slaves permanently moved to these quarters traveled with a wagon carrying their possessions. Estate manager William Graves visited the quarters at least twice a year in the spring and fall. Grave's visits were one of the few chances the slaves would have had to get news about relatives left behind in the tidewater. The Cash Account also identifies some of the activities at these quarters:

5 Dec. 1765	By Cash pd Wm Graves's Expences in going to settle a quarter on Bull Run	3.15..1
	By Cash pd for 2 grub'g hoes at Bull Run	12.0
	By Cash pd hier waggon to carry up the negroes & Cloth'g	1..0..0
19 Mar. 1766	William Graves Cr. By Cash pd for half My Expences in going 4 times to Bull Run and Shenandoe	4.13..9 ¼
28 July 1766	By Cash pd for waggon'g a Load corn from Shenandoe to Bull Run	1.10..0
	By Cash pd the Blacksmtih B[ull] Run	1..2..0
	By Cash pd for car'g a pr mill stones to Bull Run	0..5..0
8 Dec. 1766	By Cash pd Mr. Ellyson for a pr Mill Stones for Bull run	2.10.0
	By Cash pd for hier 2 Waggons to bring up the Negroes and Clothing to Bull Run	2.10.0
4 June 1767	By Cash pd Wm Pollard for Pool [Poll] & Land Tax at Bull run	8..0..0
	By Cash pd for waggoning 3 hhds Tobo from B. run to warehouse	2..0..0
	By Cash pd Wm Allanson's accot	4.11.0
	[Allanson was a Fredericksburg merchant who sent supplies to the quarters]	
	By Cash pd Wm Sooter for Smith's work done at Bull run	2..0..1
10 Dec. 1767	By Cash pd Lewis Renno the Sherriff of Prince William [for poll taxes and quit rents]	9..7..0
	By Cash pd Wm Allason for Inspection [of tobacco]	3.10.0
	By Cash pd for half My Expence for going to Bull run & Shenandoe [this entry refers to Graves]	2..0. .9
16 Feb. 1768	By Cash pd Wm Walrond for car[ryin]'g up Jack	1..0. .0
12 May 1768	To Cash pd My Expences to Mounts [Graves]	2.18.11 ½
16 Nov. 1768	By Cash pd My expence to Mounts [Graves]	3.. 2.11
20 Apr. 1769	By Cash pd My Expences to Mounts [Graves]	2.17. 4
20 Nov. 1769	By my Expences to Mounts [Graves]	3..4.. 2
23 Apr. 1770	By Cash pd my Expences to Mounts [Graves]	2..8.. 7
10 Dec. 1770	By Cash pd My Expences to Mounts [Graves]	1.18. 0
13 Apr. 1771	By Cash pd my Expences to Mounts [Graves]	1.17.7 ½
23 Dec. 1771	By My Expence to Mounts [Graves]	1.19..3

In the fall of 1771 more slaves and some livestock were sent to the Frederick quarters. Nathaniel Burwell II, the new owner of Carter's Grove (who had just come of age), went along with Graves to visit these quarters that spring and fall. Many more slaves were forced to move west in 1772:

26 Oct. 1771	By Cash pd Expence at York send'g up Negros	4..4 ½
27 Nov. 1771	By pd bringin'g up Negros and Cloth'g	2..0..0
13 Dec. 1771	By Cash pd assistance driv'g up stock	1..0..0
	By Cash pd Mr. N. Burwell at Mounts	5..9
	By Cash pd Wm Graves's Expence to Mounts	4..7..9
16 Apr. 1772	By Cash pd My Expences to Mounts [Graves]	2.1.10 ½
18 May 1772	By Cash pd Thos. Archer Car'g up Negros	7.10..0

Three slaves from Carter's Grove—Billy, Daniel, and Tom—accompanied William Graves on some of the trips and, once they had learned the route, sometimes made the journey on their own, probably driving a wagon packed with clothing and other supplies for the quarters.

23 Feb. 1766	By Cash gave Billy for his expences to Bull Run	1..0..0
22 Mar. 1766	By Cash pd Dan[ie]l & Tom Expences to Mount[ain]s	15.0
14 April 1767	By Cash gave Tom & Dan[ie]l for Expences to Bull Run	10.0
10 Dec. 1767	By Cash pd Mrs. Tod for Tom & Dan; [probably at Todd's Ordinary near present day Bowling Green on the Route to Bull Run]	1..9
29 Sept. 1768	by Cash gave Tom & Danl for Mounts	7..6
20 Nov. 1769	By Cash gave Danl & 3 negroes for their Expences to Mounts	1..5. .0
21 Nov. 1770	By Cash gave Bill for Expence to mountains	7. 6

Nelson's account with Thomas Shelton, overseer at Bull Run, gives further information about living conditions on that quarter. Nelson credited Shelton for payments he had made:

1766	p[er] Contra Cr.	
	By 110 lb poark for Negros	1..7..6
	By 500 lb Do for overseer	6..5..0
	By 18 ½ Barls Corn	9..5..0
	By 1 plow wt 13 ¼ lb @ 9d	0.9.4½
	By Cash pd Mrs. Garnet for att'g Fanny	0.10.0
	By Cash pd Mr. Whiteing for rum & moll[asse]'s	0..1..3
	By Cash pd assistance in bringing 2 cows from Shenandoe	0..1..3
	By Cash pd for a Load Corn from Shenandoe to Bull Run	1..6..9

Slaves at the Frederick County quarter raised surplus pork, beef, corn, wheat, oats, and rye in 1766 and 1767, which the overseer, Robert Catlett, sold locally.

1766	Mr. Robt Catlett Dr.	
	To 2846 lb poark sold at plantation	25.12.3
	By 7 Beeves at 69/	24..3..0
	To 1 Do 50/ 1 Do 80/	6.10..0
	To 1 Do	3.10..0
1767	To 4000 lb poark at 20/	40..0..0
27 Nov.	To 40 Barls Corn at 6/6	13..0..0
	To 8 Barls Do at 8/	2.16.0
	To 21 ½ Barls Do @ 8/	8.12.0
	To 2 Bushls Wheat	6.0
	To 246 ½ lb Bacon @ 6d	6.. 3..0
	To 60 Bushls Oats @ 18d	4.10..0
	To 4 Barls 3 ¾ Busls Corn @ 8/	1.16.11 ½
	To 38 Bushls rey @ 22d	3..9..8

By 1768 there were two Carter quarters, called Marsh and River, in Frederick County. William Nelson secured the services of Robert Catlett and William Pollard as the overseers.

1768	By 10 Barls Corn his part [the overseer's share] @ 8/	4..0..0
	By 1 Mare sold the Estate	7..0..0
	By Cash pd 2 hors collers	2.6
	By Cash pd 2 pr Traces	5.0
	By Cash pd 1 grind stone	12..6
	By Cash pd 2 sacks salt	1..5..0
	By Cash pd 120 10d Nails & 1 lb bro[wn] thr[ea]d	6..6
	By Cash pd Wagon'g 17 hhds Tobo	9..4..0
	By Cash pd 100 8d Nailes Inspect'g [tobacco]	1.0
	By Cash pd 112 lb Iron for Cart Wheels	1.13.7
	By Cash pd for a pr Cart Wheels	1.15.0
	By Cash pd for wagon'g Corn	1.10.0
	By Cash pd for car'g 112 lb iron up	1.6
	By Cash pd for Car'g up 2 sacks salt & grind stone	2.6
	By Cash pd for 6 Barls 3 bushls Corn @ 10/	3..6..0
	By Cash pd for build'g 2 sheds, round Tobacco Houses & finish'g Dwell'g house	5..0..0
	By Cash pd for cart'g goods from Dumfries	6.0
	By Cash pd for hier Wagon 1 day	10.0
	By Cash pd for laying br[oa]d Axe	3.0
	By his [Pollard's] share 17929 lb Tobo is 2578 lb at 25/	32.4.6
	By Cash pd Wm Sooter, blacksmith	3.4.3

Some expenses the overseers incurred between 1769 and 1771 involved health care for the slaves, supplies of clothing and shoes, driving hogs to market (in which some of the enslaved men must have taken part), and for capturing two men who ran away. Most of the women sent to these quarters were relatively young, so many children were born there:

1769	By Cash pd Doctr H. Will's Acct	3..0..0
	By Cash pd Sarah Balanger [a midwife]	10.0
	By Cash pd for Deliver'g Grace	10.0
	By Expence in drive'g hogs to market	10.0
	By Cash pd Mrs. Stevens for Agnis	10.0
	By Cash pd 1 qt brandy for Do.	10.0
1770 23 Apr.	By Cash gave Wm Pollard to pay Midwife for 2 Negro women	1..0..0
1770 30 Nov.	By Cash pd Wm Bare for keep'g Matt	4..7..6
	By Cash pd Jer Redman a cannoe	1..0..0
	By Cash pd Midwife for Sue	0.10.0
	By Cash pd Jno Loyde for mak'g 22 pr. Shoes	1.13.0
	By pd Mrs. Stevens for Deliver'g 3 negro women	1.10.0
	By pd Wm Anniss for tak'g up Dick	14.0
	By pd Mr. Burwell's Will for Do	10.0
	By pd Jero Dews for Taking up Do.	5.0
	By pd for Mak'g 2 plow stocks	5.0
1771 27 Nov.	By Cash pd for Deliver'g Jane	10.0
	By Cash pd Midwife Deliver'g Grace & Bett	1..0..0
	By bringing up Negros Cloths	10.0
	By pd 7 mo fish for Negros	1..0..0
	By pd bringing them up	15.0
	By pd Docr Jones for Attend'g Danl	10.0
1773	By Cash pd the Midwife [2 such entries were made]	10.0
1774	By Cash pd bring'g up Fish	5..0
	By Cash pd Doct Macky for Charles	1.3..6
	By Cash pd for a Corn House	210.0
	By Cash pd for taking up Turner	12.0

Once Nathaniel Burwell II assumed control of his estate, he began having livestock driven to Carter's Grove from the western quarters as Robert "King" Carter had done earlier. It is likely that slaves helped to drive the livestock.

23 Nov. 1774	To Cash to bring down Beaves	£3..0..0
23 Nov. 1775	To Cash to bring down the Beaves	3..0..0

Nathaniel Burwell made a full accounting of the crops the slaves in Frederick County raised in 1774:

Marsh Quarter	135 barrels corn	£92.10..0
	500 bushels wheat @ 3/	75..0..0
	813 lbs pork @ 20/	8..2..7
	14 Hogshead Tobacco @ £10	140.00.0

The overseer's share was 23 barrels of corn and £15 of tobacco; 162 barrels of corn were used on the plantation, and 100 bushels of the wheat were sown in the fall

River Quarter	300 Barrels Corn @ 10/	150.00.0
	400 Bushels wheat @ 3/	67.00.0
	300 Bushels oats @ 1/3	18.15.0
	Two Barren Cows @ £4	8.00.0
	1500 lb Pork @ 18/	13.10.0
	850 lb Pork @ 20/	10.10.0
	303 lb Pork @ 16/8	2.10.6
	881 lb Pork @ 18/	7.18.6
	3 Bushels Rie @ 2/6	0. 7..6
	15 Hogsheads of Tobacco @ £10	150.00.0
	100 Bushels of Oats @ 1/3	6.05.0

The overseer's share was 36 Barrels of corn, 50 bushels of wheat, and £12..08..4 for tobacco. 162 ½ barrels of corn were used for the plantation and 100 bushels of both wheat and oats were sown.

James Burwell II of King's Creek plantation in York County had, like the Carter's Grove Burwells, set up a farm in Frederick County as early as 1775. James II's son, Nathaniel Junior, sent fifteen bondspeople to the Frederick quarter by 1782, and by his death in 1791, twenty-seven lived in Frederick County. Nathaniel Burwell of Carter's Grove was one of Nathaniel Junior's executors and he made the arrangements to send all but a few old slaves west who were left behind to be hired out to various York County residents.

Dec. 20, 1791	To provisions & Whiskey for 9 Men, 1 boy, 4 Women, & 2 Child to Frederick	2..11.6

Sources: Burwell Ledger I, containing Nathaniel Burwell II's Day Book, 1773-79; Burwell Ledger II, containing Carter Burwell I's Account Book, 1738-56; Burwell Ledger III, containing William Nelson's accounts of Carter Burwell I's estate, 1764-72, and Nathaniel Burwell II's Day Book, 1779-86, Burwell Papers MS 64.4; Nathaniel Burwell II Ledger, 1771-1812, MS 81.12, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

1744/5 to 1789—Runaway Slave Advertisements

The following advertisements indicate that Indian slaves, like enslaved African Americans, ran away from their masters. Some slaves ran to see family members and other slaves headed to Willliamsburg in the hope of gaining their freedom from the members of the General Court. Some runaways sought refuge in Indian settlements. A few slaves tried to get to "the back parts of Virginia." After the Revolution, some slaves belived that they were free because their masters moved them to Virginia. There is evidence that some Indians and African Americans formed families.

RAN away on Sunday the 9th Inst. from his Master, living near Williamsburg, an Apprentice Lad, narn'd Thomas Gilbert, aged about 17 Years: He has a broad Face, and full Set of Teeth, is of low Stature, pretty well-set, of a dark Complexion, being a Mustee, and has a thick bushy Head of Hair. Had on a Virginia Cloth Jacket, Kersey-wove, and the Sleeves plain, an old Pair of Duroy Breeches, an old Pair of Stockings, a new Pair of Shoes, an Oznabrigs Shirt, almost new, and an Old Felt Hat. Whoever takes him up, and conveys him to me, a Wheelwright, near the Capitol in Williamsburg, shall have a Pistole Reward, besides what the Law allows.

John Brown.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Parks, ed., 14 March to 21 March 1744/5.

* * * *

COMMITTED to the publick Goal in Williamsburg, a Negroe Man named Tom, about five Feet four Inches high, with a long Visage, has a good Countenance, is a thin spare Fellow, has a Mark on his left Side, and two on the same Hip, which he says were done by an Arrow, but speaks so bad that he can scarce be understood; he has been in Surry County Gaol the Time prescribed by Law, and has neither there nor here given any Account of his Master. There is a Person now in Gaol, who says he speaks French-Indian well. The Owner may have him on paying as the Law directs.

Samuel Galt, K.P.G.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Hunter, ed., 30 November 1759.

* * * *

Fort Lewis,
7th of June, 1766.

RAN away from the Subscriber, at Fort Lewis, in Augusta County, the 22n of April last, a large strong made Negro Fellow named PHIL, Country born, about thirty five Years of Age, and talks pretty good English; had on when he went away, an Ozmabrig Shirt, a Cotton Jacket, Cotton Leggings, and an old Hat.

Whoever apprehends the said Negro, and conveys him to me at this Place, or to my Store at New-London, Bedford County, shall have THREE POUNDS Reward, besides what the Law allows.

ALEXANDER BOYD.

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Rind, ed., July 18, 1766.

* * * *

ISAAC, an Indian slave, aged about 40 years, run away from my plantation on George's creek, in Buckingham, last Easter was twelve months. He was born and lived many years on the BROOK of CHICKAHOMINY, and has some connexions in Goochland, where he may probably be [at] present. He wore long curled hair before his elopement, but [his] countenance and disposition are altogether Indian. His height [is] about 5 feet 8 inches. He is outlawed. I will give FORTY SHILLINGS to Whoever will bring him to me.

ROBERT BOLLING, jun.

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Purdie and Dixon, eds., 21 April 1768.

* * * *

RUN away from Bull Run quarter, belonging to the estate of Col. Carter Burwell, deceased, in Prince William county, some time in may [sic] last, a Negro man slave named JOHNNY, and often goes by the name of JOHN TURNER; he is about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, and is about 40 years old. The said Negro had been seen some time ago in Middlesex county, by Christopher Robinson, Esq; who informed the subscriber, that the said Negro had got a pass from some person, which prevented him from taking the fellow up; he is a cunning sensible fellow, and may endeavour to impose upon others with his pass, or may endeavour to make his escape out of the colony. Whoever apprehends and conveys him to the overseer, at the quarter he left at Bull Run, or to the subscriber, at Martin's Hundred, in James City county, shall have forty shillings reward; or if taken out of the colony, four pounds.

WILLIAM GRAVES

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Rind, ed., August 4, 1768.

* * * *

RUN away from the subscriber, living in Northampton county, North Carolina, on the 10th of April 1769, a mustee woman slave named ANNIS, about 22 years of age, near 5 feet high, thick and well set, straight hair, scarred on the back part of her neck by cupping, has a scar on the elbow joint of her right arm, branded on the right cheek E, and on the left R, is very cunning, and will endeavour to make her escape. Whoever apprehends the said slave, and secures her so that I get her again, if taken in this province shall have £5 reward, if out thereof £7 10 s.

EDWARD RUTLAND.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 7 June 1770.

* * * *

COMMITTED to the prison of York, a Negro boy who says his name is WILLIAM FLORENCE, that he is free, and was born in the Indian town on Pamunkey river, about 16 years of age, 5 feet 3 inches high, has a smiling countenance, and remarkable pert when spoke to, If such a lad hath absconded from service, the owner may get him, on paying charges, of

W. MITCHELL.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 19 July 1770; ibid., Rind, ed., 2 August 1770.

* * * *

FAUQUIER county,
October 10, 1770.

RUN away from the subscriber, the 4th of this instant, a mulatto fellow named WILL, 4 feet 10 or 11 inches high, about 34 years of age, is well set, has a smooth insinuating way of talking, he has a small scar under one of his eyes, though as I never took notice of it myself don't know on which side of his face, he has a large scar upon his right leg, occasioned by the cut of an ax: Had on when he went a way a blue duffil coat lined with red shalloon, an osnabrig shirt and trowsers, a felt hat about half worn, a pair of coarse store shoes, with brass buckles, he took with him a pair of Russia drill breeches, two waistcoats, one a light coloured frize, and the other a black duroy, and an oznabrig coat. He has worked some time at the carpenters and coopers trade, though knows but little of either, but is a tolerable good turner, and has taken with him several of his tools, though as they may be troublesome to carry he probably may sell them, and being an artful subtle fellow, imagine he will go as much in disguise as possible, to prevent suspicion. Having reason to believe, from the information of his companions, that he intends to steer his course for the back country or the upper part of Maryland, I will give to any person that will deliver the said fellow to me, in Faquier county, near the court-house, £3 reward, if taken up in this county or any of the adjacent counties, if out of the colony £5 besides what the law allows.

JAMES SCOTT, jun.

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Rind, ed., November 15, 1770.

* * * *

PRINCE GEORGE county, Nov. 23, 1770. RUN away from the subscriber, on Monday the 19th instant, a negro fellow named FRANK, 5 feet 6 inches high, about 25 years old, of a yellow complexion, has a scar on his right cheek, and the sinews of one of his hams seems to

be drawn up in knots. He carried away sundry clothes with him, viz. an old green duff coat and breeches, a short blue and white mixed Virginia cloth coat, an old blue plains coat, an old and fr[illeg.] jacket old buckskin breeches, and sundry other clothes. He has run away twice before, and always got on board of some vessel or other and worked as a freeman. I understand he will attempt to get out of the country, if he possibly can; therefore I forewarn all masters of vessels, and others, from employing or harbouring the said slave, or carrying him out of the country, at their peril. He has got a wife among the Indians, at Indian town, on Pamunkey river, and may possibly be sculking about there, Any person that will bring the said slave to me, if taken in this colony, shall have FIVE POUNDS reward, and if out of it TEN POUNDS.

DAVID SCOTT.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 29 November 1770.

* * * *

PRINCE GEORGE, August 27, 1771. RUN away from the Subscriber, on Tuesday the 6th Instant, a NEGRO FELLOW, named FRANK, twenty seven Years of Age, five Feet five or six Inches high, of a yellow Complexion, has a Scar in his right Cheek, and the Sinews in one of his Hams seem to be drawn up in Knots. He has run away several Times, and always passed for a Freeman. As he may possibly try to get out of the Country, I hereby forewarn all Masters of Vessels from carrying out the said Slave, at their Peril. I imagine he is sculking about Indian Town on Pamunkey among the Indians, as in one of his former Trips he got himself a Wife amongst them. Whoever brings the said Slave to me shall be handsomely rewarded.

DAVID SCOTT.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 12 September 1771.

* * * *

RUN away from the Subscriber, in Dinwiddie, on Sunday the 16th of February, a likely Virginia born Mulatto Fellow named DICK, about thirty Years of Age, a thick well made Fellow, five Feet seven or eight Inches high, with gray Eyes, short Hair curled close to his Head, a very large black Beard, and a Sore on his right Leg; he is a Shoemaker by Trade, and very handy about any other Business. He may probably attempt to pass for a Freeman, as he can read and write; he wore, or carried with him, a light coloured Duffil great coat, a Negro Cotton double-breasted short Coat, died purple Breeches of the same, a red Frieze Waistcoat lapelled, which is rather too large for him, a white Linen Shirt marked I W, a Beaver Coating short Coat, of the Pompadour Colour, but much altered, with slash Pockets, double breasted, and lined with Shalloon. He ran away bout three or four Years ago, and then harboured about Mr. Harwood's, at Wyanoke; he has a Brother belonging to Mr. David Scott of Prince George, who has been run away for a Year or two, and has several Times brought from among the Indians on Pamunkey River; they probably may make that Way together, or to Urbanna, as they are both acquainted with Mr. Mills's Negroes. I hereby forewarn all Masters of Vessels from employing the said Slave, or carrying him out of the Colony. I will give the above Reward, besides what the Law allows, to any Person that will secure him so that I may get him again. He is outlawed.

JAMES WALKER.

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Purdie & Dixon, eds., March 5, 1772.

* * * *

RUN away from the Subscriber, in Cumberland, about the 10th of October last, a Mulatto Man named JIM, who is a Slave, but pretends to have a Right to his Freedom. His Father was an Indian, of the Name of Cheshire, and very likely will call himself JAMES CHESHIRE, or CHINK. He is a short well set Fellow, about twenty seven Years of Age, with long black Hair resembling an Indian's; and had on, or took with him, a Virginia Cloth Jacket without Sleeves, lined with Osnabrugs, the Outside striped in the Warp with Copperas died Cotton and Yarn; his other Clothing was such as Negroes commonly wear. When he went away I expected that he was gone to the General Court to seek for his Freedom, and has been seen at Rocky Ridge, on his Way, as he said, to Williamsburg. Whoever brings him to me shall have FORTY SHILLINGS Reward if he is taken in the Colony, and FIVE POUNDS if out thereof, besides what the Law allows.

PAUL MICHAUX.

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Purdie & Dixon, eds., November 26, 1772.

* * * *

RUN away from the Subscriber, in Charlotte county, on the 22d of March, a Negro fellow named NED, about 26 years of age, 5 feet 4 or 5 inches high, and well set; had on, and took with him, a Negro Cotton jacket and breeches, a pair of blue yarn stockings, a green plains coat, with a piece put in between the shoulders, a pair of brown cloth breeches, and a new felt hat. He generally keeps his head well dressed, had remarkable small legs for the size of his body, walks with his toes much out, and can play on the violin, in which he takes great delight. I imagine he will change his name and dress, and endeavour to pass for a freeman, and try to get into the back parts of Virginia. Whoever secures the same Negro so that I may get him again shall, if taken in Virginia, receive THREE POUNDS, if in North Carolina FIVE POUNDS, and if in South Carolina EIGHT POUNDS.

RICHARD GAINES.

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Rind, ed., April 15, 1773.

* * * *

RUN away from the Subscriber, on the 1st of April last, a Mulatto Slave named DAVID, about twenty two Years of Age, five Feet eight or nine Inches high, a cunning artful Fellow, with a sly Look, slim made, a little knock-kneed, has small Legs, says he is of the Indian Breed, and went down to the General court, as I imagined to sue for his Freedom, but has never returned. Whoever brings him to me in Dinwiddie, about twenty Miles from

Petersburg, shall have THREE POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS Reward, or THIRTY SHILLINGS if secured in Jail, and Notice given me thereof.

WILLIAM CUSZENS

Source: Virginia Gazette, *Purdie and Dixon*, eds., 15 July 1773.

* * * *

RUN away from the Subscriber, on the south Fork of the South Branch, in Hampshire County, a Servant Man...also two NEGRO MEN, one named JOE, with a Linsey Frock, and other Clothes usual for a labouring Slave. He ran away before, and was taken up at Port Royal, to which Place it is probable he intends again. The other Negro is named DICK, with the same Kind of Apparel that Joe had, and one of his Feet is much longer than the other. They took with them a Rifle and Ammunition, a large Buck-skin and Elk-skin dressed, and a Tow Sheet and Bag. Whoever brings the said Servant to me, or secures him so that I may get him, shall have 40 s. Reward, besides what the Law allows; and whoever brings me the said Negroes shall have what the Law allows.

JACOB BRAKE.

I forewarn all Persons from harbouring them, and Masters of Vessels from carrying them off the Continent.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon & Hunter, eds., March 25, 1775.

* * * *

TEN POUNDS REWARD.

RUN away from the subscriber in Dunmore county, in May last, a negro fellow named SAM, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, has a broad face, and is a well looking fellow. As to his clothing, I cannot be certain, he having carried several things with him. He also took with him an old bay horse very gray about the head, an iron pot, a narrow axe, a handsaw, and an old smooth bore gun. About three years ago he purchased his freedom of his old master, Mr. Francis Slaughter, and continued in that state till this spring, when it was discovered he was attempting to inveigle away a number of negroes to the new or Indian country (where he had been most of last summer) upon which the neighbours insisted on his being reduced to slavery again, and I purchased him. I imagine he will endeavour to pass as a freeman, he having a discharge from his old master, as well as one from Lord Dunmore, having served in the expedition against the Indians last fall. Whoever delivers said slave to me shall have the reward that is offered.

GABRIEL JONES.

Source: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., June 16, 1775.

* * * *

Three Pounds Reward.
RUN away from the Subscriber, about the first of June last, a likely Virginia born Negro Man named BILLY, about 30 Years of Age, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, has a Variety of Clothes, is very sensible, and by Trade a Shoemaker. I have heard of him in the Neighborhood of Williamsburg.

JOHN WALKER.

ALBEMARLE, July 24, 1775.

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Dixon & Hunter, eds., July 29, 1775.

* * * *

FOURTEEN POUNDS REWARD.

RUN away from the Subscriber, the 26th of November last, 4 negro men, viz. HARRY, Virginia born, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, 30 years of age, a dark mulatto, with long bushy hair; he is of the Indian breed, straight and well made, dresses neat, and has a variety of clothes with him amongst others, a blue fearnought great coat. He has worked several years at the carpenter's and wheelwright's trade, and can glaize and paint. LEWIS, an outlandish, short, thick fellow, remarkably bow-legged, and excellent wheelwright and wagon maker, and a very good blacksmith. He carried with him, amongst other clothes, a blue suit. AARON, a likely Virginia born fellow, of the middle size, stoops a little, has a hoarse voice, and had on the usual clothing of negroes. MATTHEW, a Virginia born dark mulatto, 18 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, stammers a little, and speaks quick, when surprised, and is close-kneed. These four went off in a yawl with two others, who have been since committed to the public gaol. As one of them was taken in the yawl without the cape, I conclude the other 4 are in lord Dunmore's service. I will give FIVE POUNDS each for securing the two first, and FORTY SHILLINGS each for the other two, besides what the law allows. They are all outlawed.

EDMUND RUFFIN.

Source: *Virginia Gazette,* Pinkney, ed., January 6, 1776.

* * * *

FORTY DOLLARS REWARD.

RUN away from Mr. Paradise's mill, near Williamsburg, a negro man called GEORGE, a carpenter by trade, but has been miller at the said mill for many years. He is about five feet ten or eleven inches high, and has some defect in one of his eyes. It is thought he will make for the northward, or the Pamunkey Indian town. Whoever takes up the said negro and delivers him to me near Jamestown, shall be paid the above reward by

CARY WILKINSON.

Source: *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser,* Nicolson & Prentis, eds., November 16, 1782.

* * * *

Cumberland,
December 1, 1782.

RAN AWAY from a plantation of the subscriber's in Powhatan County, about the middle of May last, TOM, a likely tall Mulatto lad, about eighteen years of age; he is descended from, and very much resembles, an Indian, was raised in the County of Dinwiddie, where I once possessed a plantation, and it is more than probable he is lurking in the same neighbourhood. Whoever will deliver the said slave to my Manager in Powhatan, or secure him in any gaol so that I recover him, shall be handsomely rewarded, by

HENRY SKIPWITH.

Source: *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser,* Hayes, ed., December 21, 1782.

* * * *

CAROLINE County,
May 20, 1784.

RAN away, on the 6th of March last, from the subscriber, a negro man named JACK; he is a think short fellow, between 25 and 30 years of age, was brought from Africa, and therefore speaks rather broken, his legs are marked with sores, which are apt to run at this season. I brought him from Charlestown when the southern States were invaded by the British, and since he went off, he has been told that he was free in consequence of bringing him into this State; perhaps he may therefore go towards South-Carolina. I will pay EIGHT DOLLARS for apprehending him, and securing him in any gaol that I may get him again.

JOSEPH WOOD, Jun.

Source: *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser,* Hayes, ed., May 29, 1784.

* * * *

RAN away from the Subscriber, on Saturday, the 21st of May last, a mulatto man Slave, named BOOKER, which I purchased at the sale of the estate of Mrs. Watson, deceased, of Charles City; he is so well known, that a particular description is unnecessary. I suppose he is lurking in Charles City.

Also run away on Tuesday the 8th instant, an Irish servant man, named JOHN KENNAN...Also run away from my plantation in the calf pasture Augusta County, a negro man slave named TABBY, about twenty-one years of age, five feet ten or eleven inches high, stout, active, well made, and whistles remarkably well. He was purchased by my brother George Matthews, about the latter end of the year 1776, on the Eastern shore of this State, and I suppose has gone there. I will give forty shillings for each, on being delivered to Alexander Killpatrick, in the calf pasture, besides what the law allows. Should Mr. Kilpatrick have advertised a reward lately, it is to be deducted from the above reward.

SAMPSON MATHEWS.

Source: *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser,* Hayes, ed., June 26, 1784.

* * * *

RAN away from the subscriber, on the 27th of June last, a likely West-India born mulatto man slave, by the name of LEWY, about 27 or 28 years of age, about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, well made, has a low inward speech, and generally hangs his head when spoken to; carried off with him a likely black negro woman by the name of CHLOE, who is much pitted with the smallpox. They carried many changes of cloathes with them. The fellow, the greater part of the late war, having been employed in the lead mines, under the management of Colonel Lynch, and only brought home in May 1783, it is supposed he will endeavour to get back to that part of the Country, with the wench, and there pass as free negroes. If any person will apprehend the said negroes, and bring them to me, or confine them in any gaol (not above Richmond) and advertise them, so that I get them again, shall receive FIVE POUNDS for each, and all reasonable expences paid.

ROBERT LANGLEY.

Norfolk County,
July 2, 1784.

Source: *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser,* Hayes, ed., August 7, 1784.

* * * *

Ten Pounds Reward.

RAN away from the subscriber in the upper end of Hanover County, the 27th of March, a dark mulatto fellow named DAVID, about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, proportionably made, a little inclined to be bow-legged, 30 years of age, and carries his age very well, as he has not been much exposed to hardship; he is from the Indian descent, which is discoverable in his hair and complexion; his features are regular, with a tolerable countenance; he is deprived of the sense of smelling; very sensible and artful in conversation, active and clever in business, is a very good hostler, but has been bred to plantation business. I expect he will endeavour to pass for a freeman. He took with him the following clothes, viz. A great coat of French twilled striped cloth with pockets of the same, and pocket flaps at the side, made for the convenience of carrying papers, a coat, jacket, and pair of breeches of fine dark mixed plain wove Virginia cloth, the coat has striped pockets, and the back of the jacket is different from the fore parts, a full suit of Welsh plains, three osnabrug shirts, a country made fur hat that has been much worn, trimmed round the brim, it is very greasy where the brim joins the crown, a pair of imported yarn hose, and a pair of country made shoes, a Dutch blanket almost new. The above reward of TEN POUNDS shall be given if the said slave is taken out of this state, and five pounds if taken within and committed to gaol, so that I get him, or delivered to me in Hanover, and all reasonable expences paid by

ABRAHAM FONTAINE.

Source: *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser,* Hayes, ed., April 16, 1785.

* * * *

Eight Dollars Reward.

Went from the subscribers shop in Richmond, on the 28th of September, a blacksmith, named

AARON,
LATE the property of Col. Bannister, and now belonging to Mr. Wm. Alexander, of Richmond. He is a negro of light complexion, about 5 feet 10 inches high, slim made, with a grave look, about 27 years of age, a piece bit off one of his ears, occasioned by fighting, had on a short brown coat, white waistcoat, and corduroy breeches: He has a wife at Mr. St. George Tucker's, at Petersburg, and once belonged to Col. Byrd, of Westover, and it is expected he has gone that road. He is gone away from an ill grounded apprehension of being sent to the back country, and from no dissatisfaction at his situation. The above reward, besides what is allowed by law, will be paid on apprehending and delivering him at Richmond to

JOSEPH M'CAUGHEY.

N.B. He is very artful,

Source: *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser,* Nicolson, ed., October 8, 1789.

1755—Virginia's Tithable Population

In 1755 Governor Dinwiddie returned a count of Virginia's population to the Crown. The figures below indicate that planters in the Piedmont counties depended on the labor of enslaved men, women, and children.

Name of County	White Tithes	Black Tithes	Total Tithes	% of Black Tithes
Augusta	2,273	40	2,313	1.7%
Accomack	1,506	1,135	2,641	43.0%
Albemarle	1,344	1,747	3,091	56.5%
Amelia	1,251	1,652	2,903	56.9%
Bedford	357	143	500	28.6%
Brunswick	1,299	976	2,275	42.9%
Caroline	1,208	2,674	3,882	68.9%
Charles City	537	1,058	1,595	66.3%
Chesterfield	841	1,198	2,039	58.8%

Culpepper	1,221	1,217	2,432	50.0%
Cumberland	704	1,394	2,098	66.4%
Dinwiddie	784	1,175	1,959	60.0%
Elizabeth City	316	812	1,128	72.0%
Essex	889	1,711	2,600	65.8%
Fairfax	1,312	921	2,233	41.2%
Frederick	2,173	340	2,513	13.5%
Gloucester	1,137	3,284	4,421	74.3%
Goochland	569	935	1,504	62.2%
Halifax	629	141	770	18.3%
Hampshire	558	12	570	2.1%
Hanover	1,169	2,621	3,790	69.2%
Henrico	529	898	1,427	63.0%
Isle of Wight	810	966	1,776	54.4%
James City	394	1,254	1,648	76.1%
King and Queen	944	2,103	3,049	69.0%
King George	720	1,068	1,788	59.7%
King William	702	1,834	2,536	72.3%
Lancaster	486	1,124	1,610	69.8%
Louisa	655	1,452	2,107	69.0%
Lunenburg	1,209	903	2,112	42.8%
Middlesex	371	1,056	1,427	74.0%
Nansemond	989	1,264	2,253	56.1%
New Kent	465	1,209	1,674	72.2%
Norfolk	1,132	1,408	2,540	55.4%
Northampton	609	902	1,511	59.7%
Northumberland	980	1,434	2,414	59.4%
Orange	627	1,016	1,643	61.8%
Prince Edward	416	410	826	49.6%
Prince George	650	1,138	1,788	63.6%
Prince William	1,384	1,414	2,798	50.5%
Princess Anne	840	880	1,720	51.2%
Richmond	761	1,236	1,997	61.8%
Southampton	973	1,036	2,009	51.6%
Spotsylvania	665	1,468	2,133	68.8%
Stafford	889	1,126	2,015	55.8%
Surry	587	1,006	1,593	63.2%
Sussex	778	1,388	2,166	64.1%
Warwick	181	665	846	78.6%
Westmoreland	944	1,588	2,532	62.7%
York	562	1,567	2,129	73.6%

Source: Greene and Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790*, p. 150-151.

Excerpts from *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*

The following excerpts detail a portion of the negotiations between Virginians and Indians after the conclusion of Dunmore's War. These selections provide details about interactions among, whites, Indians and slaves. They also illustrate the different views that whites and Indians held about property and family.

. . . we had delivered them [the mulatto children] up to the White People and they returned of their Own Accord they were as free as ourselves and no longer under our Controul when I went home I informed them that some of their white relations were desirous of seeing them and told them to go and see their Relations they began to Cry and said they were not Slaves that they shou'd be forced away for they had it in their own Choice where they would stay last spring when some of the Cherokees robbed your People on the Kentucke we Immediately set off took two of the Horses from them and delivered them at the Mouth of Kanhawa and when the Negro Woman made her Escape from that Place and Came to our Towns on her being Demanded we delivered her when we did this Captain Russell said he was a little Sorry to Ask so much but that the Owner insisted upon having the two Children brought in that he thought it was too much as they had been all Winter Delivering Horses and Performing every Promise they had made in the Winter Captain Russell sent five of his Men to our Towns we Delivered the Negro Wench but told him as the Children were Bagat by our People we thought it very hard they shou'd be made Slaves of as the Negro Woman is delivered up she will soon have more Children at the same time they Demanded Horses from us we Informed them we had delivered up all the Horses we had belonging to the White People and that Many of our People had delivered up their own Horses in leiu of yours which cou'd not be found we likewise told them that ours was not the only Nation who had stolen their Horses I now Inform you we have Delivered up all your Horses and all your Negroes Except One Negro Man who runaway from the Mouth of Hockhockan who threatens to kill either White Man or Indian who shall Attempt to Molest him.

Brothers I now Inform you we have delivered up all we possibly can and as we are one People I hope you will not Ask more of us what white People remain among us are their own Masters and may do as they Please the Young white Man who is here has been to see his Relations if he Chooses to stay with them we have no Objection if he Chooses to return we Cannot Prevent him we will endeavour to Persuade him to Either but let his own Choice direct him 'tis true our Manner of living is not like the white Peoples we suppose that is the reason why their freinds are Unwilling they shou'd live Among us

Brothers we now Inform you if any of your flesh and Blood Choose to return to their relations or if any of their freinds come to our Country for them we shall never Attempt to Hinder them and as you Yesterday Cleared the Road of all Obstructions between you and us It will be the Means of making our friendship more firm and Lasting *A String*

* * * *

as she belongs to my Tribe I will speak to her and doubt not she will listen to me but as her Children are Sprung from my Grandfathers the Delawares there may perhaps some difficulty arise from that It is true there are two Negro Children which were begotten by my People and we are not the only People who have intermixed with Negroes we are not Willing to give up the Children there is another old Negro Woman which you may Get if you will

bring her home upon your backs for she is not able to walk As we have clear'd the road between us We desire you as before to send Twenty of your young Men with us to the Mouth of Hockocking and a few of them may go with us to the Town and they will then have an Opportunity of seeing and hearing what We say to your Relations

* * * *

At a Conference Continued and held with the Indians at Pittsburg the 14th of October 1775 Present the same as Yesterday The following Speech was delivered to the diferent Nations of Indians Present by Doctor Walker

Brothers the Six Nations Wyandots Delawares Shawanese and Ottawas We have in a former Speech told you that we were sent by our great Council in Virginia to deliver to you your Hostages and to receive of you Our flesh and Blood and all our Negroes and Horses that yet remain amongst you agreeable to your Stipulations with Lord Dunmore We are sorry you are come Unprepared to fulfill your part of that Solemn Contract and that our Brothers the Shawanese seems to be averse to give us the reasonable security we required for the delivery of our property yet in their hands this seems to be the only Obstruction in our Way to compleat the very Great and desirable work now on hand we are not come unprepared to give Our brothers the Strongest proofs of the great desire we have of living in Amity with them and We hope you will not stand out so far as to deprive us of the happiness We promis'ed ourselves in giving you this Testimony of our Generosity and freindship for We can by no Means give the present put into our hands for you but to such as fulfill their Engagements or at least comply with them as far as may be in their Power we are far from desiring impossibilities of you and we hope that you will yet exert yourselves and gather together all of our peoples property you can find and deliver them up rather than say "We permit you to search for them" how should we know where to find them you took them from us and from your hands we Expect to receive them

* * * *

I am very much rejoiced to hear your Promises that you will deliver up the Flesh and Blood Negroes and Horses which your Brothers the Bigknife demanded of you and which has Occasioned this Long Journey to them formerly I was Concerned in the War against my Brethren the English but when the Great Spirit took Pity on us and Peace was Restored and they demanded their flesh and Blood of us we then sent our Wise People to Lancaster where they Cleared the Council House and delivered up their Flesh and Blood and every thing was Settled Shortly after other Mischeif Happened Owing to the Advice of Bad People but when we met Colonel Boquet at Coshocting and he Demanded his flesh Blood we then delivered up some [to] him and sent Killbuck to Sr William Johnston to finish the Peace there are four of your flesh and Blood still remaining with us some of whom run away and came back. One Negro which I now promise to deliver at this place in a few days I now will tell you my *Uncles the Six Nations* that I will bring them myself and not give any Trouble to you and as some of my foolish Young Men who Joined in the Unhappy disputes last Year and who brought of[f] some of their Brothers Horses I know but of three which I will likewise deliver up and the Owners shall have them to ride home in a few days as we have not Finished and promised to deliver up what you demanded I now Inform for the future if any Mischief shou'd happen I will not Join in it but will Immediately withdraw myself and think of nothing but what is good there are two Negro Women and two Children in our

Towns in the hands of the Shawanese which we will also Use our best Endeavours to have delivered up A *String*

Doctor Walker then delivered the following Speech to the Different Tribes of Indians *Bretheren* your younger Brothers the Shawanese are Greatly Obliged to the other Nations for their kind interposition in their favor we are much pleased to find all the Nations present so heartily disposed to Establish the Peace of this Country *Brothers* we have heard your respective promises and Engagements relying On the Most faithfull Performance thereof we shall rest satisfied and desire you will all be strong in this Good Work that the Peace now Established betwixt us may Endure forever when you bring our flesh and Blood Negroes and Horses to this place (which we hope will be soon) we desire you will deliver them to Captain Nevill Commandant at this Fort we have a few Presents to make for your Winter Cloathing and for your Women and Children which were sent you by your Brothers of Virginia and which is over and above their Proportionable part of the present you will hereafter receive from the Com[missi]oners Appointed by the Thirteen Un[ited] Colonies the Present put into our h[ands] will be delivered as soon as the Continental Commissioners finish their Business with you We are now in perfect Freindship with you all and hope to remain so forever. *A String to Each Nation*

Source: Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, pp. 104-105, 116-117, 124-125.

1781 to 1782—Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*

Jefferson wrote *Notes on the State of Virginia* not for publication but in response to a set of queries about the new republic posed by a French nobleman, the Marquis de Barbe-Marbois. In *Notes* Jefferson examines physical and mental characteristics of both Indians and African Americans. He expresses both antislavery and antiblack sentiments. Jefferson makes clear his belief that race resulted in significant behavioral differences among **all** residents of Virginia—white, black, and Indian. He uses his ideal of the gentry class to assess the lives of slaves.

In Query VI—Productions mineral, vegetable and animal, Jefferson describes Indians and their culture. He also provides an estimate of the Indian population in Virginia. Compare Jefferson's discussion of Indians with the critique of his work by Anthony F. C. Wallace in the second section of this resource book.

In Query XIV—Laws, Jefferson refers to a three-man committee appointed by the General Assembly to revise the legal code. The committee, consisting of Jefferson, Edmund Pendleton, and George Wythe, submitted their report to the legislature on June 18, 1779. By 1786, fifty of the 126 bills had become law. The provision recommending emancipation, obviously, was not one of them.

Query VI—Productions mineral, vegetable and animal

The Indian of North America being more within our reach, I can speak of him somewhat from my own knowledge, but more from the information of others better acquainted with

him, and on whose truth and judgment I can rely. From these sources I am able to say, in contradiction to this representation, that he is neither more defective in ardor, nor more impotent with his female, than the white reduced to the same diet and exercise: that he is brave, when an enterprize depends on bravery; education with him making the point of honor consist in the destruction of an enemy by stratagem, and in the preservation of his own person free from injury; or perhaps this is nature; while it is education which teaches us to honor force more than finesse: that he will defend himself against an host of enemies, always chusing to be killed, rather than to surrender, though it be to the whites, who he knows will treat him well: that in other situations also he meets death with more deliberation, and endures tortures with a firmness unknown almost to religious enthusiasm with us: that he is affectionate to his children, careful of them, and indulgent in the extreme: that his affections comprehend his other connections, weakening, as with us, from circle to circle, as they recede from the center: that his friendships are strong and faithful to the uttermost extremity: that his sensibility is keen, even the warriors weeping most bitterly on the loss of their children, though in general they endeavour to appear superior to human events: that his vivacity and activity of mind is equal to ours in the same situation; hence his eagerness for hunting, and for games of chance. The women are submitted to unjust drudgery. This I believe is the case with every barbarous people. With such, force is law. The stronger sex therefore imposes on the weaker. It is civilization alone which replaces women in the enjoyment of their natural equality. That first teaches us to subdue the selfish passions, and to respect those rights in others which we value in ourselves. Were we in equal barbarism, our females would be equal drudges. The man with them is less strong than with us, but their woman stronger than ours; and both for the same obvious reason; because our man and their woman is habituated to labour, and formed by it. With both races the sex which is indulged with ease is least athletic. An Indian man is small in the hand and wrist for the same reason for which a sailor is large and strong in the arms and shoulders, and a porter in the legs and thighs.—They raise fewer children than we do. The causes of this are to be found not in a difference of nature, but of circumstances. The women very frequently attending the men in their parties of war and of hunting, child-bearing becomes extremely inconvenient to them. It is said, therefore, that they have learnt the practice of procuring abortion by the use of some vegetable; and that it even extends to prevent conception for a considerable time after. During these parties they are exposed to numerous hazards, to excessive exertions, to the greatest extremities of hunger. Even at their homes the nation depends on food, through a certain part of every year, on the gleanings of the forest: that is, they experience a famine once in every year. With all animals, if the female be badly fed, or not fed at all, her young perish: and if both male and female be reduced to like want, generation becomes less active, less productive. To the obstacles then of want and hazard, which nature has opposed to the multiplication of wild animals, for the purpose of restraining their numbers within certain bounds, those of labour and of voluntary abortion are added with the Indian. No wonder then if they multiply less than we do. Where food is regularly supplied, a single farm will shew more of cattle, than a whole country of forests can of buffaloes. The same Indian women, when married to white traders, who feed them and their children plentifully and regularly, who exempt them from excessive drudgery, who keep them stationary and unexposed to accident, produce and raise as many children as the white women. Instances are known, under these circumstances, of their rearing a dozen children. An inhuman practice once prevailed in this country of making slaves of the Indians. It is a fact well known with us, that the Indian women so enslaved produced and raised as numerous families as either the whites or blacks among whom they lived.

* * * *

To judge of the truth of this, to form a just estimate of their genius and mental powers, more facts are wanting, and great allowance to be made for those circumstances of their situation which call for a display of particular talents only. This done, as we shall probably find that they are formed in mind as well as in body, on the same module with the '*Homo sapiens Europaeus*.' The principles of their society forbidding all compulsion, they are to be led to duty and enterprize by personal influence and persuasion. Hence eloquence in council, bravery and address in war, become the foundations of all consequence with them. To these acquirements all their faculties are directed. Of their bravery and address in war we have multiplied proofs, because we have been the subjects on which they were exercised. Of their eminence in oratory we have fewer examples, because it is displayed chiefly in their own councils.

* * * *

Before we condemn the Indians of this continent as wanting genius, we must consider that letters have not yet been introduced among them. Were we to compare them in their present state with the Europeans North of the Alps when the Roman arms and arts first crossed those mountains, the comparison would be unequal, because, at that time, those parts of Europe were swarming with numbers; because numbers produce emulation, and multiply the chances of improvement, and one improvement begets another. Yet I may safely ask, How many good poets, how many able mathematicians, how many great inventors in arts or sciences, had Europe North of the Alps then produced? And it was sixteen centuries after this before a Newton could be formed.

Query VIII—Population

Under the mild treatment our slaves experience, and their wholesome, though coarse, food, this blot in our country increases as fast, or faster, than the whites. During the regal government, we had at one time obtained a law, which imposed such a duty on the importation of slaves, as amounted nearly to a prohibition, when one inconsiderate assembly, placed under a peculiarity of circumstance, repealed the law. This repeal met a joyful sanction from the then sovereign, and no devices, no expedients, which could ever after be attempted by subsequent assemblies, and they seldom met without attempting them, could succeed in getting the royal assent to a renewal of the duty. In the very first session held under the republican government, the assembly passed a law for the perpetual prohibition of the importation of slaves. This will in some measure stop the increase of this great political and moral evil, while the minds of our citizens may be ripening for a complete emancipation of human nature.

Query XI—Aborigenes

When the first effectual settlement of our colony was made, which was in 1607, the country from the sea-coast to the mountains, and from Patowmac to the most southern waters of the James river, was occupied by upwards of forty different tribes of Indians. Of

these the *Powhatans*, the *Mannahoacs*, and *Monacans*, were the most powerful. Those between the sea-coast and falls of the rivers, were in amity with one another, and attached to the *Powhatans* as their link of union. Those between the falls of the rivers and the mountains, were divided into two confederacies; the tribes inhabiting the head waters of Patowmac and Rappahanoc being attached to the *Mannahoacs*; and those on the upper parts of James river to the *Monacans*. But the *Monacans* and their friends were in amity with the *Mannahoacs* and their friends, and waged joint and perpetual war against the *Powhatans*. We are told that the *Powhatans*, *Mannahoacs*, and *Monacans*, spoke languages so radically different, that interpreters were necessary when they transacted business. Hence we may conjecture, that this was not the case between all the tribes, and probably that each spoke the language of the nation to which it was attached; which we know to have been the case in many particular instances. Very possibly there may have been antiently three different stocks, each of which multiplying in a long course of time, had separated into so many little societies. This practice results from the circumstance of their having never submitted themselves to any laws, any coercive power, any shadow of government. Their only controuls are their manners, and that moral sense of right and wrong, which, like the sense of tasting and feeling, in every man makes a part of his nature. An offence against these is punished by contempt, by exclusion from society, or, where the case is serious, as that of murder by the individuals whom it concerns. Imperfect as this species of coercion may seem, crimes are very rare among them: insomuch that were it made a question, whether no law, as among the savage Americans, or too much law, as among the civilized Europeans, submits man to the greatest evil, one who has seen both conditions of existence would pronounce it to be the last: and that the sheep are happier of themselves than under care of the wolves. It will be said, that great societies cannot exist without government. The Savages therefore break them into small ones.

The territories of the *Powhatan* confederacy, south of the Patowmac, comprehended about 8000 square miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 warriors. Capt. Smith tells us, that within 60 miles of James town were 5000 people, of whom 1500 were warriors. From this we find the proportion of their warriors to their whole inhabitants, was as 3 to 10. The *Powhatan* confederacy then would consist of about 8000 inhabitants, which was one for every square mile; being about the twentieth part of our present population in the same territory, and the hundredth of that of the British islands.

Besides these, were the *Nottoways*, living on Nottoway river, the *Meherrins* and *Tuteloes* on Meherrin river, who were connected with the Indians of Carolina, probably with the Chowanocs.

The preceding table contains a state of these several tribes, according to their confederacies and geographical situation, with their numbers when we first became acquainted with them, where these numbers are known. The numbers of some of them are again stated as they were in the year 1669, when an attempt was made by the assembly to enumerate them. Probably the enumeration is imperfect, and in some measure conjectural, and that a further search into the records would furnish many more particulars. What would be the melancholy sequel of their history, may however be augured from the census of 1669; by which we discover that the tribes therein enumerated were, in the space of 62 years, reduced to about one-third of their former numbers. Spirituous liquors, the small-pox, war, and an abridgement of territory, to a people who lived principally on the spontaneous productions of nature, had committed terrible havock among them, which generation, under

the obstacles opposed to it among them, was not likely to make good. That the lands of this country were taken from them by conquest, is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchase, which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country we know has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form.

Westward of all these tribes, beyond the mountains, and extending to the great lakes, were the *Massawomecs*, a most powerful confederacy, who harrassed unremittingly the *Powhatans* and *Manahoacs*. These were probably the ancestors of the tribes known at present by the name of the *Six Nations*.

Very little can now be discovered of the subsequent history of these tribes severally. The *Chickahominies* removed, about the year 1661, to Mattapony river. Their chief, with one from each of the tribes of the *Pamunkies* and *Mattaponies*, attended the treaty of Albany in 1685. This seems to have been the last chapter in their history. They retained however their separate name so late as 1705, and were at length blended with the *Pamunkies* and *Mattaponies*, and exist at present only under their names. There remain of the *Mattaponies* three or four men only, and they have more negro than Indian blood in them. They have lost their language, have reduced themselves, by voluntary sales to about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name, and have, from time to time, been joining the *Pamunkies*, from whom they are distant but 10 miles. The *Pamunkies* are reduced to about 10 or 12 men, tolerably pure from mixture with other colours. The older ones among them preserve their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth, as far as we know, of the Powhatan language. They have about 300 acres of very fertile land, on Pamunkey river, so encompassed by water that a gate shuts in the whole. Of the *Nottoways*, not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe. They are seated on Nottoway river, in Southampton county, on very fertile lands. At a very early period, certain lands were marked out and appropriated to these tribes, and were kept from encroachment by the authority of the laws. They have usually had trustees appointed, whose duty was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury.

The *Monacans* and their friends, better known latterly by the name of *Tuscaroras*, were probably connected with the Massawomecs, or Five Nations. For though we are told their languages were so different that the intervention of interpreters was necessary between them, yet do we also learn that the Erigas, a nation formerly inhabiting on the Ohio, were of the same original stock with the Five Nations, and that they partook also of the Tuscarora language. Their dialects might, by long separation, have become so unlike as to be unintelligible to one another. We know that in 1712, the Five Nations received the Tuscaroras into their confederacy, and made them the Sixth Nation. They received the Meherrins and Tuteloes also into their protection: and it is most probably, that the remains of many other of the tribes, of whom we find no particular account, retired westwardly in like manner, and were incorporated with one or other of the western tribes.

I know of no such thing existing as an Indian monument: for I would not honour with that name arrow points, stone hatchets, stone pipes, and half-shapen images. Of labour on the large scale, I think there is no remain as respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands: unless indeed it be the Barrows, of which many are to be found all

over this country. These are of different sizes, some of them constructed of earth, and some of loose stones. That they were repositories of the dead, has been obvious to all; but on what particular occasion constructed, was matter of doubt. Some have thought they covered the bones of those who have fallen in battles fought on the spot of interment. Some ascribed them to the custom, said to prevail among the Indians, of collecting, at certain periods, the bones of all their dead, wheresoever deposited at the time of death. Others again supposed them the general sepulchres for towns, conjectured to have been at or near these grounds; and this opinion was supported by the quality of the lands in which they are found, (those constructed of earth being generally in the softest and most fertile meadow-grounds on river sides) and by a tradition, said to be handed down from the Aboriginal Indians, that, when they settled in a town, the first person who died was placed erect, and earth put about him, so as to cover and support him; that, when another died, a narrow passage was dug to the first, the second reclined against him, and the cover of earth replaced, and so on. There being one of these in my neighbourhood, I wished to satisfy myself whether any, and which of these opinions were just. For this purpose I determined to open and examine it thoroughly. It was situated on the low grounds of the Rivanna, about two miles above its principal fork, and opposite to some hills, on which had been an Indian town. It was of a spheroidical form, of about 40 feet diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though now reduced by the plough to seven and a half, having been under cultivation about a dozen years. Before this it was covered with trees of twelve inches diameter, and round the base was an excavation of five feet depth and width, from whence the earth had been taken of which the hillock was formed. I first dug superficially in several parts of it, and came to collections of human bones, at different depths, from six inches to three feet below the surface. These were lying in the utmost confusion, some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass, entangled, and held together in clusters by the earth. Bones of the most distant parts were found together, as, for instance, the small bones of the foot in the hollow of a scull, many sculls would sometimes be in contact, lying on the face, on the side, on the back, top or bottom, so as, on the whole, to give the idea of bones emptied promiscuously from a bag or basket, and covered over with earth, without any attention to their order. The bones of which the greatest numbers remained, were sculls, jaw-bones, teeth, the bones of the arms, thighs, legs, feet, and hands. A few ribs remained, some vertebrae of the neck and spine, without their processes, and one instance only of the bone which serves as a base to the vertebral column. The sculls were so tender, that they generally fell to pieces on being touched. The other bones were stronger. There were some teeth which were judged to be smaller than those of an adult; a scull, which, on a slight view, appeared to be that of an infant, but it fell to pieces on being taken out, so as to prevent satisfactory examination; a rib, and a fragment of the under-jaw of a person about half grown; another rib of an infant; and part of the jaw of a child, which had not yet cut its teeth. This last furnishing the most decisive proof of the burial of children here, I was particular in my attention to it. It was part of the right-half of the under-jaw. The processes, by which it was articulated to the temporal bones, were entire; and the bone itself firm to where it had been broken off, which, as nearly as I could judge, was about the place of the eye-tooth. Its upper edge, wherein would have been the sockets of the teeth, was perfectly smooth. Measuring it with that of an adult, by placing their hinder processes together, its broken end extended to the penultimate grinder of the adult. This bone was white, all the others of sand colour. The bones of infants being soft, they probably decay sooner, which might be the cause so few were found here. I proceeded then to make a perpendicular cut through the body of the

barrow, that I might examine its internal structure. This passed about three feet from its center, was opened to the former surface of the earth, and was wide enough for a man to walk through and examine its sides. At the bottom, that is, on the level of the circumjacent plain, I found bones; above these a few stones, brought from a cliff a quarter mile off; then a large interval of earth, then a stratum of bones, and so on. At one end of the section were four strata of bones plainly distinguishable; at the other, three; the strata in one part not ranging with those in another. The bones nearest the surface were least decayed,. No holes were discovered in any of them, as if made with bullets, arrows, or other weapons. I conjectured that in this barrow might have been a thousand skeletons. Every one will readily seize the circumstances above related, which militate against the opinion, that it covered the bones only of persons fallen in battle; and against the tradition also, which would make it the common sepulchre of a town, in which the bodies were placed upright, and touching each other. Appearances certainly indicate that it has derived both origin and growth from the accustomary collection of bones, and deposition of them together; that the first collection had been deposited on the common surface of the earth, a few stones put over it, and then a covering of earth, that the second had been laid on this, had covered more or less of it in proportion to the number of bones, and was then also covered with earth; and so on. The following are the particular circumstances which give it this aspect. 1. The number of bones. 2. Their confused position. 3. Their being in different strata. 4. The strata in one part having no correspondence with those in another. 5. The different states of decay in these strata, which seem to indicate a difference in the time of inhumation. 6. The existence of infant bones among them.

But on whatever occasion they may have been made, they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians: for a party passing, about thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or enquiry, and having staid about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left about half a dozen miles to pay this visit, and pursued their journey. There is another barrow, much resembling this in the low grounds of the South branch of Shenandoah, where it is crossed by the road leading from the Rock-fish gap to Staunton. Both of these have, within these dozen years, been cleared of their trees and put under cultivation, are much reduced in their height, and spread in width, by the plough, and will probably disappear in time. There is another on a hill in the Blue ridge of mountains, a few miles North of Wood's gap, which is made up of small stones thrown together. This has been opened and found to contain human bones, ad the others do. There are also many others in other parts of the country.

Great question has arisen from whence came those aboriginal inhabitants of America? Discoveries, long ago made, were sufficient to shew that a passage from Europe to America was always practicable, even to the imperfect navigation of ancient times. In going from Norway to Iceland, from Iceland to Groenland, from Groenland to Labrador, the first traject is the widest: and this having been practised from the earliest times of which we have any account of that part of the earth, it is not difficult to suppose that the subsequent trajects may have been sometimes passed. Again,, the late discoveries of Captain Cook, coasting from Kamschatka to California, have proved that, if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow streight. So that from this side also, inhabitants may have passed into America: and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the Eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture that the

former are the descendants of the latter, or the latter of the former: excepting indeed the Eskimaux, who, from the same circumstance of resemblance, and from identity of language, must be derived from the Groenlanders, and these probably from some of the northern parts of the old continent. A knowledge of their several languages would be the most certain evidence of their derivation which could be produced. In fact, it is the best proof of the affinity of nations which ever can be referred to. How many ages have elapsed since the English, the Dutch, the Germans, the Swiss, the Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes have separated from their common stock? Yet how many more must elapse before the proofs of their common originn, which exist in their several languages, will disappear? It is to be lamented then, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature, the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke. Were vocabularies formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, preserving their appellations of the most common objects in nature of those which may be present to every nation barbarous or civilised, with the inflections of their nouns and verbs, their principles of regimen and concord, and these deposited in all the public libraries, it would furnish opportunities to those skilled in the languages of the old world to compare them with these, now, or at any future time, and hence to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race.

But imperfect as is our knowledge of the tongues spoken in America, it suffices to discover the following remarkable fact. Arranging them under the radical ones to which they may be palpably traced, and doing the same by those of the red men of Asia, there will be found probably twenty in America, for one in Asia, of those radical languages, so called because, if they were ever the same, they have lost all resemblance to one another. A separation into dialects may be the work of a few ages only, but for two dialects to recede from one another till they have lost all vestiges of their common origin, must require an immense course of time; perhaps not less than many people give to the age of the earth. A greater number of those radical changes of language have taken place among the red men of America, proves them of greater antiquity than those of Asia.

I will now proceed to state the nations and numbrs of the Aborigines which still exist in a respectable and independant form. And as their undefined boundaries would render it difficult to specify those only which may be within any certain limits, and it may not be unacceptable to present a more general view of them, I will reduce within the form of a Catalogue all those within, and circumjacent to, the United States, whose names and numbers have come to my notice. These are taken from four different lists, the first of which was given in the year 1759 to General Stanwix by George Croghan, Deputy agent for Indian affairs under Sir William Johnson; the second was drawn up by a French trader of considerable note, resident among the Indians many years, and annexed to Colonel Bouquet's printed account of his expedition in 1764. The third was made out by Captain Hutchins, who visited most of the tribes, by order, for the purpose of learning their numbers in 1768. And the fourth by John Dodge, an Indian trader, in 1779, except the numbers marked *, which are from other information.

Query XIV—Laws

Many of the laws which were in force during the monarchy being relative merely to that form of government, or inculcating principles inconsistent with republicanism, the first assembly which met after the establishment of the commonwealth appointed a committee to revise the whole code, to reduce it into proper form and volume, and report it to the assembly. This work has been executed by three gentlemen, and reported; but probably will not be taken up till a restoration of peace shall leave to the legislature leisure to go through such a work.

The plan of the revisal was this. The common law of England, by which is meant, that part of the English law which was anterior to the date of the oldest statutes extant, is made the basis of the work. It was thought dangerous to attempt to reduce it to a text: it was therefore left to be collected from the usual monuments of it. Necessary alterations in that, and so much of the whole body of the British statutes, and of acts of assembly, as were thought proper to be retained, were digested into 126 new acts, in which simplicity of stile was aimed at, as far as was safe. The following are the most remarkable alterations proposed:

To emancipate all slaves born after passing the act. The bill reported by the revisors does not itself contain this proposition; but an amendment containing it was prepared, to be offered to the legislature whenever the bill should be taken up, and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at the public expence to tillage, arts or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them with arms, implements of household and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they shall have acquired strength; and to send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants; to induce whom to migrate hither, proper encouragements were to be proposed. It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expence of supplying, by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race. — To these objections, which are political, may be added others, which are physical and moral. The first difference which strikes us is that of colour. Whether the black of the negro resides in the reticular membrane between the skin and scarf-skin itself, whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of some other secretion, the difference is fixed in nature, and is as real as if its seat and cause were better known to us. And is this difference of no importance? Is it not the foundation of a greater or less share of beauty in the two races? Are not the fine mixtures of red and white, the expressions of every passion by greater or less suffusions of colour in the one, preferable to that eternal monotony, which reigns in the countenances, that immovable veil of black which covers all the emotions of the other race? Add to these, flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, their own judgment in favour of the white, declared by their preference of them, as uniformly as is the preference of the

Oran-ootan for the black women over those of his own species. The circumstance of superior beauty, is thought worthy of attention in the propagation of our horses, dogs, and other domestic animals; why not in that of man? Besides those of colour, figure, and hair, there are other physical distinctions proving a difference of race. They have less hair on the face and body. They secrete less by the kidnies, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a strong and disagreeable odor. This greater degree of transpiration renders them more tolerant of heat, and less so of cold, than the whites. Perhaps too a difference of structure in the pulmonary apparatus, which a late ingenious experimentalist has discovered to be the principal regulator of animal heat, may have disabled them from extricating, in the act of inspiration, so much of that fluid from the outer air, or obliged them in expiration, to part with more of it. They seem to require less sleep. A black, after hard labour through the day, will be induced by the slightest amusements to sit up till midnight, or later, though knowing he must be out with the first dawn of morning. They are at least as brave, and more adventuresome. But this may perhaps proceed from a want of forethought, which prevents their seeing a danger till it be present. When present, they do not go through it with more coolness or steadiness than the whites. They are more ardent after their female: but love seems with them to be more an eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation. Their griefs are transient. Those numberless afflictions, which render it doubtful whether heaven has given life to us in mercy or in wrath, are less felt, and sooner forgotten with them. In general, their existence appears to participate more of sensation than reflection. To this must be ascribed their disposition to sleep when abstracted from diversions, and unemployed in labour. An animal whose body is at rest, and who does not reflect, must be disposed to sleep of course. Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me, that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation. We will consider them here, on the same stage with the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be found. It will be right to make great allowances for the difference of condition, of education, of conversation, of the sphere in which they move. Many millions of them have been brought to, and born in America. Most of them indeed have been confined to tillage, to their own homes, and their own society; yet many have been so situated, that they might have availed themselves of the conversation of their masters; many have been brought up in the handicraft arts, and from that circumstance have always been associated with the whites. Some have been liberally educated, and all have lived in countries where the arts and sciences are cultivated to a considerable degree, and have had before their eyes samples of the best works from abroad. The Indians, with no advantages of this kind, will often carve figures on their pipes not destitute of design and merit. They will crayon out an animal, a plant, or a country, so as to prove the existence of a germ in their minds which only wants cultivation. They astonish you with strokes of the most sublime oratory; such as prove their reason and sentiment strong, their imagination glowing and elevated. But never yet could I find a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never seen even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture. In music they are more generally gifted than the whites with accurate ears for tune and time, and they have been found capable of imagining a small catch. Whether they will be equal to the composition of a more extensive run of melody, or of complicated harmony, is yet to be proved. Misery is often the parent of the most affecting touches in poetry.—Among the blacks is misery enough, God knows, but no poetry . . . . The improvement of the blacks in

body and mind, in the first instance of their mixture with the whites, has been observed by every one, and proves their inferiority is not the effect merely of their condition in life. We known that among the Romans, about the Augustan age especially, the condition of their slaves was much more deplorable than that of the blacks on the continent of America . . . . With the Romans, the regular method of taking the evidence of their slaves was under torture. Here it has been thought better never to resort to their evidence. When a master was murdered, all his slaves, in the same house, or within hearing, were condemned to death. Here punishment falls on the guilty only, and as precise proof is required against him as against a freeman. Yet notwithstanding these and other discouraging circumstances among the Romans, their slaves were often their rarest artists. They excelled too in science, insomuch as to be employed as tutors to their master's children. Epictetus, (Diogenes, Phaedon), Terence, and Phaedrus were slaves. But they were of the race of whites. It is not their condition, then, but nature, which has produced the distinction.—Whether further observation will or will not verify the conjecture, that nature has been less bountiful to them in the endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart she will be found to have done them justice. That disposition to theft with which they have been branded, must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of the moral sense. The man, in whose favour no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favour of others. While arguing for ourselves, we lay it down as a fundamental, that laws, to be just, must give a reciprocation of right: that, without this, they are mere arbitrary rules of conduct, founded in force, and not in conscience: and it is a problem which I give to the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave? And whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one, who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him? That a change in the relations in which a man is placed should change his ideas of moral right and wrong, is neither new, nor peculiar to the color of the blacks. Homer tells us it was so 2600 years ago.

Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day
Makes a slave, takes half his worth away

But the slaves of which Homer speaks were whites. Notwithstanding these considerations which must weaken their respect for the laws of property, we find among them numerous instances of the most rigid integrity, and as many as among their better instructed masters, of benevolence, gratitude, and unshaken fidelity.—The opinion, that they are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination, must be hazarded with great diffidence . . . . To our reproach it must be said, that though for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and of red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history. I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, were made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind. It is not against experience to suppose, that different species of the same genus, or varieties of the same species, may possess different qualifications. Will not a lover of natural history then, one who views the gradations in all the races of animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of man as distinct as nature has formed them? This unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature, are anxious also to preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these,

embarrassed by the question "What further is to be done with them?" join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only. Among the Romans emancipation required but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture.

Query XVIII—Manners

It is difficult to determine on the standard by which the manners of a nation may be tried, whether *catholic,* or *particular.* It is more difficult for a native to bring to that standard the manners of his own nation, familiarized to him by habit. There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriae of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another: in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavours to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, there industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are a gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep forever: that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.—But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, or morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The sprig of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation.

Source: Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* in *Jefferson Writings,* pp. 184-189, 214, 218-228, 263-270, 288-289.

September 25, 1784—List of Slaves Belonging to Edmund Randolph

Edmund Randolph recorded a list of slaves whom he owned on September 25, 1784. He had enslaved men, women, and children on plantations in Charlotte, Albemarle, James City, and Henrico counties. His Charlotte County slaves included enslaved laborers whom his uncle, Peyton Randolph, moved to his Piedmont land after he acquired the property in the 1750s. The family relationships on Randolph's chart indicate that his uncle's slaves formed families after he moved them to Charlotte County. Edmund Randolph also inherited land and enslaved laborers from his father-in-law, Robert Carter Nicholas.

See Table on pp. 66-71.

Source: Peyton Randolph Estate Papers, Library of Congress.

Slaves Belonging to Edmund Randolph on Septmber 25, 1784

Name	Place	Age	Trade	Sex	Size	Parents	Increase & When	death & when
Sam	Charlotte	10		Male		Roger & Fanny		
Harry	do	25	Carpenter	do.		not alive		
Adam	do	25	Wheel=right	do		not alive		
Nanny	do	45	Nurse	Female				
Fanny	do	40	Sickly	do.				
Lucy	do	8		Do.		Roger & Fanny		
Dilce	do	25	Semptress and spinner	do.				
Aby	do	16	Spinner in the house	do.		Sam & Doll		
Sall	do	16	Dairy=made	do.		Sarah		
Nanny	do	25	Weaver	do.		Sarah		
Frank	do	25	Spinner	do.		Nanny		
Nell	do	16	do.	do.		Gaby & Dilce		
Jack	do	30	Field	Male				
Sam	do	60	too old for labour	do.				
Blenheim	do	30	Field	do.		Jack & Doll		
Will	do	22	do.	do.		Nanny		
Godfrey	do	25	do.	do.		Sarah		
Mingo	do	25	do.	do.		Ben & Sarah		
Sammy	do	40	do.	do.				
Jemmy	do	22	do.	do.		Fanny & Roger		
Gabey	do	45	do.	do.				

Slaves Belonging to Edmund Randolph on Septmber 25, 1784

Name	Place	Age	Trade	Sex	Size	Parents	Increase & When	death & when
Jacob	Charlotte	40	Field	Male				
Jenkins	do	16	do.	do.				
Old Jack	do	40	One armed jobber	do.				
Roger	do	50	field	Male				
Sally	do	24	do	Female		Nanny		
Jenny	do	22	do	do		Nanny		
Bella	do	20	do	do		Sarah		
Phillis	do	24	do	do		Sarah		
Doll	do	40	do	do				
Sarah	do	40	do	do				
Judy	do	17	assistant at the loom	do		Doll		
Lewis	do	10		Male		Sarah		
Lydia	do	20	Spinner	Female		Doll		
Adkins	do	4		Male		Jenny		
Joe	do	3		do		do		
Nanny	do	2 or 1 1/2		Female		do		
Charlotte	do	9 months		do		Sall & Adam		
Moses	do	1 year		Male		Jack & Phillis		
Stepney	do	9 months		Female		Aby & Mingo		
Sam	do	2		Male		Frank		
Gaby	do	8		do		Gaby & Dilce		
Beck	do	6		Female		Same		
Joan	do	5		do		Same		
Jenny	do	4		do		Same		
Lucy	do	3		do		Same		
Hannah	do	1		do		Same		
Peter	do	30	field	Male				

Slaves Belonging to Edmund Randolph on Septmber 25, 1784

Name	Place	Age	Trade	Sex	Size	Parents	Increase & When	death & when
Jack	Albemarle							
Jack	do							
Jack	do							
Orange	do							
James	do							
Dick	do							
Philladom	do							
Jupiter	do							
Juba	do							
Peter	do							
Moses	do							
Biddey	do							
Bridget	do							
Jane	do							
Agatha	do							
Lucy	do							
Nan	do							
Peg	do							
Rachael	do							
Kate	do							
Sue	do							
Jacob	do				child			
Will	do				child			
Tom	do							
John	do							
Polly	do							
Sampson	do							
Peg	do							
[blank]	do							

Slaves Belonging to Edmund Randolph on Septmber 25, 1784

Name	Place	Age	Trade	Sex	Size	Parents	Increase & When	death & when
Phill	Albemarle							
Wilcher	do							
Sancho	do							
Rose	do							
Tom	do							
Ben	do							
Celia	do							
Cause	do							
Tab	do							
Sary	do							
Betty	do							
Ned	do							
Dick	do							
Jacob	James City							
Betty	do							
Jenny	do							
Sue	do					Jenny		
Ned	do					do		
Betty	do					do		
Sue	do							
Agatha	do					Sue		
Sam	do					do		
Charles	do					do		
1 not baptized	do					do		
Billy	do							
Lydia	do							
Joe	do					Lydia		

Slaves Belonging to Edmund Randolph on Septmber 25, 1784

Name	Place	Age	Trade	Sex	Size	Parents	Increase & When	death & when
Denbow	James City							
Stephen	do							
Roger	do							
Jemmy	do							
Jenny	do							
Conn	do							
John	do							
Gabriel	do							
Harry	do							
Dick	do							
Sam	do							
Golah dead	do							
Fanny	do							
Moll	do					Fanny		
Lucena dead	do					Same		
Nancy	do							
Sam	do					Nancy		
Sukey	do					Same		
1 not xtened	do					Same		
Billy farm	do							
Robin do	do							
Natt do	do							
Jemmy do	do							
Billy do	do							
Judy do	do							
Jemmy or Porringer	do							

Slaves Belonging to Edmund Randolph on Septmber 25, 1784

Name	Place	Age	Trade	Sex	Size	Parents	Increase & When	death & when
Old Betty	Henrico							
Betsy	do							
Betty	do							
Stepne	do							
Aga	do							
Sue	do							
Betty	do							
Aby	do							
Mourning	do							
Sally	do							
Billy	do							
Harry	do							
Billy	do							
Charles	do							
Bob	do							
Mars	do							
Bob	do							
Sam	do							
Ben	do							
Watt	do							

1787—The United States Constitution

The same section of the Constitution that stated that African Americans were to be counted as three-fifths of a person for purposes of taxation and representation noted that Indians were not to be taxed or counted for representation.

Article 1. Section 2.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.

Source: United States Constitution.

7 August 1789—CHAP. VIII.—*An Act to provide for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the river Ohio* and 7 April 1798—CHAP. XXVIII.—*An Act for an amicable settlement of limits with the state of Georgia, and authorizing the establishment of a government in the Mississippi territory*

In August 1789, the members of the First Session of Congress passed CHAP. VIII. to establish government (under the Constitution) in the land north of the Ohio River. The members of the Fifth Session of Congress passed CHAP. XXVIII to set up a system of government in the southeastern territory in April 1798. Both pieces of legislation were based on the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 with one exception—slavery was legal in southern territories.

CHAP. VIII.—*An Act to provide for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the river Ohio*

Whereas, in order that the ordinance of the United States in Congress assembled, for the government of the territory north-west of the river Ohio may continue to have full effect, it is requisite that certain provisions should be made, so as to adapt the same to the present Constitution of the United States. (a)

(a) An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio.

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district, such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress, from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same, below the rank of general officers' all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the general assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same: After the general assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof—and he shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws, and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory: to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States, and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent to wit:

Art. I. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Art. II. The inhabitants of the said territory, shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall in any manner whatever interfere with, or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud previously formed.

Art. III. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Art. V. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three, nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western State in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wasbash from Post Vincents to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: Provided however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: Provided the constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

Art. VI. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid.

Chap. XXVIII.—*An Act for an amicable settlement of limits with the state of Georgia, and authorizing the establishment of a government in the Mississippi territory.*

Section I. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is authorized to appoint three commissioners; any two of whom shall have power to adjust and determine with such commissioners as may be appointed under the legislative authority of the state of Georgia, all interfering claims of the United States and that state, to territory

situate west of the river Chatahouchee, north of the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and south of the cession made to the United States by South Carolina: And also to receive any proposals for the relinquishment or cession of the whole or any part of the other territory claimed by the state of Georgia, and out of the ordinary jurisdiction thereof.

Sec. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That all the lands thus ascertained as the property of the United States, shall be disposed of in such manner as shall be hereafter directed by law; and the nett proceeds thereof shall be applied to the sinking and discharging the public debt of the United States, in the same manner as the proceeds of the other public lands in the territory northwest of the river Ohio.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That all the tract of country bounded on the west by the Mississippi; on the north by a line to be drawn due east from the mouth of the Yasous to the Chatahouchee river; on the east by the river Chatahouchee; and on the south by the thirty-first degree of north latitude, shall be, and hereby is constituted one district, to be called the Mississippi Territory: **and the President of the United States is hereby authorized to establish therein a government in all respects similar to that now exercised in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, <u>excepting and excluding the last article of the ordinance</u> made for the government thereof by the late Congress on the thirteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven,** and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to appoint all the necessary officers therein, who shall respectively receive the same compensations for their services; to be paid in the same manner as by law established for similar officers in the territory northwest of the river Ohio; and the powers, duties and emoluments of a superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern department, shall be united with those of governor: *Provided always,* that if the President of the United States should find it most expedient to establish this government in the recess of Congress, he shall nevertheless have full power to appoint and commission all officers herein authorized; and their commissions shall continue in force until the end of the session of Congress next ensuing the establishment of the government.

Sec. 4. *Be it further enacted,* That the territory hereby constituted one district for the purposes of government, may at the discretion of Congress be hereafter divided into two districts, with separate territorial governments in each, similar to that established by this act.

Sec. 5. *Be it further enacted,* That the establishment of this government shall in no respect impair the right of the state of Georgia, or of any person or persons either to the jurisdiction or the soil of the said territory, but the rights and claims of the said state and of all persons interested, are hereby declared to be as firm and available, as if this act had never been made.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted,* That from and after the establishment of the said government, the people of the aforesaid territory, shall be entitled to and enjoy all and singular the rights, privileges and advantages granted to the people of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, in and by the aforesaid ordinance of the thirteenth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, in as full and ample a manner as the same are possessed and enjoyed by the people of the said last mentioned territory.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted,* That from and after the establishment of the aforesaid government, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to import or bring into the said Mississippi territory, from any port or place, without the limits of the United States, or to cause or procure to be so imported or brought, or knowingly to aid or assist in so importing or bringing any slave or slaves, and that every person so offending, and being thereof convicted before any court within the said territory, having competent jurisdiction, shall forfeit and pay, for each and every slave so imported or brought, the sum of three hundred dollars; one moiety for the use of the United States, and the other moiety for the use of any person or persons who shall sue for the same; and that every slave, so imported or brought, shall thereupon become entitled to, and receive his or her freedom.

Source: The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, I:50-53, 549-551.

1790 to 1820—Population Trends in the Chesapeake and Tobacco Exported From Virginia Warehouses, 1782-1810

Beginning in 1792, the amount of tobacco grown in Tidewater counties declined precipitously. Tobacco culture continued to expand in newer areas adjoining the upper James River and in the Southside.

1790 to 1820—CHESAPEAKE POPULATION TRENDS

REGION/COUNTY	1790	1800	1810	1820
Virginia and Maryland Eastern Shore				
Total	128,487	130,038	140,338	145,380
Percentage of total	12.04	10.82	10.29	9.64
Growth Rate		0.01	0.08	0.04
Virginia and Maryland Tidewater Western Shore				
Total	388,741	378,334	417,534	406,571
Percentage of total	36.42	31.47	30.63	26.96
Growth Rate		-0.03	0.1	-0.03
Virginia Piedmont and Southside				
Total	323,610	378,058	410,118	439,119
Percentage of total	30.32	31.44	30.09	29.12
Growth Rate		0.17	0.08	0.07
Shenandoah Valley, Western Maryland, and Western Virginia				
Total	213, 067	265,147	326,866	394,116
Percentage of total	19.96	22.05	23.98	26.13
Growth Rate		0.24	0.23	0.21
Cities				
Total	13,503	50,775	68,323	123,012
Percentage of total	1.27	4.22	5.01	8.16
Growth Rate		2.76	0.35	0.8
Virginia				
Lower York Basin				
Gloucester	13,498	8,181	10,427	9,678
Mathews		5,806	4,277	6,920
King William	8,128	9,055	9,285	9,697
New Kent	6,239	6,363	6,478	6,630
York	5,233	3,231	5,187	4,384
Total	33,098	32,636	35,604	37,309
Upper York Basin				
Hanover	14,754	14,403	15,082	15,267
King & Queen	9,377	9,879	10,988	11,798
Louisa	8,467	11,892	11,900	13,746
Total	32,598	36,174	37,970	40,811

Lower James Basin				
Charles City	5,588	5,365	5,186	5,255
Elizabeth City	3,450	2,778	3,608	3,789
Henrico	12,000	9,149	9,945	11,600
Isle of Wight	9,028	9,342	9,186	10,139
James City	4,160	3,931	4,094	3,161
Norfolk	14,524	12,493	13,679	15,478
Nansemond	9,010	11,127	10,324	10,494
Prince George	8,173	7,425	8,050	8,030
Princess Anne	7,793	8,859	9,498	8,768
Southampton	12,864	13,925	13,497	14,170
Surry	6,227	6,535	6,855	6,594
Sussex	10,549	11,062	11,362	11,884
Warwick	1,690	1,659	1,835	1,608
Total	20,848	22,456	23,217	23,671
Eastern Shore				
Accomac	13,959	15,693	15,743	15,966
Northampton	6,889	6,763	7,474	7,705
Total	20,848	22,456	23,217	23,671
Rappahannock Basin				
Caroline	17,489	17,438	17,544	18,008
Essex	9,122	9,508	9,676	9,909
Lancaster	5,638	5,375	5,592	5,517
Middlesex	4,140	4,203	4,414	4,057
Richmond	6,985	6,872	6,214	5,706
Total	43,374	43,396	43,140	43,197
Potomac Basin				
King George	7,366	6,749	6,454	6,116
Northumberland	9,163	7,803	8,308	8,016
Prince William	11,615	12,733	11,311	9,419
Stafford	9,588	9,971	9,830	9,517
Westmoreland	7,722	6,872	8,012	6,901
Total	45,454	44,128	43,915	39,969
James River Piedmont				
Albemarle	12,585	16,439	18,268	19,750
Amherst	13,703	16,801	10,548	10,423
Nelson			9,684	10,137
Buckingham	9,779	13,389	20,059	17,569
Cumberland	8,153	9,839	9,992	11,023
Chesterfield	14,214	14,488	9,979	18,003
Fluvanna	3,921	4,623	10,203	10,007
Goochland	9,053	9,696	10,202	8,292
Powhattan	6,822	7,769	8,073	8,292
Total	78,230	93,044	101,581	111,908

Potomac River Piedmont				
Fauquier	17,892	21,329	22,689	23,103
Fairfax	12,320	13,317	13,111	11,404
Loudoun	18,962	20,523	21,338	22,702
Total	49,174	55,169	57,138	57,209
Rappahannock River Piedmont				
Culpepper	22,105	18,100	18,967	20,944
Madison		8,322	8,381	8,490
Orange	9,921	11,449	12,323	12,913
Spotsvylvania	11,252	13,002	13,296	14,254
Total	43,278	50,873	52,967	56,601
Southside				
Amelia	18,097	9,432	10,594	11,104
Nottoway		9,401	9,278	9,658
Bedford	10,531	14,125	16,148	19,305
Brunswick	12,827	16,339	15,411	16,687
Charlotte	10,078	11,912	13,161	13,290
Campbell	7,685	9,866	11,001	16,569
Dinwiddie	13,934	11,853	12,524	13,792
Franklin	6,842	9,302	10,724	12,017
Greenville	6,362	6,727	6,853	6,858
Halifax	17,422	19,377	22,133	19,069
Henry	8,479	5,259	5,611	5,624
Patrick		4,331	4,695	5,089
Lunenburg	8,959	10,381	12,265	10,662
Mecklenburg	14,733	17,008	18,453	19,786
Prince Edward	8,100	10,962	12,409	12,577
Pittsylvania	11,579	12,697	17,172	21,323
Total	152,928	178,972	198,432	213,401
Shenandoah Valley				
Augusta	10,886	11,712	14,308	16,742
Berkeley	19,713	18,573	11,479	11,211
Jefferson			11,851	13,087
Morgan				2,500
Frederick	19,681	21,375	22,574	24,706
Rockingham	7,449	10,374	12,753	14,784
Rockbridge	6,528	8,945	10,318	11,945
Shenandoah	10,510	12,547	13,646	18,926
Total	74,767	83,526	96,929	113,901
Trans Allegheny Virginia, Present Boundaries				
Botetourt	10,524	9,825	13,301	13,589
Bath		5,508	4,837	5,237
Grayson		3,912	4,941	5,598
Lee		3,538	4,694	4,256

Montgomery	13,228	9,044	8,409	8,733
Giles			3,745	4,521
Russell	3,338	4,808	6,316	5,536
Scott				4,263
Tazewell		2,127	3,007	3,916
Washington	5,625	9,174	12,136	12,444
Wythe		6,380	8,356	9,692
Total	32,715	54,316	69,742	77,785
Trans Allegheny Virginia, Present West Virginia				
Greenbriar	6,015	4,165	5,914	7,041
Hampshire	7,346	7,897	9,784	10,889
Harrison	2,080	4,848	9,958	10,932
Hardy	7,336	6,627	5,525	5,700
Kanawa		3,239	3,866	6,399
Cabell			2,717	4,789
Mason			1,991	4,868
Monogahela	4,768	8,540	12,793	11,060
Nicholas				1,853
Ohio	5,212	4,740	8,175	9,182
Preston				3,422
Brooke		4,706	5,843	6,631
Tyler				2,314
Pendleton	2,452	3,778	4,239	4,846
Randolph	951	1,826	2,854	3,357
Wood		1,217	3,036	9,692
Lewis				4,247
Total	36,160	55,771	82,139	113,842

Maryland

Western Shore				
St. Mary's	15,544	13,699	12,794	12,974
Charles	20,613	19,172	20,245	16,500
Calvert	8,652	8,297	8,9005	8,073
Prince George's	21,344	21,185	20,589	20,21[illegible]
Anne Arundel	22,598	20,411	26,668	27,165
Baltimore	25,434	32,516	40,227	33,463
Harford	14,976	3,070	21,258	15,924
Total	129,161	118,350	149,786	134,315
Eastern Shore				
Cecil	13,625	9,018	13,066	16,048
Kent	12,836	11,771	11,450	11,453
Queen Anne	15,463	14,857	16,648	14,952
Talbot	13,084	13,436	14,230	14,389
Caroline	9,506	9,226	9,453	10,108
Dorchester	15,875	16,346	18,108	17,759

Somerset	15,610	17,358	17,195	19,579
Worcester	11,640	15,570	16,971	17,421
Total	107,639	107,582	117,121	121,709
Western Area				
Montgomery	18,003	15,058	17,980	16,400
Frederick	30,791	31,523	34,437	40,459
Washington	15,822	18,650	18,730	23,075
Allegheny	4,809	6,306	6,909	8,654
Total	69,425	71,534	78,056	88,588
Cities				
Baltimore	13,503	26,514	35,583	62,738
Richmond	5,737	9,735	12,067	
Norfolk		6,926	9,193	8,478
Washington, DC		5,949	8,144	33,039
Winchester				2,128
Total	13,503	50,775	68,323	123,012

TOBACCO EXPORTED FROM VIRGINIA WAREHOUSES, 1782-1810
Number Hogsheads Exported

Region Year	Lower York	Upper York	Eastern Shore	Lower James	Rappa-hannock	Potomac	Upper James	James Piedmont	South-side	Un-known	Total
1782-83	140	647	244	98	4,293	3,637	8,017	0	1,516	0	18,592
1783-84	545	2,698	218	1,553	9,535	8,234	19,721	0	6,722	0	49,226
1784-85	657	2,083	206	1,468	8,125	9,968	21,042	0	10,084	0	53,633
1785-86	1,136	2,894	49	1,405	10,308	13,527	25,696	0	11,271	0	66,286
1786-87	910	3,123	186	1,742	10,311	12,312	22,440	250	9,263	0	60,537
1787-88	1,065	2,482	76	1,464	10,240	13,081	18,804	452	10,775	0	58,439
1788-89	827	2,474		1,972	9,738	9,716	22,505	745	12,353	156	60,486
1789-90	814	1,555		1,953	7,802	10,736	17,760	1,141	9,894	148	51,803
1790-91	1,081	3,214		1,579	8,247	7,985	24,636	2,498	16,652	0	65,892
1791-92	1,006	3,434		1,391	7,425	7,531	19,734	3,453	20,299	0	64,275
1792-93	351	1,059		359	1,923	3,054	9,453	2,956	13,049	0	32,204
1793-94	307	1,575		408	5,269	4,360	12,392	5,140	17,469	0	46,920
1794-95	268	665		481	3,315	4,984	8,036	3,372	10,666	0	31,787
1795-96	212	848		257	3,066	3,776	8,599	4,513	14,951	0	36,222
1796-97	86	329		174	1,815	2,309	9,158	4,633	12,762	0	31,266
1797-98	169	147		85	2,712	4,381	9,759	6,486	12,803	0	36,542
1798-99	200	372		121	4,214	7,223	14,013	8,658	18,098	0	52,899
1799-00	291	282		82	3,402	5,560	12,687	9,793	15,135	0	47,232
1800-01	266	449		81	3,271	6,192	11,649	8,939	16,711	0	47,558
1801-02	75	175		66	2,249	3,286	11,271	8,301	15,733	0	41,156
1802-03	144	396		90	2,642	4,919	15,145	10,526	20,066	0	53,930
1803-04	102	156		57	1,825	2,714	15,357	9,055	20,893	0	50,159
1804-05	51	330		0	2,682	2,637	14,578	10,254	20,009	0	50,541
1805-06	65	112		0	2,677	3,743	16,372	7,864	18,666	0	49,499
1806-07	18	49		0	1,907	1,842	12,603	7,246	18,297	0	41,499
1807-08	19	12		0	867	1,163	5,470	4,394	11,234	0	23,159
1808-09	22	71		0	1,609	2,083	14,722	4,204	19,920	0	42,631
1809-10	9	80		0	3,203	3,246	24,224	5,312	23,363	0	59,437
Total	10,838	31,711	979	16,886	134,672	164,199	425,843	130,487	408,654	304	1,324,573
1782-1791	8,183	24,604	979	14,625	86,024	96,727	200,355	8,539	108,829	304	549,169
1791-1810	2,655	7,107	0	2,261	48,648	67,472	225,488	121,648	299,825	0	775,104

1790 and 1800—Percentage of African Americans in Selected Virginia Counties and Towns (including present day Kentucky and West Virginia)

The following tables are based on population figures in the First United States Census of 1790 and the Second United States Census of 1800.

Virginia Counties, 1790

Counties	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Augusta	10,886	1,626	59	1,567	3.6%	14.9%
Botetourt	10,524	1,283	24	1,259	1.9%	12.2%
Berkeley	19,713	3,063	131	2,932	4.3%	15.5%
Frederick	19,681	4,366	116	4,250	2.7%	22.2%
Greenbriar	6,015	339	20	319	5.9%	5.6%
Hampshire	7,346	467	13	454	2.8%	6.4%
Harrison	2,050	67	0	67	0	3.3%
Hardy	7,336	780	411	369	52.7%	10.6%
Monongalia	4,768	166	12	154	7.2%	3.5%
Montgomery	13,228	834	6	828	0.7%	6.3%
Ohio	5,212	305	24	281	7.9%	5.9%
Pendleton	2,452	74	1	73	1.4%	3.0%
Randolph	951	19	0	19	0	2.0%
Rockingham	7,449	722	0	722	0	9.7%
Russell	3,338	195	5	190	2.6%	5.8%
Rockbridge	6,548	723	41	682	5.7%	11.0%
Shenandoah	10,510	531	19	512	3.6%	5.1%
Washington	5,625	458	8	450	1.7%	8.1%
Totals	143,602	16,018	890	15,128	5.6%	11.2%

Virginia Counties in the Area that Became Kentucky, 1790

Counties	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Fayette	17,576	3,119	30	3,089	9.6%	17.7%
Nelson	11,099	1,253	34	1,219	2.7%	11.3%
Woodford	9,210	2,247	27	2,220	1.2%	24.4%
Bourbon	7,837	909	0	909	0	11.5%
Mercer	6,941	1,324	7	1,317	0.5%	19.1%
Lincoln	6,548	1,102	8	1,094	0.7%	16.8%
Jefferson	4,565	880	4	876	0.5%	19.3%
Madison	5,772	737	0	737	0	12.8%
Mason	2,267	208	0	208	0	9.2%
Totals	71,815	11,779	110	11,669	9.3%	16.4%

Selected Virginia Counties, 1800

Counties	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Botetourt	8,366	1,461	118	1,343	8.1%	17.5%
Washington	8,050	1,124	307	817	27.3%	13.9%
Kanawa	3,239	238	7	231	2.9%	7.3%
Hampshire	7,202	695	108	587	15.5%	9.7%
Greenbrier	4,165	273	2	271	0.7%	6.5%
Monroe	4,188	201	12	189	6.0%	4.8%
Rockingham	9,266	1,108	56	1,052	5.1%	12.0%
Pendleton	3,641	137	13	124	9.5%	3.8%
Bath	4,830	678	17	661	2.5%	14.0%
Frederick	15,837	5,538	420	5,118	7.6%	35.0%

Selected Virginia Counties, 1800 (continued)

Counties	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Ohio	4,740	272	15	257	5.5%	5.7%
Wythe	5,508	842	11	831	1.3%	15.3%
Russell	4,443	365	13	352	3.6%	8.2 %
Tazewell	1,895	232	13	219	5.6%	12.2%
Montgomery	8,037	997	39	958	3.9%	12.4%
Randolph	1,739	87	2	85	2.3%	5.0%
Monongalia	8,359	181	18	163	9.9%	2.2%
Berkeley	14,238	3,835	156	3,679	4.1%	27.0%
Grayson	3,741	171	1	170	0.6%	4.6%
Lee	3,292	246	3	243	1.2%	7.5%
Augusta	9,671	2,041	95	1,946	4.7%	21.1%
Hardy	5,993	734	111	623	15.1%	12.2%
Brooke	4,402	304	16	288	5.3%	6.9%
Harrison	4,598	250	5	245	2.0%	5.4%
Wood	1,155	62	1	61	1.6%	5.4%
Shenandoah	11,705	822	84	738	10.2%	7.0%
Rockbridge	7,728	1,167	97	1,070	8.3%	15.1%
Totals	170,028	24,061	1,740	22,321	7.2%	14.2%

Kentucky Counties, 1800

Counties	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Fayette	12,183	3,851	65	3,786	1.7%	31.6%
Jessamine	5,438	1,574	21	1,553	1.3%	28.9%
Woodford	6,452	2,072	14	2,058	.7%	32.1%

Kentucky Counties, 1800 (continued)

Counties	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Scott	7,609	1,748	11	1,737	.6%	23 %
Mason	11,400	1,649	46	1,603	2.8%	14.5%
Bracken	2,382	195	4	191	2%	8.2%
Harrison	4,054	412	19	393	4.6%	10.2%
Pendleton	1,572	241	2	239	.83%	15.3%
Clerk	7,569	1,545	10	1,535	.6%	20.4%
Montgomery	6,991	760	11	749	1.4%	10.9%
Fleming	4,894	249	9	240	3.6%	5.1%
Floyd	472	29	0	29	0	6.1%
Franklin	4,510	1,186	17	1,169	1.4%	26.3%
Gallatin	1,077	278	2	276	.7%	25.8%
Boone	1,539	340	15	325	4.4%	22.1%
Campbell	1,832	268	10	258	3.7%	14.6%
Henry	2,848	410	4	406	1.0%	14.4%
Nicholas	2,515	328	6	322	1.8%	13%
Bourbon	10,309	2,052	58	1,994	2.8%	20%
Mercer	9,250	2,199	30	2,169	1.4%	23.8%
Garrard	6,083	1,239	5	1,234	.4%	20.4%
Nelson	9,277	1,748	13	1,735	.7%	18.8%
Bullet	3,265	953	9	944	.9%	29.2%
Green	6,035	819	3	816	.4%	13.6%
Cumberland	3,294	272	36	236	13.2%	8.3%
Shelby	7,929	1,430	21	1,409	1.5%	18%
Jefferson	8,395	2,352	22	2,330	.9%	28%
Lincoln	8,555	1,773	23	1,750	1.3%	20.7%
Harden	3,597	319	9	310	2.8%	8.89%

Kentucky Counties, 1800 (continued)

Counties	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Breckenridge	753	34	1	33	2.9%	4.5%
Ohio	1,123	125	3	122	2.4%	11.1%
Pulasky	3,161	233	1	232	.4%	7.4%
Knox	1,109	65	3	62	4.6%	5.9%
Henderson	1,263	340	---	340	0	26.9%
Livingston	2,787	448	4	444	.9%	16.1%
Christian	2,318	297	---	297	0	12.8%
Logan	5,640	822	92	730	11.2%	14.6%
Warren	4,645	421	4	417	.95%	9.1%
Muhlenburg	1,417	119	3	116	2.5%	8.4%
Barren	784	505	---	505	0	10.6%
Washington	8,887	1,396	14	1,382	1.0%	15.7%
Madison	10,380	1,691	3	1,688	.2%	16.3%
Totals	205,593	38,787	623	38,164	1.6%	18.9%

Western Virginia Towns, 1800

Town	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Fincastle	542	135	19	116	14.1%	24.9%
Abingdon	312	112	29	83	25.9%	35.9%
Ramsey	205	35	9	26	25.7%	17.1%
Springfield	86	11	1	10	9 %	12.7%
Frankfort	160	9	2	7	22.2%	5 %
Lewisburg	180	26	---	26	0	14.4%

Western Virginia Towns, 1800

Town	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Franklin	184	9	1	8	11.1%	4.8%
Winchester	2,048	370	22	348	5.9%	18%
Stephensburg	513	67	3	64	4.5%	13 %
Fort Royal	254	50	3	47	6.0%	19.7%
Middletown	166	12	---	12	0	7.2%
Berryville	131	60	1	59	1.7%	45.8%
Keinstown	100	17	3	14	17.6%	17.1%
Pughtown	77	2	1	1	50 %	2.5%
Smithfield	156	2	---	2	0	1.2%
Middletown	163	17	3	14	17.6%	12 %
Muhlenburgh	1,077	129	17	112	13.2%	12 %
Bath	224	13	2	11	15.4%	5.8%
Darksville	132	9	2	7	22.2%	6.8%
Shepherdstown	1,108	90	15	75	16.7%	8.1%
Charlestown	568	79	8	71	10.1%	13.9%
Strasburgh	352	15	---	15	0	4.2%
Woodstock	634	20	1	19	5%	3.1%
New Market	288	19	---	19	0	6.6%
Total	9,660	1,308	142	1,166	10.9%	13.5

Kentucky Towns, 1800

Towns	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Lexington	1,796	467	28	439	6.0%	26%
Nicholsville	23	8	---	8	0	35 %
Verlailles	174	50	1	49	2%	28.7%
Georgetown	348	124	1	123	.8%	35.6 %
Washington	570	164	39	125	23.8%	28.8%
Williamsberry	70	3	---	3	0	4.3%
Maysville	137	19	3	16	15.8%	13.9%
Augusta	143	48	10	38	21.0%	33.6%
Germantown	81	14	---	14	0	17.3%
Cinthiama	90	13	---	13	0	14.4%
Fallmouth	40	1	---	1	0	2.5%
Winchester	130	29	3	26	10.3%	22.3%
Mt. Sterling	90	18	---	18	0	2%
Flemingsburg	123	15	1	14	6.7%	12.2%
Prestonburg	6	2	---	2	0	33.3%
Frankfort	635	265	5	260	1.9%	42%
Fort William	233	53	---	53	0	22.7%
Newport	106	23	2	21	8.7%	22.%
Newtown	62	---	---	---	0	0
Paris	382	138	4	134	2.9%	36.1%
Millersburgh	90	8	---	8	0	8.9%
Danville	276	101	---	101	0	36.6%
Harrodsburg	139	49	3	46	6.1%	35.3%
Lancaster	108	26	1	25	3.8%	24%
Beardston	579	170	3	167	1.8%	29.4

Kentucky Towns, 1800 (continued)

Counties	*Total Population*	*Total African American Population*	*Number of Free Blacks*	*Number of Slaves*	*Percentage of Free Blacks in African American Population*	*Percentage of African American Population*
Shepperdsville	84	25	---	25	0	29.8%
Greenburg	77	20	---	20	0	28.2%
Shelbyville	260	80	2	78	2.5%	30.8%
Louisville	359	77	1	76	1.3%	21.4%
Stanford	66	26	---	26	0	39.4%
Elizabethtown	54	17	2	15	11.8%	31.5%
Hardensburg	49	3	---	3	0	6.1%
Hartford	74	28	---	28	0	37.8%
Vienna	26	1	---	1	0	3.8%
Henderson	205	52	2	50	3.8%	25.4%
Eddyville	69	12	---	12	0	17.4%
Russellville	117	46	1	45	2.2%	39.3%
Bowling Green	41	14	---	14	0	34.1%
Greenville	26	11	2	9	18.2%	42.3%
Springfield	163	43	3	40	7.1%	26.4%
Richmond	110	39	1	38	0	38%
Totals	8,211	2,302	118	2,184	2.6%	28%

Total African Americans in Kentucky:	41,089	
Total African Americans in Urban Areas:	2,302	5.6%
Total African Americans in Rural Areas:	38,787	

1798 to 1831—Excerpts from the York County Free Black Register

The law requires free persons of color in Virginia to register their physical description and information about the way in which they gained their freedom. This requirement was a clear sign that free black men, women, and children did not have the same degree of freedom that white residents of Virginia enjoyed.

Sarah Berry, a dark mulatto Girl aged about 16 or 17 years, 5 feet 4 ¾ Inches a little pitted with the small pox has straight black hair resembling that of an Indian, black eyes and features rather small was born free in the parish of York Hampton & County of York registered 11th Feb 1803.

William Lyons is a bright mulatto about 35 years of age 5 feet 3 ¼ inches high—he has a scar on his right Elbow & a small one on his forehead & has short hair No other scars worthy of note—Born free—Registd in York County Court 16th Decr 1822 since the above has become bald, wears whiskers, grey Beard & much the appearance of an Indian. Marginal note: Renewed 28 Sept 1831.

Source: York County Free Black Register, 1798-1831.

1825—Population of Slaves in the Americas

The following figures for slave populations in the Americans reflect the number of enslaved men, women, and children before any country adopted emancipation.

United States	36%
Brazil	31%
British Caribbean	15%
Spanish America	11%
French Caribbean	4%
Dutch, Danish, and Swedish Caribbean	2%

Source: Ronald Hoffman, Lecture for "Enslaving Virginia" Training, January 1999.

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Contents—Section 2
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Section 2
Secondary Sources

Selections from Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*

Brown examines the role of gender as the English and Indian cultures met in seventeenth-century Virginia.

With their visit to London in 1616-1617, Pocahontas and Uttamatomakkin traveled along an Anglo-Indian gender frontier they had actively participated in making. During the early English voyages to Roanoke and Jamestown Island, English male adventurers, accompanied by few English women, confronted Indian men and women in their native land. In this cultural encounter, the gender performances of Virginia Algonquians challenged English gentlemen's assumptions about the naturalness of their own gender identities. In the responses of both groups to the other came exchanges, new cultural forms, discoveries of common ground, painful deceptions, bitter misunderstandings, and bloody conflicts.

Identities as English or Indian were only partially formed at the beginning of this meeting of cultures; it required the daily presence of an "other" to crystallize self-conscious articulations of one's own group identity. In contrast, maleness and femaleness within each culture provided explicit and deep-rooted foundations for individual identity and the organization of social relations. In both Indian and English societies, differences between men and women were critical to social order. The formation of ethnic identities from the confrontations of culturally specific manhoods and womanhoods was integral to the creative and destructive processes along the gender frontier.

In the emerging Anglo-Indian struggle to dominate rather than to be dominated, gender symbols signified claims to power. While English men depicted themselves as warriors capable of dominating a feminized population, Indian men and women initially refused to acknowledge these claims to military supremacy, treating the foreigners as they would subject peoples, cowards, or servants. When English weaponry made the acknowledgement of English warrior discourse unavoidable, however, Indian men and women attempted to exploit what they saw as the warrior's obvious dependence upon others for the agricultural and sexual services that ensured group survival. Never an absolute barrier, the gender frontier also produced new identities and social practices. Although Pocahontas's transformation and journey to London seemed to affirm the rigidity of the Anglo-Indian cultural divide, it also testified to the permeability of the boundary and the complex identities of those who traversed it.

In this selection, Brown notes that the General Assembly continued to tax African women in order to raise money to continue attacks against the Indians after 1644.

Hostile relations between land-coveting English settlers and neighboring Indians deteriorated into open warfare in 1644, forcing the colonial government to increase its military expenditures. Although Opechancanough's second attack was significantly less

successful than his previous effort in 1622, the governor and General Assembly took no chances. They pressed their advantage against weakened Indian populations for the next ten years, exporting Indian captives and compelling several groups to leave the peninsula between the James and York Rivers. During this war, the General Assembly continued to account African women among the tithables who funded arms and provisions for the militia. In 1645, while still calling for raids against Indians affiliated with Opechancanough, the Assembly defined the tithables footing the bill as all African men and women and all other men between the ages of sixteen and sixty. It also briefly levied a tax on livestock and land in addition to the requisite twenty pounds of tobacco per tithable.

Brown examines the ways in which legislators used Christianity to define English settlers as being different from **all** slaves in the 1667 statute entitled "*An act declaring that baptisme of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage.*" She notes that the 1670 statute—"*Noe Negroes nor Indians to buy christian servants*"—created a distinction between Christian and non-Christian at the same time that it established a difference between persons imported into the colony, Africans and individuals (Indians) captured during wartime.

The Virginia colony's movement toward a concept of slavery in which race conferred an aura of naturalness to bondage was nowhere more apparent than in two laws of the late 1660s that limited the means of escaping servitude for life. Christianity had long been a part of the discourse of difference, appearing in the earliest English accounts of Africans, Gaelic Irish, and Indians. It was crucial to the way the English defined themselves and legitimized their attempts to conquer, settle, and appropriate valuable commodities through trade. Throughout the seventeenth century, the word "Christian" surfaced in the laws of Virginia when the English wanted a self-referential term to distinguish their own powers, privileges, and rights from the burdens, punishments, and legal disabilities of the peoples they hoped to dominate. It also helped them define who the "other" people were. Difficulties arose when Africans and Indians became Christians and when English settlers were Virginia-born. By 1667, Christianity was still crucial to legal concepts of difference but no longer adequate for the purposes of slaveholding Anglo-Virginians.

In that year, Virginia lawmakers restricted the legal meaning of "Christian" to conform to the demands of slavery. Legislators decided that baptism would no longer free "slaves by birth." Cutting off an important avenue by which African slaves had demanded release from bondage, Virginia's lawmakers resolved the conflict between property interests and Christian mission, declaring "the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedome." With this law, the colony reinforced the notion that slavery could not be renegotiated during an individual's lifetime.

Three years later, the Virginia Assembly resurrected the concept of Christianity to sharpen distinctions between English laborers and those non-English peoples who seemed most alien: Indians and Africans. Noting the difficulty of determining terms of service for Indians captured in war, the Assembly concluded 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 girles, untill thirty years of age, if men or women twelve yeares.

This law made two crucial distinctions. The first separated Christian (English and other Europeans) and non-Christian (Indian, African, and Moorish) peoples, with the latter group forming the potential pool of slaves. The second distinguished between "slaves" imported to the colony in ships and sold (Africans) and "servants" captured during wartime (Indian). With this measure, the colony effectively refined its definitions of slavery, limiting bondage to imported Africans. Together, the two statutes culminated thirty years of legal measures defining Africans as slaves and excluding them from the family, gender, and religious privileges enjoyed by the English.

Tax laws, hereditary slavery, and attempts to refine the legal meaning of "Christian" offered a measure of protection to Anglo-Virginian families from the radical economic and social changes threatened by women's work and female indentured servitude in the colony. The project of defining English families as Christian and white and privileging white patriarchs was intimately connected to the legal denial of English-style families to the enslaved.

These early laws were among the most important of all slave statutes in Virginia. They created a legal discourse of slavery rooted in the sexual, social, and economic lives of African laborers and effectively naturalized the condition of slavery by connecting it to a concept of race. Slavery and freedom, like race, became under colonial law conditions that could not be easily altered during one's own lifetime, or, if one was an enslaved woman, during the lifetime of one's children. Grounded in English class-based notions of women's proper role in an economy of commercial agriculture and in the family, "womanhood" began to take on a race-specific meaning in the colony. It remained, after 1670, for white Virginians to wrestle with the issue of black masculinity, as economic and political conflicts among white men proliferated and increasing numbers of African men and women were brought forcibly to the colony.

Brown examines the role of Virginia's Indian population in Bacon's Rebellion.

The killing of Thomas Mathew's overseer by a Doeg Indian in Stafford County in July 1675 capped years of intermittent hostility between frontier residents and Indians. Formed in 1664, Stafford was still only sparsely populated by English settlers and located farther from the colony's capital than any other county. It was one of the first counties with weak connections to Berkeley's Green Spring clique, moreover, to experience serious Anglo-Indian conflict during the 1670s.

The conflict escalated after militia leaders indiscriminately killed Susquehannah Indian allies along with the Doegs alleged to have committed the offences. The failure to recognize the distinction between "friendly" and "enemy" Indians was symptomatic of the difficulties Berkeley faced during the 1670s. For thirty years, through a combination of coercion and negotiation, Berkeley had forged alliances with some Indians and pursued a policy of efficient and profitable exploitation of others. Although personally no longer interested in fighting Indians in 1675, Berkeley was surrounded by English newcomers for whom the history of previous bloodshed and negotiations meant little. Men in frontier counties felt only outrage that Indian lives and profits from the Indian trade should mean as much to the governor as English lives and English property. Berkeley's hesitation in

pursuing the alleged Indian perpetrators of frontier violence deepened the discontent of white inhabitants throughout the winter of 1675 and the spring of 1676.

When [Nathaniel] Bacon, James Crewes, Henry Isham, and William Byrd gathered for a drink in Henrico County in April of that year, the situation had grown more critical. Continuing Susquehannah raids had resulted in the killing of Bacon's overseer and at least one of Byrd's servants; the latter, Governor Berkeley wrote to Secretary Thomas Ludwell, was most "foolishly lost." More significantly, however, Byrd and Bacon had been forced to petition the governor, whom they believed to be monopolizing the fur trade, to gain access to the profitable commerce. Men in several frontier counties including Surry, New Kent, and Bacon's own Henrico were literally up in arms. With little difficulty, Crewes persuaded Bacon to cross the James River to view an assembly of angry men at Jordan's Point. These men may have been among those who later complained to the governor that the "cruell torture" of English settlers by Indians prevented them from going about their "domisticall affaires." Forced to choose between obeying the government—the law of "Nations"—and protecting their lives—the law of "Nature"—the petitioners declared themselves ready to "take armes in defence of our lives." Whether it was the rum he shared with the agitated crowd or their shouts of "a Bacon!" that went to his head, Bacon soon agreed to lead a campaign against the Indians with or without a commission from Berkeley, giving protestors one of the "persons of quality" they had lacked in previous actions.

The ensuing showdown between Bacon and Berkeley has long tantalized historians. Bacon, a recent immigrant to Virginia, was only twenty-nine years old in 1676; Berkeley had spent more than thirty years of his life in Virginia and was old enough, at age seventy, to be Bacon's grandfather. Both men shared an elite English background and an education in law at the Inns of Court. Bacon, however, came from an East Anglia family that included a prominent parliamentarian advocate during the struggle against Charles I; Berkeley, conversely, fought with the royalists. Whereas Berkeley left England for Virginia in the good graces of king and country, Bacon left in disgrace; his marriage to Elizabeth Duke against her father's wishes had resulted in her disinheritance. When he was subsequently exposed for plotting to cheat a man of his property, his father encouraged him to go to Virginia.

Cousin and namesake of a prominent councillor and a distant cousin of the governor's wife, Bacon was initially welcomed into the colony's most elite circles. His wife soon developed a close friendship with Lady Frances Berkeley, spending nearly two weeks as her guest at Green Spring. Governor Berkeley showed him great favor, moreover, by quickly making him a member of the Governor's Council in March 1675. But Bacon remained outside Berkeley's inner circle, failing to attend most of the Council meetings. He may have continued to resent the rebuke he had received from Berkeley the previous September for seizing some Appomattock Indians he suspected of stealing corn in Henrico. Perhaps, too, his friendship with fellow newcomers William Byrd, Giles Bland, and Richard Lawrence intensified his sense of frustrated ambition.

Having allied himself with backcountry protestors, Bacon began to challenge Berkeley's Indian policy publicly, bypassing governor and legislature with direct appeals to the people. Instigating racist, cathartic campaigns against any and all Indians, he sarcastically denied Berkeley's distinction between friends and enemies. Outflanked by Bacon's rhetoric and the younger man's ability to satisfy frontiersmen's desires for bloodletting, the governor was forced to mobilize popular support for his policy. He declared Bacon a rebel and reluctantly initiated elections in May 1676 – the first in fifteen years – only to discover, to his surprise and dismay, that voters had been "seduced and carried away by soe young, unexperienced, rash and inconsiderate p[er]son as the said Nathll Bacon junr."

In public condemnations of his political rival, Berkeley presented his own genteel style of honor as superior to that of the rebel. The governor described himself as a careful and cautious ruler who took "councel of wiser men then my selfe," but Bacon "boasted," acted "foolishly" and "Treacherously," and surrounded himself with "the lowest of the people." Whereas Berkeley was "conscious of humane fraylty" and could admit an error, it was "not for his [Bacon's] honor to Acknowledge a fault." Berkeley claimed to stand for God and law, but Bacon "tend[ed] to take away al Religion and lawes." Worst of all, whereas Berkeley had represented the English honorably in his dealings with Indians, Bacon dishonored the English nation with his actions, losing more men in a single campaign than Berkeley had lost in three years of fighting.

* * * *

Although all these rituals of association and rebellion helped to confirm the honor of Bacon's cause and the legitimacy of his leadership, it was the racism underlying his attacks on neighboring Indians that ultimately enabled the rebels to place their arguments within the context of English ideas of justice and liberty. Complaining bitterly in the "Manifesto" issued at Middle Plantation, Bacon denounced the "protected and Darling Indians" whose close contact with the English resulted in predictable disputes over debts, crops, livestock, and land. His greatest grievance was that so-called friendly Indians were not held accountable according to English law yet were "unjustly defended and protected" by it. Calling for all Indians to be outlawed—in short, to be cast outside the scope of English protection—Bacon presented his own campaign against neighboring Indians as a remedy to the partial and inconsistent application of English justice. Significantly, another of Bacon's complaints against the governor—that he and his favorites monopolized Indian trade—would be obviated by Bacon's destruction of the trade through the random killing of Indians from all groups.

The royal commissioners worked to repair relations with the tributary ("friendly") Indians after the conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion.

The commissioners were eager to restore relations with "friendly" Indians, especially the Pamunkeys, who had been hounded by Bacon and coerced by the Assembly into providing assistance to the governor's troops. Revealing the degree to which longtime residents sought to soothe Indian anger, Thomas Ludwell urged that Indians injured by Bacon be reassured that "the murder by him committed on them were not by your m[ajes]ties command." Like Berkeley, Ludwell feared that Bacon had permanently damaged Anglo-Indian relations. Commissioners Sir Herbert Jeffreys, Francis Moryson, and Sir John Berry, meanwhile submitted the Pamunkey queen's name as among the first to be compensated for losses during the rebellion, believing she could be placated with a small gift from the king. They sympathetically recounted her sufferings and the damage to Indian property, describing her as an innocent victim of the conflict. For her part, Cockacoeske, queen of the Pamunkey, maintained an aloof dignity, much as she had during the rebellion itself, refusing to speak English with Assembly interrogators who sought her assistance and reminding them of previous perfidy. Although her people were seriously diminished in number by the rebellion, the Pamunkey queen negotiated a prominent place in the peace

arranged by the royal commissioners, regaining for the Pamunkeys some of the ancient dominion over other Indians that they had enjoyed in the days of Powhatan.

* * * *

The grievances collected by the royal commissioners coalesced around three major issues: oppressiveness of heavy taxation and duties; vulnerability to Indians; and the Green Spring clique's corruption....

Several counties also complained about the continued problem of the Indian war and proposed several different solutions. In Isle of Wight County, men who submitted grievances urged the commissioners to pursue a "continuall warr with the Indians that we may have once have done with them." Rappahannock petitioners resented their county's role as a buffer zone for wealthier Tidewater counties, which continued to enjoy "the profits of their labours" while "poore *Rappanahhock* lies a bleeding." Voicing a nascent regional identity, they described their eastern neighbors as

> So narrow hearted and close fisted as to think it none of their duty to assist us in destroying the blood thirsty Indians, but would willingly leave us to fight the battles of the Republique, or else not to enjoy either freedom or profitt.

In Westmoreland County, however, where residents had also sustained considerable loss of life and estate, signers urged the commissioners to negotiate peace with all Indians except the Doegs, whom they hoped would be captured by Indian allies.

Most residents also complained about the powerful men in their counties and the secret benefits the "Great Men" on the Council accrued at the tax payers' expense. In Bacon's county of Henrico, residents claimed that "the Indian trade is monopolized and in favour of the monoppolists the people are betrayed to the p[er]fidians of the mercyless Indians."

Brown discusses the laws that allowed Virginians to enslave Indians captured during Bacon's Rebellion and that created one legal category for "negroes and other slaves."

The Africans who arrived in the colony during the final quarter of the century confronted the racially charged aftermath of Bacon's genocidal campaign against Indians. Despite the royal commissioners' attempts to discourage the prolonged service of Indian prisoners of war, the Virginia Assembly of 1677 ordered Indians taken captive to be kept as slaves. Over the next few years, new restrictions lumped those Indians together with Africans into one legal category designated "negroes and other slaves." By 1682, the assembly had decided that owners of Indian women "ought to pay levies in like manner as negroe women." Virginia planters also reiterated the prohibition on Africans and Indians escaping perpetual bondage by converting to Christianity. As of 1682, all servants "whether Negroes, Moors, Mollattoes and Indians" were to be considered slaves if their parents and native country were not Christian at the time of their first purchase. Built on an earlier legal foundation of racial differentiation that had been newly politicized by Bacon's Rebellion, racism toward Africans and Indians swelled during the 1680s and 1690s.

Brown examines the 1691 statute entitled "*An act for suppressing outlying slaves*" and the ways in which Virginia's legislators wanted to regulate sexuality and to separate whites, especially women, from Africans, African Virginians, and Indians.

In 1691, legislators explicitly addressed the problem presented by these relationships by refashioning older traditions for regulating servant sexuality to fit newer concerns with race. Expressing their anxieties about the sexual activities of white women in a preamble to the new statute, lawmakers noted the danger presented by the "abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may encrease in this dominion, as well by negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English, or other white women." Provoked by the threat of a growing population of racially indeterminate people, Virginia's planters took radical steps to enforce racial difference:

> 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 from this dominion forever.

This act further specified severe punishments for English women, free or servant, who bore illegitimate children by black or mulatto men. Even the children of those unions received the stigma of punishment. They were ordered to serve extended terms of indenture until age thirty, a measure that set them apart from other illegitimates who served only until age twenty-four.

The statute of 1691 made *all* interracial sexual acts illicit, criminalizing relationships that might previously have been eligible for the protection of marriage. Sexual relationships between white people and Indians, moreover, became as subject to censure as those between white people and individuals of African descent. Despite the law's seeming concern to prevent all "spurious issue," however, its preamble revealed the special place that unions between white women and black men occupied in the thinking of Virginia lawmakers. Sexual activity that resulted in the birth of mixed race children to *white women* had sparked the concern that led to the law's passage. Perhaps most significantly, the legal attempt to separate Anglo-Virginians sexually from Indians and people of African descent marked the first use of the term "white" in the Virginia statutes. "Englishmen" and "Christians" had become white in the context of the law that redefined the nature of illicit sexuality.

The number of Indian slaves held by Tidewater residents was small. Enslaved Indians, Africans, and African Virginians turned to the court to try to secure their freedom.

Although laws lumping together Indians, Africans, and the children of both groups by English men left all of these people vulnerable to exploitation as servants, the growing importance of African slavery made the burden of proving freedom particularly critical for individuals of African descent. By the eighteenth century, Indian slavery was less important to the Tidewater economy than it had been in the years immediately following Bacon's Rebellion.

* * * *

Impeded by somewhat different obstacles, Indian servants also requested relief from lengthy service but usually did not have to prove that they were servants rather than slaves. In Henrico County, Mary, an Indian, for example, petitioned unsuccessfully in 1688 to have her daughter set free at the age of twenty-five. Ruling that Mary's daughter was expected to serve until the age of thirty, the court seems never to have entertained the notion that she could have been a slave.

* * * *

Like white servants who found themselves the victims of lost or fraudulent indentures, many Afro-Virginian and Indian servants probably served extended terms because they could not prove verbal promises or free birth in court. Unlike their white servant counterparts, however, petitioners of color could be accidentally or deliberately taken for slaves, especially after the racial foundations of slavery became more explicit. As a consequence, free Afro-Virginians and Indians depended increasingly upon legal verification of their birth to free mothers to win or retain their freedom.

Brown details the Nicken family, a free black family who may have been part Indian. The Nickens lived in Lancaster County on Virginia's Northern Neck.

The life of Edward Nicken, a free black property owner from Lancaster County, offers a rare glimpse of the fortunes of one free black family over three generations, revealing just how precarious Afro-Virginian success could be. Nicken's parents were most probably Richard Yoconokancon and Chris, his wife, both former slaves of John Carter of Lancaster County. The similarity between Richard's surname and the Pamunkey words "Yockenhawken," or "yihawken," meaning "house," suggests that Richard or Chris may have been part Indian. In 1690, Carter freed them and their children in his will, granting them land and buildings as well as livestock and corn. From 1698 to 1706, Richard appeared in the tax lists for Christ Church, referred to variously as "Free Dick," "Richard a negro," "Black Dick," and "Free Richard." Each year he was listed as having several tithables in his household. After Richard's disappearance from the tax rolls, several Yoconokancons, or people with similar names, left brief traces in the county record books. The person with the best-recorded life was Edward Nicken. Nicken appeared as a householder in the Christ Church tax lists under the surname "Yockenhawken" three years after Richard Yoconokancon's last appearance in the records, making it quite possible that Edward was indeed son and heir to Richard. He subsequently assumed the name of Edward Nicken for all his legal and business dealings.

Nicken became an independent householder for the first time in 1709 but may have been forced to live as a servant or laborer in another household between 1710 and 1714. In 1715, the year he appears to have regained a household of his own, Nicken suffered legal harassment at the hands of his Christ Church neighbors. The grand jury presented him to court for "selling cyder at his dwelling house in the p[ar]ish of X church." Nicken pleaded not guilty, and the charge was eventually dropped. At the same court session, Elizabeth Nicken, "a free negroe woman," possibily Edward's sister, was presented by the grand jury for bastardy, a charge that was also subsequently dropped. Elizabeth's presentment appears

to have been part of a sustained effort by the Lancaster court to regulate the sexual activity of free black women between 1713 and 1729.

Throughout his tenure as landowner, Nicken was part of a network of debtors and landowners, much as any white man with a similar-sized estate would have been. From 1722 to 1729, he appeared in court at least thirty different times, usually as a debtor, but also to answer suits and to buy and sell land. With the exception of the 1715 presentment and a suit against him in 1727 for "a maintenance" (perhaps for an illegitimate child), Nicken seems not to have suffered legally at the hands of his white neighbors and fellow parishioners. What the court records do not describe, however, is the quality of Nicken's life as one of very few free Afro-Virginian propertyowners in the county.

As an adult householder, Nicken seems to have enjoyed several material comforts. When he died in 1735, his estate and family were substantial and would have been the envy of at least half the white men in Lancaster County. Valued at fifty-five pounds sterling, his holdings included livestock, furniture, utensils, and cooking equipment. Notable among these items were a horse, saddle and bridle, a pound of "pickt" cotton, a pair of money scales, two Bibles, several "old books," a spinning wheel, wool cards, and a looking glass. Apparently, the Nicken family was not only Christian but literate, materially well off, and perhaps less reliant on the vagaries of the tobacco economy than many white Lancaster planters. The scales also suggest Nicken's efforts to protect himself from being cheated in his transactions with neighbors and merchants. Not all of Nicken's wealth could be measured by the estate inventory. He also left a very large family, which included at least eight living children in addition to his wife Mary.

When race relations became increasingly hostile during the 1720s, Edward Nicken was already an established householder, perhaps well on his way to becoming a husband and father. He and his family weathered the storm of increased restrictions and taxes after 1723, but it is doubtful whether his children enjoyed similar good fortune and material success. In the year after Nicken's death, his son James was bound out by the court to learn reading, writing, and shoemaking from John Hubbard. Neither James nor any of the other children listed in Edward Nicken's will appeared in Lancaster court again before 1750. The loss of tax records after 1720 makes it difficult to know their fate, but it is doubtful whether they ever achieved the status of housekeeper in Lancaster County.

The lack of evidence about the lives of Edward Nicken's children suggests the vulnerability of Afro-Virginian freedom to the insurrections, economic shifts, and demographic trends of the eighteenth century. Although the racial basis for slavery threatened potentially to demean free people, most individuals were never completely defined by the laws intended to regulate them. Distinctions between newly imported Africans and Afro-Virginians and a degree of community autonomy from legal mandates afforded individuals like Nicken social and legal space within which to live and prosper.

The question remains, would men such as Edward Nicken have been recognized as patriarchs by their contemporaries, white and black? Although patriarchal status may have been more difficult for free black men to achieve after 1730, once established as property owners free men did wield a measure of authority over wives and children. Responsible for the main economic support of these family members by law, free black men with land transcended racial definitions that denied them white male gender privileges and became men in the eyes of the white community. Neither of these limited arenas of patriarchal authority compensated for the lack of legal and political rights, the ultimate recognitions of white patriarchal status in the early eighteenth century. Neither Nicken or Humphrey Jones nor any of the other successful men described here was allowed by law or in practice to vote,

hold office, or testify against white people, handicaps that ultimately vitiated their status as patriarchs.

Brown examines the experiences of Indian servants and slaves and the ways in which several people of color used the court system to their advantage.

Like their free African and Afro-Virginian counterparts, Indian servants and slaves were subject to long terms of service and the arbitrary cruelty of masters. Taken captive during Bacon's Rebellion or brought into Virginia from other colonies, many were subsequently sold as servants or slaves. When years of servitude stretched on indefinitely, some petitioned for freedom. Norfolk servant John Williams, an Indian, won his freedom corn and clothes from his master in 1673. The court allowed "Indian Sarah" to sue for her freedom as a pauper in 1747, much as it had allowed Nanny Hannah to do, but only granted her freedom four years later. Like other free women, the mothers of Indian children tried to protect their offspring from exploitation. Mary, the free Indian mother of twenty-five-year-old Hagar, whose petition to the Henrico orphans court was mentioned earlier in this chapter, argued that her Virginia-born daughter was "capable of the same privileges and imunitys as other natives." The court saw it differently, however, and ordered Hagar to continue serving her mistress until she was thirty.

If they were slaves, Indians were subject to the same swift justice of the oyer and terminer courts that brought so many African slaves to the noose. In Surry County, an Indian slave named Ned suffered the death penalty for stealing gunpowder, shot, and other goods in 1710. Five months later, the Surry court executed the Indian Salvadore for his participation in a slave conspiracy. As long as they could be enslaved, Indians shared with Africans a vulnerability to white fears about slave uprisings.

Although county courts appeared to be indifferent to the ethnic and cultural diversity of Virginia's nonwhite population, individuals could sometimes use their Indian identity as a means of protecting themselves against the growing racism directed against Africans and Afro-Virginians. William Bass, a Norfolk resident, may have been descended from one of Virginia's oldest Anglo-Indian families: the son of Warraskoyack's Captain Nathaniel Bass married a Nansemond Indian named Elizabeth just a few years after the General Court appearance of Thomasine Hall. Bass families of English and Anglo-Indian descent populated Virginia's Southside for the next three centuries. By 1743, William Bass's line of the family may have included unions with Africans; an individual named William Bass appears to have married into the free Lovina family, whom the court described as mulatto. Although they never attached a descriptive ethnic or racial label to Bass, Norfolk justices appear to have treated him and his family as nonwhites, a designation that made little recognition of ethnic and cultural self-definition and expression. Yet Bass, his father, and grandfather clearly considered themselves to be Indians. On several occasions, they swore in court that they were Christians of English and Nansemond Indian descent and denied any mulatto or African ancestry.

Although the courts treated Indian and African slaves alike, free Indians may have enjoyed some slight advantage over their free African counterparts. Pamunkey, Gingaskin, Nansemond, and Mattaponi Indians successfully claimed reservation lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, losing title to this property only gradually as a consequence of white Virginian reactions to close Indian-free black associations. In Norfolk

County, William Bass, Sr., survived the legal scrutiny of his landholdings by claiming that the 1677 settlement of Bacon's Rebellion granted him the right to the land as a Nansemond Indian. Bass and his son and namesake owned more than one hundred acres with which they supported families during the 1720s and 1730s. Upon his death in 1740, the elder Bass left a modest estate including cattle, a bridle and saddle, pewter dishes, and a looking glass. Together with his counterpart Edward Nicken of Lancaster County, who appears to have been of Indian descent, William Bass, Jr., was one of the most successful free men of color in Tidewater Virginia before the mid-eighteenth century. Was it mere coincidence that both men could claim Indian heritage?

One detail from Bass's biography suggests that, during the eighteenth century, ethnicity may have been perceived by individuals as a matter of cultural identity, expressed in important family decisions about land and inheritance, as well as of imposed legal categories. When William Bass, Sr., made out his will in 1740, he remembered his four sons, William, Edward, Joseph, and Thomas, with small gifts of money and personal property. To his daughter, Mary, he gave the remainder of his estate, which seems to have included his land. He also named her executrix. This unusual inheritance pattern in a family where a granddaughter was a known tithable suggests that the Bass family did not identify themselves culturally as Anglo-Virginian even though they claimed some English ancestry. Most Anglo-Virginians gave land to their sons and money to their daughters, stipulating in their wills that daughters receive additional sums when they married. It was the rare Anglo-Virginian father who would appoint his daughter executrix over her brothers and allow her to inherit the bulk of his estate.

Despite white legislators' repeated efforts to fit all free people of color into one legal category, local officials recognized Indians and Africans as different peoples, discouraging their mixture out of the fear that such unions would make racial categories more precarious and racial identification based on appearance more complicated. The terms "mustee" and "mustizo," although not a part of early-eighteenth-century legal discourse, became derogatory labels for those of mixed parentage by the end of the century. Free black people, moreover, continued to represent a particular threat to white society. In 1784, Northampton County residents complained about the growing number of free black people living among the neighboring Gingaskin Indians, a fact which, in the eyes of white Northampton planters, invalidated the tribe's claim to inhabit reservation lands. For the next thirty years, white residents continually petitioned against the "idle set of negroes" who lived on this land, until the reservation was voided and dispersed in private holdings among the remaining Indians.

At the same time that Africanness was being described as capable of debasing Indians, the reputation of racially "pure" Indians for morality, nobility, and physical grac enjoyed something of a renaissance among white writers. As early as 1705, Virginia planter Robert Beverley expressed his identity as a colonial in relation to his metropolitan audience by appropriating Indian identity. "I am an *Indian,*" he proclaimed, even as his descriptions of actual Indians implied their decay as a people. Echoing the conquest sentiments of the author of *Eastward Ho!* some one hundred years earlier, Beverley suggested that English settlers should have intermarried with Indians to create one people, an idea echoed by planter William Byrd II during the 1730s in his *Histories of the Dividing Line.* Governor Patrick Henry actually submitted a proposal encouraging white-Indian intermarriage following the American Revolution, but it found little support in the Virginia legislature.

Laws emphasizing the similar legal condition of Afro-Virginians and Indians told only part of the story of the cultural meanings attached to the identity of each group. Although individuals of Indian descent suffered from many of the same legal disabilities as

Afro-Virginians, they could and occasionally did use claims to Indianness to achieve some relief. White views of free black people and Indians became disaggregated by the end of the eighteenth century, moreover, revealing the limits of the law's power to homogenize racial and ethnic meanings that derived from historically distinct relationships with white Virginians.

Source: Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, pp. 45, 118, 135-136, 159-161, 164, 168, 169-170, 180, 197-198, 213, 224-225, 225-227 and 241-244.

Selections from Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries*

Rountree notes that English attempts to "civilize" Indians reflected the fact that they did not understand Indian culture.

Ironically, at the same time the paramount chiefdom came under new leadership less sympathetic to the English, the English prepared to embark upon a program whose implementation soon angered the Indian people even more. Philanthropic idealism about "civilizing" the "savages" was on the rise in England after 1617. The Virginia Company therefore began urging colonists to take Indian children into their families to rear. The English surmised correctly that young Indians would be more amenable than older ones to religious and cultural evangelism. They also knew how useful Indian children could be as hostages. However, they were so accustomed to their own practice of sending their children to be reared by others "for their own good" that they never comprehended Indian parents' refusal to give up their children. Instead, throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the English in Virginia continued and even increased their requests for Indian children to be reared "properly," in what must have seemed a series of deadly insults to Indian parents. By 1622 the English realized that Indian parents also feared "hard usage" for children sent to settlers' families; from the accounts of Englishborn servants, we know that their fears were justified.

There is evidence that some English and Indians formed families in the seventeenth century. Also, some Indians sent children to receive an education from the English settlers.

Some Englishmen and Indians got along peaceably, however. In 1638 a son of Captain Nathaniel Bass married a Christianized Nansemond woman, "ye dafter of ye King of ye Nansemund Nation, by name Elizabeth." John and Elizabeth Bass became ancestors of an Anglicized Nansemond group that may never have had a reservation or treaty status and which nonetheless survives today in Portsmouth and adjoining cities. Either the Nansemonds or the Weyanocks voluntarily lost a boy to English society, for in June 1641, George Menifye petitioned for funds from an educational philanthropy to help him support a boy from the country of "Tappahannak" or Surry (old Quiyoughcohannock territory). The boy, when examined, was found to be well grounded in Christianity and able to read and write, the result of living among the English for ten years.

According to Helen C. Rountree, it appears that the Native Americans did not kill any Africans or descendants of Africans during their attack on the English on April 18, 1644. Rountree notes that Opechancanough's followers did take several enslaved Africans as prisoners.

On April 18, 1644, Opechancanough staged the second major attack on the English. Because of the poor survival rate of Virginia records of the 1640s, we know little about the initial assault on the English or its aftermath. By reconstruction, it seems that the Weyanocks, Nansemonds, Pamunkeys, and Chicahominies were involved; the participation of the Rappahannocks and other chiefdoms on the northern neck was questionable. After killing about four hundred English people and taking many prisoners [including negro slaves], Indian warriors melted away into the woods and attempted no follow-up attack, once again giving the English time to regroup.

The treaty of October 1646 made the English settlers the sole owners of land on the peninsula between the James and York rivers. It also required the tributary Indians to pay an annual tribute.

The treaty of October 1646 stated from the outset that Necotowance held his dominions as a vassal of the kings of England. As such, he had to pay an annual tribute of twenty beaver skins for those dominions, and he was not free to dispose of them as he wished or as Indian custom dictated: the English claimed the right to confirm or even to appoint his successors. The English were now the sole owners of the Lower Peninsula between the James and York rivers, and no Indian was to come there on pain of death unless he wore a striped coat, indicating that he brought a message from Necotowance. The only points of entry allowed into English territory even for messengers were Fort Henry and Fort Royal. Any Englishman harboring an Indian without authorization would be put to death. All English prisoners and "negroes and guns" were to be returned by the Indians, while Indian prisoners where not only to be kept by the English and made into servants but were also to be returned to their masters if they ran back to their people. Any Indian children aged twelve and under were welcome to live among the English.

Rountree examines the terms of the treaty that the leaders of the tribuary Indian leaders signed after the conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion.

Out of the terribly confused situation existing in Virginia in 1677, the commissioners found clear evidence on only one point: the tributary Indians had been gratuitously attacked and despoiled. They agreed with Philip Ludwell, who wrote that the big landholders of the frontiers were the main culprits in first robbing the Indians and then in claiming that they were endangered by hostility from the natives:

> Whilst the Indians had liberty to sell theire lands the english would ordinaryly either frighten or delude them into a bargaine and for a trifle get away the grownd they should live on, then he comes and settles himselfe there and with his cattle and hoggs destroyes all the corne of the other Indians of the towne. This fill us with

> complaints and will if not prevented keep our peace forever uncertaine. . . . This was a great cause of this last warr, and most of those who had thus intruded and were consequently the principall cause of it were notwithstanding amongst the forwardest in the rebellion and complained most of grievances.

The commissioners therefore agreed that Indian captives should be returned to their people, and that a formal treaty of peace should be made with the tributaries. The return of prisoners was hindered by the Assembly's order in February 1677 that "loyal" soldiers could keep "prisoners any of our Indian enemies," which left matters up to local opinion on the matter; the keeping of a Mattaponi woman in slavery has already been mentioned.

* * * *

The terms of this "fair" treaty following a "war" which was no war were as follows: the Indians leaders who signed it were to be subjects of the king of England and were to hold their reservation lands by patent, paying only three arrows as an annual quitrent and twenty beaver skins as "rent" to the governor every March. The *werowansqua* of Pamunkey was to act as suzerain over the other signatories to the treaty. Indian rulers and their retinues were to be housed and fed at public charge when they came to the colony's capital on business. No English were to settle within three miles of any Indian town, to prevent incidents over marauding livestock. (This calm assumption, made by Englishmen living in nucleated settlements, that a ring three miles in diameter could be surveyed for a people who lived in dispersed, constantly changing settlements, was to cause difficulties later.) Indian people were to take any complaints of ill treatment to the governor and were to receive justice as though they were Englishmen. (That is not quite the same thing as having the status of Englishmen in the courts; Indians were later denied jury trials.) Indians were to be free to go "Oystering, fishing, and gathering Tuccahoe [arum root], Curtenemmons [arum berries], wild oats, rushes, Puckoone" or other plants not used by the English, so long as they gave notice beforehand to an English magistrate and went straight home afterward. The tributaries were to report the presence of foreign Indians, escort them to the English settlements if desired, and join English troops in marching against them if necessary. Indian servants were to serve for as long as English indentured servants did, and they were not to be enslaved by their employers, whose character was to be monitored by a system of licensing. Trade between the English and the tributary Indians was to be controlled by the governor, and the Indians were to nominate as interpreters people whom they trusted, since many of the earlier ones had proved dishonest.

The Powhatan Indians tried to follow their traditional way of life during the seventeenth century.

Even during "peaceful" periods, tributary Indians had difficulty going about their traditional occupations. However, any period of tension had an immediate economic effect upon the Powhatan core groups. It was much riskier for people to go foraging on unfenced patented lands when the English were jumpy and apt to shoot Indians, painted or not. Those who did not shoot were likely to confiscate the Indians' weapons and make it harder for them to hunt. In addition, by 1646 the Powhatans were unquestionably dependent on

the English for axes, firearms, and ammunition to use in their hunting and foraging, and in periods of tension the English would pass laws prohibiting the sale of these or any other commodities to any Indians whatsoever.

The Powhatan core people developed a taste for English cloth (well documented) and liquor (poorly documented but highly probable), and they could easily be persuaded to exchange land for a few matchcoats. The English frontiersmen, on the other hand, were all too willing to buy Indian furs and lands in exchange for cheap trade goods, so the colonial government had repeatedly to pass laws licensing traders. As poverty and dependence on English goods made more Indian people willing to work for English settlers, laws also had to be made restricting the employment of Indians to those who would not exploit them. And no laws for the protection of Indians could be thoroughly enforced in the scattered settlements of the English.

The Powhatans continued to follow their traditional way of life as long as they possibly could. This was not too difficult for the women, since their household, farming, and foraging work did not require huge tracts of land or bring them into much contact with the Englishmen. The women also had an easier time, psychologically, when they sought work among the English, since many of their traditional tasks corresponded to the housework and light farm work their English employers wanted female employees to do. For the men it was another matter. Performance of their traditional tasks of hunting, fishing, and war was severely hampered as the English closed in on them. The men were the first Indian people to become unemployed, and they had the most changing to do (i.e., learning trades, learning to plow fields) if they were to become useful as employees to the English. Most of the late-seventeenth-century records of Indians hired by Englishmen concern male employees. The documents show that they either performed tasks conforming to their traditional definition of "manhood" or they tried English males' jobs with mixed success.

During the seventeenth century, the Powhatan Indians experienced a decline in civil rights. The English settlers also became less interested in making Indians a part of their society.

The civil rights of individual Powhatans diminished along with their nations' population and military presence. As long as the tributaries had the power to threaten the English, they were assured by the colonial government of treatment in the courts reasonably equal to that accorded English plaintiffs and defendants. However, as the Powhatans decreased and the population of African slaves grew, the English became more concerned with maintaining their own superior position in Virginia society and more willing to place Indians in the inferior category of non-whites. This downward trend for the Indians manifested itself in several areas of life, such as the right to bear arms, the right to be heard in court, the right not to be enslaved, and the right to marry freely.

* * * *

The English wished to detribalize all the Powhatans, and until late in the seventeenth century it was possible for detribalized Indian people to enter the middle- or lower-middle levels of English society. After 1691, when interracial marriage was prohibited to whites, Indians were expected to join the lowest, non-white ranks.

* * * *

In the second half of the seventeenth century the English of Virginia showed considerably less interest in drawing Indians into their society as equals by religious means than had their predecessors. Governor Edmund Andros wrote in 1697 that "no endeavours to convert the Indians to Christianity have ever been heard of [in Virginia]." Instead, the Virginia English tried to convert the Powhatans culturally, by other means which allowed for Indians to become part of the labor pool for English planters . . . .

The primary method by which the English hoped to "civilize" the Powhatans was the only one that even came close to working: training of Indian laborers by English employers. The English preferred to start the training early. Throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, the colonial government exhorted Indian parents to part with their children, assuring them of the children's good treatment. In particular, the English tried to convince the parents that their children would be "servants," not slaves, and would not be "assigned" (transferred) from one English family to another . . . Most of the Indian labor that the English got seems to have consisted either of adult tributary Indians or of the enslaved children more distant tribes.

It became legal to enslave Indians during Bacon's Rebellion. The members of the General Assembly passed a law to continue this practice after the conclusion of the rebellion. Some, but not all, Virginians believed that the 1691 act entitled "*An act for a free trade with Indians*" [in Section 1 of this resource book] could be interpreted to mean that it was illegal to enslave an Indian. Enslaved or free, Indians were at the bottom of the social ladder in Virginia at the end of the seventeenth century.

During Bacon's Rebellion it became legal to enslave tributary Indians if they committed acts (such as flight) that could be construed by the English as hostile. Although Bacon's anti-Indian faction lost, that law was nonetheless passed again after the rebellion, through an Order of Assembly in 1677 and an Act of Assembly in 1679. It would remain on the books until 1691 and in practice for decades longer. In 1682 the Assembly repealed its law of 1670 about servants and slaves; instead it declared all servants who were not Christians at time of purchase, as well as all Indians sold by "neighboring Indians or any other" people, to be slaves. This law was probably made in response to the increasing trade in Indian children brought into Virginia from the southwest—presumably Tuscaroras, Cherokees, and others. Immediately after the law was passed, a great number of Indian children from unnamed tribes were "adjudged for age," i.e., registered as servants or slaves, depending upon their time of arrival in the colony, and significantly, most of these registrations took place in frontier counties.

* * * *

In April 1691 the Assembly allowed completely free trade with all Indians; according to William Waller Hening, this could be construed to mean that the enslaving of Indians was no longer legal. The English of the time did not think that way, though, for they continued to bring Indian children into the colony, some of whom were slaves . . . .

In most counties where there were Indians, they were considered to belong to a stratum below that of any Englishmen, along with free Negroes and African slaves. Some association between Indians and Negroes did take place, though records about it are sparse. The only two bits of evidence are the indictment of three servants, an Indian and two Negroes, in a burglary case in Henrico County in 1695 and the 1685 appearance of an Indian in Accomac County named "Peter Mongrame," who may have been related to (or servant of) the free Negro Philip Mongram who appears in the records of 1663 in the neighboring county.

On the whole, the records of Indian-English association, including liasons and marriages, are more plentiful . . . .

Indians of both sexes who went to live among the English occasionally had affairs with members of the household or with neighbors. However, these affairs were recorded by the English only when an English male, a husband or an "owner" of an indentured servant, was "wronged."

The new restrictions that the legislators placed on blacks in 1705 also pertained to Indians. [see 1705 statute]

In 1705 the Powhatans reached their low point in English estimation, ironically at the same time that another law for free trade with all Indians (especially those outside the colony) reinforced the idea that Indians should not be enslaved. That was the year in which Virginia passed its "black code," and made Indians subject to it along with other nonwhites. Nonwhites were no longer to be eligible to bear any office, "ecclesiastical, civill or military," in the colony. "Popish recusants, convicts, negroes, mulattoes and Indian servants, and others, not being christians [*sic*]," were prohibited from being witnesses in court "in any cases whatsoever." Now Indian servants could not sue for freedom from masters who kept them beyond their contracted time, and non-Christian groups (i.e., all the Powhatan ones) with reservations could not sue lessees who defaulted on payments. Neither non-Christians nor non-whites who were Christians could purchase a Christian servant except one "of their own complexion." Women who were free, Christian, and white and who had a child by a non-white would be fined or made servants, and the children would also be servants. Marriage with non-whites brought a fine and six months in prison, and ministers were forbidden to perform such marriages. No non-white was to "lift his or her hand, in opposition against any christian [*sic*]" white person "at any time, on pain of getting thirty lashes on the bare back," an agonizing punishment that was forbidden to be used on white Christian servants. Thus, the Powhatans were prevented legally from physically resisting white people who tried to keep them in servitude or to squat on their land. The only recourse open to Indians faced with aggressive Englishmen was to remain within their nations, which could still send complaints to the governor under the Treaty of Middle Plantation.

Rountree examines the connections between the English settlers and Indians and the tensions among Indians in this selection.

Detribalized Indians had long had English first names and surnames. Some prominent core people began adopting English surnames as early as 1676—for example, "Captain John West," son of the queen of Pamunkey. Commoners in the reservation cores began appearing with one English name in the 1690s and with two English names in the first decade of the eighteenth century. By 1750 everyone appearing in the records had English first names and surnames. It is likely that for a time the English names were merely "public" names, with Indian names used at home. Unfortunately, since the only eighteenth and nineteenth century documents containing Powhatan personal names are public records, there is no way to determine when Indian-language names in private life became completely obsolete.

Relations between the Powhatan core people and both the fringe people and the English were tense in the early eighteenth century. The core-fringe tension sprang from the fact that many ambitious Indian people wanted to leave the reservations and find a place in English society, even if that place was in the lower levels reserved for non-whites, while the core people feared the loss of the fringe people's manpower. In 1706 the English Council ordered that before any more licenses were issued for employing Indians, the governor must first ascertain that the Indians' rulers were willing to let them go. The order specifically stated that Indian men hired as hunters "obstruct[ed] their Contributing to the Support of their own Government & from the Necessary defence of their towns and habitations."

Sometimes, fringe people left despite their ruler's protests. In 1709 Robin, a Pamunkey trained as a shoemaker, petitioned the governor for permission to stay in the English settlements, where he could follow his trade; permission was granted. And while some Indians hired themselves out with permission from home, others left to work for English employers against the will of their sovereigns.

The tension between the Powhatan cores and the non-Indians surrounding them arose from the cultural and physical differences that still persisted. The only record of early-eighteenth-century Indian opinion of Africans was provided by Hugh Jones, who wrote that Indians "hate, and despise the very sight of a Negroe; but they seem to like an East-Indian, and fear and revere the whites." The "despising" of Negroes may have been behavior shown publicly toward slaves, or it may have been the revulsion that many people feel against those whose physiognomy and cultural background [is] different from their own.

Revulsion was certainly what the core Indians felt against the English and their alien culture, which had been forcibly imposed upon the Virginia natives for a century. Their behavior when they were drunk has already been described. When sober, the Powhatans cloaked their hostility with reticence, which, when added to the traditional Indian's reluctance to commit himself in strange situations, must have amounted at times to a stony silence. Thus, to John Clayton the Virginia Indians appeared to be "of a Dull melancholy temper, rarely affected with pleasure, or transported with passion . . . most irreconsilably, revengfull, sullen, close, & reservd." Jones called Indians in general "treacherous, suspicious and jealous, difficult to be persuaded or imposed upon, and very sharp, hard in dealing, and ingenious in their way, and in things that they naturally know or have been taught; though at the first they are very obstinate, and unwilling to apprehend or learn novelties, and seem stupid and silly to strangers."

Some Englishmen called the Powhatans "stupid" out loud, and the Powhatans resented it. One man in Williamsburg, probably a Powhatan, gave Francis Louis Michel a tart answer when Michel expressed surprise at the man's ability to speak English: he asked Michel "whether we thought that if they had been taught like we, they could not learn a

thing just as well as we. I asked him, where he had learned to speak English, he answered, they were not so stupid."

A continual sore spot with the Powhatans was English people's steadfast refusal to consider Indians as marriage partners. The English who wrote on this subject were probably right in surmising that the Powhatans would have been more receptive to English culture had English people given this evidence of considering Indians as fellow human beings. As it was, not even well-meaning English missionaries were going out to the Powhatan reservations to assure the people of English esteem while trying to convert them. There were only the Indians' English neighbors, most of whom were from the poorer strata of English society and were apt, in their struggle for prosperity, to maltreat Indians. The "Christian" example set for the Powhatans was not a good one.

Meanwhile, the English who took the trouble to inquire into Powhatan feelings discovered a few—and only a few—specific English practices that the Indians (males) were willing to admit they found peculiar. Powhatan men thought Englishmen were fools for being the entire support of their wives and for not always going out armed with weapons. They laughed at the small size of English spoons, which necessitated much arm work; their own spoons "generally [held] half a pint." They also thought the English extravagent for buying wine, when rum brought intoxication more quickly. There were probably other items, such as the English reluctance to bathe and the English eagerness to give advice, but it would have been dangerous, as well as impolite, to mention them to inquiring Englishmen. Instead the Powhatan core people preferred to live quietly in themselves, on their small islands of tribal territory, preserving their traditional way of life as best they could.

Rountree follows the experiences of members of the Nansemond tribe in the eighteenth century. The racism of the English residents of Nansemond County led several members of the Bass family to deny their connections to slaves and free people of color.

The Nansemonds had already split into two parts in the mid-seventeenth century. The nonreservation Christianized Nansemonds continued to live on the Nansemond River until either the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, probably the latter. Then, family by family, they withdrew southeast into the back country of Norfolk County, on the northern edge of the Great Dismal Swamp. There they went on living quietly throughout the eighteenth century, keeping a Nansemond identity and living by hunting and farming on a small scale. However, the Indian identity of these people and, later, their distant Indian ancestry made some of their English neighbors unwilling to respect their citizenship. The matter was complicated by the marriage sometime in the early eighteenth century of one man to a manumitted mulatto slave; in the eyes of the white community, that one marriage of a couple who may not have been ancestral at all "tainted" the reputation of the rest of the group for years to come. Therefore, sometime between 1722 and 1727 the children of Richard Bass in Norfolk County had the clerk of court write a certificate for them, reciting their ancestry and stating that "these are Peaceful Subjects of His Maitie George I . . . numbered among ye Nansiemum People, ffreborn, & worthie of ye Respectfull Consideracon of Christians in ye Church in Carolina as in Virignia." In 1727, William Bass, Sr., one of Richard's sons, had to have an inquest held by the county court to prove that he and his kinsmen were of English and Nansemond descent only and that by the Treaty of Middle Plantation in 1677 they were entitled to bear arms and to use the "cleared Lands &

Swamps" that their ancestors had used "since & before English governance in Virginnia." The county government was plainly willing to accord the Basses privileges that ceased for other, more "Indian" groups when they lost their reservations.

The Nansemond-descended Basses continued to have problems with racist English neighbors, so in 1742 a younger William Bass went back to the county court and got a certificate stating that he was "of English & Indian descent with no admixture of negro blood" and was "numbered as a Nansemun by his own Choosing." This certificate, which describes Bass as "tall, swarthy, dark eyes," is a forerunner in form to the certificates of free birth which became required for free non-whites after the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1797 another William Bass had to get yet another certificate from the county court, reciting his ancestry and stating plainly that he was "of English and Indian descent and [was] not a Negroe nor a Mulattoe as by some falsely and malitiously stated." The genealogies recited in the certificates show at least two ties to the traditional Nansemond tribe; one was the Bass marriage of 1638 and the second linked the William Bass of 1797 to Great Peter, Nansemond headman on the reservation in Isle of Wight (now Southampton) County in 1710. The Christianized Nansemonds had clearly kept up ties with their reservation kinsmen for a long time, and in the long run they were the group that survived.

Several boys from the Pamunkey tribed attended the Indian school at the College of William and Mary in the eighteenth century. Rountree follows the story of several of the Pamunkey Indians who were students at the William and Mary. [see *Taking Possession*, "Indians in Williamsburg, 1751-1777, pp. 59-73 and "The Brafferton Experiment," pp. 74-77]

The Indian school at the College of William and Mary was founded through a bequest left in 1691 by the noted chemist Robert Boyle. Boyle's money was invested in an English farm named Brafferton, and the profits from the venture, known as the Brafferton Fund, were used for the education of Indian boys in Virginia as directed in Boyle's will. The logical place to it, in the Virginia government's opinion, was as an appendage of the only college in the colony, the College of William and Mary. However, the Indian school at the college was slow getting started, in part because of the reluctance of Powhatan parents to send their children away. When pressured, the parents cited "the breach of a former Compact made long ago by this Government, when instead of their Children receiving the promised education they were transported (as they say) to other Countrys and sold as Slaves." The surviving colonial records do not corroborate that story, although it could well have happened.

Failing to get Powhatan students for their school, the English resorted to buying young Indian servants imported into the colony, until in 1711, Lieutenant Governor Spotswood hit upon a plan. He offered to remit the tribute of the poverty-stricken tribes if they would send some of their male children to the college. The plan worked. Soon the Indian scholars included the reservation Nansemond "king's" son and cousin, two sons each from the Nottoway and Meherrin councillors, the son of the "queen of Pamunkey," with a boy to serve him, and two other Pamunkey boys to be educated. The Chickahominies also apparently sent a child. By the summer of 1712 there were twenty Indian boys at William and Mary. They had "a Master to teach them and are decently clothed and maintained, so that they seem very well pleased with the change of their condition as indeed their parents

and others of their Nations who come frequently to see them, express much satisfaction with the care that is taken of them." The next year, when Spotswood made treaties with the Iroquoians of southern Virginia, the Nottoway, Meherrin, and Nansemond children were removed to Fort Christianna.

By 1715 some of the Indian children at William and Mary could "read and write tolerably well, [could] repeat the Church Chatechism, and [knew] how to make their responses in ye Church, [and] both the parents and the boys themselves, have shewn a great desire they should be admitted to Baptizm." However, the majority of Virginia clergymen opposed baptism so soon, claiming that since the boys were born in non-Christian families they should be "capable of giving an Acc't of their Faith" first. A document from within the college the next year accords with that less rosy picture. A new teacher had been installed and the former one reimbursed for the books, paper, pens, and ink he had bought for the boys. Few Indians were at the school now, and the new teacher wanted to admit English boys as well, with a partition erected in the classroom "to separate the s^{d} English children from the Indians." The standard curriculum was entirely European: reading, writing, "vulgar Arithmetick," and catechism.

Hugh Jones, who taught English students at the college from 1717 to 1721, painted a more dismal picture yet. At first, he said, the Indian boys had not been housed in the college, but had been boarded in the town of Williamsburg—"where abundance of them used to die, either through sickness, change of provision, and way of life; or as some will have it, often for want of proper necessaries and due care taken of them." When Brafferton House was built, the boys had sleeping accomodations there as well as a classroom, and in Jones's time the survival rate was apparently higher. He noted also that the boys showed a "natural" and "excellent genius for drawing." However, the boys who finished their education usually went back to the ways of their people when they returned home, "chiefly because they can live with less labour, and more pleasure and plenty, as Indians, than they can with us." Jones proposed instead that the graduates not be sent directly home, but be sent to sea or apprenticed to trades first so they would have a chance to see more of the English world and become accustomed to it. As it was, "they are rather taught to become worse than better by falling into the worst practices of vile nominal Christians, which they add to their own Indian manners and notions." William Byrd expressed similar sentiments in 1728, saying that the relapsed scholars "are apt to be more vicious and disorderly than the rest of their countrymen," for their education "had no other Effect but to make them something cleanlier than other Indians are."

In the 1720s the boys who left the school after several years probably found themselves caught between two opposing ways of life, fitting into neither. Their religious learning profited them little, since their own people did not adopt Christianity until late in the century and the surrounding English were often not religious. Their time away from their families retarded them in learning the skills expected of Indian men, and the skills and habits they had learned in Williamsburg were of little use as yet among their people. However, the Pamunkey boys seem to have considered literacy worth having, and in turn they sent their sons to William and Mary.

In the mid-eighteenth century the Indians received the same grammar school education that their predecessors had—and so did their white contemporaries. John Whiting of Newport, Rhode Island, visited the college in 1762 and told his friend Ezra Stiles that the seventy-five students were "chiefly boys & few about 15 Act. [years of age], + that they [the President and the six teachers on the faculty] seldom Conferred Degrees."

There were eight Indian students at William and Mary in 1754, five of them with Pamunkey surnames. In the 1760s and 1770s the number shrank to two Pamunkeys. One of them, Robert Mush (later Mursh and still later Marsh), was a student in 1769; a sample of his handwriting in later life survives. In 1773 there were still Indians boys at the college who were clothed in the English style with money from the Brafferton Fund. The Indian school at the college closed only after the Brafferton Fund, English in origin, was diverted to the West Indies during the American Revolution; white Virginians, as usual, were not interested in perpetuating an Indian mission school. However, the boys who had attended the school must have been a constant source of English influence on Powhatan culture, even if in earlier days they did "apostasize."

Another probable source of change in Powhatan culture was the non-Indian spouses taken by Indian people who feared marrying close kinsmen. Spouses might conform to Indian custom to a considerable extent, but they would nearly always pass on some elements of their own ethnic heritage. That would be especially true of in-marrying males—whom the Pamunkeys in recent decades have tried to exclude for just that reason. In records of marriage, as for other aspects of eighteenth-century Indian life, the only surviving evidence comes from the reservations. The Gingaskin marriages among free Negroes [on the Eastern Shore] have already been cited. Evidence for out-marriage among the Pamunkeys exists, but it is sparse; judging by that evidence and by Jefferson's observations, partners in the eighteenth century were either whites or Indians.

The Pamunkey population was still a small one. There had been "not above tenn families" in 1730 and seven adult men in 1748; in 1787 Thomas Jefferson wrote, possibly accurately, that the Pamunkeys were "reduced to about 10 or 12 men," while the "Mattaponi" group had "three or four men only." Eleven men signed the legislative petition of 1798. The Pamunkey legislative petition of 1812 was signed by fourteen men, three of whom had been students at William and Mary in 1754 . . . .

In the late eighteenth century, several white men (and perhaps also women) joined Pamunkey society, establishing their names among the population. (Evidence for women is much harder to come by.) One James Bradby, perhaps the same James Bradby who attended William and Mary in 1754 while Pamunkeys were there, was taxed as a white male tithable by King William County in 1787. Richard and Patrick Bradby, possibly his sons, appear thereafter in connection with the Pamunkeys, labeled variously as "white" or "free coloured"; the confusion in the records may indicate that they were of mixed Indian-white ancestry or that their marriage to an Indian had changed their social status in the county. They both lived on the Pamunkey Reservation in 1798, where they were taxed as white tithables, but Richard was taxed as an Indian in 1807. Both were charter members, with their wives and with Pamunkey Indians, of Lower Collge Baptist Church in 1791, being enrolled in that church's separate "free coloured" list. Neither man signed the Pamunkey tribe's legislative petition of 1798, mentioned above. Both therefore appear to be fringe men, and they or their close relatives were the ancestors of the modern Pamunkey Bradbys.

* * * *

By the 1780s at the latest, the way in which the Pamunkeys married one another had become semi-civil, semi-ecclesiastical. Robert Mush married a Pamunkey named Elizabeth (surname unknown) in 1783. Once the match had been agreed upon by Elizabeth, "her husband Robert Mursh [*sic*] and her parents," the couple had their "marriage bonds" published three different times in "their Church or Missionary Station," whenever a Baptist

preacher came to visit. The parallel with the Episcopal church's reading of the marriage bans is obvious. After the third announcement, however, there was no further ceremony. The couple simply began living together as man and wife, in keeping with traditional Powhatan marriage. The Mushes and their tribe thenceforth considered the union to be permanent.

Source: Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, pp. 69, 84, 87, 99-101, 129-130, 133, 135, 136-137, 139, 140-141, 142, 154-156, 160-161, 168-170, 172, 175, and 176.

Selections from Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*

In this excerpt, Morgan traces the shift of a dependence on slave labor from the Tidewater to the Piedmont. By the middle of the eighteenth century, few planters in the Tidewater purchased new slaves from Africa. The demand for new slaves was in the Piedmont.

In Virginia, the Middle Peninsula and the Peninsula were the first areas to turn heavily toward slave labor. But not until the 1730s and 1740s were a majority of this area's slaves resident on plantations of more than eleven slaves. Even in the 1780s, more than half of all blacks in the area between the Rappahannock and James Rivers lived on quarters with fewer than twenty slaves. Beginning about the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Virginia's most dynamic areas were the central piedmont and Southside. Although most piedmont slaves resided on quarters of eleven or more slaves at an early date—only a decade or two later than in the oldest tidewater areas—the concentration of large plantations was never high. By the 1780s, when more Virginia slaves resided in the piedmont than in the tidewater, 60 percent resided on quarters with fewer than twenty slaves.

Morgan outlines the way in which African slaves were sold in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake.

Wrangling over Africans seems not to have occurred in the Chesapeake, where sales took much longer and were more sedate. In the first half of the century, Virginia slavers generally undertook an initial sale at Yorktown, or a similar lower Peninsula site, and then moved upriver to West Point or other ports. In the third quarter of the century, sites even further upriver were the initial places of sale, most commonly Bermuda Hundred, but also Osbourne's Warehouse or Petersburg, which were well inland. Rather than being channeled through one central port, Africans brought to Virginia were transported to numerous riverside wharves for sale. As the century proceeded, it became common for merchants to buy parcels of Africans whom they tramped from one piedmont courthouse to another until all were sold. For these reasons, slave ships to the Chesapeake region took two months or more to complete selling their cargoes. Bristol-based slavers stayed an average of seventy-six days in Virginia, but took a third less time to discharge their cargoes and set off for home in South Carolina. The demoralization wrought on Africans awaiting sale in the Chesapeake

can only be imagined. Such protracted procedures no doubt suggest why ethnic origins quickly lost more meaning in this region as compared to the Lowcountry.

Morgan examines the demographic effects of the forced westward migration of slaves in Virginia and contrasts this experience with the forced movement of slaves in South Carolina.

The forced movement of slaves within a region also had significant demographic effects. The relocation of large numbers of slaves obviously disrupted family life and the childbearing patterns of slave women, but, if the relocation was to a healthier environment, the long-term consequences were beneficial—viewed purely in reproductive rates. More Chesapeake slaves were subject to greater internal migration than Lowcountry slaves; by 1790, about half of Virginia's slave population, as compared to only about a quarter of South Carolina's, resided in the piedmont. As a result, Virginia slaves were the victims of a larger scale of family disruptions. But the childbearing patterns of those slaves moved west in the Chesapeake were not affected adversely. In fact, the opposite was true, for the child-woman ratios of piedmont slave women were higher than those for the tidewater. The piedmont was a much healthier environment for slaves, and a rapid rate of natural increase thereby ensued. In this purely demographic sense, the Virginia slave population was in a more advantageous position than that of South Carolina.

Morgan looks at differences in housing conditions in the Tidewater and the Piedmont and the different accomodations on large and small plantations.

In spite of this broad regional contrast, housing conditions varied from plantation to plantation and even among slaves on individual estates. Within Virginia, observers noted differences in slave housing between piedmont and tidewater and between small and large plantations. J. F. D. Smyth encountered six slaves and an overseer living together in a "miserable shell, a poor apology for a house," which contained "no convenience, no furniture, no comfort." By contrast, on the large plantations of the Northern Neck, Isaac Weld found slaves "in general very well provided for" and especially noted that "many of their little huts are comfortably furnished." Housing also varied according to the status of individual slaves. The specifications of a new house for Aron Jameson, a privileged Virginia slave, were that it be a twelve-by-ten foot framed structure with hardwood sills, brick underpining, "lathed and filled" walls, loft, raised floor, and outside lock. Many a white Virginian would have coveted such a well-appointed and "tight covered" house. Similarly, many poor whites would have envied the two-roomed dwelling that housed a slave gardener on Landon Carter's Sabine Hall estate.

In part because of the influence of status—whether of the master or of the slave—house sizes ranged widely, but living space per slave did not improve much over the course of the century. The smallest recorded eighteenth-century structure designed for slaves was a seven-by-eight foot cabin, whereas the largest was a twenty-two-by-fifty-four-foot quarter. But if the quarter housed twenty slaves, as might have been the case, they would have had only the same amount of living space in the minuscule cabin. Most cabins probably housed three or four slaves and were typically 150 to 250 square feet in size. At the lower end of the scale was the 144-square-foot house that Landon Carter's carpenters built for Jamy and Jugg.

More typical were the twenty-two cabins surveyed on Anne Arundel manor in Maryland. Always smaller than the dwellings for whites that shared the same manorial parcel, they ranged in size from 180 to 256 square feet. Quarters tended to be larger than cabins, but they invariably housed more slaves. Duplexes seem to have provided the most living space—between 225 and 325 square feet per unit—but because these were constructed only from the late eighteenth century onward, they housed quite large slave families, averaging about five people. Living space per slave probably improved little, if at all, through the eighteenth century.

Morgan examines the connection between the slave labor and the production of tobacco. He notes that the connection between the work of enslaved persons and rice was tighter in South Carolina.

Tobacco, unlike rice, was not invariably associated with slave labor. Most obviously, of course, tobacco was grown successfully in Virginia for almost a century without resort to slaves. Moreover, many non slaveholding family farmers continued to grow the crop throughout the eighteenth century and beyond. In mid-nineteenth-century piedmont Virginia, for example, tobacco was as much a free-labor as a slave-labor crop. In 1860, almost 90 percent of the free-labor farms as against 80 percent of the slaveholding planters produced tobacco. Furthermore, slaves were rarely the only laborers on the small plantations that were ubiquitous in the Chesapeake. According to William Tatham, the sons "of many planters work in the crop equally with the negroes, nor is there any material distinction observed between them." Looking beyond the Chesapeake provides further evidence that the association between tobacco and slaves was far from axiomatic. As tobacco cultivation spread across the globe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—whether in England, southwest France, the Netherlands, the valleys of the Rhine and Main, Brazil, or India—it was nearly everywhere the product of the small farmer or peasant. And when tobacco cultivation spread to Kentucky and Tennessee, it continued to be produced by free labor. In 1860, two-thirds of the tobacco crop of those two border states derived from free or small slave farms. The association of tobacco and slaves never matched that of rice and slaves. No one could ever seriously claim that tobacco was a black worker's crop.

Nevertheless, in eighteenth-century Virginia, tobacco cultivation came to be most closely associated with black slaves. During the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century slump in the Chesapeake economy—a period that saw a greater availability of slaves as a result of developments in the Atlantic slave trade—the areas that were most successful in producing tobacco garnered the lion's share of the incoming Africans. The central counties on the western shores of both Maryland and Virginia—that is, Prince George's, Calvert, and Anne Arundel in Maryland and the tidewater counties between the James and Rappahannock Rivers in Virginia—were the dominant areas of both tobacco production and slave expansion in this period. After about 1720, when slaves became more widely available both through importation and natural increase, this association lost potency. Many small planters in all parts of Virginia, not just the best tobacco areas, acquired a slave or two. However, during the last third of the eighteenth century, when some parts of tidewater Virginia gave up tobacco production altogether, the link between tobacco and slaves again came close. The great expansion of slavery in this period followed the south-western drift of tobacco production into the piedmont.

Some of Virginia's slaves became craftsmen in the middle of the eighteenth century.

After about 1740, occupational opportunities for Chesapeake slaves began to expand. This growth was most evident in the tidewater, with occupational opportunities for piedmont slaves lagging behind those of the seaboard at least up to the American Revolution. The expansion of skills should not be exaggerated. A search of the inventories of five Virginia counties between 1740 and 1779 revealed no more than forty-nine skilled male slaves on twenty-seven separate estates. These skilled slaves were part of labor forces that averaged fourteen adults; estates listing no skilled slaves averaged only five adults. Similarly, among the more than two thousand slaves owned by the gentry in Baltimore County, Maryland, between 1660 and 1776, only twenty-two merited the mention of a skill. Likewise, fewer than 5 percent of plantations in Kent and Talbot Counties before 1760 included slaves characterized as having a skill. In the Chesapeake, particularly Maryland, local merchants and planters could draw upon a large pool of free artisans.

Obviously, the expansion of occupational opportunities for Chesapeake slaves was closely linked to the rise of large plantation units. More than a fifth of all men on five large Chesapeake plantations in the late colonial era worked as craftsmen; and an additional one-sixth of all men on five early national estates worked in semi skilled and domestic positions. In fact, it has been estimated that nearly a quarter of all slave artisans and a third of the domestics in Virginia during the 1780s were trained on the plantations of a mere forty gentlemen. Because large units were much more unrepresentative of the average Virginia plantation than was the case in South Carolina, skill levels among slaves were correspondingly lower in the Chesapeake than in the Lowcountry. As late as the eve of the American Revolution, only about 7 percent of the enslaved male labor force in Prince George's County, Maryland, held semi skilled or craft positions.

Although skilled occupations were open to fewer slaves in Virginia than in South Carolina, the range of skills among Chesapeake slaves was wider, reflecting the greater diversity of plantation life in the Chesapeake. In the late colonial Chesapeake, there were almost as many slave shoemakers, blacksmiths, shipwrights, tailors, bakers, millers, and masons as there were carpenters and coopers. George Mason's memory probably did not deceive him when he recalled that his father in the 1770s "had among his slaves carpenters, coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, spinners, weavers, knitters, and even a distiller."

The interracial Wright family lived in Piedmont Virginia at the end of the eighteenth century.

Affectionate interracial unions also occurred among the Wright family in piedmont Virginia. In 1779, Thomas Wright bought a 390-acre plantation in Bedford County. Among his slaves was a "very black" woman, Sylvia, who had already given birth to two children and was pregnant with another. Almost a year after moving to the new plantation, Sylvia bore Thomas Wright's mulatto son Robert. Thomas Wright and Sylvia lived together openly as man and wife, and she gave birth to three more mulatto children between 1784 and 1793. Thomas was said to be "much attached" to Sylvia. He eventually freed her, her children (including those not his), and provided for her after his death. Thomas's attitude toward his

children was equally loving. In 1791, Thomas decided to free "his Robin," as he called eleven-year-old Robert, told friends that the boy would be his heir, and gave him a horse to ride to school, where his closet companions were white boys. The proud father even boasted that his son usually described as a "light" or "bright" mulatto was one of the "strongest negro fellows" in the county. After Thomas's death in 1805, Robert Wright inherited his father's plantation and six adult slaves, and a year later married a white woman. Robert's marriage was contrary to law but aroused no controversy among his neighbors. Although the marriage did eventually fail, it was happy for the first eight years, with Robert "kind and affectionate" to his wife and she bringing him "great domestic comfort and felicity." Three white male neighbors declared that Robert "allways treated his wife with kindness." As Thomas Buckley puts it, the story of the Wright family suggests "a level of openness in interracial sexual relationships and a degree of white acceptance of miscegenation that challenges historical generalizations and traditional stereotypes."

Morgan discusses the impact of the evangelical movement on slaves in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The first sustained evangelical movement among Anglo-American slaves took place in Virginia in mid-century. Centered in Hanover County and inspired by the charismatic Presbyterian Samuel Davies, the revival radiated outward, first to neighboring piedmont counties and then to the Northern Neck. In 1751, Davies reported that 100 slaves attended his services and that he had baptized 40 in the past three years. Four years later, the numbers had increased to 300 and 100, respectively. His efforts then gained momentum, for, in 1757, Davies claimed to have baptized 150 black adults in the past year and a half and to have 60 black communicants in attendance. Similar successes were reported in other areas influenced by Davies and his disciples. In 1760, Colonel James Gordon, a staunch Presbyterian, observed that his Lancaster County church boasted "a pretty large company of the common people and Negroes"; near Christmas, he noted the presence of about 75 blacks; and, three years later, he counted 115 white and 85 black communicants. In 1778, at a meeting house in Lancaster County, two Presbyterian clerics administered the sacrament. Robert Carter and his waiting man, Sam Harrison, both received communion, perhaps side by side. The influence of the early Presbyterian revival was long-lived. Well into the nineteenth century, slaves who had been taught by Davies were teaching other slaves. A dispersal of his tutelages into Charlotte County, Virginia, was particularly influential.

Morgan examines the role of Indians in Virginia and South Carolina and the relations among Indians, blacks, and whites in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Indians were important players in the tri-racial world of the early South. White colonists hoped to use Indians in a divide-and-rule policy. If Indian and black antipathies could be fostered, whites would more easily dominate both peoples. The goal was, not to foster a division within the black community, but to keep that community demoralized and disinclined to engage in interracial cooperation. Thus, whites recruited blacks to fend off Indian attacks and employed Indians to catch runaway slaves and to deter maroons. The policy enjoyed some success. Allegedly, Virginia Indians hated and despised "the very sight

of a Negroe," and Carolina Indians had a "natural aversion to the Blacks." Blacks seemed to reciprocate these sentiments. According to a South Carolinian, blacks held a "natural Dislike and Antipathy" toward Indians. Perhaps actions spoke as loud as words. A runaway black slave named Fortune made his "Escape"—his characterization—from the Catawbas. Another black fugitive, who appears to have lived among Indians voluntarily, spoke of "growing tired of that life." He, like Fortune, voted with his feet.

White claims of mutual hostility between Indians and African Americans are no substitute for understanding the changing context that shaped social interaction and cultural contact between red and black. Time, place, numbers, and rank were the key factors in shaping black-Indian encounters. By 1700, blacks were numerous and Indians scarce in Virginia (the ratio was three to one), whereas the reverse was true in South Carolina (eighteen Indians for every black). Although blacks soon outstripped Indians in South Carolina, the ratio was still less than three to one by 1730, whereas in Virginia it was then an overwhelming fifty-five to one. Relations between the races also varied greatly according to the status of members from each side. Most blacks that Indians encountered were slaves, although a significant minority were free or passing as free. Blacks, conversely, confronted a greater range of categories among Indians, who could be slaves, tributaries, or members of independent nations. Finally, Indians and blacks interacted differently depending on whether they lived near one another or far apart, whether they met in the heart of the plantation belt or on the frontier. This is not the place to offer a detailed portrait of each Indian group's relations with blacks. Rather, what follows is little more than a sketch of the varied and changing contours of black-Indian relations in the two regions.

Two incidents drawn from turn-of-the-century Virginia illustrate the importance of context. In 1692, "some Strange Indians"—presumably, non-Virginia Indians—raided William Byrd's plantation, killing a white servant woman and kidnapping a mulatto boy and woman, the last of whom was later sold. Although by this time Indians numbered no more than two thousand in tidewater and piedmont Virginia, powerful nations moved back and forth along the edge of settlement, where they still posed a potent threat to whites and blacks alike. At least these Indians, however, were not so motivated by racial hatred as to kill all people with black ancestry. A decade later, North Carolina authorities objected to the "pernicious Practices" of two Virginia free blacks who traded "with the Indians to the Southward." Most objectionable was their "stirring up the Indians called the Windaws to cutt of and carry away diverse of the Indians called Wawees living under the Government of South Carolina." Roles, then, might be reversed. In a world that Indians still dominated, free blacks might exert influence, particularly if they came with goods to exchange. On the early frontier, relations between blacks and Indians were fluid, with class as important as race.

An equality of status and residential proximity encouraged intimate associations. Some Indians in the Chesapeake—often imported from elsewhere—became slaves alongside blacks. They cooperated. In 1695, an Indian and two black slaves in Henrico County, Virginia, committed a burglary together. Fifteen years later, Virginia authorities decapitated and quartered the bodies of two ringleaders of a slave conspiracy: one was black, the other Indian. Throughout the century, white masters referred to "dark mulatto" slaves of "the Indian breed" or to Negroes "mixed with the Indian"—evidence of another form of intimacy among Indian and black slaves. Indeed, one key way in which Indians became invisible to whites was through their intermixture with blacks and their subsequent classification as "Negroes."

The dwindling communities of Chesapeake Indian "tributaries" also mixed closely with blacks. Although many of these Chesapeake Indians would later claim to have practiced endogamy, their earlier behavior was rather more flexible. Thus, the two Nansemonds who in 1742 and 1797 got certificates to authenticate their "purity" were conveniently ignoring an earlier Nansemond man who had married a manumitted mulatto. Intermarriage was common: "mulatto" Jim of Cumberland County was the son of a free Indian man and an African American woman; Frank, a black slave, skulked about the Pamunkey Indian reservation, where he had a wife; a free Indian woman in Albemarle County and her black slave husband in neighboring Amherst County ran away together; Thomas Jefferson claimed that the Mattaponys had "more negro than Indian blood in them." Intermarriage was not the only form of close contact. Eastern Shore Gingaskins openly provided "an Asylum for free Negroes." Mandingo words were incorporated in what purported to be the Nanticoke language. In the increasingly harsh racial climate of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, tributary Indians would attempt to distance themselves from blacks, but this represented a repudiation of earlier behavior.

In eighteenth-century South Carolina, Indian slaves were sufficiently numerous to maintain a measure of cultural identity. At the turn of the eighteenth century, enslaved Indians were a significant presence on Lowcountry plantations. A quarter of the colony's slaves were Indian in 1708. Although this proportion quickly dwindled—twelve years later, only one in ten slaves in the parish of Saint Thomas and Saint Dennis was a native American—Indian slaves were more in touch with their heritage and better able to interact among themselves than their Chesapeake counterparts. Thus, some Indian slaves in the Lowcountry ran away to visit other Indian relatives even in the late colonial period: in 1756, Ned, a resident of Johns Island, was thought to be making for Wadmelaw Island, where he had family; fourteen years later, Dick of Ashepoo headed for Silver Buff on the Savannah River to visit his kinfolk. Indian slaves also engaged in cooperative actions: in 1774, Will encouraged his fellow Indian Hannah to run away with him, and three Indian slave men of Saint Thomas Parish passed as free, harbored by fellow Indians. Most interesting is Simon Flowers, a bound servant threatened with reduction to slavery by an unscrupulous master. When captured in 1766, he reported that his mother and father were free Indians named Tom and Betty Flowers and that his mother and two brothers resided at Santee, where he had been born. The marks on his cheeks were put there by his father, who used a needle and gunpowder—a ritual branding applied to all the young children of the family. Preserving this measure of their cultural traditions, some Indian bond people were able to distance themselves from black slaves.

Indian slaves in the Lowcountry increasingly faced the same imperatives as their Chesapeake counterparts: declining numbers and growing contacts with a burgeoning black population. The sexual composition of the African and Indian slave trades encouraged intimacy, for, among Indian newcomers, women outnumbered men by as much as five to one, whereas the ratio was reversed, though less markedly, among African forced migrants. John Wright's slave complement, listed in a mortgage of 1715, renders these gross statistics in human terms, for he owned fifteen men, all black, and seventeen women, thirteen of them Indian. Interracial unions were almost inevitable on such a plantation. Indian and black slaves committed crimes and ran away together. In 1728, Dick, the one Indian slave, and Philip, the one skilled black slave, belonging to the estate of the Reverend Richard Ludlam in Saint James Goose Creek combined to rob their master. A few runaway groups in the late colonial era included Indians (or people with Indian ancestry) and blacks. Thus, three runaways, claiming to be brothers, were described as two "dark Negroes" and one "yellow,"

being "somewhat of the Indian breed"; a "black negro" man ran off with his mother, his Indian wife, their two-year-old child, and a mulatto boy; and a slave named Bastian, described as a "mustee [or rather Indian breed]," ran off with his "very black" creole wife, Lucy.

Tributary Indians in Lowcountry South Carolina put more distance between themselves and blacks than their counterparts in the Chesapeake. Early in the eighteenth century, settlement Indians, still a notable presence in the Lowcountry, vented their hostility at the invasion of their land on black slaves. Three incidents are symptomatic: a Kiawah murdered a black slave belonging to Samuel Eveleigh; an "Indian Man of the Cusso Nation did without any manner of Provocation willfully Shoot dead a Negro Man Slave" as he worked on John Stone's plantation; and a group of Indians simply helped themselves to seven turkeys that two slaves had in their possession. As early witnesses to the degradation inherent in racial slavery, settlement Indians could hardly be expected to treat blacks more sympathetically than did whites. By the late colonial period, the few remaining tidewater Indians had come to terms with a slave system that now dominated their ancestral lands. In 1761, an "Indian Doctor" received one pound from a Lowcountry estate for treating a slave woman. Nine years later, a Lowcountry Indian, perhaps an Etiwan, captured a runaway African in Ferguson's Swamp and presumably took his reward. Providing services to the regnant institution, settlement Indians secured a niche for themselves and kept apart from blacks.

Powerful Indian groups on the periphery of Lowcountry settlement were less familiar with the racial slavery developing in Carolina than were tributary Indians, and their relations with blacks could afford to be more pragmatic. Many frontier nations harbored runaway slaves. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Tuscaroras sheltered Harry, who supervised the building of one of their forts. In 1724, a South Carolina official encountered an escaped Carolina slave who assumed "a Bould Maner" in the Apalachiola square ground. At mid-century, a "half-Breed" Cherokee encouraged six black slaves to run away with him by promising them freedom. Three of the fugitives later told the Cherokees that "the white People was coming up to destroy them all." The report gained credence when "the old Warriour of Keewee said some Negroes had applied to him, and told him that there was in all Plantations many Negroes more than white People, and that for the Sake of Liberty they would join them." Only the liberal distribution of ammunition dampened this inflammatory talk. A slave man named Wanny passed as free for about six years among the Chickasaws. In 1771, a black slave who spoke Creek ran off in the direction of that nation.

Frontier nations were not always accommodating. Over time, they increasingly bowed to white wishes and handed over runaways. In 1756, the "Cussitaw" Indians captured an African runaway near Saint Mark's Fort; three years later, the Cherokees returned a West Indian-born slave runaway to white authorities; and, in 1768, an Indian in the Cherokee nation reported the capture of Caesar, an African, who had arrived at his home. As late as 1783, the Catawbas were capturing runaway slaves. Frontier nations assessed arrivals among them case by case. In 1752, Catawba headmen were "very angry" that a "Negro Fellow" had arrived among them in order to trade. They "told him to be gone with his Goods," but he refused. At the same time, a "free Negroe" lived among them, was considered a Catawba, and spoke their language. Apparently, much depended on the incomer's attitude as well as his status. Some of the blacks that interior tribes encountered were the slaves of white traders, and no doubt the views of their owners rubbed off. As early as the 1730s, a Muscogulge view of life after death consigned poor hunters to a

netherworld of thorns and thickets ruled by a black man. Although frontier nations were not always friendly toward blacks, they were less openly hostile than settlement Indians.

Eighteenth-century whites failed to make blacks and Indians implacable enemies. Rather, Indian-black relations were complex, pragmatic, and fluid. In the Chesapeake, Indian numbers declined so rapidly that close contacts, almost amalgamation, characterized native relations with blacks. Even tributary Indians in the Chesapeake mixed intimately with blacks. In the Lowcountry, some Indian slaves preserved a measure of autonomy, although increasingly they intermarried, committed crimes, and ran away with their black counterparts. Settlement Indians in the Lowcountry had little choice, it seems, but to offer tacit support to the slave regime, and their resentment showed in occasional acts of vengeance toward blacks. Indians on the frontier exhibited a broad range of responses toward blacks, oscillating between friendship and hostility, between sheltering and returning runaways, between welcoming and rejecting what blacks had to offer. Blacks in both Chesapeake and Lowcountry had little reason, therefore, to feel demoralized because of a supposedly intransigent Indian foe; indeed, the minority of blacks who sought interracial cooperation with Indians often achieved their ends.

Source: Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, pp. 41-42, 76-77, 93, 111-112, 165-166, 209-212, 403, 426, 477-485.

Selections from Richard R. Beeman, *The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1746-1832*

At first, bound laborers—either slaves or servants—were few in frontier areas, as this case study of Lunenburg County demonstrates.

Labor was a much more precious commodity than land in the spacious landscape of the Virginia Southside, and an individual's ability to control a sizable labor force was more important than his land both as a sign of wealth and as a means to wealth. In 1750 only 22 percent of Lunenburg's households could afford slaves, and a mere 2 percent of the households owned more than five tithable slaves. What is more telling, only two men owned more than fifteen tithable slaves—nonresidents William Byrd with sixty-two and William Ruffin with sixteen.

Black slaves were not the only source of dependent labor. In the traditional Virginia society white servants, though on the decline, had often played an important part in the labor force. In Lunenburg in 1750 the number of white males age sixteen and above living with (and presumably working for) another householder was 311, or 15 percent of the tithable population and approximately 5 percent of the total population. Among those 311, only 131 (or 2 percent of the population) were not the sons or other relatives of the head of the household in which they lived. Indeed, while it is possible that many nonlandowning heads of households may have worked for other, landowning householders, it is clear that the number of dependent white laborers who actually lived as servants with the householders for whom they worked constituted an insignificant percentage of the county's labor force at all points in the county's history. The indentured servant, so important to the growth of the economy in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, would never be an

important factor and would gradually fade from existence in the more spacious and open-ended landscape of the eighteenth-century Virginia frontier.

Some of the county's residents, particularly those who owned slaves, were growing tobacco for the export market, but in this county of modest landholdings, scarce supplies of capital with which to purchase labor, and a still-underdeveloped transportation system, most farmers devoted their labors to the production of locally consumed foodstuffs. The bulk of those foodstuffs were no doubt consumed by the families who raised them, but given the extraordinarly rapid demographic expansion of the Southside during the 1740s and 1750s, it is also likely that newcomers to the area constituted a significant market for the corn, wheat, and livestock raised by those established residents capable of producing agricultural surpluses.

Later, slavery expanded along with increased production of tobacco.

The shift in economic direction is verified dramatically in the shift in labor patterns within the county. In 1750 nearly 80 percent of the heads of households in Lunenburg owned no slaves at all, and the holdings of just a few nonresidents accounted for a substantial portion of the total slave population. By the 1760s, Lunenburg's economy was supporting many more slaves, and those slaves were in turn distributed more widely among the residents of the county. The number of slaves in the population had increased from roughly 22 percent in 1750 to 44 percent in 1764 and 53 percent in 1769. The percentage of slaveowners among heads of households in the county had moved from 23 percent in 1750 to 45 percent in 1764 and 53 percent by 1769. Moreover, the relative importance of the nonresident elite had tended to decline by the mid-1760s, with the holdings of both the most affluent and the average resident slaveowners increasing correspondingly. In contrast to the situation in 1750, when the holdings of a man like William Byrd overshadowed those of everyone else in the county, one can see by the late 1760s the emergence of a local economic elite, whose members held between seven and fifteen tithable slaves each, and a substantial class of slaveowners (approximately 65 percent of the slaveowning population) who had between one and three tithable slaves.

After the Revolution the commitment to slaveholding increased dramatically. By 1815 over two-thirds of households in this Southside county included slaves, and two-thirds of the county's people were African Americans.

As world markets for tobacco returned to their pre revolutionary war conditions, it would be the Southside, not the Tidewater and Northern Neck, that was in the best position to satisfy those demands, and the combination of good land, a white landowning population that was expanding both numerically and spatially, and a dramatically increased commitment to slave labor would contribute to the expanded tobacco production that gave the Southside its extraordinary economic vitality.

* * * *

In 1764 Lunenburg's population consisted of 434 white heads of households (36 percent of the tithable population of 1,185 and roughly 13 percent of the entire population), 175 white dependents over the age of sixteen (of whom about half were not the younger sons or relatives of the heads of household), and approximately 1,280 slaves. By 1782 the 881 heads of households in the county constituted nearly the same percentage of the tithable population (which numbered 2,372) as in previous years, but they now controlled fewer nonrelated white dependents and many more black slaves. The number of nonrelated white dependents in the population had fallen to below 50, and the number of slaves had risen to 3,378, a nearly threefold increase in less than twenty years.

The trend is unmistakable. In 1750, with the county only thinly settled and only a fraction of the available land taken up, most of the agricultural labor in the county was performed by white planters and their families. Slaves constituted perhaps one-third of the county's total population at that time, but only one resident family in the entire population owned more than ten tithable slaves. By the mid-1760s, with more and more land being taken up, the number of slaves in the population had increased to 39 percent, the number of slaveowning families from 20 percent to 44 percentand those residents who could afford to own ten or more tithable slaves now numbered five. By 1769 the number of slaves in the population had moved up to 44 percent, ten residents owned ten or more tithable slaves, and slaveowning families actually constituted a narrow majority among the county's households. During the period from 1769 to 1782, years in which the dislocation of political and military conflict might be expected to have slowed capital investments in slave labor, the commitment to slavery increased gradually but steadily. By 1782 the 3,378 slaves in Lunenburg constituted roughly 48 percent of the total population, with over 57 percent of the county's families owning at least one slave (Table 4).

Table 4 Population and Slaveholding, Lunenburg County, 1750-1815

Year	Total Households	Slaveowning Households No.	Slaveowning Households %	Mean No. of Slaves per Household	Total Population	No. of Slaves	% of Total
1750	1,080	246	22.8	1.3	6,182	1,396	22.5
1764	434	193	44.5	3.0	3,278	1,280	39.0
1769	398	212	53.3	3.8	3,342	1,842	44.8
1782	881	505	57.3	3.8	6,984	3,378	48.4
1795	1,138	611	53.7	4.5	10,140	5,131	50.6
1815	978	686	70.1	7.0	10,973	6,884	62.7

Source: Landon C. Bell, *Sunlight on the Southside: List of Tithes, Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 58-86, 122-61, 228-46, 269-85. Real and Personal Property Tax Lists, Lunenburg County, 1782, 1795, 1815, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.

Although already evident soon after the Revolution, these patterns of population change and economic investment became more marked in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, and then intensified dramatically in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. By 1795 the number of white heads of households had risen to 1,138, the amount of acreage being taxed to 248,000 acres, the proportion of slaves in the total

population to 50 percent, while the proportion of slaveowning households to nonslaveowning households remained roughly equal to the 1782 level. In the next twenty-five years, however, the reliance on slave labor took off dramatically. The amount of occupied land in the county remained virtually unchanged from 1795 to 1800, but the character of the population working that land changed markedly. By 1800 there were 4,372 whites and 5,876 slaves in the county, an increase of nearly 750 slaves over the previous five years and a decrease in the white population of over 700. The preponderance of blacks over whites continued to accelerate in the next twenty years. The white population rebounded from 4,372 in 1800 to 4,933 in 1810, but the slave population rose even more dramatically, from 5,876 to 7,155, creating a ratio of slaves to whites of 1.45 to 1. In the next decade both the white population and the slave population fell, but the decline among whites was so drastic that the ratio of slaves to whites jumped to 1.72 to 1 by 1820.

At the end of the eighteenth century, slave-produced tobacco dominated the Southside economy.

After the Revolution a number of factors combined to encourage increased production of tobacco in the Southside. Although planters in the region continued to be hampered by an inferior system of river transport, the combination of improved roads and a more efficient system of rolling hogsheads along those roads greatly reduced the time and expense involved in getting the crop to market. Most important, the post-revolutionary government in Richmond established additional inspection warehouses west of the Fall Line, greatly reducing the distances that Southside planters had to travel to get their crop to market. Before the Revolution, Lunenburg's planters had to bring their tobacco at least forty miles, to the eastern edge of Dinwiddie or Prince George County, for inspection, but by the early nineteenth century there were warehouses spread all over the Southside, including several in neighboring Prince Edward and Mecklenburg counties.

By 1784-85, annual production of tobacco in the Southside had risen to 19,654 hogsheads, or 33 percent of the total production throughout the entire state. By 1790-91 that figure had increased to 29,143 hogsheads, 40 percent of Virginia's total. Tobacco production throughout the Old Dominion declined substantially in the mid-1790s as a consequence of the collapse of the French market, but the Southside's share of the overall market in those depressed years increased to 53 percent. From that point on the region's production continued to rise; in 1840 it stood at 47,053 hogsheads and 62 percent of the market, and in 1860 at 69,209 hogsheads and 55 percent of the market.

The effects of this increasing dependence on a single crop—tobacco—and a single system of labor—chattel slavery—were in many respects harmful to the long-term economic development of the Southside, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century residents of Lunenburg must have marveled at the economic transition that had taken place. Far from being a backwater, Lunenburg by 1800 stood at the very center of the market economy of the Old Dominion.

Baptists in Lunenburg altered their attitudes toward slavery once their economic status and social station became indistinguishable from other free residents of Lunenburg.

Lunenburg's Baptists had always been ambivalent about the institution of slavery, and even during the fervent years of evangelical awakening in the 1760s and early 1770s the church stopped short of outright condemnation of slavery. The evangelical Baptists were not pre millennialists; their primary concern was the redemption of individual sinners and not the radical change of a whole social system. Slavery had always been a part of the social system in which they had lived, and while the Baptists of the pre-revolutionary period showed far more concern for both the material and spiritual condition of individual slaves, they never meant their stewardship of black laborers to be transformed into a crusade against the institution itself.

Yet the tenor of the Baptists' attitudes toward their own black bondsmen and bondswomen and those of their neighbors had changed unmistakably between the time when they were a distinct, counter cultural force in the pre revolutionary years and the early nineteenth century, when Lunenburg's Baptists began to approach the standard of the county's other citizens in economic circumstances and social station. For example, the Meherrin congregation remained much more active than any other religious group in encouraging slaves to become members, but the records show both a marked decrease in efforts to prevent cruelty at the hands of white Baptists masters and an increased tendency to use the doctrines of the church as a means of oppression. Whereas in 1772 the church went on record as opposing excessive cruelty in the whipping of slaves and in that same year moved against a member for mistreating his slaves, by the late 1790s the record is silent with respect to censures directed at white masters for cruel treatment and more abundant in its chronicle of punishments of black members such as "Robertson's George," who was disciplined for "several elopements from his master and of sundry other evils which circumstances are well known," or Winn's Ben, who was excommunicated "for attempting to bead with a white woman."

* * * *

We cannot discount those feelings of humanitarianism and limited egalitarianism which continued to evoke in the Baptists a greater concern for the spiritual life of their black bondsmen and bondswomen than that evinced by most other white citizens of the region. Yet the increased dependence of the rank and file of the church on slave labor may have contributed to a decline in anti slavery zeal among the evangelicals. As a disillusioned Baptist leader, Richard Dozier, put it in 1783: "They have taken themselves out of the world, and at the same time [are] following the world." To follow the world of the late-eighteenth-century Virginia Southside meant to avert one's eyes from the moral dilemma of slavery.

In the early nineteenth century, life was hard for enslaved men, women, and children in Lunenburg County. In addition, free blacks were few in a region where tobacco culture was still expanding.

In some senses, then, slave life in early-nineteenth-century Lunenburg may have combined all the worst features of chattel slavery across the antebellum South. The black men and women who lived under the slave regimen were part of an economic system dependent on the continued expansion of production of a single crop, tobacco, without much of the diversification of skills that marked the Tidewater economy even during the

years of its most concerted commitment to that same crop. Few if any of the plantation owners who controlled those slaves had either the economic resources or the inclination to indulge the instincts toward patriarchy that motivated some of Tidewater's principal planters; and, living on plantations lacking the scale of Westover, Nomini Hall, or Mount Airy, Lunenburg's slaves were generally denied the benefit of numbers that permitted creation of alternative modes of community life on larger plantations.

* * * *

Although we lack direct testimony indicating that life for black slaves in Lunenburg was bleaker than it was for slaves elsewhere in Virginia, the extraordinarily small size of the free black population in the county suggests some of the difficulty in obtaining freedom in a region where the slave-based tobacco economy was still expanding. Even if freedom were attained, the prospects for free blacks in an economic order dominated by unfree labor were decidedly less promising. In well-settled but economically stagnating Virginia counties like Richmond or Westmoreland, free blacks account for over 10 percent of the total black population and more than 5 percent of the population as a whole. In well-settled and increasingly urbanized areas, such as James City County, the number of free blacks in the population was even greater; in 1820 free blacks constituted 22 percent of the black population in James City County and 15 percent of the total population. In Lunenburg, by contrast, free blacks comprised less than 2 percent of the black population and just 1.2 percent of the total.

In 1832 in the aftermath of Nat Turner's rebellion in nearby Southampton County, the Virginia General Assembly debated the status of slavery in the state. Delegates from the Southside were now the staunchest defenders of slavery.

The two-week debate that followed the introduction of the opposing resolutions was perhaps the last to occur in the South before the Civil War in which both egalitarian and aggressively pro slavery sentiments were expressed with equal liberty. Samuel McDowell Moore, representing the predominantly white non slaveholding county of Rockbridge, chose to follow the logic of the Declaration of Independence to its conclusion, asserting that "the right to the enjoyment of liberty is one of those perfect, inherent, and inalienable rights, which pertain to the whole human race, and of which they [the slaves] can never be divested except by an act of gross injustice. At the other extreme, and ultimately expressing the majority view, were the delegates from the Virginia Southside. Alexander Knox of Mecklenburg, who together with William Goode and John Street of Lunenburg was among the most uncompromising of the pro-slavery advocates, proclaimed:

> I cannot force my mind, even by calling to its aid humanity, religion or philanthropy, to the conclusion that slavery, as it exists in Virginia, is an evil. But, Sir, on the contrary, I consider it susceptible of demonstration that it is to this very cause, that we may trace the high and elevated character which she has heretofore sustained; and moreover, that its existence is indispensably requisite in order to preserve the forms of a Republican Government.

The Southside pro slavery argument encompassed all the sentiments that had been expressed in the legislative petitions of the mid-1780s and added a few new considerations produced by the simultaneous occurrence of Northern abolitionist agitation and servile insurrection (which many Virginians believed were causally linked). Once again the legal basis on which the pro slavery argument rested was that the right to own property in slaves was a fundamental natural and constitutional right not subject to legislative encroachment.

* * * *

Taken in its entirety, the Southside argument contained all the ingredients of the militant Southern defense of slavery. An uncivilized but essentially docile slave population, a benevolent, paternalistic labor system far preferable to the wage slavery of the North, and a healthful physical environment all combined to bring into being an agricultural system that was expansive and innovative and that allowed those white planters who were a part of it an independence which had for so long been their primary goal in life.

By 1832, Lunenburg County was a bastion of enforced inequality instead of the place of opportunity that it had been.

So it had come to pass that Lunenburg County, which had its origins as a spacious, open-ended, frontier society peopled overwhelmingly by individuals with few claims to hereditary privilege and scant association with slavery, became a defender of a political system that was increasingly oligarchic and archaic and a militant champion of an economic and social system that condemned nearly two-thirds of the county's population to a condition of enforced and perpetual dependence. It is paradoxical that these increasingly inegalitarian institutional arrangements should arise in a region that had initially offered equality of opportunity on a nearly unprecedented scale to almost all its citizens. In that sense though, the history of Lunenburg County in the one hundred years between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries followed the same pattern as the history of eastern Virginia over the first century of settlement. No single individual in Lunenburg was ever able to acquire a labor force sufficient to exploit the abundant land of the region in quite the fashion achieved by the great planters of the eastern Chesapeake, and therefore no one in Lunenburg ever could assert claims to economic and social dominance in quite the same way those claims were lodged in the traditional Virginia culture. Yet for the great mass of white settlers in Lunenburg, as in the eastern Chesapeake a century earlier, freedom—or more precisely, *independence*—came to depend on an economic system based heavily on slavery. But there was a fundamental difference. Though that paradoxical combination of slavery and freedom provided unprecedented levels of economic opportunity for Lunenburg's white citizens, it also served to wed them to a social and political system that, however well suited to the eastern Chesapeake a century before, was nearly wholly out of step with the pace of American development in the nineteenth century.

Source: Beeman, *The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry*, pp. 33-34, 64, 162-165, 167-170, 190-191, 209-210, 222-226.

Selections from Richard S. Dunn, "Black Society in the Chesapeake, 1776-1810," in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman

Richard S. Dunn describes the expansion of the black population from the Tidewater region population figures in Sections 1 to western areas of Virginia and Maryland.

Throughout Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia and Maryland the black population grew faster than the white population from the mid-eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century. And as the black population grew, it spread steadily westward toward the Appalachians. As of 1755, twenty years before the Revolution, roughly 165,000 blacks, constituting about 37 percent of the total population, lived in the region. Practically all the blacks were slaves. Comparison of a list of Virginia tithables in 1755 with a summary Maryland census taken in the same year shows that in fourteen of the sixty-three Chesapeake counties, blacks constituted a majority of the population. Virginia contained all of these heavily black counties, reflecting the fact that planters from this colony imported considerably more slaves than their counterparts in Maryland during the first half of the eighteenth century. James City and Warwick counties, where blacks outnumbered whites by nearly two to one, were at the entrance to the James River, convenient to incoming slave ships the black population was also concentrated in counties served by the York River, the chief avenue for African slave trades in the first half of the eighteenth century. Heavy slaveholding was by no means confined to the Tidewater, however; the black majority extended as far west into the Piedmont as Louisa County.

By 1782, at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, this pattern had changed considerably. Blacks had nearly doubled in number since 1755, and they constituted a somewhat larger proportion of the region's population than thirty years earlier. There were now nearly 300,000 blacks in the Chesapeake. More significant, however, the geographic balance of the black population had shifted westward. Cornwallis's invasion of Virginia in 1781 had caused severe dislocations. Eleven Virginia Tidewater counties, most of them in the immediate vicinity of Yorktown, reported a loss in black population. These eleven counties had 12,000 fewer blacks than they had listed in 1755. The decrease turned out to be a temporary wartime loss. In the first federal census of 1790, nine of them reported larger black populations than in 1755, and collectively the eleven pillaged Tidewater counties doubled their slaveholdings between 1782 and 1790. Yet the Virginia Tidewater never recovered its pre-Revolutionary status as the Chesapeake district most heavily committed to slaveholding.

Almost everywhere else in the Chesapeake the number of blacks increased substantially between 1755 and 1782. . . . In Virginia, blacks outnumbered whites in twenty-four counties, with the most dramatic increase occurring in the southern Piedmont and the Southside, the region of heaviest tobacco production and large-scale slave gang labor in the years between 1750 and 1775. Amelia had the largest black population of any Virginia county in 1782, and one the highest black ratios in the state. Massive African slave importation to planters on the upper James during the closing years of the colonial era accounted for part of the increase of the black population west of Richmond and south of Petersburg. During the Revolutionary War, Tidewater planters who owned land in the Piedmont appear to have moved a good many of their slaves west, out of reach of the British army. As a result, by 1782 about as many blacks lived in the Virginia Piedmont as in the Tidewater counties, but (as in Maryland) black expansion westward stopped abruptly at

the mountains. Scarcely more than 10,000 Virginia and Maryland blacks lived west of the Blue Ridge, and in only one western county, Frederick County in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, was the black ratio as high as 20 percent.

The federal census of 1810 shows the situation after another thirty years. In 1810 the Chesapeake black population totaled some 567,000, having once again nearly doubled in a generation. Natural increase accounted for all of this growth, for the importation of blacks from Africa or anywhere else had been banned since 1778. The black ratio for the entire region stood at 42 percent, a 3 percent increase since 1782 and a 5 percent increase since 1755.

The Chesapeake black population continued to grow despite the enormous export of Virginia and Maryland slaves to Kentucky, Tennessee, and other slave-hungry states. Assuming the natural increase of Chesapeake blacks in the 1790s and early 1800s to be 2.5 percent annually, Allan Kulikoff has estimated that some 98,000 bondspeople were moved out of the region between 1790 and 1810. But to Kulikoff's conjectures a corollary should be added: many more whites than blacks migrated out of the Chesapeake during this twenty-year period. . . . approximately 225,000 Chesapeake whites abandoned Virginia and Maryland between 1790 and 1810. These projections for black and white outmigration remain rough estimates, but they fit well with the census figures for Kentucky and Tennessee, which indicate a huge migration into these two states, with white immigrants outnumbering black by nearly four to one. Although new arrivals in Kentucky and Tennessee did not all come from the Chesapeake, a great many of them did. The Chesapeake whites who migrated across the Appalachians during this period appear to have been mainly small planters, with few slaves. In consequence of this massive white exodus, the black proportion of the population remaining in Virginia and Maryland rose appreciably in the generation following the Revolution.

The census returns for 1810 indicate not only long-distance migration out of the Chesapeake but a sizable short-distance migration within the region, whereby both blacks and whites moved west from Tidewater to Piedmont, and from the Piedmont across the Blue Ridge to the Shenandoah Valley and the mountain districts of western Virginia. Once again, comparison of county census figures for 1790 and 1810 demonstrates that more whites than blacks participated in this internal migration process. In the older, settled parts of Maryland and Virginia, fifty-two of the eighty-two counties east of the mountains were more than half black by 1810. Twenty-one Virginia counties and two Maryland counties, Prince George's and Charles on the lower Western Shore, were now more than 60 percent black. However, nowhere in the Chesapeake was the black majority so overwhelming as in lowcountry Carolina and Georgia. The highest black ratios—approaching 70 percent—were to be found in the southern Virginia Piedmont counties of Powhatan, Amelia, Nottoway, and Greensville, and in Prince George's County, Maryland. In 1810, as in 1782 and 1755, black expansion within the Chesapeake stopped at the mountains. The western districts of Virginia and Maryland had grown dramatically since 1782 but remained white man's territory. In 1810, 30 percent of the whites in the two states lived west of the Blue Ridge, but only 7 percent of the blacks. Only three counties west of the Blue Ridge had black ratios above 20 percent: Jefferson, Frederick, and Augusta in the Shenandoah Valley.

Virginia's continued commitment to slavery after the Revolution was in part a consequence of the state's access to land in the western Piedmont, Richard Dunn argues. The trend in

Maryland was toward freedom for many blacks, but expanded tobacco culture in Virginia led to a dramatic increase in the numbers of enslaved people in newer counties east of the Blue Ridge.

In Maryland, the number of bondspeople grew slowly between the Revolution and 1810 and declined thereafter. A small state without a hinterland, Maryland contained no room for the westward expansion of slave-based agriculture. Virginia's extensive and underdeveloped hinterland allowed its slave force to nearly double between the Revolution and 1810 and to continue growing, albeit at a lower rate, down to 1860. In consequence, the Maryland free black population outnumbered that of Virginia in 1860, but Maryland's share of the Chesapeake slave population dropped from 30 to 15 percent between the Revolution and the Civil War. Clearly the Revolutionary era saw the beginning of an important divergence between the two states: a trend toward black freedom in Maryland and toward continued enslavement in Virginia.

The geographical distribution of the Chesapeake slave force suggests some of the sources of this development. With the major exception of the Tidewater region, Chesapeake slavery more than held its own at the turn of the century. The chief expansion took place in the western Piedmont of Virginia, a region by no means fully developed or fully committed to slavery at the time of the Revolution. In the double tier of sixteen Virginia counties to the east of the Blue Ridge, the number of slaves rose by 40,000 between 1790 and 1810, and the slave proportion of the population climbed sharply upward from a third to over 40 percent of the whole. Throughout the southeastern Virginia Piedmont, where slaves already outnumbered whites at the time of the Revolution, the slave population continued to expand. In parts of Maryland as well, notably in Charles County on the Potomac, slavery also continued to rise. Yet with no room for westward Piedmont expansion, Maryland slavery had but limited prospects. Most of the Maryland population was concentrated along the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, and the most vigorous development between 1790 and 1810 took place along the upper Western Shore in the vicinity of Baltimore. Slaveholding had always been marginal in this district, and slaves constituted only 20 percent of its population in 1810. The whole Tidewater region, in Virginia as in Maryland, experienced severe agricultural depression in these years. Tidewater slaveholders demonstrated the greatest propensity to transfer or sell or free their slaves. Seventeen Tidewater counties, nine of them in Virginia, suffered outright loss: there were 7,000 fewer slaves in these counties in 1810 than in 1790. This loss was more disruptive of the slave system in Tidewater Maryland than in Tidewater Virginia. On Maryland's Eastern Shore the slave percentage of the population dropped from 36 to 31 percent between 1790 and 1810, so that by the latter date slave labor had become less important in this long-established region than in the more recently settled western Virginia Piedmont. In Tidewater Virginia, despite the slave loss in nine counties, over half the population remained enslaved.

Source: Dunn, "Black Society in the Chesapeake," pp. 54-65.

Selections from Allan Kulikoff, "Uprooted Peoples: Black Migrants in the Age of the American Revolution, 1790-1820," in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman

Kulikoff argues that the Chesapeake's wealthier planters forced approximately 75,000 slaves from Virginia and Maryland to Kentucky and Tennessee between 1790 and 1820.

The forced migration of black Americans between 1790 and 1820 can be divided by both time and region. During the 1790s and 1800s hundreds of Chesapeake planters took their slaves to Kentucky and Tennessee, but relatively few blacks born in Virginia or Maryland reached states farther to the southwest. At the same time, Georgia and South Carolina planters and farmers purchased thousands of enslaved Africans. After the legal slave trade ended in 1808 and imports of human labor nearly ceased, these two streams of migration merged. During the second decade of the nineteenth century nearly all inter-regional black migrants came from the Chesapeake states, but they were scattered throughout the South, especially concentrating in the newest territories and states.

Residents of Virginia and Maryland—both white and black—rapidly peopled the new states of Kentucky and Tennessee between 1780 and 1810. At first, poor whites who settled on lands earned by war service or purchased cheap acreage comprised most of these pioneers, but wealthier planters soon moved west and, between 1790 and 1810, forced some 75,000 Chesapeake slaves to relocate with them (table 1). While most migrating whites owned only a slave or two, a few gentlemen—usually the younger sons of the best Virginia families—moved with a large entourage of blacks. Robert Carter Harrison, for instance, migrated from Virginia to Fayette County, Kentucky, in 1805 with around a hundred slaves, thus bringing nearly as many black chattels as fifty of his poorer neighbors.

An organized slave trade between Virginia and Kentucky apparently failed to develop during the 1790s and 1800s. Nearly all slave migrants crossed the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies with their masters, to settle on new farms in the West. The absence of an organized trade slowed the transfer of slaves but did not mitigate the condition of those who moved. Though few professional slave traders purchased Virginia slaves for the Kentucky or Tennessee market, slaves sold in Chesapeake markets or inherited by Virginia planters might well wind up in the new regions, far from friends and family.

Farmers and planters living in upcountry South Carolina, Georgia, and states farther southwest had limited access to distant Chesapeake markets. Chesapeake planters who wished to sell or transport slaves turned first to neighboring Kentucky, where planters and

Table I: Conjectural estimates of net slave migration to and within the United States, 1790-1810

States receiving Slaves	Number of slaves exported from			Number of in-migrants
	Chesapeake states	Africa	West Indies	
Kentucky	54,000	0	0	54,000
North Carolina	6,000	0	0	6,000
South Carolina	4,000	15,000	0	19,000
Georgia	4,000	48,000	0	52,000
Tennessee	25,000	12,000	0	37,000
Mississippi and Louisiana	5,000	18,000	3,000	26,000
Total	98,000	93,000	3,000	194,000

Sources: J. D. B. De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States . . . : Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census . . .* (Washington, D.C. 1854), pp. 63 and 82; Paul F. La Chance, "The Politics of Fear: French Louisianians and the Slave Trade, 1786-1809," *Plantation Societies* 1 (1979): 196-197; David C. Rankin, "The Tannenbaum Thesis Reconsidered: Slavery and Race Relations in Antebellum Lousisiana," *Southern Studies* 18 (1979): 21. Note: For an explanation of method used in compiling this table, see appendix, pp. 168-71 [in Berlin and Hoffman, eds.].

their slaves readily found a home and where slaves were easily sold. Not only did the great distances between the Chesapeake and backcountry South Carolina and Georgia inhibit slave relocation and trade, but political leaders in South Carolina further discouraged the influx of Chesapeake slaves by prohibiting the domestic slave trade and restricting the free sale of slaves by migrants, actions taken in response to Gabriel's conspiracy in Virginia in 1800. As a result of the lure of the Kentucky market and the inhospitality of the Carolina one, Chesapeake slaveholders sent fewer than 15,000 slaves to South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana between 1790 and 1810, and most of these probably accompanied their masters (table 1).

* * * *

The close of the international slave trade to the United States on January 1, 1808, accelerated the domestic slave trade and shifted its terminus. Between 1810 and 1820 roughly 137,000 slaves from the Chesapeake states and North Carolina spread over the frontier South. Kentucky was no longer the destination of most Chesapeake blacks. Nearly six of every ten migrants left Virginia and Maryland for Mississippi, Alabama, and the territories and states west of the Mississippi River; the rest of the Chesapeake migrants went to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia. Most slaves from North Carolina were probably moved to Tennessee (table 2).

Table 2: Conjectural estimates of net slave migration to and within the United States, 1810-1820

States receiving Slaves	Number of slaves exported from			Number of in-migrants
	Chesapeake states	North Carolina	Africa	
Kentucky	24,000	0	0	24,000
Tennessee	10,000	13,000	0	23,000
Georgia	13,000	0	2,000	15,000
Mississippi & Alabama	51,000	0	2,000	53,000
Louisiana, Arkansas, & Missouri	26,000	0	3,000	29,000
Total	124,000	13,000	7,000	144,000

Source: J. D. B. De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States . . . : Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census . . .* (Washington, D. C., 1854), pp. 63 and 82. Note: For an explanation of method used in compiling this table, see appendix, pp. 168-71 [in Berlin and Hoffman, eds.,].

Chesapeake slaves reached the West in three ways during the 1810s. A substantial but probably declining proportion of them came with their masters. These included most slaves who went to Kentucky and other nearby areas. But only the wealthiest planters who wished to take advantage of the cotton boom could afford to move the great distance from the Chesapeake to the lower South. One such man was Leonard Covington, a former Maryland congressman and descendant of an old gentry family. In 1808 he moved from Prince George's County, Maryland, to the Mississippi frontier, taking thirty-one of his fiftyseven slaves with him. Since few Chesapeake planters followed Covington's lead, Chesapeake slaves often moved "down the river" with professional slave traders.

Between 1810 and 1819 such professionals carried at least a third of all the forced black migrants. While a few operated in the Chesapeake states before 1808, professional slave traders became active in large numbers during the second decade of the nineteenth century. An anonymous traveler in Virginia immediately after the end of the foreign slave trade contended that "the Carolina slave dealers get frequent supplies from this state, particularly from the eastern shore" and lamented the cruelty of the trade. Before 1820 slave traders established offices in most important Virginia cities, including Fredericksburg and Alexandria. A regular trade from Kentucky to the lower South also began to emerge as slave traders transported slaves from the Bluegrass State down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers for sale at Natchez and New Orleans. Not everyone depended on professional traders. Some planters traveled to the Chesapeake to purchase their own slaves. Men of wealth and substance already established in the Gulf states sometimes increased their labor forces through direct purchases in Virginia or Maryland. For example, Farish Carter of Baldwin County, Georgia, in the cotton-producing backcountry, owned but four slaves in 1816; the next year he possessed fifty, apparently purchased on local markets. In 1821 Carter journeyed to Virginia, where he bought sixty slaves of all ages to augment his already large work force.

The forced migration of blacks into and across the South had enormous human consequences: migrants left loved ones at home, departed familiar surroundings, often changed masters, lost some of the privileges they had previously enjoyed, and were forced to live among strangers—both free and enslaved—when they reached their destinations. But while migration disrupted the lives of all black participants, its effects differed depending on the origins of the migrants, their destination, and their mode of transit. African migrants, slaves transported by their masters, and blacks sold in the domestic slave trade experienced the move south or west in diverse ways, andthese in turn influenced the rapidity with which blacks could reconstruct their lives and create new slave communities.

* * * *

The social dislocations faced by slaves sold in the interstate slave trade or carried by masters to the Southwest differed from those of Africans. Creole slaves understood their master's expectations, spoke the same language as other slaves and whites, and some of them even migrated with their families. Yet their lives were disrupted as well. No matter how humane a master might be, migration inevitably separated families. Even the largest planter did not own *all* the significant relations of his slaves, and many husbands and wives lived on the plantations of different owners. A youth sold in the slave trade, even if unmarried, left behind parents, siblings, and other relatives and friends who had lived and worked nearby. The proportion of slaves who migrated southwest from Maryland and Virginia, and therefore the number of families torn asunder, grew rapidly after the end of the international slave trade. About one in twelve slaves in the Chesapeake moved to Kentucky or further south in the 1790s, and one in ten migrated during the 1800s, but the proportion forced to move doubled during the 1810s, reaching one in five.

Slaves who migrated with their masters often retained some family ties, especially if they were owned by a wealthy planter. Before moving to Mississippi, Leonard Covington wrote to his brother Alexander, who was already living there, to inquire about slave life on the frontier. He wanted to know, among other things, if "the negroes in the country generally looked as happy and contented as with us, and do they as universally take husbands and wives and as easily rear their young as in Maryland?" Despite his concern, Covington divided his slaves, taking some families with him and leaving others on his Maryland farm. Among the slave migrants were five men, four women, and twenty-two children under the age of sixteen. They included at least one family containing a father, mother, and two children, as well as another two mothers with four children each; but a number of the older children probably left parents on the Maryland plantation, and several of the adults may have been married to slaves Covington did not own. Covington apparently wanted youths on his new plantation, for he left behind in Maryland seven of his nine slaves older than thirty. He consigned the thirty-one migrant slaves, along with about twenty others, to a D. Rawlings, who transported them down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Rawlings must have kept them under close control, perhaps even chaining them to each other, as they passed through Pennsylvania, a state committed to black emancipation.

Few slaves willingly consented to leaving their families behind. Alexander Covington's slave Sam refused to travel with a group of slaves his master's brother Leonard was shipping to Mississippi. Leonard reported that Sam maintained "a sullen silence on the subject and neither yields consent to accompany my people, or to be sold or exchanged." Sam's wife and family probably lived in the neighborhood, and he did not want to leave

them. Leonard Covington finally sold Sam locally, purchased another slave in return, and sent that one to his brother.

The insecurity of creole slaves increased greatly when the international slave trade ended and the domestic trade accelerated. A black man or woman sold to a slave trader had to endure not only disruption of daily work and communal activities but also separation from family members, forced relocation to an unknown and possibly dangerous place, and the probability of working far harder for a new master on the cotton frontier. Planters knew that slaves preferred to remain in familiar surroundings near friends and kin, and they used the threat of sale to control their chattels' behavior. "In Maryland," Charles Ball reported, "it has always been the practice of masters and mistresses, who wished to terrify their slaves to threaten to sell them to South Carolina where it was represented, that their condition would be a hundred fold worse." Ball considered "such a sale of myself as the greatest of evils that could befall me, and had striven to demean myself in such manner to my owners, as to preclude them from all excuse of transporting me to so horrid a place."

* * * *

Although the internal slave trade and massive migration disrupted family life on plantations in the Chesapeake states, those slaves who remained behind regrouped and reconstructed their extensive networks of kinship and friendship. They forged new ties of marriage with neighborhood slaves, reared their children, and memorialized the departed family members by naming children after them. Within a generation, or even less if the master lived, maintained his credit, and did not sell any of his slaves, large plantations of inter-connected kindred reemerged.

The 113,000 Chesapeake slaves who migrated to Kentucky and Tennessee, mostly with their masters, struggled to recreate the same kind of communities they had left behind. Planters apparently brought a cross section of slaves with them: close to half the adults were women, and on average two children under fifteen accompanied each woman between fifteen and forty. Since most white migrants owned few slaves, many husbands and wives had lived on different plantations and must have been separated by the move west. Once they reached Kentucky or Tennessee and recovered from the shock of involuntary divorce, many of these slaves probably remarried, started new families, and attempted to redevelop extensive kinship networks. This task was difficult, despite their relative cultural homogeneity and rough sexual balance. Most of them lived on small units of only a few slaves: the typical slaveholder in Kentucky in the 1790s owned only four slaves, and only a quarter of all whites possessed any at all. Youthful slaves faced further disruptions once they arrived, for non-slaveholders frequently purchased slaves from planters. In Davidson County, Tennessee, some 700 slaves were sold in the years between 1784 and 1802. Nearly two-thirds of them were sold singly and most of the rest in small groups of mothers and their young children. Nearly all of those sold were under thirty years old; perhaps half were less than sixteen.

* * * *

The great migration of slaves—both African and creoles—that began after the Revolution was one of the most significant events in the history of black society in the United States. Nearly a third of a million African and Chesapeake slaves had moved southwestward by 1820, and another three-quarters of a million blacks were forced to migrate between 1820 and 1860. As slaves were taken from Africa to the cotton South and

from seaboard states to the interior, different combinations of ethnic backgrounds appeared in the Chesapeake and Kentucky, in coastal Carolina and Georgia, and in the Southwest. The migration of slaves varied over time as well and was heavier during booms in cotton prices than during years of depression. Any understanding of Afro-American societies and cultures in the nineteenth-century South should begin with an appreciation of these differential patterns of movement in time and space and assess their impact on the lives of slaves.

Source: Kulikoff, "Uprooted Peoples," pp. 147-149, 151-153, 154-157, 160-161, 167.

J. Susanne Schramm Simmons, "Augusta County's Other Pioneers: The African American Presence in Frontier Augusta County," in Michael J. Puglisi, ed., *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier*

Simmons examines the frontier of the Shenandoah Valley and focuses on the development of a slave society in Augusta County. She also looks at the presences of free blacks and interracial relationships as Augusta moved from a society with slaves to a slave society.

From the Potomac River south to the headwaters of the James River, the Shenandoah Valley stretches for two hundred miles between the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Allegheny Mountains on the west. Its north-south direction, its abundant land, water, timber, and game spread, and its scarcity of permanent Indian settlement turned what was simply a route to somewhere else into a cultural milieu called the frontier.

Unblemished by contested land titles, Augusta County beckoned to the pioneer. Beginning in 1736, Scotch-Irish, German, and English pioneers carved out small family farms in Augusta County. Indeed, some historians maintain this area represented the largest assemblage of Scotch-Irish in America; it is important, however, not to disregard the German and English cultural influences. The area soon acquired characteristics that set it apart from the rest of Virginia. It is equally important not to ignore the emerging African American presence in frontier Augusta County. It was a presence that helped advance the evolving commercialism of the frontier and one that provided the context of slavery in the antebellum period.

It is tempting, albeit specious, to think of the frontier as a clean slate, a place, unlike the Tidewater or Piedmont, that was immune to the institution of slavery. A few African Americans arrived on the frontier of their own volition; the rest, however, were brought as chattel. There was, perhaps, a short period during which the frontier could have maintained its immunity, could have been a land of promise and opportunity to all. As the frontier evolved into a permanent society, however, the scales tipped toward a slave society. Indeed, by the antebellum period, slavery was firmly established. Slavery's presence, and its eventual dominance, perhaps more than any other factor, manifested the growing commercial tendencies present at the beginning of frontier settlement. This chapter endeavors to demonstrate that the foundation of Augusta County's slave society was irreversibly laid in the frontier period.

It is impossible to report the number of African Americans living in Augusta County prior to the first federal census taken in 1790. Estimates of the colonial population generally are made on the basis of incomplete parish records and lists of tithables contained therein.

The enumeration of tithables provides the only clue, and an inconclusive one at that, to the composition of the early colonial population. It is fair to say, however, that even if the exact numbers are not known, the extant enumeration gives a relatively accurate accounting.

The first black tithes appear in 1755. Based on the return of 2,313 tithables in 1755, of which 40 were black tithes, and using a multiplier of 2, scholars estimate 80 African Americans lived in Augusta County at that time. The 1,196 tithables reported in 1745 and the 1,421 reported in 1748 indicate nothing about the black population, even though court records indicate that a small mix of both free and slave African Americans did indeed exist.

The most familiar account of a colonial African American west of the Blue Ridge, but by no means the first, is that of a Moravian missionary's diary entry telling of an encounter with a free Negro living in Augusta County in 1753.

> Bro. Gottlob had preceded up half a mile to a free negro, who is the only blacksmith in the district. He had his horse shod. The negro and his wife, who was born in Scotland, were very friendly towards Bro. Gottlob and related to him that not long ago they had removed hitherto from Lancaster County. They had often heard Bro. Nyberg preach and also the brethren in Philadelphia, and now they are reading the Berlin Address [of Zinzendorf]. They were very glad to see us and very willing to serve us. The woman baked several loaves of bread for us and invited Bro. Gottlob and Nathaniel to breakfast. The negro also understands German very well.

This brief narrative not only tells us of a skilled, literate, bilingual, free, black man, it implies that he was a partner in an interracial marriage. Unfortunately, the good brother did not even bother to record the man's name, much less how and why he had come to settle in Augusta County. We could, until recently, only guess that this man, perhaps like other landless, land-hungry settlers from the East, saw opportunity on the frontier. Recent scholarship has identified the free Negro as Edward Tarr, about whom more will follow.

The earliest mention of an African American is one who was a slave. At the second court held in Augusta County, on February 19, 1745/46, the court upheld Patrick Martin's claim for "taking up a slave" who belonged to Dr. Hopkins. A year later, on June 17, 1747, the court acquitted John Johnson of being a runaway slave, although Johnson is not identified by race. Two accounts of free Negroes also predate the Moravian narrative, one by several years. Christopher Roarrey, "a Mulattoe child age one year three months," was bound out to Thomas Milsap on February 16, 1748. In August 1753, just a few months before the Moravians visited the blacksmith, Nicholas Smith, a free mulatto, "absconded from the county." The record teases us with the information that his five abandoned children were bound out, lest they become a burden to society, and never refers to them again.

The existence of a free Negro people caused the Augusta community social problems and created moral dilemmas. As often happens, people used government and the law as tools to maintain social order. Relationships inevitably developed between the races, and children were born. As in other regions, Augusta County's frontier society frowned upon interracial relationships and actively discouraged miscegenation. Traditionally, children born to slave mothers assumed the social status of their mothers. However, the mulatto offspring of a black father and white mother were not so easily accommodated or tolerated. Indeed, depending on the circumstances of the mother, both mother and child were punished for their social indiscretion in Virginia. "If any English woman being free have a bastard by a negro she shall pay £15 within a month to the Church Wardens and if failing to

be disposed of for five years ye fine or wht. she shall be sold for disposed 1/3 of their [?], 1/3 to yer parish & 1/3 to ye informer & ye child bound out by ye Ward for 30 years & if ye woman be a servant she shall be sold for 5 years after her time is expired."

Christopher Roarrey's contract of indenture differs significantly from that of the other black or mulatto children who would follow. In 1748 Christopher Roarrey was bound out "until he shall attain the age of thirty-one," the destiny of a free yet impoverished, illegitimate, mulatto child. If he survived his indenture, Christopher received no tangible "freedom dues" for his labor, a return due white indentured servants.

The great majority of white and black people bound out for the purpose of labor in the first two decades of Augusta County settlement were children under the age of sixteen. On her deathbed, Elizabeth Hodge, described as "a woman of no means," bound out her six children to six different families. Perhaps because she was white, she was able to exercise more control over the terms of their indenture. Each child's return for his or her years of labor, which typically ended at the age of twenty-one, as it did for all white indentured servants, included sustenance, a smattering of education, and knowledge of a trade. Hannah Hurley, the bastard mulatto child of a white woman, and, like the Hodge children, a burden to society, was also bound out; yet, the terms of her indenture were quite different from those of her white counterpart. Beginning at the age of three, Hannah's indenture was to last until she reached the age of thirty-one, a veritable lifetime. Still, she fared somewhat better than her predecessor, Christopher Roarrey, in that the law directed Hannah's master, William Bethel, to teach her to read the Bible; to provide her with meat, drink, washing, lodging, and apparel; and to pay her freedom dues.

Just five months after Hannah Hurley was indentured for twenty-nine years, the Smith children, whose father had abandoned them and left the county, were bound out under the same terms as any white children in the same position. Why did these terms become more equitable? Did the contracts negotiated on behalf of the Smith children reflect a fundamental frontier attitude, an acceptance of the mulatto presence, or did the Smith children receive special treatment? It would appear that, because the contracts of indenture had become more standardized and less discriminating of race, opportunities for free blacks had improved. This interpretation, however, may be far too simplistic, given the dearth of extant material

Joseph Bell Jr., who was "the mulattoe, natural son of Joseph Bell, begat upon a white woman," found himself bound out to William Wilson in 1759 because he had "no other relation in this colony." The inventory made of Joseph Bell Sr.'s estate suggests that a free black could succeed modestly well on the frontier and achieve literacy. While by no means a wealthy man, Bell possessed at his death a sorrel horse, a white mare, a pair of buckles, razor, one old coat and a jacket, a Bible and a small history, an old saddle and a bridle, an old shirt and a pair of stockings, a piece of "blew woolling cloath, blew sarge," a short rifle gun and shot pouch, an old tin cup, and sundry other things. His estate, valued at £10, included cash from his pocketbook and cash received from Captain Preston. John Tate, William Wilson, and Samuel Steele settled the estate, which amounted to £7. By the time they paid fees, satisfied debts, and reimbursed themselves liberally for their trouble, a balance of £3 remained: a sum equal to the payment allowed bound children upon reaching their majority at the age of twenty-one. The infant son and namesake of Joseph Bell was subsequently bound to William Wilson, one of the estate's administrators. Whether motivated by racial bigotry, class prejudice, or simple greed, Messrs. Tate, Wilson, and Steele kept the orphaned mulatto Joseph Bell Jr. in his place.

Still, the frontier offered opportunity even to free Negroes. The story of Edward Tarr, the only known free black property owner in frontier Augusta County, is instructive. It would appear that, despite his race, this former slave represented the quintessential frontier man: landowner, businessman, church member, and taxpayer. The Great Wagon Road passed through his landholding southwest of Staunton near Lexington, in present-day Rockbridge County. Local people and travelers alike patronized his blacksmith shop. Tarr's membership in the Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church, located a few miles from his home, and his thriving trade caused his shop to become a popular meeting place for other free Negroes, whites of the "middlin' sort," and neighboring slaves.

By the end of the colonial period, however, Edward Tarr's situation changed. A malcontent neighbor and eventually the vestry came to view Tarr as a nuisance or a threat to the public order. The court must have been sending a message to Edward Tarr and to those who congregated at his forge, when, in 1763, it ordered an executed slave's severed head placed on a pike and posted on the road that led to Tarr's forge, nearly fifty miles from the murder scene. The changing attitudes toward Tarr also perhaps explain the morals charge brought against Ann Moore, his wife, the sale of his land at a loss in 1772, and his subsequent move to Staunton. Forsaking the rural life for the anonymity of a city was a pattern consistent with the free black experience in Virginia at the time.

Although comparatively few African Americans lived in Augusta County before 1745, the growth of the slave population outpaced that of free blacks. The early part of the decade of the 1760s saw the greatest importation of slaves into Augusta County. Thirty-two African child registrations were made in 1761 and fifteen in 1762. Only one child was registered in 1766, four in 1767, and none in 1768 and 1769.

Notoriously ambitious to own slaves, the Scotch-Irish eagerly adopted the institution. Germans, who favored farms only as large as a family could cultivate efficiently, were less inclined to buy slaves. While some Germans probably felt a certain antipathy toward Negroes, others voiced a sectarian objection to the institution of slavery. It has been suggested that perhaps some Germans, fleeing oppression, empathized with enslaved blacks. Indeed, it seems that first-generation Germans felt little compulsion to copy the English style. After the French and Indian War and the advent of the second generation, however, Germans did begin to acquire slaves. In time the institution became very broad-based.

While tobacco did not dominate the agriculture of Augusta County as it did in the Tidewater, hemp emerged as the first cash crop in the upper Valley in the 1760s. Dominated by the Scotch-Irish and English, this labor-intensive crop decimated all available labor sources. Expanding hemp production coincided with the first significant importation of Negro slaves in 1761-62. An increased wartime demand for hemp a decade later only accelerated the demand for labor to grow the crop. Paradoxically, the proportion of slaveholders producing hemp in Augusta County apparently shrank throughout the 1760s. In 1769 11 percent of the individuals certifying hemp were known to be slaveholders.

Slaveholdings in Augusta County were comparatively small. Most households did not own slaves. As would become the case in the antebellum period, those who did own slaves owned only one slave. Interestingly, forty-eight of the seventy-two identified owners owned little or no land. This begs the question for what were these slaves used?

"Plantation" attitudes associated with tobacco agriculture did not find their way into the Upper Valley. A typical Tidewater view that "A man, unless he was willing to take up the hoe or ax, had to buy a slave" was not the norm in Augusta County. Travelers to the area reported seeing slaves working side-by-side with their masters. Samuel McCune expressed it best when he pointed out that his slave "could work as well as himself at

grubbing thrashing or the like." Clearly, a man's status was not determined by the separation of his labor from that of his slave.

Ownership of slaves did offer what today would be called upward mobility. Cost rather than ethics impeded the investment in slaves. Slaves were expensive to buy and could be costly to maintain, but they offered a great return as a long-term investment with only a modicum of risk. Before 1760, the price of a slave was prohibitive at between twenty-five pounds and thirty-five pounds, or twenty-five pounds sterling. That price could buy a substantial amount of land on the frontier where land sold for shillings per acre.

The purchase price plus an annual upkeep made a slave the single most valuable item in personal inventories. Slave values did not depreciate under ordinary circumstances. Even after the depression of the early 1780s, when labor for hire was more plentiful, the value of a slave remained stable. Two Negroes inventoried along with one pair of pot racks and five tongs were all valued at £114, a sum that constituted nearly half the value of George Rankin's estate. By 1770 a prime field hand brought £80-85 and a domestic servant £75. After 1782, males were rarely sold for less than £100. Nothing in society had a comparable worth; even horses were valued less.

Some of Augusta County's first wills indicate not only the value of slaves, but also their uses as a legacy. The appraisal of James Coburn's estate in 1749 places a value of £33 for a "negro woman" and £20 for "one negro man named Louis." Another estate, totaling £194 in value listed "for a negro Wench £35; for a Negro girl £25; for a Negro boy £15; for another Negro girl £10." John Hays's last will and testament left to his wife, Rebecca, "my negro women to abide with you during your lifetime and at your decease the negroes wench *[sic]* to be sold and divided between my three sons equally." In his will, Samuel Scott specified that his wife bring up his children in a "Christian manner and make them good English Scholars for which she is to have use of the negroos *[sic]*."

Money—hard cash—was scarce on the frontier. John Dawson's urgent letter to a friend, probably written around 1788, illustrates this scarcity and how slaves could generate cash flow. "By an unlucky mistake you did not receive a letter sent you this morning by Mr. John Benson Jr. Abraham Lymons set out [?] morning for Augusta County with Negroes for sale so I have prevailed on him to take ours—they go by Abraham Lymons—you will therefore please have Lat and Sam brought to Lymons by [?] two hours by [?]—where I will be—pray do not fail as this is a most excellent opportunity and you as well as myself am pushed for cash v.-J Dawson." The opportunity to sell a slave, therefore, could prove to be advantageous.

While slave ownership provided status, labor, and investment to any given individual, it often created problems for society generally. Indeed, slaves were so valuable that individuals tried illegally to enslave free men. In 1763 John Anderson sued the Reverend John Craig for detaining him as a slave. The court summoned Craig and directed him to allow Anderson permission to go to Brunswick County to summon his own witnesses. Four months later, Anderson presented the deposition of Joel Baker, taken in Brunswick County, attesting to the fact that "Said Anderson is the son of a free white woman and was bound by the Church Wardens of the Parish of Saint Andrews in Brunswick County, to serve till age 21, and he is now that age. It is the Judgement of the Court that he be released." Nat, "an Indian Boy," complained to the court in 1777 of "being held in slavery by Mary Greenlee" who was subsequently ordered to release the boy. Mary Greenlee found herself back in court in 1778 when a slave petitioned her to show why she had held him in servitude.
Mary's bill of sale did not satisfy the court as sufficient proof of ownership, and the slave was subsequently freed.

Litigation against criminal slaves further institutionalized slavery in Augusta County. Slaves involved in criminal activity were severely and quickly punished by a variety of methods borrowed from the English judicial systems. An Augusta slave named Hampton was sentenced to be hanged for house breaking and larceny in 1757. On two other occasions in Augusta County, hanging alone was neither punishment enough nor thought to set a sufficient example. In 1763 the court convicted the slave Tom for shooting John Harrison in the back. Following the hanging, Tom's head was severed and "affixed on a pole on the top of the hill that leads from this Court House to Edward Tarr's." Tried as an accomplice, the victim's Negro slave, Fanner, was acquitted.

Two other slaves suffered the same gruesome fate ten years later for murdering Thomas Marmeon. That piked heads served as object lessons to blacks there is no argument. This grisly spectacle, however, also served to reassure whites, slaveholders as well as others, that blacks were "under control" and that they need not fear insurrection or for their safety.

Because counties were compelled to compensate an owner for "condemned" property, executing a slave was not a favorite or common punishment. Public whipping and mutilation served as a far more acceptable alternative punishment for criminal slaves. Tom received thirty-nine lashes and had his ear cropped for the crime of house breaking and horse stealing. The court found Jacob innocent of house breaking, but guilty of shooting at the children of Alexander Moore, a malfeasance for which he received thirty-nine lashes. George and Poll, slaves belonging to George Rice of North Carolina, who had apparently abandoned them in Augusta County, were found guilty of house breaking. The court recommended leniency for the two slaves, who were, it was said, unduly influenced by one George Hendricks. Instead of execution, George and Poll each received thirty-nine lashes, had their ears cropped, and were jailed. When their owner failed to claim his property, the court directed the jailer to fit them with iron collars stamped with the letters "A G" and to hire them out until their master arrived and proved proprietorship.

Not everyone on the frontier embraced slavery. A sizable community of German Baptist Brethren, whose opposition to slavery was based on Biblical interpretation, made their home in northern Augusta County. While they lived apolitical lives in closed communities apart from the secular world, they were unable to isolate themselves from the institution. The Brethren permitted marriages outside of the denomination on the condition that non-Brethren spouses join the church. Inevitably, marriages to slaveholders brought slaves into the cloistered Brethren community, and the growing ownership of slaves among the brothers and sisters eventually forced the issue.

In 1782, the church recorded its opposition to slavery: "It has been unanimously considered that it cannot be permitted in any wise by the church, that a member should or could purchase negroes, or keep them as slaves." Slavery appeared to be a significant topic of concern at the Annual Meeting held in 1797 in Franklin County, the first such meeting held in the South. Attended by Brethren from all over the new nation, the Church resolved that slaveholding members should emancipate their slaves. This resolution not withstanding, the issue of slave ownership and hire, as well as the church response to a slave society, continued to plague Brethren into the next century.

The Brethren were not alone in their objection to slavery. In the aftermath of the American Revolution, the paradox of slavery in a free society became apparent to some. Breaking the colonial precedent, where the governor alone had the power to manumit a slave, slaveowners began to exercise that right themselves. The rhetoric of liberty, coupled with a stagnant slave economy, led to a wave of manumissions and a revision of views

concerning slavery. A backlash ensued, however, as slaveholders reacted to this threat to their property.

A 1785 law temporarily settled the slavery question by establishing limited manumission while maintaining the institution of slavery. Manumission of a slave could be accomplished by will or affidavit witnessed by two persons and certified in county court. It further prohibited slaveowners from emancipating slaves simply to free themselves of financial obligation, especially in a time of recession, former owners had to support manumitted slaves who were underage or superannuated.

The first federal census taken in 1790 coincides with the closing of the frontier in the Shenandoah Valley. The census reported a total population for Augusta County of 10,886 people, of whom 1,567 were slaves and 59 were free Negroes. In the years that the frontier was settled, the population of African Americans grew at a greater rate than their European American counterparts.

The Scotch-Irish, German, and English who settled frontier Augusta County forged a unique society. Manifestations of that society have been closely examined in everything from government to material culture. The African American presence on the frontier demands further examination. Social and economic opportunities became increasingly limited for free blacks as the frontier developed commercially and the number of slaves grew. Slaves supplied labor. Slave ownership also represented an investment and accorded status—the means for a struggling immigrant to appear "less woodsy." Clearly, with the disappearance of the frontier, Augusta County, like the rest of Virginia, had evolved from "a society with slaves to a slave society." This frontier slave society thus became the model for slavery as it continued to develop within the context of the economy in antebellum Augusta County.

Source: Simmons, "Augusta County's Other Pioneers," pp. 159-171.

Selection from Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community Chapter VII," Moving West"*

Walsh examines the impact of the decision of Nathaniel II Burwell and other members of the Burwell family to move their enslaved men, women, and children to plantations in other areas of Virginia. [See Carter material in Section 1]

Most of the Burwell slaves had the advantage of living in the same area for up to a century, and families were seldom separated by sales or estate divisions. But for all their apparent aversion to separating slave groups, the decision of more and more members of the Burwell clan to try their luck somewhere farther west inevitably uprooted much of the extended African-America community that had developed on the lower York peninsula between the 1660s and the 1770s. By the mid-1760s the whites began a process of forced westward migration that would result in the scattering of the great majority of these people throughout Virginia in the 1790s.

The experiences of the Burwell slaves in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were by no means exceptional. Many large tidewater planters began developing distant western holdings in the 1760s. Usually they sent selected young tidewater-born field hands to the distant farms and hired local white men to oversee them. During the

Revolution more eastern planters moved some or all of their operations inland, seeking protection from British incursions. After the war ended the tide of western migration became a flood. Moving west almost always entailed some family separations, even when entire groups accompanied their owners west. Men and women whose spouses belonged to other masters on neighboring plantations often faced permanent loss of their mates, and for the men, of their children as well. Some kin usually remained behind with whichever heir inherited the tidewater holdings. Other planters were moving into nearby towns, and as they wound down their farming operations, they either sold surplus slaves or else hired them out by the year to a variety of temporary masters.

Actions of Robert ("King") Carter, now long dead, determined where most of the Burwell group would eventually go. While proprietary agent for the Northern Neck, Carter had patented thousands of acres in present-day Prince William, Fauquier, Loudoun, Frederick, and Clarke Counties in the names of various children and grandchildren. As early as 1722 Carter seated a quarter on Bull Run in Prince William County (in the vicinity of present-day Haymarket, Virginia) for Nathaniel Burwell I's children. By 1726 he was sending newly purchased African workers there. In the 1740s grandson Carter Burwell opened another quarter along the Shenandoah River on lands beyond the Blue Ridge in Frederick (later Clarke) County. This quarter lay to the southeast of the present city of Winchester. These distant bondspeople are seldom mentioned in surviving records, although Carter Burwell, for example, visited "my Negroes at Shenandoa" in 1745. Near the end of 1746, he apparently purchased additional new Africans to work this quarter, later paying his western overseer, John Ashby, £5 for his "Trouble in coming down for my Negroes last Winter." In his will of 1756, Burwell divided yet unseated lands at Bull Run and Shenandoah between sons Nathaniel II and Carter II.

In 1765 Carter Burwell's executor William Nelson decided it was time to improve these western lands further, and to do so with workers from Carter's Grove. That year William Graves, the Burwell general manager, oversaw construction of a new quarter in Frederick County, hiring a wagon "to carry up the negroes and clothing" for the nearly two-hundred-mile trip. The next year Nelson sent more slaves, along with two wagonloads of clothing and tools, to begin clearing land and building another new quarter. When the next heir, Nathaniel II, came of age in 1771, he made two visits to his Shenandoah lands, on the second trip taking additional workers with him. Nathaniel soon decided that future prospects were much brighter there than in the tidewater. By 1772 he had moved at least one-third and perhaps as many as one-half of the Carter's Grove slaves west. By the 1790s several branches of the extended Burwell family group ended up living near one another once again. In Frederick County, as in the tidewater, the lands of various Burwells adjoined.

The people who were forced to move to the western quarters would have loaded whatever meager possessions they could call their own into one or two wagons that also carried stocks of clothing and tools for the quarters and provisions for the journey. Following a painful, often final, parting from friends and kin who were staying behind, they began walking west under the watchful eye of the estate manager or some other man engaged to supervise the move. William Graves, for example, hired a wagon "to carry up the Negroes & Cloth'g" to the west in December 1765 and two wagons in December of the following year. The Burwell slaves likely endured a forced march similar to that of a group sketched walking along a road in western Virginia a half century later. [see cover] Executor William Nelson similarly paid Bull Run overseer William Pollard £2 in 1771 for "bring'g up Negroes & Cloth'g" to Carter Burwell II's holdings and incurred further expenses of 4s. 4 ½ d. "at York sending up Negroes." In the spring of the next year, Nelson paid another

westerner, Thomas Archer, £7 10s. for "Car[ryin]'g up Negroes." Men traveling on horseback could make the journey to Frederick in five or six days. Men, women, and children who had to walk the full 180 miles, sometimes also driving a herd of cattle or sheep in addition to the wagon, likely endured a two-week long trek.

The road led through Williamsburg and then twenty-five miles west to Eltham (just opposite the present town of West Point). Here the party crossed over the Pamunkey River on a ferry just above where the river joins the Mattaponi to form the York River. They then walked northwest for another thirty-two miles, passing through King William Court House and then on into Caroline County, perhaps halting for one night at or near Todd's Ordinary, a short way upriver from Aylett's Warehouse (later the village of Aylett) on the upper reaches of the Mattaponi River. This was a frequent stopping place on journeys between Williamsburg and Fredericksburg. On at least one occasion in 1767, Tom and Daniel, who were driving a wagonload of clothing and tools to the Burwell quarters on Bull Run, obtained a meal at Todd's Ordinary and a place to sleep. While passing through King William County, the travelers may have encountered some members of the Pamunkey tribe, who had a town on the north side of the river. In the 1750s and 1760s these Indians made a living in part by selling fish and game caught in the marshes bordering the Pamunkey River to neighboring gentry.

The slaves then marched north a further fifty-two miles through farming country into the town of Fredericksburg. They passed through a neatly laid-out residential area on a hill above the Rappahannock and then descended into a warehouse district along the waterfront. There they got passage on a ferry over the Rappahannock, just above the falls. The river crossings were likely a tedious business, especially when the ferry had to make several circuits in order to accommodate all the people, as well as the wagon, horses, and livestock. If the travelers were running short of provisions by the time they crossed the Rappahannock, the man in charge could apply to the Burwell family agents, Falmouth merchants William and later David Allason, for extra meat and rum or additional cash.

Once across the Rappahannock, the party turned northwest, following the approximate route of present-day US Highway 17 for the final seventy-mile leg of their forced journey. About two days outside of Fredericksburg, they got their first glimpse of the blue-tinged western mountains. They then crossed the Pignut Ridge (just west of present-day Warrenton), an easy climb "owing to the winding of the road between the mountains." Next they toiled up the higher Blue Ridge Mountains, passing through four-mile-long Ashby's Gap. At the summit the foot-weary travelers got their first view of the Shenandoah River. Doubtless the slaves were less enthralled by the "romantic and beautiful" vista of the river, the adjacent wide and fertile plain, and the lofty ridge fifty miles in the distance than were travelers who had undertaken the journey voluntarily. Nor did the transparent waters of the Shenandoah, clear to the depth of eight or ten feet and teaming with trout and other fish, likely afford much comfort. Once they crossed over the Shenandoah at Berry's (or Ashby's) Ferry, they entered into Burwell lands and were within a few miles of their newly designated homes. For most, it was a journey of no return. Somehow in this strange new landscape, they had to begin their lives anew, forging new relationships with area residents, enslaved and free, establishing new ties to the land, and beginning new traditions.

There was plenty of work for all clearing land, cutting timber, making shingles, putting up and building fences, setting out orchards, and raising tobacco. Along the Shenandoah where soils were fresh, Nathaniel's field hands could make bigger tobacco crops than in the tidewater. Indeed, if the farms were to be profitable they had to, for the price of upland tobacco was often lower than that of York County leaf and the expense of wagoning

to the nearest warehouse was high. Workers on the Frederick quarters also tended many acres in corn, most of it needed to feed them and the livestock. On the other hand, wheat, rye, and oats were sold off the plantation, augmenting the income generated from tobacco, as were surplus cattle and hogs. During the Revolution the laborers also raised flax and hemp, a sudden necessity if they were to have new clothing, since local stores no longer had stocks of imported cloth. Because the Frederick plantations were so far from Carter's Grove, Burwell had to find good managers and to allow them considerable latitude in marketing crops. The overseers handled sales of everything but the tobacco, periodically sending Burwell the proceeds.

The slaves' only way of communicating with the people they had left in the tidewater was through the twice-yearly visits that two of the men made to take up a wagonload of clothing and tools in spring and fall, or else through the twice-yearly visits of the executor or estate manager. Miserable at being separated from familiar places and kin, some repeatedly ran away, trying to return home. Since people from Carter's Grove had traveled cross-county overland, these runaways likely sought to retrace that route. Slaves of other members of the Burwell clan went to Frederick by water and tried to get back home by ship. For example, on his way to a Frederick plantation in 1773, Jack Dismal of Isle of Wight ran off in Fredericksburg and apparently went back down the Rappahannock by some vessel in order to return to the south side of the James.

The Revolution put a temporary stop to Nathaniel Burwell's plans for moving west but not those of his cousin Lewis IV at nearby Kingsmill. Lewis had patented land in Southside Virginia on Butcher's Creek on the Roanoke River in 1745 and had established a quarter in what would later become Mecklenburg County by 1752. Lewis took more of the Kingsmill workers west when he removed to Mecklenburg in 1775, and he sold others whom he owned outright to cover his extensive debts. A number of Kingsmill slaves who were held under entail already had been seized by the county sheriff and auctioned off for the benefit of Burwell's creditors. Several of them, sold to owners throughout Virginia, immediately tried to return to their tidewater kinfolk. Still others remained at Kingsmill during the war. Lewis IV had turned that plantation over to his son Lewis (c. 1747-1804) when the latter married in 1775. This heir, who alienated most of his white neighbors by siding with the British in the conflict, sold the home plantation in 1783. By 1787 he, too, was living in Mecklenburg County and owned 172 slaves dispersed on quarters in four Southside counties.

Other Burwell kin also forced some or all of their bondspeople to move west. Nathaniel II's uncle Robert of Isle of Wight seated Frederick County lands with family slaves in the late 1760s. Robert also accompanied William Graves on at least one of his visits to Bull Run. Soon after Robert's principal heir, another Nathaniel (c. 1748-after 1801), came of age in the late 1760s, the whole family contemplated moving to fresher holdings. By the early 1770s Nathaniel, too, opened a quarter in Frederick on land his father had given him as a marriage gift in 1769. The Isle of Wight farms, whose management Robert turned over to Nathaniel, were too small to employ profitably many of the laborers they owned. Anticipating the winding down of their tidewater operations, the Burwells began hiring out some of the family slaves to work at cutting plank and shingles in the Dismal swamp. Two women were sent back to Gloucester County as a marriage portion for one of Robert's daughters; they ended up at Rosewell, adjacent to the Burwell farm at Fairfield. During the war Robert moved his white family and some of his workers farther inland to a plantation in King and Queen. He sent others to open a new quarter in Prince William County farther north, to which his widow moved at the end of the war. His son, Nathaniel, then sold the

home plantation and he moved himself and the family slaves he inherited out of Isle of Wight by 1782; eventually both he and his children settled in Frederick.

Nathaniel II's cousin James Burwell II of King's Creek pursued a similar course. James had set up a farm in Frederick County on a tract that he had bought located to the north of Winchester as early as 1775, although it is not certain that he had moved any workers there. By 1771 he had begun hiring out some slaves and by 1775 was selling others. James II's son, Nathaniel Junior sent fifteen of the bondspeople descending from the James Burwell I group to the Frederick quarter by 1782, and by his death in 1791, twenty-seven lived in distant Frederick County. After her husband died, Nathaniel Junior's widow Elizabeth closed the King's Creek house and moved to the Northern Neck; the remaining King's Creek slaves were further scattered. On December 20, 1791, for example, nine men, one boy, four women, and two children from King's Creek began a long, cold, forced march to the Frederick quarter, fortified with provisions and whiskey which Nathaniel Junior's executor, Nathaniel Burwell II of Carter's Grove, provided. Only a few slaves remained in York County, mostly the very old and very young; any who were capable of working were hired out to a variety of local families. Two men, John and Ambrose, and a boy, Peter, were hired to various masters between 1792 and 1796, as were several women, including Hannah, who bore a child in a stranger's house in 1795. Old Betty and Old Franky, however, were past labor, and between 1791 and 1796 Nathaniel II paid for their clothing, food, and medical care. Only Billy, a man valued at £50 in 1791, wrested some control over his destiny. Possessed of unidentified craft skills, he persuaded Nathaniel II to let him arrange his own hire, paying Burwell his wages as they were received. These arrangements ended sometime before 1811 when Nathaniel Junior and Elizabeth's only child died without issue and the remaining King's Creek slaves were divided up among many other family members.

Similarly, the Burwell slaves in Gloucester also suffered dispersal just before and especially after the Revolution. Lewis Burwell IV of Fairfield (d. 1779) had overextended himself by 1772, when he offered to sell his Purton Quarter, 2,500 acres on the Gloucester side of the York River a few miles upriver from Fairfield, in order to satisfy his creditors and to pay cash legacies that his father had willed to several of his sisters. Lewis applied to the legislature to dock the entail on these tidewater farms and to substitute instead lands in Prince William County. The former, "having been long in cultivation[,]...will not produce such profitable crops" as the "fresh and rich" lands in Prince William. Any surviving bondspeople whom Lewis had inherited from his mother, along with their future offspring, were also to be attached to the Prince William lands. In 1777, the year after the state legislature abolished entails, Lewis arranged to sell 5,400 acres of his Prince William land and an unspecified number of slaves to Thomas Nelson, Jr., of Yorktown. (Burwell's son, another Lewis, finally transferred title to these people in 1785.) Again in 1779 Lewis tried to sell other family slaves. While the subsequent history of this branch of the Burwell family is particularly sketchy, it is clear that they fell upon hard times during and after the Revolution. The Burwell slaves in Gloucester County suffered grievously as a consequence of their owners' misfortunes.

Some of the slaves strenuously resisted this forced uprooting. The twenty-some runaways whom the Burwells or subsequent owners advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* in the 1770s is in itself an extraordinary number, and others likely ran off but were apprehended before their masters resorted to public notices. Several men sent from Carter's Grove to Frederick tried to return to their former home in the tidewater. Dick ran off from River Quarter in Frederick in 1765 and 1770, and one of Robert Burwell's slaves helped to apprehend him. Johnny ran from Bull Run in Prince Wiilliam County in 1768; Jack, from

Marsh Quarter in Frederick in 1766, 1767, and 1768; and Turner, from Marsh Quarter in 1774. All were eventually caught and taken back west. The unsettling forced moves also provoked Phil to run away from New Quarter in York in 1769, as did Emmanuel in 1771 and perhaps again in 1772.

Even more of the Kingsmill group took to the roads and rivers, for many of them faced sale to other owners as well as forced moves west. For example, Lewis IV of Kingsmill's Will and his nineteen-year-old brother James ran off together from Butcher's Creek near the North Carolina border in 1769, probably intending to return to Kingsmill. A Kingsmill ferryman, Will, sent west in 1775 and there sold to a new owner, was taken up in Chesterfield just south of Richmond as he, too, tried to get back home. Joe, a man born at Kingsmill about 1743, also had been transferred west, apparently with some of his family. Sold to a Hanover County man in 1778, Joe may have been torn between old and newer homes; when he ran away from his new owner, this man was uncertain whether Joe would return to the Roanoke quarter or head back east to Kingsmill. Sally, a "likely young woman" from Kingsmill sold in 1776 to a man living in Charles City County, hid herself in Williamsburg. And Tom, a mulatto who was the property of Lewis Burwell V, ran off from Kingsmill in 1779, perhaps hoping to avoid being transferred to the west. Rather ironically, Lewis Burwell IV's obituary of 1784 noted "tenderness to his slaves" as among the deceased's principal virtues.

Several laborers from the Isle of Wight branch also ran away repeatedly as it became clear that the whites were going to pull up stakes there. Sall Cooper, a Williamsburg woman of between twenty and thirty years of age, whom owner John Blair willed to Robert's wife Mary in 1771, had no intention of following her new mistress across the length of the state. She had been "for some Time past much in the Company of a white Man," and when Blair died, she ran off to Norfolk with her lover. That same year Jack Dismal, aged about thirty-five, and his wife Venus, about thirty-two, were hiding somewhere in Isle of Wight. They had worked as domestics in the great house but recently had been hired out as laborers to the Dismal Swamp Company, a change they resisted by running off. Both were apprehended, and Jack was then ordered to go to Burwell's Frederick quarter, but he escaped en route and managed to return to Isle of Wight. In 1773 a young man, Que, sent like Jack from Isle of Wight to Frederick, also ran away. During the war Robert resettled his bondspeople on a plantation in inland King and Queen, and later his widow moved her dower slaves yet again to a Prince William County farm. Among them were Jack and Venus, who by 1778 had made their way back to their old neighborhood in Isle of Wight, while two other domestics, Zeny (Zenith) and her daughter Nelly, were in hiding in or near Williamsburg.

There were also flights from the King's Creek and Fairfield quarters. A boy, Charles, whom James Burwell II sold to a new owner from the town of Petersburg in 1775, wasted little time in escaping from his new master. Gaby, an older King's Creek field hand, husband to a domestic slave hired out in Williamsburg to at least two different masters, repeatedly ran off to town to be near his wife. In 1779 a Chesterfield County man advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for runaway Sye, a mulatto man whom he had recently bought from Lewis Burwell of Fairfield. Sye was a "tolerable good shoemaker, well acquainted with waiting in the house," with "many relations" in Gloucester to whom he had apparently returned. In 1781 a few Fairfield workers seized the opportunity to go over to the British when some of Cornwallis's troops stationed in the town of Gloucester raided Burwell's Church Quarter for livestock and provisions and took the slaves with them. In

1784 Oliver, a man from Fairfield whom Lewis Burwell IV or his heirs had sold to a new owner living in Richmond, ran off from his new master.

After the Revolution, Nathaniel Burwell II of Carter's Grove, like his other Burwell cousins, spent more and more time and invested ever more capital in his Frederick County holdings, including several merchant mills and a distillery. After his first wife's death in 1788, Nathaniel quickly remarried, and thereafter the white family spent most of each year at the main Frederick County farm. There, between 1792 and 1800, they built a new stone great house, Carter Hall, that was valued in an insurance policy drawn up in 1803 at $10,000.

At Carter Hall as at Carter's Grove, the former tidewater slaves lived in dwellings of an entirely different sort from that of their owner. Most of the field hands, along with their families, were housed in outlying quarters adjacent to the lands they tended. Mill and distillery hands and probably other artisans also lived near their workplaces. Only a few domestic workers resided near Carter Hall. Some likely were assigned living space in some of the outbuildings behind the great house. Burwell had small wood cabins put up nearby for others. The houses he had built for Cook Betsey, Sally, Patty, Minny, Nat, Billy, and Worster, for example, cost about £15 a piece, less than what he paid for a new wood dairy or for either of two wood smokehouses. The dairy and one of the smokehouses survive; the slaves' houses have not.

Nathaniel doubtless appreciated the greater opportunities for estate building that the west offered, and surely his need to augment his fortune increased along with his family. In addition to the six children surviving from his first marriage, Nathaniel and his second wife had another eight offspring between 1789 and 1805. He devoted most of his energies to increasing his fortune in order to provide for them. By 1813 he sensed that death was near, but "until within a Day or two of his Decease [29 March 1814]," he was "capable of examining his accounts, Books, and Papers, in which he was a part of almost every day during that Period engaged," three of the sons later recollected.

Other tidewater planters, perhaps less sanguine than Nathaniel about the country's future and more troubled by the irreconcilable difference between the egalitarian ideals the Revolutionaries preached and the actuality of slaveholding, chose instead to manumit some or all of their human property. Between 1782 and the late 1790s, legal restrictions on manumissions were eased, and the emancipation of nearly ten thousand slaves in little more than a decade gave those remaining in bondage hope that all eventually would be freed. Some, not content to wait patiently for a possible change of heart on the part of their owners, petitioned the Virginia legislature for their freedom or negotiated private arrangements by which they could buy freedom for themselves and other family members.

However, any chance that the Burwell slaves might see the fulfillment of Revolutionary promises of liberty and equality—other than by running away—were largely foreclosed by 1800. The rapid growth of the free black population in itself presented a frightening challenge to committed slave owners. These fears were reinforced by the successful slave revolt in San Domingo in the 1790s and were confirmed by revolution from within when slaves in and around the city of Richmond took up arms to Gabriel's Rebellion of 1800. The Virginia legislature abandoned discussion of schemes of gradual emancipation and began restricting its hearing on freedom petitions. Individual slave owners ceased private manumissions, and planters and local authorities began watching their bondspeople much more closely. In times when fears of black risings were particularly intense, local governments made more concerted use of slave patrols, groups of local white men who ranged the countryside looking for and often beating up slaves caught traveling abroad

without passes. It was in this climate of frustrated hopes and increased tensions that most of the Burwell slaves finally left the tidewater.

Nathaniel Burwell II removed most of the agricultural laborers from Carter's Grove in late 1796 or early 1797. Thereafter, only enough adult workers remained at the Grove to keep the great house running, care for the livestock, maintain the gardens and orchards, and perhaps to raise some small grains. Nathaniel turned over the old home plantation to his oldest son, Carter III (1773-1819), in 1804. Unlike his father, who had begun running his estate at majority, Carter Burwell III had to wait until he was thirty-one before taking control of his share of the family property. This included twelve adult slaves and perhaps as many children. The Burwells had long relied on income from the adjacent quarters to maintain a high standard of living at the Grove, and with these eventually parceled out among other family members, the 1,135 acres and twelve taxable slaves attached to the home farm could not produce returns sufficient to maintain later heirs in the style of their father and grandfather. In addition, Nathaniel may have demanded, as he did of at least one of his other sons, that Carter pay him part of the value of the lands he inherited. If so, the tidewater estate would have been further encumbered with debt. At any rate, Carter III barely outlived his father, leaving as his only heir a minor son, "unhealthy and much spoiled." Carter's widow, her second husband, and a series of administrators ran through most of the estate's assets. They hired out and probably eventually sold off the remaining bondspeople.

Nathaniel Burwell II intended the York County quarters to descend eventually to other of his heirs, but the estate was not fully settled until after his widow's death in 1843, by which time only five of Nathaniel II's sixteen children were still alive. An estate manager, increasingly in charge during Burwell's frequent absences, directed the eastern division, with overseers supervising work at Foaces and New Quarters and a miller running a gristmill and eventually a distillery at Mill Quarter. Between 1801 and 1805 a younger son, another Nathaniel (1779-1849) who soon would inherit farms in Frederick County, took over direction of these quarters as part of his training as a plantation manager. By and large the son deferred to the direction of his father and the general manager.

Unlike most other York peninsula planters who dropped tobacco in the 1790s, the elder Nathaniel Burwell continued to grow the weed on the best quarter lands into the 1800s. At Foaces and New Quarter the field hands could still raise high-quality crops that continued to fetch top prices on the London market. The quarter soils were good enough to permit relatively high annual yields for the area, amounting to about 675 pounds per laborer. Wheat and corn remained the other major cash crops, with oats, barley, and clover hay cultivated mainly for plantation use. Williamsburg continued to offer an outlet for wood, beef, and pork; however, in contrast to the 1770s and 1780s, such sales seem not to have amounted to much. Instead, the Burwells marketed most of their surplus grain through Norfolk and Baltimore. Perhaps marketing opportunities contracted once Williamsburg was no longer the state capital and its population stagnated. But the Burwells or their agents may have found it easier to sell most surplus crops to two or three wholesale merchants, who by the turn of the century usually paid in cash in timely installments, rather than making deliveries to dozens of townspeople who were accustomed to paying off their debts slowly and irregularly. Income from rents, on the other hand, grew in importance as the Burwells contracted their farming operations. Between 1801 and 1807 Nathaniel Burwell let small parcels to thirty-one tenants, now including at least ten free black families, arrangements that continued at least into the 1810s.

Only at Foaces and New Quarters did significant numbers of the Burwell African Americans remain together in the tidewater through the 1820s. These people, thirty-some adults along with younger children, continued to work for the benefit of the Burwell family as a whole until 1829, when Nathaniel's youngest son, Thomas H. N. Burwell (1805-1841), returned to York County three years after reaching his age of majority. Thomas bought out the rights of the other heirs to half of the land, and perhaps to some of the slaves. Most, however, were divided up among various of Nathaniel II's heirs in Frederick County. In February 1829 a James River packet took them from Jamestown to Norfolk. Another vessel transported them to Alexandria; presumably they then walked overland to Frederick By 1834 almost all had disappeared from the York estate, bringing to an end any semblance of a Burwell slave community in the tidewater.

After the mid-1790s communication between those slaves remaining in the east and the majority who went west surely became ever less frequent. Once Nathaniel's children inherited their shares of the family farms and workers, they managed these as separate units, not as part of an integrated estate. The slaves had increasingly fewer opportunities for travel from one distant family plantation to another. Once the economic links uniting far-flung plantations were severed, the slaves' access to news of separated kinsfolk diminished proportionately. And by the 1820s many of the Burwell slaves remaining in the tidewater had been dispersed among various unrelated new owners outside of the family. As members of the older generation died, children grew up in York and Gloucester and in the west in Frederick, Prince William, and Mecklenburg who knew distant family members only through the stories that the old people had passed on. These younger people by then were preoccupied with creating new families and forming new kin networks in the Shenandoah Valley and Southside Virginia.

This account ends with the dispersion of the Bacon-Burwell group and the Merchant's Hundred Africans and their descendants from the tidewater region. The groups' history in the west is for the present untraced but surely not untraceable. While the locale and the circumstances of the times changed dramatically over passing years, elements of past experience continued to influence the slaves' values, beliefs, and ways of doing things. Knowledge of their African past and of the groups' earlier history in the tidewater formed part of the Burwell slaves' special identity in the west. At Carter Hall in Frederick County around 1800, men and women in the adjacent quarters, including Sally, Patty, Billup, Worster, Nat, Minny, and Cook Betsey, like Aunt Christian and the old man in Mecklenburg, surely recounted tales of "way back yonder" when their forebears came from Africa. Was Calabar's story among them?

Source: Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, pp. 204-219.

Ellen Eslinger, "The Shape of Slavery on Virginia's Kentucky Frontier, 1775-1800," in Puglisi, ed., *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier*

In this essay, Eslinger explores whether the frontier conditions of Kentucky "created special conditions for slaves" because of the dangers and loneliness of life in this region.

In 1778, the Virginia General Assembly received a petition from Kentuckian Nathaniel Henderson requesting recompense for one of his bondsmen. This slave, whose

name was London, had been killed when a British-led force of more than four hundred Indians besieged Boonesborough for nine days earlier that year. With fewer than forty men in the fort, the commanding officer of the militia had ordered Henderson's slave to a sentry post in a log building used as a kitchen, near an embankment where the enemy was trying to tunnel under the fort's timber walls. In the nighttime stillness, the inhabitants of Boonesborough could hear the digging beneath them. London took several shots at the enemy, until the bright flash from his gun betrayed his location to sharpshooters. He was one of two American casualties.

What was London doing at Boonesborough? Was his death mourned by a wife and children? Does his participation in the community's defense indicate that slaves on the frontier held a closer status with whites—a greater equality wrought by conditions of extreme danger? Did the ability to use a gun and proximity to expanses of wilderness facilitate making a bid for freedom? Did the frontier create special conditions for slaves, and, if so, how were these conditions regarded by the slaves themselves?

Most studies of slavery in Kentucky address the antebellum years, merely noting the arrival of blacks during the settlement period. Given the much greater abundance of source material for the nineteenth century, this emphasis is understandable. But it encourages a tendency to project antebellum patterns of slavery back to an earlier period. In some settings the distinction between frontier and later periods might not be too problematic, but Virginia's Kentucky frontier involved extraordinary isolation and danger. Historians have shown that these conditions affected every aspect of daily life for white settlers. It therefore seems reasonable to consider that the frontier also created a special situation for black pioneers, different from slavery as it existed elsewhere in the late eighteenth century and from slavery as it later existed in nineteenth-century Kentucky.

Blacks figured among the very earliest of the trans-Appalachian settlers. The first effort to establish a permanent settlement in Kentucky, led by Daniel Boone in 1773, was aborted after Boone's eldest son and another young man were killed by Indians. How many blacks accompanied the Boone party is unknown, but surviving the ambush was a slave named Shadrach who led Boone to the bodies. At Harrodsburg, established in 1774 and the first permanent Anglo-American settlement in Kentucky, a tally of the inhabitants in early 1777 revealed that, in addition to the eighty-five adult white males and twenty-six white women, there were twelve slaves over age ten and seven black children. Similarly, St. Asaph's, another of the important early settlements, had twenty-five men, seventy-four women and children, and twenty blacks in 1780. Slaves thus constituted a significant portion of the frontier population long before the appearance of staple agriculture. By 1790, Kentucky slaves numbered more than twelve thousand, with another three thousand in Tennessee. By the end of the century, Kentucky alone had more than forty thousand slaves (18.3 percent of the total population). Moreover, western slavery was broadly based. More than thirty-two thousand Kentuckians owned slaves in 1800, roughly one-quarter of all householders, a level comparable to much of the seaboard South.

Western slavery appeared early and grew rapidly because frontier conditions were extremely conducive to unfree labor. Bringing wilderness land under cultivation required large quantities of unskilled labor, but few free laborers would work for wages when land was readily available for sale or rent on easy terms. Western employers complained that "White servants are difficult to be had, and indifferent when procured, and expect at all times to be [seated] at the same table with their masters." With free labor in short supply, slavery presented a very attractive alternative. Those Westerners who could not afford to purchase a prime adult male for eighty to one hundred pounds might choose to hire one for

ten to eighteen pounds annually, plus clothing and taxes. These rates were considerably higher than those in other parts of the United States. Nonetheless, "Negroes hire very well in this country," reported a Kentuckian to a prospective immigrant. Thus, the proportion of Westerners with an interest in slavery extended beyond the number of actual owners. When Kentucky became a state in 1792, there existed enough support for slavery to overcome a strong church-based emancipation movement. Indeed, Kentucky was the first state to grant slavery constitutional protection.

The prospect of a trans-Appalachian migration was probably regarded with dread by most slaves. The trip itself presented untold miseries. The primary route during the early years was the famous Wilderness Road, a steep pathway too narrow for anything wider than packhorses. Land speculator John May, traveling in 1780 without the burden of a family and household belongings, made the passage in only ten days but reported that it had been "through an uninhabited Country the most rugged and dismal I ever passed through, there being thousands of dead Horses & Cattle on the Road Side which occasioned a continual Stench; and one Half the way there were no Springs." The worst part for May and for most other travelers was the "continual apprehension we were under, of an Attack from the Indians, there not being one Day after we left Holston, but News was brought us of some Murders being committed by those Savages."

Descent down the Ohio River was also unsafe and unpleasant. In addition to treacherous sections of water, the Indian territory along the northern shore posed great danger, and major parts of the journey were still overland. When nineteen of John Breckinridge's slaves left for Kentucky in March 1792, they encountered snow or rain every day. The cart carrying their belongings and supplies broke down before reaching the designated point of departure on the Ohio River. The overseer reported that the slaves were "Every day out of heart & Sick." He kept them moving on only by providing hourly doses of whiskey. Whatever route was chosen, the westward journey was usually harder for slaves because, in contrast to many white migrants, slaves usually walked the overland sections. A boy living on the main road between the Ohio River and Lexington during the 1790s, for instance, noted the passing of "great wagons, laden with merchandise for the interior; the caravans of travelers, mounted on horseback; and the gangs of negroes on foot—all moving south."

But much more painful than the journey was the prospect of separation from friends and relations. Most slaves were probably unwilling pioneers, brought to the frontier by their owner's initiative rather than their own. They were not, however, necessarily passive migrants. Perhaps because of the enormity of the separation involved, some slaves were able to influence migration decisions made by their masters. For example, a Williamsburg man in 1780 refused an excellent price for a black woman and her two children because the prospective buyer was "going to settle in Cantuckey and she beg'd off—otherwise I believe I shu'd have taken it." In another instance Henry Bedinger of Berkeley County, Virginia, wrote his brother in Kentucky, "You request me to send out your Negro Woman Sarah[.] I will attempt it but this cannot be done instantly for the inclement weather will not permit the taking her Two youngest Children and without them I suppose she would not go." When John Breckinridge had a party of slaves in Fincastle County preparing to embark for Kentucky, his mother-in-law, Mary Cabell, attempted to send some others with the group. Wrote Cabell, "I did my best to send little Sarah there to go with them but Violet would not agree to part with her so I proposed for her to go with her daughter." Violet was "as good a slave as Ever was born," wrote Cabell, "how ever she said she would not go to Cantuckey nor let Sarah until I deye'd unless Stephen her Husband could go with them." Negotiations

were therefore undertaken to purchase Stephen from a neighboring planter and kinsman. Even masters less caring of their slaves' happiness probably attempted to win their cooperation, if only in the interest of discipline.

When persuasion failed, some slaves made desperate attempts to avoid separation. For example, a western Virginia newspaper included an advertisement in 1794 for the return of a slave named Tom whose owner had given him permission to visit his wife, the property of a man named Botts, living in another county. But as Tom's master later discovered, Botts had already departed for Kentucky. Tom's owner declared in a newspaper advertisement: "I very much suspect that he intends pursuing his rout [*sic*] to Kentucky, where the abovementioned Botts is about to carry his wife." Two years later, also in the same newspaper, appeared the story of "old Negro Sam," a slave estimated to be about seventy years old and the property of Colonel John Sinkers in Fauquier County. Sinkers described Sam as a gardener, "well dressed, a great talker," who, "on account of old age, stoops much in walking." Sinkers had given Old Sam a pass to visit his wife, the property of a Major Read living near Winchester. Only later did Sinkers discover that Read had moved to Kentucky. In the advertisement, Sinkers stated his belief that Old Sam had followed, "imprudent enough to pursue her as far as his strength will permit." Similarly, in 1789, a slave whose owner had moved to Kentucky was hired to ironmaster Henry Miller in the Shenandoah Valley, but was captured on the mouth of the Kanawha River by none other than Daniel Boone. Even after the migration to Kentucky, a few slaves persisted in attempting to reunite with loved ones. A notice published in the *Kentucky Gazette* in 1788 described some runaway slaves and mentioned that they had recently come to Kentucky from Cumberland County, Virginia. A newspaper in Staunton alerted Virginians that a slave named Aaron had run away from a Colonel Barbee and was probably headed for Fredericksburg.

Slaves in larger holdings did not necessarily escape the pain of separation from family and friends. The undeveloped character of the trans-Appalachian economy during the frontier period could not support large agricultural operations. Although the Bluegrass region of central Kentucky and adjacent areas held excellent prospects for staple agriculture, until 1795 the Spanish authorities at New Orleans effectively prevented western Americans from exporting produce down the Mississippi River. In the meantime, large slaveowners could engage only a portion of their slaves in frontier agriculture. One method for dealing with this problem was to hire out slaves to settlers in need of extra labor. Though not permanently separating slave kin, the hiring agreement was often on an annual basis and negotiated by the master. Other large slaveholders apparently sold slaves off before embarking for the western settlements. Virginian Hubbard Taylor of Orange County, for example, owned nine adult slaves and fourteen between age twelve and sixteen in 1788. The following year, on the eve of departure, for Kentucky, his holdings had shrunk to only five adults and one slave between twelve and sixteen years old. With extremely few exceptions, trans-Appalachian migration meant major separations for slaves.

Safe arrival in Kentucky provided no guarantee that surviving slave relationships would remain intact. On the contrary, tax records for western counties suggest a lively interregional slave market. The most readily apparent evidence may be found in the number of white pioneers who did not become slaveholders until after their arrival in Kentucky. In Madison County, where settlement commenced with Boonesborough in 1775, at least 13.4 percent of the slaveholders listed in 1792 had not owned slaves five years earlier. In Woodford County, the proportion was 10 percent. Other Kentucky central counties, typically characterized by lush Bluegrass soils, probably experienced similar rates of increase.

In addition to new slaveowners were the pioneers who had brought slaves and later added further to their holdings. Tax records reveal that numerous individual slaveholdings increased in ways which cannot be reasonably accounted for by natural increase. For example, the slave holdings of William Miller Sr. of Madison County increased from one adult slave in 1787 to three adults and one slave below age sixteen by 1792. Similarly, Aaron Lewis had two adults and one young slave in 1787; five years later he had four adults and two young slaves. The many new slaveholders and the number of slaveholders whose slaves abruptly increased points to an active frontier slave trade. Of 247 Madison County slaveowners in 1792, 101 had resided there in 1787. Of these, 48 (47.5 percent) had apparently bought slaves in the intervening years. Other counties reveal a similar pattern. Woodford County, an area where staple agriculture was already beginning, marks the higher end of the scale. Of 348 slaveholders in 1792, 104 had resided there since 1787, 60 (57.5 percent) of whom showed a pattern of change indicating slave purchases. Tracing a small randomly selected sample of individual slaveholders annually through a five-year period suggests that most of the slave purchases occurred after around 1790, as the Kentucky economy entered a period of prosperity.

Moreover, these figures represent a minimum level of activity. Some slave purchases are disguised by patterns of growth possibly caused by natural increase. A holding which changed from one adult slave and two children to two adults and one child, for example, could have been due to the purchase of an adult and the death of a child, but it can also be explained by the passage of time and the natural life course. Such cases were therefore excluded from the analysis. Secondly, the tax records from which these figures were derived do not begin until 1787, after more than a decade of western settlement. Some Kentuckians had already bought slaves by then, obscuring the actual extent of western slave trading. For example, Pressley Anderson came to Kentucky with next to nothing, described by a fellow pioneer as arriving at Strode's Station sometime around 1780 barefooted, with his young wife and young child. Yet, by 1787 Anderson owned two young slaves. How many other pioneers bought slaves during this early period is impossible to determine. Nonetheless, that settlers of modest means like Anderson lost little time in purchasing slaves underscores the importance of slavery in newly settled areas.

To what extent did western slavery grow as a result of an interregional slave trade with the seaboard states? During the eighteenth century, most slaves probably came with their owners rather than with dealers, as Kulikoff has argued. Still, the strong frontier demand for labor was a matter of general public knowledge. During the constitutional debates at Philadelphia in 1787, George Mason pointed out, "The western people are already calling for slaves for their new lands." Other scattered references also raise the possibility that the internal slave trade operated from an early date. In 1792, for example, Knoxville merchant James Miller advertised goods recently brought from Philadelphia and Richmond, including "a few Young, likely Virginia born Negroes." And an inhabitant of Williamsburg in 1780 wrote of a man in town who was "daily expected to purchase young Negros for the Gent men whos going to Cantuckey." Whether this incident involved slave purchases for personal use or for resale is impossible to tell, but the opportunities for profit make the latter possibility all the more likely. Particularly suggestive is a letter from Kentuckian Richard Woolfolk to his brother in Virginia. Woolfolk introduced the carrier of the letter, Ambrose Young, and explained, "he comes in to p[ur]chase negroes."

The strong western demand for slave labor boosted price levels significantly. By the early 1790s, an adult male slave that might sell for seventy pounds in Virginia, sold for a hundred pounds in Kentucky. The ready market for slaves encouraged at least some

prospective migrants to bring surplus slaves for western sale. William Christian, for instance, warned his mother, who was preparing to leave her home in Virginia's Botetourt County and join him in Kentucky, that the western economy was so utterly devoid of cash that it was difficult to make any kind of purchase. The only items readily accepted in lieu of cash were slaves. Christian advised, "Unless you can sell in Botetourt to get some good working Negroes & money to bring with you you had better remain where you are." Kentucky lawyer John Breckinridge likewise advised a prospective settler, "Negroes would exchange well for lands, or sell for cash." Slaves were among the most liquid of western assets.

If an organized interregional slave trade dates to the late eighteenth century, as Steven Deyle suggested in his study of its origins, the weak western economy kept the volume low. As long as the trans-Appalachian West lacked ready access to export markets, the region's economic growth remained severely restricted. Traders of imported goods needed to receive payment in a form acceptable to their eastern creditors. Without cash or an export market where produce could be readily converted to cash, an interregional slave trade could not thrive. Even prosperous Westerners, such as William Christian, found it difficult to meet the cash terms required for long-distance trade. The pressure on western money reserves diminished somewhat during the early 1790s because the flood of immigration remained high and the federal government's purchasing of supplies for western military campaigns brought cash into the region. Unfortunately, this spell of relative prosperity proved temporary. Only with the opening of New Orleans to American trade did Kentuckians finally gain an adequate circulation of currency.

Other factors also discouraged the development of an interregional Kentucky slave trade, though probably less severely. As part of Virginia, Kentucky was subject after 1778 to slave import restrictions, which were reinforced a decade later with a second law specifically pertaining to the District of Kentucky. Immigrants from outside Virginia were required to take an oath that slaves brought into the Commonwealth were intended for personal use and not for resale. The oath was duly administered, although whether such laws proved an effective deterrent is hard to say. In any case, the restriction did not apply to internal migration from Virginia, the primary source of western slaves. The uncertain legal future of western slavery also worked as a deterrent. In contrast to other states, Kentucky's religious culture was dominated by evangelical denominations that were sympathetic toward emancipation, creating a political atmosphere that gave some prospective settlers who owned slaves reason for pause. While making plans to migrate in 1792, John Breckinridge confessed, "I am somewhat afraid of the Kentucky politicians with respect to negroes." Similarly, in 1798, a new settler named David Meade believed that western support of emancipation was strong enough that "I would not advise Slaveholders to come here immediately." Emancipation stood as Kentucky's most controversial political issue, dominating the state constitutional debates in 1792 and 1799.

With opposing sets of conditions in the West, the development of an interregional slave trade may ultimately prove to have had as much to do with conditions in the seaboard states as in the West. Agricultural change and high rates of natural increase among Virginia slaves were important factors in the expansion of the slave trade in the nineteenth century, but how early did they begin to exert an effect? "Push" factors have usually been overshadowed by the "pull" of frontier opportunity. Yet, they should not be dismissed without a fuller understanding of the conditions facing slaveowners in the older settlements during the post-Revolutionary decades.

Most western immigrants were people of modest means who probably took with them whatever slaves they had or found readily available, but scattered evidence suggests a

preference for slaves in their mid-teens or twenties. Slaves of this age presumably appealed to western masters because they offered a nearly adult capacity for labor with a minimum of disruption in child care and family life. Kentuckian James Davis of Lincoln County, for example, sought to purchase slaves in 1789 through his friend Zachariah Johnson, then representing Rockbridge County in the Virginia Assembly. Davis sent cash and requested that, when Johnston next went to Richmond, he "Purchase a young Negroe fellow between Sixteen & twenty & a girl between twelve & Eighteen if you can procure them." If money was left over, Johnston was asked also to buy a "Small One." Another Kentuckian requested his brother in Virginia to send grass seed, a still, and "a Negro boy likely as Common Between the age of 15 and 25." Similarly, a 1794 newspaper advertisement in Winchester, Virginia, offered "A very likely, lively and healthy NEGRO MAN not more than twenty years old. He has been used to plantation work only . . . I believe he would suit a person moving to the Western Country, as well as any Negro whatever." When a British immigrant named Harry Toulman met several members of Virginia's prominent Taylor family, one of these wealthy men told of having started a second plantation near Louisville where he had sent twenty-one "children of his slaves." Other studies of slave migration to newly settled areas, both before and after the trans-Appalachian settlement, likewise reveal a general preference for younger slaves.

Also in keeping with findings for other slave frontiers, trans-Appalachian masters demonstrated no discernible preference for male over female slaves. Probate inventories in two sample counties reveal balanced sex ratios. Woodford County inventories recorded between 1787 and 1800 include thirty adult males and thirty-one adult females. In Madison County, the figures were thirty-one males and thirty-four females. In Bourbon County probate inventories for roughly the same period, the number of adult men and women stood even at forty-seven each. Clearing land for agriculture placed the greatest pressure on unskilled labor, and its arduous nature made male slaves especially valuable. Yet, female slaves also could serve as field workers, plus they usually cost less. The value of an adult female slave in Kentucky probate inventories ranged between sixty-five and eighty-five pounds, compared to from eighty-five to one hundred pounds for a male. Late-eighteenth-century masters probably also valued female slaves for their reproductive capabilities, but in newly settled areas such as Kentucky immediate labor requirements probably overshadowed long-term concerns.

Since most slaves arrived in Kentucky as they were entering their childbearing years, the youthful character of western slavery fostered by the selective migration process persisted as the pioneer generation began bearing children. In Fayette County, one of the earliest counties to make the transition from frontier outpost to staple agriculture, 53.2 percent of the slaves recorded on the 1787 tax lists were below age sixteen. By 1800, the proportion had edged upward to 54.2 percent. Neighboring Bourbon County experienced a similar trend. There, 53.1 percent of the slaves were below age sixteen in 1787; fifteen years later the proportion was 55.6 percent. In Madison County, the change was slightly more pronounced, increasing from 52.1 percent to 57.7 percent in 1800. The rapid growth of the western slave population resulting from the skewed age structure of the pioneer generation, combined with the balanced sex ratio, may partially explain why an interregional slave trade is not more evident during the eighteenth century. In any case, it certainly helped provide slaves for subsequent frontiers, as Kentucky's labor requirements declined in the years following the War of 1812.

Slavery on Virginia's trans-Appalachian frontier was shaped not only by the selective migration process, but also by a second factor: the hostile relationship between Anglo-

Americans and native people. Whereas later settlement expansion would be carefully supervised by the federal government, the first trans-Appalachian settlements coincided with the Revolutionary War and the weak Confederation government. Also, the northern Amerindian peoples during this period were well armed and supplied by the British in the Great Lakes region, as were the southern Indians by the Spanish. The prolonged Indian wars dominated western life for nearly two decades, until General Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794. The danger affected western slaves in three basic ways: personal survival material conditions, and social organization.

The racial attitudes of Amerindians toward blacks is insufficiently understood. Compared to whites, blacks in early Kentucky may have been less likely to be killed, probably due to their unarmed condition rather than skin color. Clearly black casualties occurred. Settler Samuel Shepherd of Georgetown, for example, noted in his diary several local incidents involving slaves. On June 1, 1788, Shepard noted that "a Young Man named George Gibson was killed and a Negro taken by the Indians about one mile from where I was at work in the woods." A year later, on August 9, 1789, "The Indians killed two Negro children this day near the Crossings meeting house . . . and wounded two large ones who survived." On August 29, 1792, Shepard commented on "considerable mischief" by Indians in the last two days. Four men were dead, five slaves captured, and one Indian had been killed by a white woman. A pursuit party retook the slaves and killed one more Indian. Shepard's journal indicates that slaves had just as much cause for fear as did their white owners.

One response to the danger was training in the use of firearms. An inhabitant stated that during the siege of Boonesborough in 1778, when London was killed, "arms & ammunition were given to the negroe men." The absence of any additional explanation suggests that this was not an extraordinary practice during crisis situations and, further, that black men had experience with firearms even if they did not normally possess them. At least some frontier slaves handled guns routinely. An early white pioneer named William McBride, for example, told of "Old" Joseph Gray, an early settler near modem Nashville. Gray made his settlement "with his negroes alone, whom he armed." According to this informant, Gray was attacked once and the slaves "made good soldiers." One of them, a slave named Chick, was described as a "good woodsman."

The extent to which such individuals shared in the general defense is impossible to gauge, but frontier narratives preserve at least a few episodes of heroic action. One instance occurred when a cabin was attacked by a small group of Indians in early 1783 near a place called the Crab Orchard. The only adults home at the time were the mistress and an ailing male slave. They quickly moved to secure the door, but one Indian managed to squeeze in. The slave "presented his gun at the Indian," who grabbed it. The two grappled until the slave stunned the intruder with sharp blows to the head. He then rushed to help with the door, telling his mistress to dispatch the prone Indian with the broad ax, which she did. Meanwhile, the other Indians were using their tomahawks against the door and hacking at the cabin's crude wooden chimney in order to shoot in. The slave boldly proposed that they be let in one at a time. He would wrestle them to the ground and hold them until the mistress could kill them with the ax. Fortunately, however, help arrived from neighbors.

In a few instances, heroic action brought freedom. The most famous case involved a slave named Monk, the property of Captain James Estill. In early 1782, a group of Wyandot Indians approached Estill's fortified settlement, killing a white girl and capturing Monk. They intended to attack the fort and could have easily succeeded but withdrew instead, largely because Monk exaggerated the number of defenders. As soon as possible, Estill

organized a militia party to pursue the would-be attackers. When they closed, Monk helped again by shouting assurances that the Wyandots did not outnumber the whites. A vicious battle ensued, during which Estill was killed, and Monk used the confusion to escape. He also saved one of Estill's wounded men, carrying him some forty miles back to the settlement. Monk's new owner, Wallace Estill, freed him as a reward for his loyalty and valor.

Surprisingly seldom did western blacks use their proximity to wilderness as a means of achieving freedom. One of the few recorded instances occurred in 1780 and involved a slave belonging to a prominent land speculator named John May. When May went away on business he left his slave at Louisville, where he "fell in with some worthless Negroes who persuaded him to run away & attempt to get with the Indians." After thrashing about in the woods for ten days, May's slave returned to Louisville. Although not the kind of outcome that would encourage emulation, the incident led May to believe that Kentucky "would be a bad place to bring Slaves to, being so near . . . Indians that they will frequently find their way to them." May's concern, however, proved without much foundation. Opportunities for escape certainly existed and were sometimes taken, but the generally hostile relations with Native Americans made such initiatives risky. Black assimilation to Euro-American culture may have also played a part, as suggested by the following incident. During Indian negotiations at Fort Greenville, Colonel John Grant encountered a slave woman whom he recognized as having been captured some years earlier from his neighborhood and he tried to gain her release. Whether her Indian captors were amenable is not related, but she refused to abandon the four children she had given birth to since her capture. If her children were allowed to go with her, she told Grant, "She wo'd rather live w[ith] white people."

Kentucky settlement involved numerous hardships and dangers, and this was especially true for slaves. Masters often sent their slaves ahead to build a cabin and prepare land for farming so that when white family members arrived they would not have to begin from scratch. For example, when Colonel Abram Bowman returned to Virginia in 1778, he left behind a male slave at Harrodsburg to tend the crops. Such practices often exposed slaves to extreme danger. In 1780 Nathaniel Hart, a prominent member of Boonesborough, left for the Nashville area, at that time a dangerous frontier. Hart took along slaves belonging to his brother Thomas, apparently to clear land belonging to them both. Thomas Hart soon wrote to Nathaniel, "I apprehend Our people at your Station [are] in eminent danger of being all cut off as it is So very weak and Such Numbers of Indians in the Country[.] [W]ere they free people I don't know that it would give me Any uneasiness, but to Send a parcel of poor Slaves where I dare not go myself [should anything happen] I fear it would prove a great drawback on my future happiness in this Life." The eagerness to open new land nonetheless prevailed. Other sources also make mention of slaves living on their own in exposed locations. An early Kentuckian named John Bruce, for example, erected a small cabin in Bourbon County and left a man and woman slave there to open the land for cultivation, arranging for hunters to occasionally supply them with meat. How long they remained there is unknown, but one day the man was discovered scalped and tomahawked, and the woman was missing and supposed taken prisoner.

Slaves also endured harsher conditions because of their inferior status in the frontier household, as illustrated by the fate of Bob, the property of a prominent early settler named John Floyd. In November of 1779, Bob slipped and severely wounded himself in the foot with an ax while erecting a cabin for Floyd. Throughout one of the harshest winters, Bob languished in a temporary shelter, perhaps the same shelter previously used by Floyd and his

family. Frostbite led to gangrene, and, "reduced to a mere skeleton," Bob finally died three months after receiving his injury. Floyd and his young family, meanwhile, spent the winter huddled in the cabin. No doubt conditions were miserable, as they were for all westerners that particular winter, but the suffering experienced by the Floyds can hardly compare to what Bob endured before he finally expired.

Frontier conditions also affected slave life by reducing opportunities for black socializing and family formation. Because the majority of slaves lived in holdings of five or fewer, most western blacks had to look beyond their master's household for a spouse. In some parts of Kentucky slaves were extremely dispersed. In Madison County, where Boonesborough was located, for example, forty-two (44 percent) slaveowners owned only one slave in 1787; 83 percent owned five or less. The average slaveholding unit remained small throughout the eighteenth century, measuring only 4.39 statewide in 1800. Moreover, approximately one-fifth of western slaveowners had only a single slave. By this time the emergence of staple crop production, particularly hemp and tobacco, was beginning to have an effect in some areas, but most slave masters still owned only a single slave, or perhaps two. The dispersed pattern of slaveowning meant that many western slaves lived in relative social isolation from other blacks. Those residing in outlying settlements still vulnerable to Indian attack were particularly isolated.

How western blacks coped with this situation remains largely a mystery, but the journal of a young Kentucky settler named James Taylor, the son of a prominent Virginia planter, provides a rare glimpse of its importance for western slaves. After a brief stay with his brother, Hubbard Taylor, who had settled in Clark County three years earlier, James Taylor retraced part of his route to reach lands given to him by his father on the Kentucky shore of the Ohio River near modem Newport. With him were his body servant, Adam (aged seventeen), and two adult male slaves, Moses and Humphrey. That first year, 1793, Taylor and his slaves cleared roughly fifteen acres and planted it in corn. One day, Moses approached his master and said that he and his fellow servants could not remain in Newport because "there are no colored people here, we have no women to wash for us, on Sundays we stalk about without being able to talk to any one." Moses urged Taylor to sell his land and move to the densely settled area where Hubbard Taylor lived. Taylor replied, "Moses, I am a stranger as well as you and my servants. I have good land here on a fine river. I have no land there and you will in time have many black people here for neighbors." Moses found it hard to believe that such an isolated place would ever be better. Taylor urged patience. "Depend on it we will reap the advantages in due time," he told Moses, "We can raise four times as much corn and every kind of produce as we could in Virginia, on those poor worn out lands we have left." Taylor's future may have looked promising, but Moses and his fellow bondsmen had less to look forward to. They ran away a short time later when Taylor went to spend a weekend with neighbors. Although Taylor's land lay on the southern banks of the Ohio River, his slaves ran toward slavery rather than away from it, retracing their way to Hubbard Taylor's large plantation. Their destination being readily surmised, they were soon caught. No women joined Taylor's men for at least another four years.

The material presented here sketches a few ways in which slavery on Virginia's Kentucky frontier differed from slavery elsewhere during this period. The two most important factors shaping western slavery were the selective migration process and the danger of Indian attack. Much more work remains to be done before the effect of these and other influencing factors can be fully understood. Yet, a few broad conclusions may be drawn. First and foremost, instead of regarding slavery as contrary to the norm in newly settled areas, the reverse is probably more accurate. Slavery thrived on American frontiers

wherever it was not prohibited by national law because of the virtually insatiable demand for the unskilled labor needed in opening new land for agriculture. Virginia's trans-Appalachian frontier was no exception; slavery appeared early in Kentucky and grew rapidly. Second, slaves regarded movement to frontier places very differently than did their white owners. Slaves had little to gain yet shared all the risks and discomfort of western life. They exercised limited influence in making the decision to migrate and were subject to a much greater degree of social upheaval—at the point of departure, from resale in the West, and as a result of geographic dispersal in small slaveholdings. Third, due to the migration process, the frontier slave population was characterized by a skewed age structure (as was the white population). This, and the balanced sex ratios, enabled the frontier generation of slaves to reproduce rapidly. Whether reproduction occurred in a family setting seems doubtful, however, considering the typically small size of western slaveholdings and the active regional slave trade.

Much remains to be learned about slavery on the early national frontier, especially regarding matters such as daily living conditions and master-slave relationships. Most intriguing of all, though far beyond the scope of this brief essay, is the possibility that the frontier experience left a lasting imprint among black pioneers commensurate with that left among whites. Just as Virginia's trans-Appalachian frontier was an important episode in subsequent American settlement, it could eventually prove to have been equally important for understanding the course of American slavery, especially in Kentucky. At the very least, the material presented here seriously challenges J. Winston Coleman's classic statement that slavery during Kentucky's frontier period was "the mildest that existed anywhere in the world."

Source: Eslinger, "The Shape of Slavery on Virginia's Kentucky Frontier," pp. 172-193.

Selections from Philip D. Morgan and Michael L. Nicholls, "Slaves in Piedmont Virginia, 1720-1790"

The experiences of a slave woman named Kate, who was imported from Africa to piedmont Virginia at the time of the Revolution, illustrates the changing face of slavery after 1750. Slave life in the rapidly growing piedmont region differed significantly from demographic conditions in the early tidewater: Women and children made up a large proportion of African immigrants, slaves were concentrated on middle-sized plantations, and many slaves had little contact with their white masters.

On Monday, May 25, 1772, a young African woman, one of many slaves aboard the Polly, stepped onto Virginia soil at Bermuda Hundred, a Chesterfield County village close to the confluence of the James and Appomattox rivers. Perhaps she caught a glimpse of Shirley, the imposing brick manor house majestically sitting beyond the James. Would her fate fall there? she may have wondered. Had she arrived in Virginia a half century earlier, she would probably have landed at a wharf along the York River or the Rappahannock, perhaps destined to live the rest of her life in the tidewater region. But in the years after 1750 most Africans brought to Virginia were taken up the James to be sold at ports like Bermuda Hundred. Most were then marched into the interior, where planters eagerly sought

their labor on newly settled piedmont plantations and quarters. In this regard, the fate of this African woman was typical.

No doubt, many planters and merchants were drawn to Bermuda Hundred on May 25 by newspaper notices advertising the Polly's 450 "fine healthy SLAVES." Among them was Paul Carrington, holder of several local offices and a member of the House of Burgesses for Charlotte County. He bought 50 slaves with intent to resell them in the Southside. As the king's attorney in several counties and a professional lawyer, Carrington traveled regularly in this rapidly expanding subregion. He must have been aware of the Southside's insatiable demand for labor. Perhaps he also found encouragement in the slave prices. Richard Hanson, a Petersburg area merchant, expressed surprise at the owners of this consignment, Burnley and Braikenridge, "breaking the price so low £60 to £67.10 privilege . . . as the People expected to give £65 to £67.10 privilege . . . . They likewise abated £3 pr inch in the small slaves." Nevertheless, "considering the sum large and a considerable risque in the health & life of the Slaves," Carrington took on three silent partners. With their financial support he could proceed more securely in the resale of his purchases. Carrington led the Africans to his plantation near the junction of the Roanoke and Little Roanoke rivers in southern Charlotte County. He ultimately kept only one of them for his own use; he estimated her age as eighteen years old; he named her Kate.

Initially, Kate lived at Carrington's home plantation. She was accompanied for at least some months by other Africans from the Polly, since the credit crisis of 1772, the effects of which were felt in Virginia that summer, undoubtedly hampered sales. By the fall, however, Carrington had apparently sold about thirty-five of his Africans, for he then bought winter clothing for only fourteen. What ties Kate developed to her shipmates cannot be determined, nor can the number of men, women, or children in this dwindling group. Two were men, both named Will. One, aged about forty-two had been purchased about a decade earlier, the other, at least half his age, only two years before. The three adult women, included Barbara, acquired five years earlier and, at age twenty-four, the mother of a two-year-old daughter named Sarah; Amey, given as a young girl to Carrington by his father-in-law Clement Read, now twenty-five years of age and the mother of three boys, Lewis, Hampton, and Amos; and Nell, born in July 1754, now almost eighteen, about the same age as the African newcomer. Kate lived among these slaves—some Africans, some Virginians—for about a year and a half.

By residing on the manor plantation Kate came into close contact with whites. When she arrived, Carrington, a widower, was raising five children—two girls and three boys—who ranged in age from eight to sixteen years. It is impossible to gauge the impact on Kate of these early encounters with her owner, his children, and white visitors. What is clear is that this close contact with her master and his family was short-lived.

By November 1773 Carrington had transferred Kate to his Twittys Creek plantation a mile or so up the Little Roanoke from his home. There she joined eight other adults: five men and three women. One of the women was an African named Dicey, who, in the spring of 1763, had been judged by the Lunenburg court to be twelve years old. Since that time, she had given birth to three children, two of whom had died. Perhaps she helped Kate bring her first child into the world, a son named Byas, born in February 1774, twenty-one months after his mother's arrival in Virginia, the father unknown. Another woman, Belinda, had turned seventeen in the fall of 1773. She, too, was pregnant and would give birth to her first child, Ryly, one month before Kate. The age of Tabb, the remaining woman, was never recorded, but she was probably middle-aged, since she was exempt from field labor (being put instead to spinning) and never bore a child while a Carrington slave. She had been

purchased, along with two other Twittys Creek slaves—Robin, the thirty-three-year-old head of the quarter, and Toby, aged twenty-five—from Benjamin Harrison in 1770. The other men at this quarter, included Hampton, about twenty-eight years old, purchased from Edward Branch in late 1770; George, nearly thirty-four, who came into Carrington's possession in the fall of 1767; and Jack, in his early thirties, possibly an African, bought from the merchant Thomas Tabb in September 1762. All nine adults therefore had been in Carrington's service no more than a few years, a decade or so at most.

Kate's transfer to Twittys Creek apparently removed her from continual contact with whites. With the possible exception of one year, Carrington did not employ a white overseer at this quarter. In fact, he soon referred to it as "Robins." When he gave one thousand acres to his youngest son, Paul Carrington, Jr., in July 1786, the land included a parcel on the east side of the Little Roanoke above Horsepen Creek, including the mouth of Twittys Creek "and the plantation called Robins." Robin himself became the possession, but not yet the property, of the younger Carrington. By January 1782 Kate, who seems to have remained at Robin's, was the mother of three more children; two girls Lucy and Anitta, and a boy, Abram. Together with Byas, Kate and her three younger children most likely passed into the ownership of Paul Carrington, Jr., at his marriage in August 1785. At that point she disappeared from the senior Carrington's records.

The story of Kate's first decade in piedmont Virginia is tantalizingly inconclusive at its most critical junctures. How had this young African woman withstood the horrors of the Middle Passage? How did she view her new surroundings and master? How did she react to the sale of her shipmates? What friendships did she strike up with the slaves on Carrington's home plantation and Twittys Creek quarter? Did she form a special relationship with Nell at the former residence and Dicey at the latter? Was it an African from the Polly, one of the two men named Will at the home quarter, or some other person who fathered her first child? Who fathered her next three? There are no answers to these questions. It is impossible to penetrate the veil of silence.

We can, however, place the known facts of Kate's life in broader context. For one thing, Kate was part of a large stream of people flowing into the piedmont region. An understanding of this remarkably rapid settlement, which shifted the center of black life from tidewater to piedmont about the time Kate arrived in Virginia, will enlarge her tale. Second, it is not too farfetched to speak of the Africanization of the piedmont during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Kate played a small role in that broader story. Third, Kate's life encourages us to explore the demographic profile of the piedmont slave population. While large numbers of women and children appeared late among tidewater slaves, they were important to piedmont settlements from the first. Finally, the setting that awaited most of the region's black settlers will be investigated. It will be argued that remarkably early in piedmont settlement most slaves found themselves on middle-sized estates, with a fair degree of autonomy from whites. Kate's situation was not unusual. Thus we move beyond Kate's story to explore the people of a region and the emergence of black community life.

* * * *

What then, is the import of Kate's story when placed in this larger context? In some respects, Africans like Kate who reached the piedmont in the third quarter of the eighteenth century replicated many of the experiences of their predecessors in the tidewater during the previous half-century. As before, these newcomers contributed to extremely rapid

population growth: in certain places at certain times, the adult slave population was heavily African; as waves of immigrants moved into the region, imbalances between men and women occurred, making stable family life difficult to achieve; and, in the early years of settlement, most new arrivals resided on small plantations and quarters.

Thus there were similarities between this later piedmont and earlier tidewater slave experiences, yet the differences are more striking. Even the composition of African immigrants seems to have changed. African girls, and perhaps, women, formed a large proportion of newcomers than ever before. Because of this, and because of a similar trend among Creoles, the numbers of slave men and women moved rapidly toward equality. In addition, children formed a significant proportion of the piedmont's slave population from the beginning. The opportunities for family life were therefore not negligible. Moreover, women and children were important to production in the piedmont at an early stage in the region's development. Whether they gained any material advantages from the early assumption of these field work responsibilities is an open question. Finally, before long, most Africans and Creoles found themselves on middle-sized, not small, estates, often in neighborhoods where many other slaves resided. At the same time, the chances to live beyond the control of a white master were greatest in the earliest years of piedmont settlement, in marked contrast to the tidewater pattern.

Kate's situation can hardly be described as fortunate. Nevertheless, she and many other immigrants like her at least enjoyed more favorable demographic and social conditions than had their predecessors in the tidewater. Newcomers like Kate discovered it much easier to fine a mate; they had more children; they were less isolated from fellow slaves; they played a central role in the primary productive activity of the region, which may have afforded them some advantages; and some even lived beyond the purview of whites. Demographic constraints that existed for generations in the oldest tidewater counties disappeared in a matter of decades on the frontier.

Source: Morgan and Nicholls, "Slaves in Piedmont Virginia, 1720-1790," pp. 211-215, 246-247.

Selections from Jeff Carskadden and James Morton, *Where the Frolics and War Dances Are Held: The Indian Wars and the Early Exploration and Settlement of Muskingum County and the Central Muskingum Valley*

The following selections provide details about the early traders and explorers of the Muskingum Valley. Carskadden and Morton use travel accounts to write a county history of muskingum County in the eighteenth century, the Muskingum Valley was home to the Delaware Indians.

Perhaps typical of these traders was David Owens, who traded at the Delaware and Shawnee towns along the Tuscarawas and Muskingum rivers, and who later served as interpreter for Colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition to Coshocton in 1764. Historian Charles Hanna , citing from a history of the Owens family published in 1811, states:

> ...David Owens, who had been married to an Indian woman, and had by her three children, when, taking a thought that he would advance himself, killed

> and scalped his wife and children, and brought their scalps to Philadelphia. He received no reward, only was made ambassador between General Bouquet and the Indians.

Although there were laws against it, many of the English traders sold rum and whiskey to the Indians, and there was widespread cheating . Charles Williams, who later settled for a time at the salt springs at Chandlersville in Muskingum County (1797-1800), had specialized in trading whiskey to the Indians, although he was not a licensed trader. After the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 Williams was living on Short Creek in Jefferson County. From here he would haul barrels of rum and whiskey on horseback to the Tuscarawas Valley, where he would inevitably find Indian hunting parties eager to trade.

* * * *

From the Scioto Valley, Jones went to the Delaware town at Lancaster (Hockhockin) where he overtook David Duncan, a trader with the firm Duncan and Wilson, who was on his way to Pittsburgh. This was the same Duncan who, 15 years later, delivered the provisions and presents to the site of present-day Philo in preparation for the signing of the Muskingum Treaty.

Jones accompanied Duncan to the Muskingum Valley, following the Traders' Road, and we begin Jones' journal as they leave Hockhockin on February 10, 1773. After traveling up the valley of the South Fork of the Licking, and fording the North Fork of the Licking at its mouth at present-day Newark, they proceeded down the north side of the Licking River about a mile. Here they encountered an Indian village which Jones called Dan Elleot's Wife's Town. This town may have been settled in part by Shawnees from Wakatomika sometime the previous year.

> Wednesday 10, intending to travel forty miles, set out early in the morning – our course more northerly than northeast – the land chiefly low and level – and where our horses broke thro' the frost, it might be called bad road and good land. There were no inhabitants by the way. Before night, came to the designed town, called Dan. Elleot's wife's; a man of that name was said to have here a squaw for his pretended wife. This is a small town consisting of Delawares and Shawannees. The chief is a Shawannee woman, who is esteemed very rich – she entertains travelers – there were four of us in company, and for our use, her negro quarter was evacuated this night, which had a fire in the middle without any chimney. This woman has a large flock, and supplied us with milk. Here also we got corn for our horses at a very expensive price: but Mr. Duncan paid for me here, and in our journey till we parted. About a mile before we came to this town, we crossed a clear large stream, called Salt Lick Creek [North Fork of the Licking River], which empties into Muskingum, on which the chief Delaware town is situated. The country here appeared calculated for health, fertile and beautiful.

* * * *

Before continuing with Jones' journal, it would be worthwhile to comment again on the wealth of information contained in his descriptions of the Indian towns he visited. An example is his comment on the Shawnee woman and her black servants. In a footnote in

the journal Jones states: "This woman has several negroes who were taken from Virginia in time of last war, and now esteemed as her property." Black slavery was not uncommon among the Shawnee (and other tribes as well. Blacks were often taken from the Virginia settlements, as Jones notes, or they were captured with white traders. Traders often took black servants (or white indentured servants) into Indian country to act as teamsters or to paddle canoes. If a trader was captured or killed, the black servants might also be killed, or more often, taken captive. A mulatto servant of David Duncan, the same Duncan who was with Jones, was killed at Philo during an Indian attack in 1788. Probably the earliest reference to blacks among the Ohio Indians can be found in Christopher Gist's journal. During Gist's tour of the Ohio country in 1750-1751 he stopped at Windaughalah's Town, a Delaware town along the Scioto River. According to Gist (January 27th):

> The chief [Windaughalah] entertained us very kindly, and ordered a negro man that belonged to him to feed our horses well.

At the close of Dunmore's War a number of white captives held by the Shawnee were released, but in a 1775 letter written by Pittsburgh resident Thomas Walker, it was noted that "many Negroes and horses" were still missing. Various official documents of the time also note that a number of blacks had been taken and were probably being held captive. Black slaves were also noted among the mid nineteenth-century Shawnee on their western reservations. The harboring of runaway (or captured) slaves among the Ohio Indians was always a sore point with the plantation owners of Virginia. Blacks were often adopted into the various tribes and would sometimes participate in war parties sent out against the white settlements. In 1795, for example, Jonas Davis was killed near Marietta by "two Indians and a Negro".

As for Jones' comment that the chief of Dan Elleot's Wife's Town was a woman, Trowbridge has discussed the function of female chiefs among the Shawnee, commenting that they were always the mothers or other close relatives of the male chiefs, often acting as a moderating influence on their male counterparts in times of hostility. These female chiefs also served as overseers of the female affairs of the village – the planting, cooking, and arranging of feasts.

Jones and Duncan left Dan Elleot's Wife's Town and traveled eastward on the Traders' Road into Muskingum County:

> Thursday 11, set out for a small town called Conner's, a man of that name residing there. Our course was near northeast – the distance was less than the preceding day's journey, so that we arrived to town some time before sunset. Traveled this day over a good county, only wanting inhabitants. [This was the Wakatomika Creek Valley from Frazeysburg eastward to Dresden.] This town is situated near no creek, a good spring supplying them with water – the land about it is level and good, the timber being chiefly blackoak, indicates it will produce good wheat, if a trail was made. Mr. Conner, who is a white man, a native of Maryland, told me that he intended to sow wheat in the fall following and was resolved to proceed to farming at all events. 'Tis probable that he will be as good as his word, for he is a man that seems not to fear God, and it is likely that he will not regard man. His connections will favor his attempts, for according to the [unintelligible] he and the chief Indian of this town are married to two sisters. These women were captives, and it is likely from childhood, for they have the very actions of Indians, and speak with broken

English. It seemed strange to me to see the captives have the exact gestures of Indians. Might we not infer from hence, that if Indians were educated as we are, they would be like us? This town consists of Shawannees and Delawares; and some of them dwell in pretty good log houses well shingled with nails. Mr. Conner keeps a sort of a tavern, and has moderate accommodations, and though he is not what he should be, yet he was kind to me.

* * * *

After the murder of Logan's family on Yellow Creek, one of the first acts of revenge involved attempts by the Mingos residing at Wakatomika to rob and kill the first white traders they could lay their hands on. When word arrived at Wakatomika that several traders were returning from the Shawnee towns on the Scioto and were camped along Traders' Road at the Hocking River crossing, a war party was dispatched to that location. The Shawnee Chief Cornstalk sent some warriors from his own town on the Scioto to guard the traders and eventually escort them safely back to Pittsburgh. The traders on the Hocking included Richard Butler and Robert George, and Butler later recounted the events that transpired in an affidavit to Arthur St. Clair dated August 23, 1774. At that time St. Clair was Justice of the Peace in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania; he would later be appointed first governor of the Northwest Territory.

From Butler's affidavit we learn the interesting fact that a Shawnee warrior who accompanied the Mingo war party to the Hocking was the son of a black man named Caesar, who must have resided at Wakatomika. Also from Butler's information we learn that one of the Indians assigned by Chief Cornstalk to escort the traders back to Pittsburgh was Cornstalk's brother. Although Butler does not mention this individual by name, we learn from later accounts that this brother was named Silverheels. As we will see, Silverheels was shot and severely wounded by some white men on his way back from Pittsburgh. He eventually made his way to Wakatomika, where he was patched up by the local shaman. Long after the Shawnee abandoned eastern Ohio, Silverheels remained in the Muskingum Valley. He could often be found loitering around the saltworks at Chandlersville, and was eventually murdered by one of the salt makers.

Source: Carskadden and Morton, *Where the Frolics and War Dances are Held*, pp. 67, 192-194, 210-211.

Selection from Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans,* Chapter Three "Notes pn the Vanishing Aborigines" [see Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* in Section 1]

Wallace uses Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* to examine his knowledge and opinions of Indian culture. He provides a critique of Jefferson's method of inquiry. Wallace also includes detailed evidence about the population of various Indian tribes and the connections among several tribes and shows how Jefferson viewed Indians differently from blacks.

After Jefferson left the Virginia governor's office in 1781, his letters to George Rogers Clark shifted from matters of war—which continued unabated in both the east and

the west—to matters of science. In December 1781 he asked Clark to send to Monticello "some teeth of the great animal whose remains were found on the Ohio" and commented that in his retirement he was eager to pursue studies of natural history. In Clark's reply, in addition to remarks about animal bones, he alluded to "the powerful nations that inhabited those regions," perhaps a reference to the vanished builders of the impressive ceremonial mounds that dotted the Ohio valley.

Jefferson's curiosity about the mammoths of the Ohio valley had been piqued by a visit of some Delaware Indians to Williamsburg about the time he was becoming governor. After matters of business had been discussed, the Indians were asked some questions about their country, and particularly what they knew of the large bones found at Great Salt Lick on the Ohio. Years later, Jefferson described the response with relish: "Their chief speaker immediately put himself into an attitude of oratory, and with a pomp suited to what he conceived the elevation of his subject, informed him that it was a tradition handed down from their fathers, That in antient times a herd of these tremendous animals came to the Big-bone licks, and began an universal destruction of the bear, deer, elks, buffaloes, and other animals, which had been created for the use of the Indians: that the Great Man above, looking down and seeing this, was so enraged that he seized his lightning, descended on the earth, seated himself on a neighbouring mountain, on a rock, of which his seat and the print of his feet are still to be seen, and hurled his bolts among them till the whole were slaughtered, except the big bull, who presenting his forehead to the shafts, shook them off as they fell; but missing one at length, it wounded him on the side; whereon, springing round, he bounded over the Ohio, over the Wabash, the Illinois, and finally over the great lakes, where he is living at this day." Jefferson, who believed that nature would never permit any link to fall from the Great Chain of Being, took this as confirmation of the mammoth's continued existence to the north and west of the Great Lakes.

Jefferson's interest in natural history was further stirred by the queries of François Marbois, the secretary of the French legation in Philadelphia, whose questionnaire on the new states with whom France was now aligned had come into Governor Jefferson's hands in mid-1780. By late fall Jefferson was busy at Monticello gathering information to answer the queries. Although work on the project was delayed by General John Burgoyne's invasion of Virginia and the evacuation of the capital to Charlottesville, as well as by his own retirement in June 1781 and by the death of his wife in September, he was able to put a completed manuscript of *Notes on the State of Virginia* in the hands of Marbois by the end of December. In the following several years before its first publication in Paris in 1785, Jefferson sent the manuscript to a number of friends and acquaintances for their comments and corrections.

Information on Native Americans was contained in two sections of the *Notes*, one entitled "Productions, Mineral, Vegetable and Animal" and the other "The Aborigines." The first Indian essay was an elegiacal mixture of salutation and farewell, crystallized in the story of Logan, which, as we have seen, served in later years to rationalize Jefferson's and future generations' drive westward to fulfill America's destiny. The other was largely a statistical review of the decline of the native population. But even in this essay, omissions, errors, and distortions, however unintended or unavoidable most of them may have been, also had the practical function of further sanctioning the cause of white settlement in the New World.

Jefferson's Elegy for the Indians

In the first section of the *Notes*, Jefferson's praise of the racial characteristics of Native Americans was couched as a rebuttal to the popular French naturalist the Comte de Buffon. Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* argued that the peculiar environment of the New World had stunted the development of its native flora and fauna (including the aborigines) and retarded even the European colonists who settled there. Jefferson staunchly defended the productivity of his native land, trotting forth facts and figures on the large quadrupeds of America, including the mammoth whose bones were found in Ohio, and which, he claimed on the basis of Indian fables like the Delaware legend, still lived in the north and west of the continent.

He then proceeded to refute Buffon's assertion that "the savage of the new world" was defective in sexual ardor and potency ("the most precious spark of the fire of nature") and therefore was timid and cowardly, stupid, incapable of love or loyalty, lacking any sort of communion, commonwealth, or "state of society." To the contrary, declared Jefferson, "the Indian of North America" was as ardent as the white man, free, brave, preferring death to surrender, moral and responsible without compulsion by government, loving to his children, caring and loyal to family and friends, and equal to whites in vivacity and activity of mind. The women, to be sure, were forced to submit to unjust drudgery and, owing to their circumstance, produced fewer children. But that was the result of culture, not nature. "It is civilization alone which replaces women in the enjoyment of their natural equality."

He went on to consider in particular the equality of Indian intelligence and that of whites and argued that when all the facts were in hand, "we shall probably find that they are formed in mind as well as in body, on the same model with the 'Homo sapiens Europaeus'." As proof of this natural equality of mind, he cited the Indians' bravery and skill in warfare, of which "we have multiplied proofs, because we have been the subjects on which they were exercised," and their "eminence in oratory." The example of Indian oratory which he brought forward was, of course, Logan's Lament.

Jefferson turned next to a comparison of Indians "in their present state with the Europeans North of the Alps, when the Roman arms and arts first crossed those mountains." He pointed out that it took sixteen centuries before the Anglo-Saxons produced an Isaac Newton. The implication was clear: given time and exposure to European civilization, the Native Americans too could rise to the same level of culture as the whites, as enlightenment theories of progress would predict. Writing to General Chastellux a few years later (in 1785), he declared that he had "seen some thousands [of Indians] myself, and conversed much with them, and have found in them a masculine, sound understanding...I believe the Indian to be in body and mind equal to the white man."

The question thus arose whether the Native Americans, when "civilized" might be admitted to membership in the new republic. Jefferson does not seem to have advanced that idea at this period, but twenty years later he was to embrace it, confidentially. In a letter to Benjamin Hawkins in February 1803, he expressed the opinion that citizenship and amalgamation with whites was inevitable: "In truth, the ultimate point of rest and happiness for them is to let our settlements and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix, and become one people. Incorporating themselves with us as citizens of the United States, this is what the natural course of things will, of course, bring on, and it will be better to promote than to retard it . . . We have already had an application from a settlement of Indians to

become citizens of the United States." The means of promoting this idea was the conversion of the Indians to the white man's way of agriculture, domestic manufactures, and education—a policy to be pursued by Congress and President Jefferson in the ensuing years.

This vision of a Native American citizenry blending happily into white society depended on Jefferson's belief in the inherent racial equality of Indians with whites and their innate capacity for climbing the ladder of cultural evolution. To the other ethnic minority within the bosom of the United States, the blacks of African descent, most of them slaves, Jefferson was less generous. In the section of the *Notes* devoted to his proposed revision of the laws of Virginia, he described blacks as physically ugly, offensive in body odor, and oversexed but underloving. "They are more ardent after their female, but love seems with them to be more an eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation. Their griefs are transient." But what truly disqualified blacks from membership in white society, according to Jefferson, was their inferiority in mental faculities. They were, he felt, "in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid." In art and oratory, they stood far below the Indians, and although gifted in music, were incapable of writing a decent poem (Phyllis Wheatley's productions, he felt, were "below the dignity of criticism").

That said, he nevertheless deplored the immorality of the institution of slavery, although he defended what he regarded as the humane practices of Virginia slaveowners like himself and compared them favorably with those of ancient Rome, even though the Romans' slaves were mostly white. And he proposed, unsuccessfully, a bill for the emancipation of all slaves born after a certain date, thus anticipating a gradual abolition of slavery as current slaves eventually died. But these free blacks ought not be allowed to remain within the state (as emancipated slaves were not by current law). The deep-rooted prejudices among whites, and the memory of past injuries among blacks, "will divide us into parties and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race."

The only solution was to educate the free black children in tillage and artisanship and then, when the females reached eighteen and the males twenty-one years, "they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper," where they could have their own country—perhaps the West Indies or even Africa. To replace them, white immigrants should be invited to come to Virginia, lured by "proper inducements." Failing such a solution, he foresaw in the perpetuation of the slave system the inevitable corruption of white masters, the degeneration of the yeomanry into sloth and depravity, until God himself intervened and permitted the "extirpation" of the slave masters. In an oft-quoted passage from the *Notes*, Jefferson wrote: "Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference.

This was Jefferson in apocalyptic mode. But there was something of the same tone underlying his hope for eventual amalgamation with the Indians. In the section on "The Aborigines" he drew attention to the virtual extinction of the native population of Virginia, and he lamented that "we have suffered so many Indian tribes already to extinguish without saving even records of their languages. And there is discernible in his story of Logan's Lament of a kind of mordant fascination with the image of the Indians as a conquered and dying race. For Jefferson did believe that those Native Americans who refused to sell their

hunting grounds, now depleted of game, and adopt "civilization," or who even took up arms against the United States, were destined for extinction.

The Tidewater Indians in Virginia

"The Aborigines" provided a largely statistical review of the decline of the Indian population in Virginia. In 1743, when Jefferson was born, the Indians east of the Appalachian Mountains were already becoming a distant memory. The Algonkian-speaking chiefdoms of the Powhatan Confederacy, whose prosperous agricultural villages had spread throughout the Tidewater countryside at the beginning of the previous century, were now reduced to a remnant, a few bands of survivors of war and plague living on tiny allotments of land. The Siouan-speaking villagers of the Piedmont had also been greatly reduced in numbers, and most of their survivors had moved away to live as refugees among the Iroquois to the north and the Catawbas to the south. A few Susquehannocks from the Susquehanna valley, who had fled into the colony toward the end of the seventeenth century to join local Iroquoians (the Nottoways and Meherrins), clustered on small reservations in the south near the Carolina border.

"Very little can now be discovered on the subsequent history of these tribes severally," Jefferson wrote. He counted as living descendants of the Powhatans only three or four men of the Mattapony tribe ("and they have more Negro than Indian blood in them"), living on fifty acres of land on the Mattapony River, and ten or twelve Pamunkeys, on three hundred acres of "very fertile land" on Pamunkey River. (Both reservations still exist, about thirty miles northwest of Williamsburg.) Of the Nottaways, "not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe."

Actually, a good deal was known in Jefferson's time about the Powhatans, thanks to the writings of Captain John Smith and other early seventeenth-century chroniclers of Virginia. In addition, the watercolors of John White preserve vivid images of the appearance, the material culture, and the rituals of the nearby and culturally similar Carolina Algonkians. Jefferson was familiar with Smith's account, but he did not have access to White's watercolors. He did not discuss ethnographic information about the Powhatans or other Virginia Indians.

The tribes living along the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, and particularly those of the Powhatan Confederacy (which was actually a quasi-empire held together by force and hierarchy), were estimated by Jefferson to have numbered on the order of 2,400 warriors or 8,000 souls at the time of the arrival of the first colonists at Jamestown in 1607. At first, relations between colonists and local tribes were by and large peaceable, both sides being eager for trade. But after Powhatan's death, his nephew Opechancanough, resentful of the tobacco planters' insatiable hunger for Indian land, in 1622 launched a surprise attack on the colonists that resulted in the death in one day of about 350 settlers and the devastation of all the settlements except those around Jamestown. A war of extermination was declared against the Indians that continued for fourteen years.

A second war in 1644, again led by Opechancanough, started with the death of 500 whites in the first day, but this conflict lasted only a couple of years. Openchancanough was captured and shot, and the confederacy disintegrated. The separate tribes made their own treaties of peace, abandoning much of their land in the process and accepting reservations, which were further reduced in size thereafter by piecemeal purchases. Despite these concessions, peace eluded the Powhatans: they were harassed by raiding Iroquois from the

north and massacred in 1675 during Bacon's Rebellion by Virginians who accused them of depredations actually committed by invading Susquehannocks.

These wars, the introduction of alcohol, and repeated epidemics of measles, smallpox, and other European diseases drastically reduced the Tidewater Indian population. A census taken in 1669 showed a total of 525 warriors or (using Jefferson's ratio of 10:3) 1,750 souls, a loss of 78 percent in the sixty-two years since the founding of Jamestown. By 1705, when Robert Beverley published his *History and Present State of Virginia*, his total for the Powhatans plus other survivors was less than 500 warriors, and he concluded that "The *Indians of Virginia* are almost wasted."

The Middle Plantation treaties of 1677 had confirmed to the survivors their small reservations, for which each community paid a tribute of three arrows for the land and twenty beaver skins for protection each year. The protection was from neighboring Indians, of whom they were "much in fear." Beverley observed that they "live poorly" and were a "harmless people." In 1727, when William Byrd of Westover published his *Natural History of Virginia* in Switzerland (which he wrote in German in the hope of attracting good European farmers to the colony), he declared that there were "very few wild or native Indians in Virginia." He still allowed them as many as 500 men able to bear arms but declared them to be "excessively gentle and easy-going."

Jefferson's estimate that in the 1780s the last of the Powhatans amounted to not more than four Mattapony men and twelve Pamunkey men, with only the eldest preserving "the last vestiges on earth, as far as we know, of the Powhatan language," would seem to have been wildly inaccurate. James Mooney, an authority on Native American demography and especially on the Indians of the southeast, asserted in 1928 that the Powhatan remnants in Jefferson's time "must have numbered not far from 1,000," and he counted at the time of his writing at least 700. More than a thousand persons claiming descent from Powhatan ancestors—Pamunkey, Mattapony, and Chickahominy—still inhabit small state reservations and other rural communities in eastern Virginia.

It is difficult to understand Jefferson's underestimation of the number of surviving Tidewater Algonkians. The sources that he cited were out of date, the latest being Beverley's 1705 book, but he must have been familiar with the region where the Indian communities were located, east of Richmond or north of Williamsburg. When Jefferson was in college and later when he was a practicing lawyer, member of the House of Burgesses, and finally governor, the Algonkians were still paying their annual tribute to the governor at Williamsburg and later Richmond. Perhaps Jefferson's error can be ascribed to the existence of small, uncounted remnant groups living in out-of-the-way niches who later joined the reservation communities. Whatever the case may have been, it should be kept in mind that Jefferson was writing a usable history, intended to promote confidence among Europeans who might wish to invest or emigrate to a safe and secure Virginia, one whose Indian population no longer posed a threat to white settlement.

The Indians of the Virginia Piedmont

In Captain Smith's time, the stretch of country between the fall line and the Blue Ridge Mountains—and perhaps also the Valley of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge—from Maryland south to the Carolina border was occupied by tribes of Siouan Indians who spoke a language radically different from that of the Tidewater Algonkians. Smith reported that they were organized in two large, allied confederacies, the northern being called the Mannahoac and the southern the Monacan; modern usage embraces both under the rubric

Monacan. Like the Powhatans, the Siouan tribes of the Piedmont depended upon a combination of female horticulture and male hunting for subsistence but would seem to have been less hierarchial in social organization than the Powhatans. They may also have traded their own Blue Ridge copper with the Powhatans during lulls in the fighting, and may have served as middlemen, conveying copper, iron trade goods, and wampum from the north down to the Chesapeake region.

Smith and his colonists visited outlying territories of the Piedmont tribes on a couple of occasions, with some armed conflict, but he depended largely on information given him by the Powhatans and by Mosoc, a bearded captive Monacan, and by an informant who described village locations. Later, travelers' journals and official accounts recorded the changing locations of the Monacans, who by 1700 were coming to be known by other terms applied to various component groups, such as the Saponis, Tutelos, and Ocaneechis.

Very little cultural information is revealed in either Smith's or later accounts, except for the narrative of William Byrd, who served on the commission that surveyed the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina in 1728. The surveying party hired a Saponi Indian named Bearskin to accompany it as a hunter. Bearskin spoke enough English to provide some account of the traditional religious beliefs and rituals of his people, and Byrd included the substance of these interviews in his journal. Bearskin came from the Indian town at Fort Christanna in southern Virginia. Two Indian towns had been established there in 1714 as a collection point for the several tribes of the Piedmont who had a generation earlier fled in North Carolina. In 1728 remnants of at least four Monacan subgroups, named by Byrd the Ocaneechis, the Saponis, the Tuteloes, and the Steukenhocks, were living there, all "speaking the same language, and using the same Customs."

In later years (in 1816 and 1817), Jefferson was called upon to evaluate the authorship and authenticity of Byrd's still unpublished "Secret History of the Dividing Line," and in that correspondence he revealed no prior acquaintance with it. But Jefferson can hardly have been totally unaware of Byrd's work, for in 1751 his father and Joshua Fry had run a continuation of Byrd's line westward into the mountains and had published their famous map of Virginia based in part on his surveys.

In addition to Byrd's narrative, Jefferson might also have been aware of John Lederers' book, published in 1672, describing his travels in Virginia and the Carolinas during which he visited several Saponi villages. Apart from Smith's accounts, however, Jefferson's only cited source for the numbers and locations of the Piedmont tribes actually living in Virginia is the 1669 official census of Virginia Indians, which lists fifty Tutelo warriors living with other tribes in southeastern Virginia and thirty Monacan warriors living in a town at the fork of the James River, above the falls.

If there was little information available to Jefferson about the culture of the Piedmont Indians, there was even less about their language. Captain Smith recognized that they spoke a different tongue from the Powhatans but was able to communicate, on the brief occasions of contact, through Powhatan interpreters. Neither Smith nor anyone else seems to have collected any Siouan vocabularies to permit linguistic comparison, although the place names and translations provided Byrd by Bearskin might have served that purpose (but Byrd's history was not published until 1844). Jefferson gained the impression that the Powhatans, the Manahoacs, and the Monacans spoke languages of "three different stocks, so radically different that interpreters were necessary where they transacted business" and that the several tribes that constituted each of the three confederacies in turn spoke various dialects perhaps mutually intelligible.

Jefferson himself, in his later vocabulary-collecting days, never obtained a word list from any of the Siouan remnants, and his pleas for salvage of the native languages before they became extinct came too late for local antiquarians. Not until nearly a hundred years later was Tutelo at last recognized as a Siouan language related to the languages of the Siouan-speaking tribes of the west. In 1870 the linguist and ethnologist Horatio Hale visited the Cayuga settlement on the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River in Ontario and there met Nikonha, the last pure-blooded Tutelo, allegedly 106 years old. From him Hale obtained a vocabulary of nearly one hundred words that clearly identified his language as Siouan. Nikonha died the next year, but Hale was able to obtain more words and phrases from a couple of "children of Tutelo mothers by Iroquois fathers." This additional information enabled him to construct a preliminary analysis of the grammar. In 1883 Hale published his linguistic results in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, along with a historical sketch of the Tutelos and their companions and a speculative theory that the Siouan tribes of the west in fact had emigrated from an eastern homeland. Today there are apparently no surviving fluent speakers of the Tutelo language.

It is sad to contemplate that Siouan languages spoken by thousands of Native Virginians were apparently never learned by any white man, that not even a vocabulary was recorded until over 250 years after white people encountered them, when the language itself was on the edge of extinction. It may have been the Siouan tribes of the Piedmont that Jefferson was thinking of when he wrote in the *Notes*, "It is to be lamented, then, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature, the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke."

Jefferson's only mention in the *Notes* of Piedmont Indians in his own neighborhood was a notice of mortality. There was a barrow, or burial mound, containing the bones of about a thousand persons, located on low ground near the Rivanna River, about two miles above its main fork at Charlottesville and not far from the site of the former Monacan Indian town of Monasickapanough. By the time that Peter Jefferson and other settlers arrived in the 1730s and 40s, no Indians had resided in the immediate area for many years, and on the mound itself grew trees as much as twelve inches in diameter.

Probably in the late 40s or early 50s, according to Thomas Jefferson, a group of Indians visited the mound. They "went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or inquiry, and having staid about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road [probably the road from Richmond to Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley], from which they had detoured about half a dozen miles to pay this visit, and pursued their journey."

Some time before writing his *Notes*, Jefferson had a trench cut across the middle of the mound, so as to reveal the series of successive strata deposited during the gradual buildup of the mortuary. He was able to conclude that it contained the remains of men, women, and children, the disarticulated skeletons bundled together as if they were periodically being given a secondary burial after the flesh had been removed.

Research by modern ethnohistorians fills out and mostly confirms Jefferson's brief account of the Piedmont Siouans' demise and departure from Virginia. Before the 1670s they lived beyond the frontier settlements, their lands unoccupied by whites, alternately feuding and trading with the Powhatans to the east and with the Massawomecks to the west. Iroquios warriors from the north attacked the Monacans, who took refuge still further to the south, first moving onto the islands in the Roanoke River, near the North Carolina border, at the Ocaneechi trading center. By 1700 these refugees, now known as Tutelos and

Saponis, had moved southward to take shelter with the Tuscaroras in North Carolina and probably with the Catawbas in South Carolina. But the Tuscaroras themselves were dislodged by the whites in a major war in 1711, and many began moving northward into Pennsylvania in 1712.

A few Tuscaroras, and associated Tutelo and Conoy fugitives from earlier Iroquois assaults in Virginia and Maryland, remained behind, most of them after 1714 on the Roanoke River near Fort Christanna. Eventually the Tutelo and Saponi remnants in Pennsylvania joined the Iroquois in New York and after the Revolution moved onto the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, where a few descendants remain to this day. People claiming to be Monacans also live in Amherst County, Virginia, in the midst of the Blue Ridge mountains, on the upper reaches of the James River, and are active in recovering their ancient history.

The Mysterious Massawomecks

The ancient Indian tribes of Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia were of little concern to eighteenth-century Virginians. Of far more importance, as young Jefferson grew up, were the Indians to the westward. Beyond the Blue Ridge, beyond the newly settled Valley of Virginia, beyond the Appalachian Mountains lay imperial Virginia's vaster domain, ranging from the North Carolina boundary northward across the Ohio valley and westward in a great swath to the Pacific Ocean (at least as Virginians interpreted their 1609 charter). The land between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, called the Ohio country for the Ohio River which bisected it, was occupied in Jefferson's time by diverse tribes who had moved into the vacancy created by the Iroquois wars in the seventeenth century. These tribes included, among others, the Sac and Fox, the Illinois, the Miamis, and the "Three Fires"—the Ottawas, Potawatomies, and Chippewas—and even more recently, in the eastern part of the region, tribal remnants from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Canada, especially the Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots, accompanied by some Iroquois, locally called Mingoes.

South of the Ohio River, the demographic pattern was different. What are now the states of West Virginia and Kentucky (but were then the western counties of the colony of Virginia) in the seventeenth and eighteenth century seem to have been home to a few resident Indians, although in previous centuries mound-building cultures had flourished there and north of the river as well. Occasionally hunting parties from the Cherokees and Catawbas to the south, and no doubt also hunters from the north, penetrated the region, and for a time there were a few Shawnee villages, but mostly it was traversed by war parties of Iroquois coming down to strike their enemies, particularly the Cherokees and Catawbas. Kentucky came to have the reputation of a "dark and bloody ground."

Success in the wars of the seventeenth century encouraged the Iroquois to claim, in their perennial negotiations with the British, conquest of the whole Ohio country, from the Great Lakes south at least to the Virginia-North Carolina boundary. This assumed conquest, in their eyes, reduced the status of any actual Indian residents of the region to mere tributaries, tenants at will, whose lands could be sold by the Iroquois to Europeans whenever they chose. Colonial governors and land speculators were only too glad to take the Iroquois claim at face value, on such occasions as the Lancaster treaty of 1744. Unfortunately for Virginia, and later for the United States, the resident tribes did not accept the Iroquois interpretation of their land tenure.

None of this information appears in the text of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*. He contented himself with one brief paragraph: "Westward of all these tribes [i.e. the Indians of the Tidewater and Piedmont], beyond the mountains, and extending to the Great Lakes, were the *Massawomecks*, a most powerful confederacy, who harassed unremittingly the *Powhatans* and *Manahoacs*. These were probably the ancestors of the tribes known at present by the name of the *Six Nations*." This is an extraordinary statement, both for the positive misinformation it contains and for the failure to mention facts with which Jefferson should have been familiar.

Jefferson's identification of the Massawomecks with the Six Nations Iroquois is mistaken. "Massawomeck" is the word originally used by the Powhatans of Captain Smith's time to denote their enemies to the north and west and probably did not refer to the Iroquois at all. Furthermore, in the seventeenth century, and indeed even in the eighteenth, the five tribes that made up the original Iroquois Confederacy never lived west of the Appalachian Mountains. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas lived in villages in what is now New York State, extending roughly from the Hudson River west to Lake Erie. The sixth tribe, the Tuscaroras—also speakers of an Iroquoian language—emigrated from North Carolina to Pennsylvania and New York after 1712. Many took refuge among the Five Nations and eventually were accepted as the Sixth Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy. About the middle of the eighteenth century, some Iroquois people (including Logan) did make their residence in what is now eastern Ohio and became known as Mingoes.

A second piece of misleading information (if not misinformation) concerns the number of Indians in the various tribes west of the Appalachians. The section of *Notes on the State of Virginia* on "The Aborigines" concludes with a census and gazetteer of the Indian tribes of the United States. This census, arranged in tabular form, reproduces the numbers contained in several reports by well-known authorities: Colonel Bouquet, Thomas Hutchins, and George Croghan. Some figures were provided informally by John Dodge, who was Jefferson's star witness against Governor Hamilton "the Hair Buyer"; Jefferson later came to consider them unreliable. The entries in the original lists, however, were not figures for the total population but were rather warrior counts, in keeping with the traditional practice of estimating only the number of fighting men that a tribe could mobilize. Conventionally, the figure for the total population was obtained by multiplying the warrior court by a factor of four or five (although elsewhere Jefferson used a factor of three).

But Jefferson's list does not mention that he is presenting only the warrior count; he introduces the list as a statement of "the nations and numbers of the Aborigines which still exist in a respectable and independent form." Thus, for instance, he cites John Dodge's estimate of the Six Nations population in 1779 as 1,600 souls; the total actually was on the order of 10,000. Furthermore, Jefferson's omission of the Virginia Indians implied that they were extinct. Actually, as we have seen, several hundred still lived on small reservations and enclaves. The omission of the information that the numbers were only warrior counts was most likely a slip of the pen; but however it came about, it had the practical effect of minimizing whites' apprehension of Indian interference with their settlements.

Why did Jefferson assert that the Iroquois Confederacy (the Six Nations) or their ancestors were the sole occupants of the country west of the Appalachian Mountains in the seventeenth century? The answer would appear to be simple economic interest. In 1722, 1744, and 1768 the colony of Virginia, and land companies and speculators associated with it, bought a large part of that land from the Iroquois and were prepared to acquire the rest from the same "owner." Although in 1781 Virginia was preparing to cede to Congress her

claims to land north of the Ohio, in the *Notes* Jefferson was silently validating Virginia's exclusive claim to Kentucky by asserting that the Six Nations had once held title and that such other populations as could be found there were of minor importance. Jefferson's identification of the Massawomecks as the aboriginal proprietors of all that part of the Old Dominion lying immediately to the west of the Appalachians, and as being the ancestors of the Six Nations themselves, thus appears to be a peculiar and arbitrary construction.

In another confused passage, he suggested that the Monacans, "better known latterly by the name of *Tuscaroras,*" were probably connected with the Massawomecks and with the Eries, "a nation formerly inhabiting on the Ohio," who spoke a language akin to Tuscarora. These errors of identification likewise lent support to Virginia's legal claim to have purchased the Piedmont, the Shenandoah valley, and the territories west of the Appalachians from the Six Nations at Albany in 1722, at Lancaster in 1744, and at Fort Stanwix in 1768.

Scholarly opinion about the actual identity of the Massawomecks has been divided. Some, like Jefferson, have concluded that they were indeed the Five Nations (that is, the Six Nations, minus the Tuscaroras). Jefferson's own authority for his assertion that the Massawomecks were the Five Nations, or their ancestors, would seem to have been the Reverend William Stith, a native of Virginia and president of William and Mary College. Stith's *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* was published in Williamsburg in 1747, and Jefferson listed it right after Captain Smith's work in his bibliographical essay in the *Notes*. There he described Stith as "a man of classical learning," though he criticized his work as being choked with "details often too minute to be tolerable." But Jeffersion did follow Stith's characterization of the Massawomecks as "a great and powerful Nation of *Indians*, inhabiting upon some of the Lakes of *Canada*, and the original perhaps of those, at present known by the Name of the *Senecas* or *Six Nations*.

The most recent, and authoritative, opinion on the identity of the Massawomecks is that of James Pendergast, who concluded that the Massawomecks were an Iroquoian-speaking tribe, or group of tribes, who early in the seventeenth century occupied a region between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, west of the Five Nations, where they were known to the French as Antouhonorons. They began to raid and trade into the Chesapeake Bay region sometime prior to 1627 and eventually migrated south to a location along the headwaters of the Potomac, Monongahela, and Youghiogheny rivers, where they continued their commerce with the Virginia Indians well into the middle of the seventeenth century. Their fate thereafter is not known.

Jefferson's Style of Ethnology

Jefferson's approach to Native American ethnology—the study of customs, beliefs, and institutions—tended to be historical. The section on "The Aborigines" of Virginia is entirely historical, apart from the table listing tribes and their present locations and numbers. So few Native Americans still remained in the part of the state east of the mountains that his account of them amounted to little more than a recital of the names of the extinct tribes and confederacies.

Next followed the account of his excavation of the Indian burial mound along the Rivanna River, near Monticello. His methodology was exemplary and well suited to the theoretical question that prompted him, namely, the popular opinion that such mounds were the mass graves of victims of a furious battle, buried on the spot. After initial surface collecting of a disorderly mixture of bony fragments, Jefferson ordered a perpendicular trench to be dug across the barrow, which revealed the stratigraphy of the site and permitted

rational inference about the history of the mound and the method of interment (the deposit of collections of bones at successive intervals, each deposit being covered by a layer of earth). As noted earlier, archaeologists have given Jefferson high marks for his sophisticated excavating technique. Jefferson did not continue his archaeological researches into burial mounds, however, even when retirement would have given him the opportunity.

The only place in the *Notes* where Jefferson describes Indian customary behavior is in the essay "Productions Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal." It betrays little interest in the details of native social institutions, which, of course he was committed to replacing with "civilized" ones, and it ignored not only the monumental earthworks of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys but also the high cultures of the Incas and Aztecs. The commentary contra Buffon emphasizes the estimable moral qualities and intellectual abilities of the Indians, not what later scholars would refer to as their culture. He appraises their character in a style perhaps reminiscent of dinner-table conversation among a family evaluating the worthiness of their neighbors. He makes no mention of the rules of kinship, those systems of consanguinity and affinity that were the backbone of Native American social structure and that would fascinate scholars of the next generation, beyond recognizing affection for children and "other connections." He praises the "care" and "indulgence" with which children are treated, and the heartbreak felt when they died.

Jefferson does not deal with the division of labor by gender, whereby the women were responsible for producing the crops of corn, squash, and beans that were the major staples of the native diet. He correctly notes that all forms of compulsion are prohibited in Indian society (a cardinal virtue, in his eyes), but he ignores major features of the political organization, such as the role of women in nominating the traditional chiefs who represented clans and lineages or the recent ascendancy of nonhereditary "chiefs" who achieved eminence as brave warriors and orators eloquent in council, or the structure of ethnic confederacies like that of the Iroquois. In the *Notes* he has nothing to say about religious beliefs and rituals, which of course he would be apt to dismiss as superstitious nonsense in any case.

Jefferson was modest in his claim to be an authority on Native Americans. "Of the Indians of South America I know nothing," he admitted, and he labeled the available published accounts of them as mere "fables." He gave some credit to more general works on human nature and to what he himself had "seen of men, white, red, and black." Of the Indian of North America, "I can speak...somewhat from my own knowledge, but more from the information of others better acquainted with him, and on whose truth and judgment I can rely."

Jefferson's most trusted advisor on Indian ethnology was Charles Thomson, to whom Jefferson sent (by the hand of Marbois) a copy of the *Notes* in 1781. In response, Thomson wrote an extended commentary on Indian affairs, which Jefferson published in the *Appendix* to the *Notes* in 1800. Jefferson probably first became acquainted with Thomson when this upright scholarly gentleman was elected to the American Philosophical Society in 1785, and he later knew him as the perennial secretary of the Continental Congress. The two corresponded regularly on a variety of scientific subjects, and when Thomson—a devoted Presbyterian and a classicist—produced his own translation of the Old Testament from the Greek, about the time that Jefferson was completing the "Philosophy of Jesus," they exchanged views on the true Christian morality.

Thomson had a wide reputation as an absolutely honest man. He had traveled in Indian country, visiting the Delaware settlement at Wyoming along the Susquehanna in company with the Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post, and had served as secretary

to Teedyuscung, the Delaware Indian spokesman at treaties at Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1757 and 1758. His notes were so carefully taken that they became the official minutes. In 1759 Thomson published a notorious book, *Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest,* charging that mistreatment of the Delawares by the Crown and the colonists had caused them to take the French side in the French and Indian War and to lay waste the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

Thomson became known, in the words of an admiring biographer, as "the leading authority on all questions relating to the Indians." His "commentaries" on the Indian material in the *Notes* are partly a corroboration of Jefferson's refutation of Buffon, point by point, with allusions to moral similarities between the Indians and the ancient Hebrews and Romans. He too made sweeping generalizations: "All the nations of Indians in North America lived in the hunter state, and depended for subsistence on hunting, fishing, and the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and a kind of grain which was planted and gathered by the women, and is now known by the name of Indian corn. Long potatoes, pumkins of various kinds, and squashes were also found in use among them. They had no flocks, herds, or tamed animals of any kind." This is accurate enough except for the omission of reference to beans, an important part of the diet, and of course it does not describe contemporary Indians who had been more or less acculturated.

He goes on to describe the Indians' "patriarchal" style of government in some detail, their mode of burial, and the history of several wars. Thomson is perhaps weakest in identifying the various tribes outside the territories of the Iroquois, whom he calls Mingoes (a term generally used to refer to transplanted Iroquois in the Ohio valley), mismatching the Monacans with the Tuscaroras and the Saponis with the Unami branch of the Delawares, and mislocating the Tutelos as aboriginal residents of the Delmarva peninsula (that is, the eastern shore of the Chesapeake).

Still, Thomson was one of the best choices Jefferson could have made as critical reader of the Indian portions of his manuscript. Most of the other colonial authorities on the Indians were unavailable, and the earlier Indian agents and superintendents, who were generally very well-informed, were either dead or relocated in Canada or Florida. Jefferson did write to Thomas Walker but seems to have gotten no useful response from him. He also consulted George Rogers Clark, whose later elaboration on the Cresap affair Jefferson mostly ignored and concealed, and Thomas Hutchins, for population estimates. At that time he seems not to have known well enough the Moravian and other missionaries who might have given helpful comments, although he did consult later with John Heckewelder on the Cresap affair and published his lengthy discussion in the *Appendix.*

From Savagism to the Corps of Discovery

The picture of the Indians presented in *Notes on the State of Virginia* was painted with a broad brush a panorama of universal attributes of character and temperament supposedly shared by all Native Americans. It articulated a general view which Roy Harvey Pearce has characterized as an "American theory of savagism"—that "the savage [is] one whom circumstances, for good and for bad, have held in an early state of society." Pearce, indeed, suggested that the idea of savagism was "first outlined" by Jefferson. This schematic view of the Indians was derived in part from the Scottish philosophers' teaching that a moral sense of right and wrong is part of human nature, in part from a belief in the importance of environment in shaping the manners and moral refinement of different societies, and in part from the Enlightenment belief in universal stages of progress toward modern civilized

society. Thus the Indians could be regarded as inherently the equals of whites and yet as culturally inferior, childlike, in their savage state.

The theory of a scale of progress or Great Chain of Being was fully current in the literature of the Enlightenment by the time Jefferson was writing in the 1780s. Montesquieu, one of Jefferson's most closely read authors, had in 1748 in *De l'esprit des lois* sketched out the familiar three-tiered schema of human progress from savagery to barbarism to civilization. And William Robertson's *History of America*, which appeared in 1777 and which Jefferson regarded as essential reading for any aspiring law student (despite his rejection of Robertson's repetition of Buffon's thesis), presented the conventional typology of savage, barbarian, and civilized man.

This Enlightenment belief in universal progress was explicitly invoked by Secretary of War Henry Knox in his proposal to President Washington in 1789 to commence a program of civilizing the Indians. Jefferson, of course, supported the Indian civilization policy throughout his life. But he also shared with Knox the belief that "favorable circumstances" were needed for a people to make progress. Unfavorable circumstances might include an unfriendly environment or, in the case of the blacks, a racially based incapacity to rise above a certain rung on the ladder of perfection.

Later in life, with more information, he became explicit in his delineation of the positions of the Native Americans on the ladder of cultural progress. Writing to a friend in 1824, he observed: "Let a philosophic observer commence a journey from the savages of the Rocky Mountains, eastwardly towards our sea-coast. These he would observe in the earliest stage of association living under no law but that of nature, subsisting and covering themselves with the flesh and skins of wild beasts. He would next find those on our frontiers in the pastoral state, raising domestic animals to supply the defects of hunting. Then succeed our own semi-barbarous citizens, the pioneers of the advance of civilization, and so in his progress he would meet the gradual shades of improving man until he would reach his, as yet, most improved state in our seaport towns. This, in fact, is equivalent to a survey, in time, of the progress of man from the infancy of creation to the present day."

Despite these generalizations, Jefferson was aware of the need for specific studies of individual tribes, each of which had its own unique language, customs, and history. He may have had this in mind when he called for a "natural history" approach to ethnology. "To our reproach it must be said, that though for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and of red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history" His proposal in the *Notes* for reform of the Brafferton Institution at William and Mary envisaged resident missionaries who would move from tribe to tribe spreading the Gospel and collecting information on the cultures, languages, and histories of Native American tribes. Evidently Jefferson was less interested in teaching Indian boys Latin and Greek, or even in converting them to Christianity, than in obtaining information that would contribute to his own study of the origin of tribes and of the Indian "race."

Jefferson's 1793 instructions, on behalf of the American Philosophical Society, to the French botanist André Michaux for his exploring expedition up the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean explicitly requested him to record "the names, numbers, & dwellings of the inhabitants, and such particularities as you can learn of their history, connection with each other, languages, manners, state of society & of the arts & commerce among them." The plans of the American Philosophical Society's 1797 Committee on History included inquiry "into the Customs, Manners, Languages and Character of the Indian Nations, ancient and modern."

Jefferson's instructions in June 1803 to Meriwether Lewis in preparation for the great trip to the Pacific Ocean called for many ethnographic details on the Indian tribes he would meet along the way. Lewis and Clark received additional questions from Benjamin Rush and Caspar Wistar, the eminent Philadelphia physicians and members of the Philosophical Society to whom Jefferson had advised them to turn for guidance. Rush in particular was something of an ethnologist himself, having in 1774 published his *Enquiry into the Natural History of Medicine among the Indians in North America.* He had delivered a short list of questions to Alexander McGillivray on the occasion of the Creek chief's visit to New York, and another to Timothy Pickering on the eve of his visit to the Senecas in 1791. Rush sent his list of some twenty questions to Lewis in May 1803, covering "Physical History & medicine," "Morals," and "Religion."

Clark collated Rush's list, another list from Wistar, possibly some from Benjamin Smith Barton, and Jefferson's suggestions, along with, no doubt, some thoughts of his own, into a master set of notes and queries in 1804. (Later in the century, "Notes and Queries" would become the technical term for this kind of check-list ethnography.) Clark's list of nearly one hundred topics amounted to an outline of cultural material, divided into ten categories: 1. Physical History and Medicine. 2. Relative to Morals. 3. Relative to Religion. 4. Traditions or National History. 5. Agriculture and Domestic economy. 6. Fishing & Hunting. 7. War. 8. Amusements. 9. Clothing Dress & Ornaments. [10.] Customs & Manners Generally."

These categories cover much of what a twentieth-century ethnographer would include under the concept of "culture." What are most conspicuously missing are entries for kinship and political organization. In their journals and reports, Lewis and Clark did record much cultural information, the value of which has been emphasized by twentieth-century ethnohistorians, but unfortunately none of it became available in print until a two-volume history of the expedition by Nicholas Biddle, based on the explorers' journals, was published in 1814. The full text of the Lewis and Clark journals did not see print until a century and more later, beginning with the Philosopical Society's manuscript edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites in 1901 and culminating in the recent edition of Gary Moulton.

But a partial account of the fruits of their inquiries was transmitted to the President and the secretary of war from the Mandan village on the upper Missouri in the spring of 1805, and the President communicated it in turn to the Congress. Eventually it was published in the *American State Papers, Vol. 1, Indian Affairs.* This "statistical view of the Indian nations inhabiting the territory of Louisiana, and the countries adjacent to its Northern and Western boundaries," contained information tabulated according to nineteen categories. Thus, concerning the Mandans, about whom Lewis and Clark were well informed, having spent the winter of 1804-1805 at the Mandan village, they recorded a rather bland account.

Lewis reported that the Mandans had "no idea of an exclusive right to any portion of country," an assertion of dubious validity. With respect to some of the tribes farther down the Missouri, he made a point of ascertaining the possibility of inducing them to make room for Indian tribes from the eastern side of the Mississippi, a possibility the more probable the less territory the local tribes claimed. Thus, of the Grand Osage he wrote that two villages might be prevailed on "to relocate and thus leave a sufficient scope of country for the Shawnees, Delawares, Miamies, and Kickapoos." The Otoes likewise would not "object to the introduction of any well-disposed Indians."

The most richly textured observations in Lewis and Clark's journals were made of those tribes (such as the Mandans and the Clatsops on the Pacific coast) among whom the

explorers spent several months' time instead of just passing through their territory as quickly as possible. Thus, among the Mandans, Clark's journal records much detail about a ceremony in which young warriors required their wives to have sexual intercourse with respected older men, or with interesting visitors—members of the Corps of Discovery, for example. (In Biddle's published summary of the expedition's history, this event is discreetly described in Latin.) Among the Clatsops, customs relating to trade with Europeans, who had been well-established there long before Lewis and Clark arrived, were subjects of prime interest. But the explorers had not been asked nor trained to serve as professional ethnologists. While their observations have been invaluable to latter-day ethnohistorians, they did not advance the art of comprehensive ethnographic description.

Jefferson's Cabinet of Curios

As early as the 1780s Jefferson began his cabinet of curios and mementos in the entrance hall and library at Monticello, starting with the two painted buffalo hides from the Kaskaskia chief in 1780, one painted with a battle scene, the other with a native map of the lower Missouri River basin. In the *Notes*, as part of his defense of North American genius, he remarked, "The Indians will often carve figures on their pipes not destitute of design and merit. They will crayon out an animal, a plant, or a country, so as to prove the existence of a germ in their minds which only wants cultivation." He had little opportunity to expand his collection in the 1780s; relations with most of the Indian nations were not peaceable until after the war, and then he was off to Paris. But in the 1790s the collection at Monticello probably expanded somewhat, and it was thereafter greatly augmented with numerous items collected by Lewis and Clark and other Indian agents and philosophical gentlemen on the frontiers.

Jefferson's Indian Hall generally impressed visitors to the house; one guest described it as "the most varied complete collection that has ever been made," containing "offensive and defensive arms, clothes, ornaments, and utensils of the different savage tribes of North America." It was an extremely heterogeneous cabinet, full of all sorts of things hung on the walls in great profusion: portraits of great men, including Christopher Columbus, Sir Walter Raleigh, Bacon, Newton, and Locke; paintings of classical subjects; mounted heads and horns of wild animals; minerals and crystals; fossil shells and bones, including the jaws of a mastodon; and, as Silvio Bedini puts it, "with aboriginal art and artifacts layered over the whole": buffalo robes, peace pipes, clothing, war clubs, bows and arrows, shields (some of them hanging from horns and antlers), and wampum. The Indian materials evidently were classified as natural curiosities, memorabilia, curious productions of the New World's antique human inhabitants, shown along with extinct animals like the mastodon and *Megalonyx Jeffersoni* (the giant sloth.)

No complete list of Jefferson's collection exists; apparently he left no catalogue of his own, and after his death the collection was dispersed, passing through various hands, some of it finding a resting place at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Harvard University. Lewis and Clark sent three shipments of artifacts to Jefferson in Washington. The first, accompanying a delegation of Osage Indians, arrived in July 1804 and probably included mostly Osage items; their fate is unrecorded, except for some pieces now at the Peabody. The second, and largest, came from Fort Mandan in August 1805 and consisted of Mandan artifacts. It was divided, as Lewis requested, between Monticello and the Peale Museum in Philadelphia (located at Philosophical Hall). Jefferson kept a Mandan bow and a quiver of arrows, a cooking pot, four buffalo robes and other items of dress, and

a buffalo hide painted with a representation of a famous battle. A third shipment containing items from the northwest coast, including Clatsop hats, was sent from St. Louis on the return of the expedition in the fall of 1806.

How carefully Jefferson recorded the provenance of his artifacts—by tribe, by collector, by date, by location, and so on--is not clear. The surviving artifacts at the Peabody are generally "attributed" to tribal groups or culture areas on the basis of stylistic features and information by correspondents and observers. The miscellany of items in the Peabody collection includes (putatively) a Mandan eagle-bone whistle and buffalo robe, a Sac and Fox tobacco pouch, a flute from the northern Plains Indians, an Osage warrior's insignia, a Crow cradle, and an Ojibwa knife sheath.

Collecting Indian curios was an avocation of Jefferson's friends and associates as well. In February 1797 a resident of the western country, George Turner, a member of the American Philosophical Society's 1797 Committee on History, donated to the society a remarkable collection of nearly twenty items from a number of tribes: boys' leggings, a "Calumet of Peace," and a "Conjurors' Mask," from the Missouri; arrows made by the Sacs and by the Miamis, a sea-otter skin blanket acquired by the celebrated British explorer Alexander Mackenzie on the northwest coast in 1794, a wooden statue of a beaver from the Kaskaskias, a pair of garters "tipped with tin and Porcupine quills" from the Wabash and another pair from the Creeks; and various items with tribal provenance unspecified or of archaeological origin. Where these items were deposited is not clear; probably they were displayed in Peale's Museum on the premises. Some of Peale's collection and other artifacts belonging to the society eventually came to rest in the University of Pennsylvania's Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology.

The allusion to Mackenzie is interesting because it suggests a possible contact of Jefferson with the first European to cross the continent and reach the Pacific Ocean—an object contemplated in the society's Michaux expedition in 1793. Mackenzie, who visited Philadelphia in 1798, probably gave Turner the blanket at that time. But there is no record of a visit by Mackenzie to the society, or of a meeting with Jefferson, and his book describing the adventurous journey did not appear until late in 1801.

In any case, the information to be gained about the particular cultures of specific Native American communities from explorers' accounts and poorly documented collections of artifacts was far too thin and skimpy to lead to anything approaching the standards of ethnological research that came into vogue in America in the second half of the nineteenth century. The hallmark of the later disciplines of anthropology and sociology was precisely the requirement that data be collected by the sort of "philosophic observer" that Jefferson once alluded to, men (and women) who resided among the subjects of study, spoke the language, and were there for the primary purpose of research.

Source: Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, pp. 75-107.

Selections from Gail S. Terry, "Sustaining the Bonds of Kinship in a Trans-Appalachian Migration, 1790-1811" [see Eslinger's article for comments on the Breckenridges]

Gail S. Terry explores how slaves owned by John Breckinridge and Mary "Polly" Cabell Breckinridge adapted to their relocation from Albemarle County to Kentucky at the turn of the century. John Breckinridge, who later served as a United States senator from Kentucky

and attorney general of the United States, came from a prominent Shenandoah Valley family and Polly Breckinridge from a powerful Piedmont clan. Their marriage in 1785 had combined slaves from the respective families under a new roof. The excerpts below illustrate how individual slaves resisted the resettlement before slowly adjusting to their new situation.

The years immediately preceding the first migration to Kentucky in 1790 proved disruptive ones for the Breckinridge and Cabell slaves because of the transfer of individuals to these newly created households [formed by marriages within the two families]. But even as they were being dispersed and recombined or reassembled with slaves acquired from other sources, members of the original Cabell and Breckinridge slave communities retained some contact with each other. They had lived in their earlier locations long enough to establish ties of friendship and kinship; authorized and unauthorized visits sustained these ties, as did some shifting of slave personnel among the white households. The Cabell slaves included several skilled boatmen who moved tobacco and other produce down the James River to Richmond, and these men may have conveyed information from slaves attached to one household to those in another. In spite of the process of dispersal, the Cabell and Breckinridge slave communities retained a notable degree of cohesion.

Cohesion did not necessarily translate into stability or satisfaction for individual slaves, however. The reaction of John Breckinridge's slave George provides some insight into the effect of this redistribution of slaves on individual blacks. In 1772 John's father had bequeathed the young slave to his twelve-year-old son, and by 1785 George and ten other blacks had lived and worked on the Breckinridge family farm for more than a dozen years. In the early 1780s, he accompanied his master on journeys to college in Williamsburg and to the General Assembly in Richmond, but after serving as an escort, George always returned to the farm in Botetourt County. George responded to the wrenching changes that John Breckinridge's marriage brought by running away. He returned to the Botetourt farm, where John's mother sheltered him for nearly three months. She finally allowed George to return to Albemarle with the man John had sent to fetch him, but she pleaded with her son not to whip the slave because she had promised that he would not and because running away marked George's "first offense."

George's story reveals both the intertwining of the lives of masters and slaves and the extent to which they experienced the same events differently. For John Breckinridge, the move to Albemarle County represented opportunity—the chance to establish his own family, household, and farm and to further a promising legal career. For George, it meant disruption; it removed him from the community where he had grown up, from friends, and perhaps from his family. Running away reunited him with this community. Breckinridge interpreted the incident as a deliberate attempt to ruin him: "If the ungrateful rascal has [run away] I can never forgive him. He has left my Harvests ready to cut & my corn in weeds . . . He has almost broke me up after my treating him so kindly as I have always done since he came" to Albemarle. For her part, Breckinridge's mother tried to use the incident to her own advantage; she sheltered George in the hope that her son would come to retrieve him and to visit her. For each of the three principals involved, the incident had a different meaning, and each tried to shape events to his or her own advantage, even though their society did not accord them equivalent powers of agency. The same dynamic emerges in a close examination of the migration to Kentucky.

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Over the course of his lifetime John Breckinridge acquired slaves from several sources. He inherited a few from his parents; he purchased a few; and he received many from his wife's father. Joseph Cabell's death in Virginia in 1798 triggered a redistribution of his remaining slaves and initiated another migration of Cabell slaves to Kentucky. In his will Cabell added to and confirmed previous gifts of slaves to his son and sons-in-law and reserved the thirty-five slaves not given to them for the use of his widow, Mary, during her lifetime. Shortly after his death, however, Cabell's heirs persuaded Mary Cabell to give up her life interest in most of these slaves. Under the terms of the agreement with her son and sons-in-law, she retained the right to choose five slaves to serve her, and John Breckinridge gained an additional eight slaves: Allen, Mike, Isabel and her son Jacob, Abram, and Violet and her children Bill and Sarah.

Violet was among the five slaves Mary Cabell chose to keep with her, and Violet's subsequent experience illustrates the pain and emotional distress that owners' migration decisions could cause for individual slaves, even when a nucleus of the old slave community was transferred to a new location. In February 1799 Allen, Mike, Isabel, Abram, and Bill made their way from the Cabell place to the house of one of John Breckinridge's brothers in Botetourt. By then, Isabel was more than seven months' pregnant, and not until four months later, after she had given birth, did the group set out for Kentucky. Missing from the migrants were Violet and her daughter Sarah because, according to Mary Cabell, "violit would not agree to part with her. so then i proposed for her to go with her daughter . . . however she said she would not go to Cantucky nor let Sarah untill I deyed unless Stephen her husband could go with them."

Violet's declaration provoked a battle of wills with John Breckinridge and his kin that lasted for more than a decade. Initially, the Cabell men in Virginia arranged for Breckinridge to purchase Stephen from Nicholas Cabell, their uncle and Mary Cabell's neighbor. John rejected this solution, however, and Violet, Sarah, and Stephen remained among the Virginia Cabells. In 1803, when Polly Cabell Breckinridge and her children visited her mother and then returned to Kentucky, Violet and Sarah again stayed behind, although Mary Cabell later regretted her decision not to force Sarah to go with them. In 1807 Sarah, still in Virginia, had her first child.

Some time after this date, Violet's situation changed. Polly Breckinridge's daughter, visiting her Cabell relatives in Virginia, wrote to her mother that "Aunt Violet has just made me open My letter to send love to you her daughters & sons & husband & to say if you will only let her go out [to Kentucky] she has Money enough to be on her expences & that she is very anxious to go out & do what she can for you." Violet had had at least one son, Bill, in Kentucky since 1799, and by 1807 her daughter Jenny was there as well. Precisely when and how Stephen came to be in Kentucky remains undetermined, but clearly his presence there changed his wife's mind about moving.

At some time during their mother's last illness, about 1810, Elizabeth Cabell Lewis wrote from Virginia to her sister Polly Breckinridge in Kentucky. "I am glade to find from your letter that Sarah & her children are to be taken from here," Elizabeth confided. "[S]he is one of the most indifferent creatures I ever saw. She has two fine children the second is very sick I have it at the house & am trying to Nurse it up a little. Old Violet is here also. She says she is sick, that Mrs. Hoyle [the woman to whom Violet had been hired out] is very kind to her, but that she will not be confined so much for no flesh, that she can prove she is free & so she is one of the most provoking old creatures i ever saw. do when she come[s]

out put her to live with her daughter Jenny & task her to cotton so much In a day. She will ruin all your house servants if she stays near them don't let her stay near the house, you may rely on this."

Elizabeth Cabell Lewis's diatribe against Violet and her daughter should not obscure Violet's unhappiness at being separated from the majority of her family. She tried various strategies to get to Kentucky. First she issued a plea to Polly Cabell Breckinridge; then she tried to establish her right to freedom; and, finally, perhaps she simply made herself disagreeable to Elizabeth Lewis in the home that she would send her west. After Mary Cabell's death in 1811, her daughters continued to make plans to transport Violet to Kentucky, but these arrangements fell through. The next year Polly Cabell Breckinridge's daughter, visiting in Virginia, tried to set up an escort to Kentucky for Violet, but she failed. In the summer of 1812, Violet was still in Virginia vowing that she would not "go from here to anywhere but to Kentucky." Whether she actually got there remains undetermined.

Her status as a slave deprived Violet of the ability to decide where she would live, but she, like George, used the avenues open to her to try to influence those who could make that decision. Violet's most effective leverage came from her relationship with Mary Cabell. Although the source and duration of the bond between the two women remain obscure, it clearly enabled Violet to persuade her mistress to keep her and Sarah in Virginia while Stephen was there. Mary Cabell apparently lacked the power to keep Stephen in Virginia, however; and Violet's persuasive abilities had limits. By the time Stephen was transferred to Kentucky, Cabell's health had begun to fail, and Violet had less success negotiating with Mary's daughter Elizabeth Cabell Lewis. Polly Cabell Breckinridge and her daughter proved more responsive to Violet's requests, but they also failed to effect an immediate transfer to Kentucky. John Breckinridge had died in 1806, and as a widow Polly had the legal authority to bring Violet to Kentucky, but she certainly did not act promptly.

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More than just "chords of memory" bound at least a few of the Cabell-Breckinridge slaves to their trans-Appalachian kin. A process of serial migration among families in their owners' extended kin network enabled some slaves to retain ties of kinship and friendship in Kentucky. In other cases, mistresses and slaves cooperated in sustaining connections among both white and black families by passing along information in letters or by word of mouth during visits. The migration of the Cabell-Breckinridge slaves represented only one of several possible experiences of forced migration in the early republic, and it certainly ranked among the more favorable of them. After the first decade of the nineteenth century, the domestic slave trade carried increasing numbers of African Americans into the interior, and after 1820, the Commonwealth of Kentucky became a net exporter of slaves to the Lower South. The history of the Cabell-Breckinridge migration remains a single story imbedded in the broader history of the territorial expansion of slavery in the United States. This migration's wider significance lies in what it adds to scholars' understanding of the ways that individual masters, mistresses, and slaves hammered out the particulars of slavery in a variety of contexts, including migration, and in what it reveals about the means by which slaves tried to transcend an oppressive system.

Source: Terry, "Sustaining the Bonds of Kinship in a Trans-Appalachian Migration," pp. 460-462, 465-467, 476.

Selections from Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley*

Perkins argues that the frontier beyond the Appalachians shaped the lives of slaves by its isolation, demand for harsh labor, and frequent danger from Indians.

African American slaves of both sexes occupied an uncomfortable middle ground between geographic restriction and exposure to danger. Most enslaved blacks who accompanied white settlers across the Appalachians probably shared the narrow domestic geographies of women and children. Grinding corn on a handmill in the station yard was a common work assignment for young black males; at John Craig's station "a negro boy...turned it nearly half the time, the family was so large." Sarah Graham recalled that "Barbee's black man said they accused him of parching the corn, but he didn't He put his hand in the mortar and ate the meal as he pounded it. Their supply was so limited, he became so weak, he could hardly carry a bucket of water." Female slaves performed other domestic chores: "old aunt Sarah" who cooked the boys' fish at Scott's station was most likely a black woman. Domestic work space extended into the area immediately outside the stockade walls; both male and female slaves routinely labored there tending gardens, planting corn, picking wild berries, gathering "sugar water" from tapped trees, or looking after livestock. We know about these latter tasks because slaves performing them were either killed or captured by Indians.

In an ironic gesture to their servile status, some African Americans found themselves literally placed outside the fortified community. David Crouch recalled that "a black woman was poked thro' and told to go alarm the nearest station" during an Indian attack in Tygart's Valley. A similarly besieged Kentucky family put out their slave Moses to give the alarm; when he returned (apparently unable—or unwilling—to find his way), they "let him in and put out Bob" who ran on to Fisher's station. Other slave owners expressed surprisingly few qualms about risking human property to secure their property in land. When John Breckinridge moved his family to Kentucky in 1793, he sent most of his slaves ahead to prepare for their arrival. A year before John Bowman moved his household to Kentucky, he planted a crop of corn at Harrodsburg and left a black man to tend it. For some blacks, life outside the station compound offered a rare chance for independence. William Hardin "wanted to save his cabin from being burned by the firing of the prairies" when he departed the Green River country for a time, so he left behind a black woman "who proposed to stay." During the three years she lived alone, Hardin and other hunters brought the woman game occasionally and, as "she had nothing to do but to dress the deer skins...she got to be an excellent hand."

Such independence bore risks, however. A particularly grisly tale concerns the four slaves of Nathaniel and William Ewing. When the Ewing brothers returned temporarily to Maryland, they left a man named Jerry, another man named Russel, a woman named Bet, and an unnamed little girl in the cabin near Troutman's Station. Alarmed at signs of Indians about the place, Russel asked the others to go with him to the nearby settlement. When they refused—poignantly suggesting a preference for relative freedom and possible death to life in the station—Russel fled by himself. By the time a party of men returned to investigate, the three blacks remaining behind were dead. "It was believed from the sign, that the Negro

man had fought, and that with an axe," said James Wade. "The wall was seen bloody (I was not there) off a little piece from where the Negro lay."

Americans migrating to the Ohio Valley in the late eighteenth century discovered not only a new physical terrain, but a new social setting as well. Although many migrants made the journey with kin or friends, they also encountered a host of strangers of different races, cultures, and social origins. In a letter home to Massachusetts, one man observed, "we have Inhabitants from almost every part of the world." John Filson explained in *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke* (1784) that "being collected from different parts of the continent, they have a diversity of manners, customs and religions, which may in time perhaps be modified to one uniform." Filson's guarded prediction of eventual assimilation suggests that at the time he wrote, social diversity was still very much in evidence. _____cultural pluralism in this early western population. Dating from Turner's famous dictum that "in the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race," scholars traditionally have viewed western migrants as either a homogeneous population or one divided principally by economic antagonisms between rich and poor. Recently scholars have sought to distinguish more precisely the racial, ethnic, and economic characteristics of early Kentuckians. The first federal census in 1790 estimated that 17 percent of Kentuckians, excluding Indians, were nonwhite; almost all of these inhabitants were enslaved African Americans. Historians interested in the European ancestry of white settlers have analyzed surnames on tax rolls to estimate that most migrants to Kentucky were of English or Ulster Scots origin, with smaller numbers coming from families of Irish, Welsh, or German descent (Table 6). Those interested in the economic rank of white males have calculated land and slave ownership and have found significant evidence of economic inequality (Table 7). One scholar estimates that in the years after the Revolution the "vast majority, perhaps 75 percent" of the settlers who poured into Kentucky, were "poor and without land."

Table 6
Estimates pf the racial and Ethnic Origins of Kentucky's Population, 1790

Origins	Percentage
By race	
White	83.0
Non-white	17.0
By ethnicity	
English	42.8
Scotch-Irish and Scots	20.6
African	17.0
Irish	7.5
Welsh	5.6
German	4.1
French	1.3
Dutch	1.0
Swedish	0.2

Table 7 **Estimates pf Wealth-Holding, in Land and Slaves, for Kentucky Heads of Households, 1792-1800**

	Percentage Owning Land	Percentage Owning Slaves
1792 (Teute estimate)	34.9	23.2
1797 (Teute estimate)	40.6	----
1800 (Soltow estimate)	43-46	----
1800 (Coward estimate)	49.2	25.2
1802 (Teute estimate)	48.2	27.2

* * * *

The hypothesis of big-man hegemony raises questions about the status of women and slaves in the border country. Did the privileging of violent white masculinity affect relationships within the family or household? Did women or enslaved African Americans have any access to sources of social authority or achieved status? To uncover evidence of these domestic power relationships—rarely recorded in any part of Anglo-America in the eighteenth century—we must listen for muted voices in very scattered accounts.

The sparse evidence available suggests that enslaved African Americans had few opportunities to achieve status within the informal political system. Stories of slaves giving the alarm, or fighting off Indians during an attack, indicate that some blacks achieved recognition for their bravery or quick thinking. William McBride, for example, mentioned in passing that "a good woodsman" named Chick helped Joe Gray settle an outside station on Rolling Fork. Gray's settlement, McBride recalled, was "made with his negroes alone, whom he armed. They made good soldiers. He was attacked once." The arming of frontier slaves suggests that some aspects of masculine culture may have transcended race, yet we must be cautious not to read too much into these accounts. Most African Americans, like Chick or Negro Jo, who took up his ax to go hunting with Daniel Trabue, have only fleeting mention in border stories—and then only as supporting characters to whites.

Enslaved African Americans did serve as protagonists in one type of story, however. These were tales of "inversion," which use humor to trivialize or degrade ideas or people normally held in esteem, while at the same time advancing the position of those considered to be inferior. Related in tone to the ridicule that women displayed for the braggadocio of males, slave humor most often directed its barbs toward efforts at maintaining eastern customs and institutions under the primitive and leveling conditions of western life. In one such story, when Captain Watkins told his slaves they must eat wild turkey in order to save the supplies of bread and bacon for the white people, his bondsman slyly suggested that Watkins reconsider his long-term economic interest. "That will Do very well, master. If we

have a plenty of Turkeys we will never Die, but if we have bread and bacon too, we would live a heap longer."

Another slave protagonist managed to poke fun at backwoods architecture, court proceedings, and the pretensions of maintaining a rigid caste system in a raw frontier setting. The story, as told by Benjamin Allen, concerned Tom and Carey, two brothers who belonged to William Angell. When the county court arraigned Tom on the charge of burning John Baker's fodder house, Angell hired Brown, "the great lawyer," to clear his slave's name. During Tom's trial, his brother Carey stood outside the new Clark County courthouse to observe the proceedings. Another eyewitness described the seat of justice at this time as "like a tobacco house, of open round logs in the midst of the cane"; Allen understood that it cost just sixteen dollars to build. Peeping through the cracks between the logs, Carey kept up a constant banter. "'Hurra! Massy Brown,'" he would say, "'Carey got one more ninepence. You clear Brother Tom and Carey treat you, as soon as ever you come out.'" The justices attempted to silence Carey in order to maintain the dignity of the court, but Allen reported they "couldn't stop the fellow from talking." He "would say, 'Massa Bill, Ball sorrel and I could build a better courthouse than this in three days'." In the end, the charges against Tom were dismissed. Allen concluded with the wry observation: "a treat was a great thing, them times. Slave humor may have targeted white institutions and officials, but one comes away with the distinct impression that in retelling these stories, many ordinary white settlers joined in the laughter as well.

Source: Perkins, *Border Life*, pp. 70-71, 82-83, 84-85 141-142.

Marilyn Davis-DeEulis, "Slavery on the Margins of the Virginia Frontier: African American Literacy in Western Kanawha and Cabell Counties, 1795-1840," in Puglisi, ed., *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier*

Davis-DeEulis examines multi-cultural reading and writing skills that were shared by masters and slaves in the Ohio Valley. This sharing fostered unusual personal and labor relations in a slave society.

In 1813 a young African American slave whose name appears to have been D'lea was whipped on a frontier farm called Gardner's Bend, one of Wilson Cary Nicholas's Tug River holdings in the Ohio Valley. The overseer there, who prided himself on his tight control of the farm, had caught her reading a religious tract, an activity he frowned upon. D'lea usually resided at Greenbottom, Virginia, about twenty miles up the Ohio River from Gardner's Bend, where she bundled hay, wove coarse cloth, and assisted when hemp bundles were tallied and transported downriver. However, on the day she was whipped, she and approximately twenty other slaves from Greenbottom were sitting, more or less idle, out of sight in Kentucky, while a tax assessor visited Wilson Cary Nicholas's westernmost Virginia property. Had this young woman—a slave on what is conventionally seen as a classic, sprawling, "Appalachian overseer plantation"—picked up that tract at Greenbottom instead of Gardner's Bend, the chances are that she would not have been punished for reading it. Interestingly, members of the slave community in which she lived and the disorganized, disagreeable overseer of Greenbottom all *knew* she had reading skills, as well as rudimentary factoring skills; indeed, the overseer had made occasional, grudging use of them.

In fact, both D'lea's abilities and her master's unhappy dependence on her follow a pattern not uncommon on this post-Revolutionary western Virginia border.

The rise of African American life on the early Ohio Valley/Virginia frontier (1790-1820) and its complex relationship to local church and plantation literacy demographics in the 1820s through the 1840s are important elements in understanding why this area assumed its cultural, social and labor structure in the nineteenth century. The dynamics of this connection also suggest the forces that shaped attitudes about reading and writing among enslaved blacks, which Valley of Virginia settlers encountered when they recolonized the large land-grant holdings of the Ohio and Virginia frontier into smaller farms in the 1820s. Finally, these dynamics help account for the literate sophistication of antislavery enclaves on opposite sides of the Ohio River during the late antebellum period. Ohio communities such as Burlington, Federal Creek—Traceport, and Black Fork had a much longer, and functionally complex, literacy history than has been generally assumed.

As literacy scholars such as David Cressy and Harvey Graff have emphasized, the dominant cultural myth of the evolving West has been that literacy was a precondition for economic growth. This mythography was never stronger than in post-Revolutionary America. Yet the economic motivation for learning literacy skills remained relatively low among captive slave-labor populations, as it did among most masters (although not necessarily their mistresses). The rationale for why so many African Americans acquired reading and writing facility so well, whatever the risk, has been intensely studied; literacy as identity in the quest for freedom lies at the root of perhaps the major strain of slave narratives in America (those in the Douglass autobiographical mode). A writer such as Henry Louis Gates might argue that acquiring rudimentary English literacy was more than a way of declaring one's psychic freedom; it was a cultural building block in the system of creating meaning that some critics call "fusional accommodation"—a non-assimilatory means of acculturation that African Americans brought with them to the New World. Learning to "read and write" was an aesthetic, as well as pragmatic necessity, which allowed one to make it through life with a sense of historical being and "presence."

Such analysis of African American literacy's heritage is important; I teach both American book culture and literacy historiography, and deal with their implication constantly in my classroom. To a certain extent, they also inform how I think about the relationship of occupational literacy and so-called "slave-labor relations," particularly on the frontier. David Vincent has observed in *Literacy and Popular Culture* that understanding a specific period's "occupational literacy"—the allocation of a literate task in history—requires a hard look at how labor relations functioned in a particular time and place. Looking at the relationship of literacy and task allocation *in* history requires stripping away the progressive myths with which we have entangled early-nineteenth-century literate cultures. Only then can we learn how diverse laboring populations occupied time in a way that required forms of literacy to be shared with ruling elites.

On the Ohio Valley frontier, irregular laboring circumstances gave rise to a grudging "multicultural" sharing of reading, writing, and factoring skills. This happened very early, as early as 1786. By the time William Jenkins and tanner John Hannan purchased Governor Cabell's lands and many of his slaves in September 1825, they were buying into several generations of "occupational literacy" forged in very confusing circumstances that were backbreaking, ruthless, yet often collaborative. It is little wonder that the African American heritage of the Ohio Valley basin has been called one of the least understood, most complicated slave relationships in the West.

The basin formed by the Kanawha, Ohio, and Sandys Rivers, although surveyed in the late 1760s, was not occupied significantly by white settlers until after 1795; the large plantation operations at Gardner's Bend and the Levisa Fork of the Big Sandy River go back a little further, to the late 1780s. Thus, area slaves participated in both the irregular, often cruel nature of early frontier authority relations, as well as the schizophrenia about slave literacy common to the late Federal, early antebellum Old South. The existence these people endured was singularly difficult. Yet, even though most Virginia frontier slaves on the Ohio River lived hard, labor-intensive, disorganized existences, a surprising number (0.032 to 0.037/sample of 75 studied) could both sign their names and factor, or sign their names and orally recite portions of Methodist or Baptist devotional tracts. A number (five to six of them) could do all three. These figures were taken from a tannery and logging operation of greater than two thousand acres in Mason County, a small farm at Lesage of greater than eight hundred acres in Cabell County, and two large farming populations of nearly eight thousand acres, one at Greenbottom, Cabell County, and the other at Gardner's/Louisa Bend (now Lawrence County, Kentucky). A close examination of the nature of labor life on these plantations suggests that slave conditions and literacy rates were related, often in unexpected ways, on the margins of the Virginia frontier. Furthermore, the relative stability of core African American populations in the area left literacy with a confused functional identity for Ohio Valley African Americans.

Diversity of land use, disorganized task delegation, and class and age diversity of white laboring partners did provide some unusual early opportunities for slaves to learn English or simple factoring skills. One of the first settlers in the Kanawha and Ohio River basin was Thomas Hannan, who was granted nearly a thousand acres on October 11, 1796. He also owned approximately 3,420 acres of timber and farmland in Cabell and Mason counties. He later conveyed most of it to John Hannan, believed to be his brother. Although the 1810 census does not mention that John Hannan owned a slave, the record indicates that he inherited two slaves with his property transfers, one of whom was named Essa: Essa shows up, along with six other slaves, in the 1830 tax assessments. Hannan had an unusual household; he was both a farmer and a tanner, and his gross income from both occupations exceeded twenty-six hundred dollars per year. Four of the ten white members of his household were non-English-speaking German citizens who worked in "manufacture" (leather production). Family documents suggest that Essa had not only learned to factor when he was one of two slaves working under Thomas Hannan, but also that he served as an informal teacher in the tannery to his German-speaking co-workers, several of whom were quite young. John Hannan increasingly employed young indentured whites or neighborhood children as "hide chewers" and is reported to have bought them a "little chappie set" to make up for their lost schooling. If this was in fact the case, the presence of chapbooks would explain the unusual nature of Essa's "relation of experience" in church in 1839, in which he sounded a little like a Welsh Episcopal rather than a Baptist. John Hannan, who was appointed Superior Court Judge in 1809, grudgingly admitted in 1812 that he had been "forced to teach him [Essa] back some time, to count and read, when he was our only man."

The complex interrelation of slavery, spoken language, and functional literacy is underscored in another small but very intriguing setting, one which suggests the unexpected linguistic diversity of the Guyandotte and Sandys River basin as early as 1800. It also delineates the unexpected avenues by which African Americans learned English. The Ancells were one of several French families who originally settled a small hamlet called Lesage, Virginia, a swamp tract to the south of Joshua Frye's 4,441-acre Greenbottom

plantation. The Ancell and Crawford families appear to have acquired the land through a treasury warrant rather than a grant of simple deed. The families saw the Ohio frontier as a seasonal investment. Revenue assize records at the Port of New Orleans (as well as family narrative) suggest that the Ancells took their crops down the river to market every year for seven years (1805-12), remaining in Portulac Parish to log in the winter. They left behind an overseer and an elderly African/Caribbean slave couple. In the beginning, none of them spoke English. The unnamed slave couple learned enough English to get by, while the overseer, "Mr. Elbrein," refused to learn "this Virginie English." His two slaves, who were true polyglots, gradually took over both oral and simple written transactions for the plantation; the husband signed himself "D. Ancell Man." When the Ancells and Crawfords eventually split into permanent communities in Louisiana and Virginia (now West Virginia), the Virginians sent the overseer—"a limp man"—home. In this case, disorganized task delegation and the stubborn pride of an authority figure abetted a complex oral and written literacy acquisition already in progress. Thus, writing, a tool of authority and control, was acquired along with oral English. How this was accomplished by the French slave couple is unclear, but as neither the Methodist Hannans, Baptist Waughs, nor any other early settler in the area had French-speaking Catholic slaves, neighborhood religious instruction probably played a minimal part. Certainly, the entire communal, labor, and literacy dynamic of early non-English communities on the frontier is worthy of further investigation. Lesage, Virginia, emphatically underscores the fluidity of cultures that contributed to "slavery on the margins" of the frontier.

The debt problems of an absentee owner seem also to have been conducive to raising the level of slave literacy on the Ohio, even at what should have been relatively large and strictly organized plantations. Wilson Cary Nicholas, one of two governors of Virginia to own large tracts of property in this area, appears only in the 1820 Cabell County population census; Louisa Bend (elsewhere Sandys or Gardner's Bend in his documents) was already held in the name of a trustee by this date. The property Nicholas owned on the south side of the Ohio River had originally been granted to Joshua Frye. Nicholas acquired the upper 1,941 acres from Frye sometime before 1811; the other 2,500 acres were purchased from Peyton Short, a logger and farmer from Woodford County, Kentucky, who had bought the property from Frye in 1805. It appears that Nicholas acquired Short's slaves, along with some of those which Frye's brother supervised for him at Greenbottom, when he bought his property. Further, he added several families of known slaves to this group from his other plantations. Indeed, by 1820 his property listing included fifty-three slaves, thirty-seven of them employed in agriculture. However, his 1815 Cabell County tax listing recorded only eighteen slaves, twenty-three horses, and one hundred cattle. As Wilson Cary Nicholas was deeply in debt in 1820, one wonders why he would have acquired thirty-five slaves. The answer is provided by the tax and census records for Louisa Bend, where the numerical ratio is nearly reversed. In both cases, Nicholas listed nearly the same number of slaves in the tax assize, which was taken at different times. He simply moved people around from farm to farm. Indeed, Nicholas's letters to his overseer at Louisa Bend emphasized that he wanted "my [his] people moved," to avoid "detection." The first overseer at Greenbottom, David Cobbs, and his agent in eastern Kentucky, Sam McWilliam, poured significant amounts of Wilson Cary Nicholas's money into capitalizing Greenbottom. It is clear that Nicholas planned to offset some of these expenses and to pay off his property investment note on Greenbottom by rotating a static number of slaves at financially strategic moments. Thus, he could stretch his human "resources" as thinly as possible, and cut his tax bill to boot.

What this strategy has to do with African American literacy in the Ohio/Sandys valley is grimly interesting. Continual long-distance travel, erratic supervision, and labor-intensive regimens made slave life very harsh on these overseer farms. Nicholas recorded the deaths of some twenty-two slaves, between the ages of twenty-four and forty, in the two-year period from 1812 to 1814. Although fewer died at Louisa Bend because the overseer routinely called in "doctors" when slaves were dangerously ill, neither farm was a very healthy place to work.

Yet, Greenbottom, according to both Nicholas and one of his trustees, was far the worse of the two—chronically disorganized, undermanned, and occasionally completely unsupervised. Mr. Cobbs seems to have kept careful records of his successes at market, but he was gone far too often. When Cobbs returned to Greenbottom, problems ensued, sometimes very violent ones. The subsequent overseer at Greenbottom was, even in John Hannan's estimation, "harsh to a fault and unpredictable." Yet it was the slaves at Greenbottom, rather than Louisa Bend, who knew how to "factor." Some, such as Nicholas's "Old Julius," could both count and do simple ledgers. The overseer at Louisa Bend did not *need* that kind of assistance; as has been previously stated, he whipped one of the "Bottom girls" when he caught her reading a tract while she was on "tax furlough" in Kentucky.

By the time the second overseer, Mr. Gough, came to Greenbottom, Nicholas's slaves had begun to use their skills for other purposes. The Cabell County courthouse records list at least three missing slaves from Greenbottom for the years 1817 and 1818. All are listed as "having escaped through Millersport with pass." One of these missing slaves is advertised as having "writ himself a pass." Nicholas and his overseers spent considerable time and money bringing back two of these slaves, Joshua and Joe; Gough even employed a "slavebreaker" to change Joshua's ways. Yet someone in the slave community kept writing these passes, and Gough was forced to ship a number of slaves to Kentucky in 1819 for what he called "safety." Indeed, when Governor Cabell bought Greenbottom at public sale in Richmond in 1821, his bargain included, explicitly, "twenty-two slaves, and one named Moses, 'fled *with a note* into the wilderness of Ohio.'" Wilson Cary Nicholas's 1815 Slave Tax Records indicate that he began buying slaves from his neighbors in 1815 or so, rather than transferring them from other properties. Thus, Moses may have been acquired from one of the religious families newly removed to the Ohio from the Valley of Virginia, where slave reading was encouraged, at least in the churches. But so many of the Greenbottom slaves seem to have been task functionally literate that the overseers' erraticness may have been in large part responsible or their facilities in reading and writing. This model accounts for motivation through occupational self-organization rather than through religion. Although it is appropriate to doubt that loyalty to Mr. Nicholas motivated anyone, evidence exists that his slaves learned to read and factor *in the absence of supervision.* In 1819, "Old Julius" and another veteran slave, Silas, worked on the Greenbottom wharf, without an overseer, marking bales as they were loaded for market and projecting their markup.

Nicholas soon discovered that Greenbottom and his own finances were in too much of a "state" for anyone to save them. Even Cabell's adroit move to assist Nicholas and himself by paying thirteen thousand dollars for Greenbottom and its twenty-two slaves and Moses, when, in point of fact, Nicholas should have paid Cabell, only brought trouble down on Cabell's head and that of one of his trustees, Robert Gamble. Eventually, the "property and people intact" were conveyed on March 1, 1821, by William Wirte and Robert Gamble to John Coaltes and John Cocke, who resold it in 1825 to William A. Jenkins and John Hannan. The legacy of Greenbottom's mismanagement even dogged Thomas Jefferson

Randolph through his bankruptcy proceedings in 1831. He had served as "security" for Wilson Cary Nicholas in another matter, and the Bank of the United States tried to seize Greenbottom through him, in apparent ignorance that Nicholas had sold his property to Cabell in 1821. Interestingly, the figures they used in their writ were taken from the 1819 report to Nicholas that a "ghost" overseer presented to him through Mr. Wirte. This single ledger from Greenbottom is signed with a large "S" and is very badly printed, though *accurately accounted.* When William Jenkins bought Greenbottom in 1825, the oldest slave on the farm was named Silas, and he could count, according to Janetta. Silas joined the Greenbottom Baptist Church the first year it opened its doors to black members. He was by then John Hannan's slave.

Greenbottom was not an anomaly on the Ohio River. The mechanism by which frontier slaves came to read is not completely clear, but the circumstances under which they learned are. Isolation, responsibility for huge land area, and "irregular management" seem to have been common factors. Greenbottom's overseers evidenced a propensity for simultaneous cruelty and dependence in their relationships with their slaves. Such confusing treatment seems to have provided a fertile seedbed for black literacy and active reading and writing communities on these plantations.

In the case of Greenbottom, William Jenkins inherited thirty slaves from Cabell's overseers; neither his bill of sale nor records of public slave auctions in the area suggest that he sold any of them. This was a community in continuity with Governor Nicholas's 1811 purchases. Jenkins's Greenbottom household more or less recapitulated the twenty-two-slave community Cabell had purchased in 1821. In one of her first letters to a sibling, Janetta Jenkins observed that "the older people on this place can read and write. Some can figure." Janetta, who was the nineteen-year-old bride of a rather stern older husband, seems to have become involved in her extended "family's" reading. Two factors combined to bring this event about. Janetta was a member of the Grigsby-McNutt family, of very different parentage from her new husband. Her oldest brother, Alexander McNutt, was the first governor of Mississippi; her childhood sweetheart was her older cousin, famous antebellum diarist Hugh Blair Grigsby. She and her sister Fanny—the babies in a very large, fatherless family—wrote sophomoric love letters to Blair Grigsby right up to the time of Janetta's marriage to William Jenkins. However, to her mother's brother Reuben Grigsby, wheat factor and shipper William Jenkins's relative fortune offset wide differences in age and social upbringing. Mr. Grigsby saw to it that Mr. Jenkins paid the marriage bond, and Janetta brought no dowry to the marriage. But she brought her name, her fitness for bearing children, and her education—she was trained in a small Presbyterian female academy near Falling Springs Presbyterian church in Glasgow, Virginia. The small "parcel of books" that her mother gave her westward-migrating daughter included, at least, a well-worn copy of Milton, Ainsworth's Dictionary, several primers, and a battered copy of Gibbon. She and the young tutors she brought from Rockbridge County to Greenbottom in the 1830s and 1840s discussed literature and theology quite openly, before children and servants alike.

Indeed, Falling Springs Presbyterian would have brought her up in a tradition of tolerance for a family slave's right to read and engage in discussion about the Bible. Falling Springs contained a significant number of slave members (21 out of 187), and the minister, Reverend James Ewing, subjected his black parishioners to full church discipline and active participation in most church functions. On two occasions, one documented in Hugh Blair Grigsby's diary, he turned his pulpit over to a black preacher, who "espoused . . . with the Bible in his hand." No prohibition against slave literacy, unless it was imposed by a slave's owners, was articulated in church policy. Literate slaves could sign their name to the church

roll book, although few chose to do so. When Janetta came to Cabell County in 1825, the Greenbottom Baptist Church would not open its doors for another ten years. According to her letters to her sister and the comments of the family tutor in 1829, Janetta conducted a sort of weekly service (she called them "shadings") in which she read devotional and religious poetry, spoke "simply" from the Bible to her slaves, occasionally let "one or two older ones" read, and then asked for testimony of the week's spiritual events. Whether she taught literacy skills to those who did not already know how to read is not clear from the record, but she definitely exposed ten to twelve of her slaves to an ongoing, rather high level of oral and written religious experience. Ironically, she was probably unaware of the complex foundation concerning reading and writing's function in the world upon which she was building.

Indeed, circumstantial evidence suggests that younger slaves employed more conventional stratagems to expose themselves to letters, which suggests that Janetta was not openly teaching reading. In one widely circulated family narrative about Albert Gallatin Jenkins, his black nurse brought him daily to sit under the trees with his sister and two brothers as they were tutored. She carried him, pasha-style, on a huge feather pillow so he might hold his favorite cat. His nurse is recorded as having "sat with him to mind the cat." However, Janetta's small devotional "sharings" bore specific identifiable fruit in the two or three years before her death in 1841. When pastor Hezekiah Chilton took over the pastorate of the newly formed Greenbottom Baptist Church in 1839, he announced a series of revivals. For the first time since its incipience in 1835, Greenbottom Baptist opened its doors officially to black members; they were baptized, chastised, and given letters of membership on the rare occasions they were sold with some propriety. Four women from Jenkins's plantation immediately joined, as well as Jenkins's former slave, Silas. Interestingly, in April of 1840, a corrected version of the church roster was issued by church recorder Ezekiel Waugh in which at least one of Jenkins's slaves (Nelly, who was fifty-seven) signed her name prominently. April through July was a period in which black women often joined with their masters or mistresses; church registers from these months in 1839-40 note, for examples, that "Frances Hannan . . . and her black woman Mariah," "Sarah Waugh and a black woman named Miliah," and "John Hannan and his colored woman Elizabeth" had joined. Black men generally joined alone; an example was Bright, a servant of Thomas Chauppen's, who, like Silas, was a former slave of Jenkins's. When Jenkins's slaves "presented a note from their master giving leave . . . that they might become members of this church," their public recitations of experience (a prerequisite of membership and baptism) bore definite marks of Janetta's "sharings." In fact, they were *so* different from the testimonies of other neighborhood slaves that the difference was noted in the record: "these four each proceeded to tell of the increase of their mind through Bible study and professed their faith very satisfactorily to the Church, so that each was baptized by elder Hezekiah Shelton, pastor, that evening." As the next few weeks' minutes suggest, not all of the members of the church approved of this change. Given what we know about the confused heritage of African American literacy on the Ohio River and Virginia frontier, this should come as no surprise. An evangelical Christianity that encouraged black reading did not fit comfortably over the still prevailing harsh frontier ethos of slave relations. Although Old Nelly's name stands out boldly on Mr. Waugh's revised 1840 roll Hezekiah Chilton was made to pay dearly for its presence by his neighbors. He is recorded as having said, the day before Old Nelly was baptized, that he was "willing to give offense and take it and if reprimanded, to bear it with meekness," but he also reminded the church "the love of God will cause us to love the Church and each other, and if so, we will love our pastor also. . . .

We will not only be careful of his reputation but his comfort and welfare . . . we will defend his character, at all times and in all places as far as truth and ability will present and Christian duty require."

Hezekiah Chilton was able to avoid the censure of his congregation at this time, but, several weeks later, he gave in to a call for increased meetings "for the purpose of examining into the secular concerns of the church and her various parts." The records that follow from 1840 through 1842 suggest that a significant number of African American parishioners (although perhaps not a disproportionate number, given the size of the congregation) came under church discipline for sexual misconduct and laxity of attendance. The number of "colored" members dwindled significantly throughout the 1840s (Janetta Jenkins, her maid Nelly, and Mrs. Hanna's Mariah all died in 1841); the Greenbottom slaves attended very erratically thereafter. Three were excluded in 1841. By 1843, the church's slaves had lost their individual identities; they were simply listed as "four colored members." In 1844, when Mr. Hannan died, four more blacks joined the church—two of Elizabeth Hannan's servants and Nelly's children, Betsy and Peggy. There is some evidence that Elizabeth Hannan hoped to find protection for favored servants by raising their profiles as church members. By 1845, the last year of Hezekiah Chilton's pastorate, the roster did include six black members. One died in 1846; the rest remained with the church until 1855, when it dissolved.

When William Jenkins died in 1859, he left a bequest that a church be built on Greenbottom for the use of the "household and neighborhood." Jenkins had never been a Baptist, and with the Baptist church gone, he may have felt the need for a source of household worship closer to his beliefs; he had been a Presbyterian at Falling Springs, owning a pew as far back as 1811. However, William Jenkins had not been known for his religious fervor since he moved to Greenbottom; this was probably a deathbed request for the benefit of his son, who had a very real problem to deal with. At least ten of Jenkins's slaves had become temporary church members across the Ohio River in one of two "sanctuary communities." If William Jenkins's slaves lived to get out of Greenbottom, they generally did not have to run too far into Ohio for structured assistance after 1850.

Ultimately, the stories of these communities and others—Burlington and Federal Creek, Black Fork, Wilgus, and Berlin Crossing, Ohio—are fodder for another essay; all had striking numbers of black teachers and literate farmers after the Civil War. This is a story, however, that by 1850 carried nearly a half-century's heritage, one that Frederick Douglass understood strikingly to be a mixed blessing. As often as not, so-called plantation literacy in the Kanawha Valley of the Ohio River was not baptized in hope; it was born of the waking nightmare of vast wilderness spaces, endless undefined, disorganized tasks, and remote, senseless authority that showed up without warning, ready to strike at the handiest target of its anger about unrealistic production expectations. In more than one instance, that target was the slave who had tallied figures and labeled crops the day before. Occasionally, the result of African American literacy on the Ohio and Virginia frontier was ironic and spirit affirming; most often, both on farms and in plantation churches, it was not.

Source: Davis-DeEulis, "Slavery on the Margins of the Virginia Frontier," pp. 194-209.

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