

Becoming Americans:
Our Struggle to Be Both Free and Equal

REDEFINING FAMILY

Resource Book 1997

TO THE READER

The Family Story line team developed this resource notebook to help interpreters better understand and use the rich documentation of family life to build interpretations for the 1997 Becoming Americans focus on family. The notebook has three key parts:

- (1) resources that support the family story line essay
- (2) resources that support the general interpretation of family containing
 - (a) resources for the family life cycle
 - (b) resources supporting issues important to colonial families.
- (3) biographies of Williamsburg families adding family issues to several entries from last year and focusing on new people who illustrate ideas developed by the story line team.

The design of the Table of Contents gives enough information so the reader can easily find the items of immediate interest within the larger story of family. Each biography has a list of suggested references to specific topics in the packet which should give substance and context to the stories of the people. This notebook is the key to the training program and will be updated during the year.

Secondary quotes are noted in straight type and primary quotes are written in italics for easy differentiation. All illustrations are part of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation collection and are noted by number. Supportive primary and secondary sources are important to the development of the family story; however, both are not necessarily present in all sections. For consistency, secondary sources are listed first, followed by supporting primary sources. When appropriate, an explanation of the historical context of the source precedes the quote as a header and is noted in brackets. Because each entry is fully cited, no separate bibliography is included. One will be available on request.

This notebook is the result of hard work of many Colonial Williamsburg employees -- and I thank them all. First of all, the amazing organizational skills of team member, Laura Treese, was pivotal in the development of the structure and nature of the material. Then the careful reading, suggestions, support and advice of many readers (including other Family team members, readers from the interpretive departments and from other story line teams) helped focus and define important material to include. Diane Hudgins willingly and skillfully took over as Laura embarked on her own "family story." Diane spent countless hours working through a mountain of family material, entering data, and astutely editing the material - a second year of outstanding work for the Becoming Americans story. Historian, Pat Gibbs, gave focus to this document and the notebook could not have been completed without her time, her editing skill and depth of historical understanding. Stories of real Williamsburg people are core to interpreting Becoming Americans and we appreciate the work Anne Willis and Lou Powers building on their work from last year. I am also very grateful for Margie Weiler's skill and time in getting the biographical entries



into a consistent form. Without the support of Bertie Byrd, the packet would not have been produced.

Although the size of this notebook is daunting, entry choice was selective and a great deal of important material exists on many topics but could not be included. Interpreters with interest in special topics should feel welcome to contact me to see what is else is available on the data base. One of the exciting aspects of this story line is that, even as this book is being produced, active historical research is taking place about family issues. Keep tuned for new ideas.

Anne Schone and the Family Story Line
December 11, 1996

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TRANSFORMING FAMILY - 1997

The "Transforming Family" story line explores the effects of changes in society between black, white, and Native-American families that resulted in the development of a new American family.

Key Points

- **Thesis.** During the eighteenth century, customs of family life inherited from Europe underwent alterations that had a profound effect on the way family members defined themselves in relation to one another and to society at large. Gradually, these changes brought the "modern American" family into being.
- **The Seventeenth Century.** Harsh conditions of everyday life, which made the formation of stable families difficult for the first generations of European and African immigrants, began to ease by the end of the seventeenth century. Native-American family patterns, by contrast, continued to be altered by disease, displacement, and warfare.
- **The White Family.** The European family was patterned after a patriarchal ideal in which the father exercised supreme authority over an extended family, at least in theory. Reality often deviated from that ideal.
- **The Native-American Family.** European observers misunderstood traditional Native-American work and family relations, and interaction with Europeans further undermined the structure of the traditional Indian family and ultimately threatened its survival.
- **The Black Family.** Enslaved Africans, torn from their homeland and denied the stability of legal marriage, created distinctively African-Virginian family structures based on African concepts of extended kinships.
- **The Family Transformed.** A more openly affectionate, child-centered family that reflected egalitarian republican sentiment and changing roles for men and women

began to emerge in gentry and middling white families after the middle of the eighteenth century.

- Conclusion. The redefined American white family became accepted as an important part of the ideal for the new American nation. Notwithstanding, some white families, especially poor whites, retained their patriarchal-based status. By contrast, Native-American and African-American families remained virtually unaffected by egalitarian, republican sentiments.

Background and Thesis

Americans today often express concern about rapid changes overtaking the American family, changes that they believe threaten the "traditional family" and the enduring moral and cultural values it is presumed to embody. At Colonial Williamsburg, we have an opportunity to shed the light of hindsight on this discussion by helping visitors understand that the family, like other human institutions, is both an agent of change and a product of ongoing historical forces.

There has never been just one type of family. African, Native-American, and European peoples have each had their own traditional family structures, ceremonies, rites of passage, and taboos. The structure of family life for all groups underwent transformations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that changed the way parents and children and husbands and wives perceived themselves one to another and in relation to the larger society. Native-Americans and Africans uprooted from their traditional homelands, cut off from their customary family practices, and subjected to the will of white Virginians experienced fewer opportunities to establish customary family relations and often were obliged to adapt to new circumstances or face extinction.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the white American family had begun developing a family structure that we now recognize as modern: one that was essentially nuclear, openly affectionate, child-centered, relatively egalitarian, and, at the same time, also individualistic. Such families appeared first among the gentry. Little by little, they became a model for other groups, and eventually the pattern for the modern American family, or, paradoxically, what we again often refer to as the "traditional" family.

Surviving the Seventeenth Century

European immigration to the Chesapeake irrevocably undermined the institution of the Indian family as disease, displacement, and intensified intertribal warfare decimated native populations. Family development among transplanted African and European peoples was likewise arrested, or at least radically skewed, by the unhealthy climate and environment of the region and the demographics of the early immigration. Endemic fevers and intestinal diseases killed young and old indiscriminately. Before 1640, European immigrants to the Chesapeake, the majority of whom were male indentured servants, had a fifty-fifty chance of dying during their first year. Men outnumbered women seven to one in the early years. Long periods of indenture delayed marriage for many immigrants. A quarter of all children died before their first birthday, and half of all marriages were ended by the death of one partner before the seventh anniversary. For African immigrants, the horrors of the Middle Passage and harsh working conditions in the New World made the story even grimmer.

These circumstances populated the Virginia colony with many orphans, half-siblings, stepchildren, and foster parents. Because there were more men than women and because wives typically survived their husbands, white women enjoyed unusual opportunities to head households and accumulate property in their own names. One historian even speaks of a seventeenth-century "widow-archy."

The increasing institutionalization of slavery as defined by Virginia law shaped the development of the African family. A 1662 statute decreed that the freedom or slavery of the mother determined the status of a black child. Subsequent laws restricted interracial marriage, limited the rights of free mulatto children, and encouraged the harsh punishment of slaves. Legislation further defined the differences between black and white family life and reaffirmed the power of the white master.

Conditions that adversely affected the family formation of Virginia-born black and white settlers began to improve by the end of the seventeenth century. For instance, life expectancy rose, and the numbers of men and women grew more equal. The Virginia-born white population began to replace itself. Marriages of whites took place earlier, lasted longer, and produced larger numbers of surviving children. Increasingly stable conditions promoted a more normal course of family development.

The Function of the Family

Historically, the family was the basic political, religious, social, and economic unit in society, and, as such, both a public and a private institution. It educated the young, served as the first level of government, and cared for the sick, the elderly, and the

disabled. Any family that we portray here in Williamsburg was involved in one or all of these essential functions. Their specific ideas about families and their customs of family life varied with each cultural group--African, European, or Native American.

The Patriarchal Ideal

The traditional ideal of family structure that British immigrants brought to Virginia was a patriarchal hierarchy where the father figure held a position of supreme authority over his wife, children, and all other dependents living in the household. This concept of authority and dependency defined the family. Everyone subject to the authority of the householder was considered a member of the family--immediate relatives, dependent kin, hired help, tenants, indentured servants, apprentices, and slaves.

Patriarchal authority served the dynastic aspirations of some wealthy Virginia planters by perpetuating the power and influence of the house or lineage. Most important was preserving the ownership of family lands intact. The customs of primogeniture (inheritance by the eldest son) and entail (legal proscription against the sale or grant of land outside the lineage) supported the dynastic ambitions of the gentry. The right of fathers to will land to their sons when they came of age or married reinforced the patriarch's authority. Daughters' inheritances and marriage gifts usually took the form of slaves and livestock rather than land.

These dynastic planter families developed extensive and interwoven kinship networks that protected family wealth and concentrated political power in family hands. The political structure of the colony was inextricably linked to the kinship shared by its leading families that ranged all the way from county offices to the Virginia Council. For example, the extended Blair family of Williamsburg provided leaders to the college, the Council, the church, and the local courts. Additionally, kin ties connected the Blairs to many other influential families in the immediate Williamsburg community and throughout the colony.

Small planters and many artisans and shopkeepers in Williamsburg built a sense of family through work. Home and workplace were frequently housed under the same roof or in adjacent buildings. Here the patrimony bequeathed to children was the craft or business skills that earned the family's income. For people like the Geddys, the family was a production unit in which roles were determined by age and sex and where apprentices, slaves, and journeymen were no less important to economic success than parents and children.

An individual could be a member of several families during his or her lifetime. One might grow up in one family, apprentice in another, work as a journeyman or maidservant

in another, set up a business, get married and become head or mistress of one's own family, and in old age become a dependent in someone else's home. When young Daniel Hoyer was apprenticed to Williamsburg artisan Benjamin Powell in the early 1750s, he left the home of the Warwick County family he had been born into, moved to Williamsburg, and became part of the Powell family. After several years of service to Mr. Powell, Hoyer established himself as a wheelwright, married, and started his own family.

The social, cultural, and business opportunities available in the capital attracted large numbers of single young people to Williamsburg. Apprentices, including orphan apprentices from England such as Thomas Everard and William Prentis, young single women such as Elizabeth Wythe's niece Mary Taliaferro and Betty Randolph's niece Elizabeth Harrison, and college students such as Thomas Jefferson and Nathaniel Burwell boarded with Williamsburg families for varying lengths of time. Some of them married here and remained in the Williamsburg area.

Whether as large as a family dynasty or as modest as a tradesman's household, the patriarchal system replicated the structure and reinforced the authority of the state. A father's role and responsibilities in the family mirrored in miniature the patriarchal relationship of a monarch to his people.

The Patriarchal Reality

While theory held that patriarchal authority resided in a male head of the family, reality did not always follow suit. The role of women often extended beyond their traditional domestic sphere, important as that was in its own right. Although society expected young white women to marry, several spinsters (including English milliners Margaret and Jane Hunter) established prosperous businesses in Williamsburg. Jane later married wigmaker Edward Charlton and launched a rival millinery shop across the street.

Ordinary tradesmen and small planters depended on the labor of their wives and children in the workshop or in the field. A serious illness or the death of a husband or father often reversed traditional roles and created situations where the "patriarch" of the family was in fact a woman. Clementina Rind assisted her husband, William, public printer and editor of the *Virginia Gazette*. Later, she assumed these duties singlehandedly during his illness and took over the printing business after William's death. At the same time, Clementina also reared their five children until she died the following year.

While coping with the emotional stress occasioned by the loss of a husband, widows often had to deal with financial crises caused by the loss of family income. On learning that her husband's estate was deeply in debt, Elizabeth Hay, widow of Raleigh Tavern owner and keeper Anthony Hay, renounced her legacy and claimed her widow's

dower (the common rights of a widow to a life interest of one-third of her husband's pre-debt property). That recourse brought greater advantage to Elizabeth and her children. Likewise, Anne Geddy became the guardian of her children and was solely responsible for their welfare and education. As femme sole executrix of her husband's estate, she was able to bring legal action and conduct business in her own right.

Young widows in colonial Virginia typically remarried quickly; older widows often remained single and exercised the power due to heads of households. Living in Williamsburg made it easier for a widow to avoid remarriage because nearby friends provided support and the bustling life of the town afforded economic opportunities. Widows such as midwife Catherine Blaikley and tavern keepers Jane Vobe and Christiana Campbell became successful businesswomen. Widow Ann Wager decided to leave her position as private tutor at Carter's Grove plantation to take employment as mistress of the Bray School in Williamsburg.

Women often turned to networks of family and friends during times of illness and family need. Teenager Frances Baylor Hill of Hillsborough plantation stayed with her sister during the days before her sister's death following childbirth and then was one of the family members who stood for the christening of the baby. Living in Williamsburg made such arrangements more convenient.

Although not all marriages were happy, divorce was not an alternative in colonial Virginia. Couples with marital problems had only a few choices--apply to the court for a separation (seldom requested), work them out, put up with them, or separate without a legal agreement.

The death of one or both parents happened frequently in the Chesapeake colonies. Virginia passed legislation that provided for the care and education of orphans as early as the 1640s. Orphans with assets received an education according to the level of income that their estates could sustain. When an orphan inherited no estate or one so small it could not subsidize "book education," churchwardens bound the child out to learn a trade. Guardians were held accountable for the integrity of the orphan's estate. The law and the church supported and protected marriage and family unity for the white population.

First Families of Virginia

Native-American family life was both different from and transformed by contact with European culture. British observers (mostly male) regarded gender roles and marital customs among the Indians as an abdication of men's proper paternal authority, and they viewed the lavishly affectionate and seemingly permissive treatment of Indian children as an invitation to anarchy. Cultural blindness often misconstrued similarities in the customs

of the two peoples. Whites, for example, took the Indians' courtship practice of presenting a prospective bride's family with skins or other goods as evidence that brides were bought like commodities even though it was commonplace for European and African suitors to be required to demonstrate they could support a family.

Most of the Indian cultures were matrilineal, meaning that family membership and descent were traced through the mother's side. Often a son in an Algonquin family had an especially strong relationship with a maternal uncle who took responsibility for much of his education. Married men had obligations to two households, to their wives and children on one hand and to their mothers' people on the other. Occasionally, Native-American women inherited positions as rulers. Though most men had only one wife, divorce seems to have been relatively easy and considerable sexual freedom was not inconsistent with the idea of marriage. Adultery resulted only when the spouse did not sanction the liaison. Relatives showed Powhatan children much affection. Punishing children by beating them was not part of Indian culture before contact with Europeans.

Work was rigidly allocated by gender. Women bore responsibility for growing crops (though men helped clear the land), erecting houses, making household utensils, carrying burdens when the family moved, gathering firewood, and, of course, rearing children. Hunting, fishing, and waging war were the men's jobs that often took them away from home for long periods. Men also made and maintained most of the implements related to these activities.

Europeans viewed this division of labor in the light of their own preconceptions. They regarded Powhatan men as lazy and idle, engaged only in fishing or hunting, which they considered to be leisure activities, while the women were exploited and condemned to a life of drudgery. In fact, the economic contributions of both sexes were roughly equal, and Native-Americans may not have viewed women's work as demeaning or less important than that of the men until later.

Cultural misunderstandings between Indians and whites were seldom bridged by well-meant attempts at indoctrination like those offered by instructors at the Indian School at the College of William and Mary. Indians showed little interest in attending the school; those who did soon returned to their native ways. Occasionally, successful students such as John Nettles and John Montour used their English education to aid their own people by becoming skilled interpreters. Generally speaking, Native Americans appear to have had little desire to acquire European culture, however much they valued some products of the white man's technology.

There were some mixed families of course. Frontiersmen sometimes married Indian women. Indians occasionally intermarried with blacks. But, despite some coincidental

similarities, there is little evidence that Native-American attitudes and practices were consciously included in European or African family customs.

The negative impact of the Europeans on Native-American families was enormous. Disease and displacement led to high mortality and low birthrates. The establishment of white settlements disrupted the delicate system of land use on which the Indians depended. An influx of European trade goods displaced native craft technologies. The appetite of European markets for hunters' furs and hides exaggerated the importance of the male role in Indian society and devalued that of the female. Native-Americans responded to these disruptive influences in many different ways, from acceptance to adaptation to resistance and outright rejection. Ultimately, unremitting pressure from European newcomers meant that the less numerous and technologically disadvantaged Indians were pushed to the brink of extinction.

Yet they managed to survive, even though their indigenous cultural patterns were distorted or destroyed. In an effort to minimize European influences, the Pamunkey Indians prohibited women married to white men from living on tribal lands as long as their marriage lasted. Nonetheless, notions of patrilineal descent and other foreign customs crept in. A visitor to the Pamunkeys in 1759 found them living in traditional Yi Hakans (temporary houses made from bent saplings covered with bark or reed mats) but wearing English clothes. Thomas Jefferson wrote in his *Notes on Virginia* that "there remain of the Mattaponies three or four men only. . . . They have lost their language and have reduced themselves to about fifty acres of Land. . . . The Pamunkies are reduced to about 10 or 12 men. . . . The older ones among them preserved their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth as far as we know, of the Powhatan language."

Black Families

The history of the African-Virginian family is the story of the struggle to rebuild stable family institutions to fill the emotional, cultural, and spiritual void created when African peoples were torn from their homelands. The hybrid family structures that resulted incorporated African, European, and distinctively African-Virginian elements.

Among the West African peoples from whom Virginia's slave population predominately derived, the ties of kinship operated at every level of society and in almost every aspect of an individual's life. Each person identified him- or herself as a member of a people, a clan, a family, and a household. A people, the national grouping, was unified by language and culture. The clan was the largest subdivision of a people, by definition a kinship grouping since every member of a clan traced descent from a common ancestor, either through the father's or the mother's line. The family included not just parents and

children but also grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, and other relatives. The household was the smallest family. It was restricted to parents, children, and sometimes grandparents--what J. S. Mibiti has referred to as the "family at night."

In West African families, there was a tradition of wives being subordinate to their husbands. But authority was more dispersed than it was in patriarchal European families. Parental responsibilities such as the care and education of children were shared with a broader kin group. Grandparents and other older relatives passed on family and clan history and traditional lore. A modern West African saying, "It takes a village to raise a child," sums up this intertwining of family responsibilities.

West African kinship connections extended laterally in one dimension, binding an individual to nearly everyone in the locality, and vertically (or historically), connecting the living with departed ancestors and children yet unborn. Social behavior and familial obligations were determined by the nature of kinship links between individuals since a person could have hundreds of "fathers," "mothers," "uncles," and "brothers." As a community was regarded as an organic whole bound by intricate ties among relatives, so an individual's life within that community derived its deepest meaning from its unity with the communal existence. Physical, emotional, and spiritual growth were marked by rites of passage that signified a person's progressive integration into the corporate body of kin, both living and dead.

For Africans enslaved and transported to Virginia, this web of kinship ties that gave them order, meaning, and continuity was swept away. Slaves suffered a "social death," to use historian Orlando Patterson's phrase. The challenge facing transportees was how to build kinship anew in an alien land. How much these new networks were of African origin, how much patterned on European models, how much improvised from scratch to fit the exigencies of the new land and the constraints of slavery are questions much debated by historians. They probably will continue to be.

Some, like E. Franklin Frazier, believed there was little evidence that African culture exerted any influence on the African-American family. "Probably never before in history," he wrote, "has a people been so completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes who were brought to America." Herbert Gutman made a more plausible argument when he proposed a four-stage process of destruction and rebirth: the initial West-African kinship patterns; their eradication by slavery and replacement by non-kin relationships with symbolic (or fictive) functions; the emergence of a truly African-American slave family and fictive kin networks; and, finally, an extension of ideas about family into a broader concept of allegiance to the black community as a whole. Whether derived from African tradition or developed from the Virginia experience, the extended kin network and the fictive kinship

concept were vitally important to the African-Americans.

Efforts by seventeenth-century African immigrants to form families were hindered initially by the same high rates of mortality and skewed sex ratios that Europeans experienced. Transported African women had an unusually low birthrate, possibly due to the trauma of the Middle Passage and the harsh working conditions in Virginia, to traditionally longer nursing periods among Africans that were accompanied by sexual abstinence, or to many women's unwillingness to bear children in servitude. The native-born population eventually began to replace itself. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, slaves were living longer and in greater numbers. Concentrations of blacks on some of the larger plantations gave them the opportunity to develop a more stable family life and a degree of autonomy in their quarters.

For any slave, stability was temporal. The legal and religious institutions that promoted marriage and families for the dominant white population were indifferent or hostile to the preservation of the black family. Although masters sometimes encouraged slave marriages for their own convenience, such unions were not officially recognized by law or the established church. Some owners attempted to keep slave families together, but circumstances--bankruptcy or the master's death--could break them up at any time. Childless widow Betty Randolph's will mandated the dispersal of a large number of her slaves. In the second half of the century, slave couples were frequently separated from one another or from their children when white families relocated to the Piedmont or into growing towns like Richmond, Norfolk, Petersburg, Fredericksburg, Alexandria, and, until 1780, Williamsburg. Sometimes masters sold surplus slaves or hired them to owners who did not live in the immediate vicinity.

Despite all these obstacles and uncertainties, black men and women continued to be united by marriage ceremonies that often combined African and European traditions. Husbands and wives who were owned by different masters often lived apart. Sometimes they traveled long distances at night to visit one another. This "night-walking," an institution born of necessity, used a network of foot trails that became physical evidence of the family ties that bound the black community together. The *Virginia Gazette* printed many advertisements by masters expressing their suspicions that slaves they owned had run away to join their families. These ads testify to the fact that whites recognized the reality, if not the legality, of slave family relationships and tried to cope with runaways who were determined to preserve these connections at great personal risk.

Slaves depended on their masters for food, shelter, and health care. Enforced subservience to whites led to complex relationships of authority, obligation, and family loyalty that must have required a good bit of diplomacy, resourcefulness, and skill to

negotiate safely. Rural and urban slaves who served as domestics lived in close proximity to their owners, often sleeping in the house or in nearby outbuildings. Although favored house slaves often received cast-off clothing and other gifts from their owners, they were less likely to be given the traditional Sunday off enjoyed by field hands. Always at the beck and call of their masters, they had to bargain for free time to spend with their families or to visit with friends. Town slaves had greater opportunities to choose mates and to perform services that could bring them tips.

The close proximity of their living spaces increased the influence of white and black families on one another. Children of both races played together until their serious education for adult roles began around age ten. Slave girls in their early teens provided much of the childcare in white gentry families. Slaves and whites continued to influence one another's work rhythms, living spaces, childrearing practices, speech patterns, and religious sensibilities throughout their lives.

Sometimes the interconnection between a black and white family was not only a matter of dependency but also of blood. Documentation based on a variety of sources reveals that the number of mulattoes was growing in the eighteenth century. Although laws forbade marriage between blacks and whites, interracial unions had always existed. Some voluntary relationships were based on genuine affection and were of long duration. Just as often, however, the absolute authority of masters and the powerlessness of slaves led to incidents of rape and other forms of sexual exploitation. Black women had no protection or legal recourse from these indignities. Occasionally, a mulatto child, especially if the mother and father were bound by an affectionate and long-term alliance, attained tacit acceptance or a position of favor in the white master's family. John Custis's mulatto son Jack or members of the Hemings family at Monticello come to mind.

Not all African-Virginian families were enslaved in the eighteenth century. While only a handful of free blacks lived in Williamsburg, greater numbers of free blacks resided in adjoining James City and York Counties. Though they amounted to only 3 to 4 percent of the total population in eastern Virginia, some families included both slaves and free blacks.

The laws did not apply equally to free blacks and whites. Free black women over sixteen years old were tithable until 1769, a burden from which whites were exempt because white women were not.

Williamsburg carter Matthew Ashby was the son of a white woman and a black man, a union that ultimately made him a free man. Since Matthew's mother was an indentured servant at the time of his birth, she was required to serve an additional five years. Matthew was indentured until he was thirty-one, not twenty-one, because his father was black.

Matthew's wife, Ann, was a slave, so his children were slaves too. In 1769, Matthew purchased his wife and children from their owner; shortly thereafter, he petitioned the governor and Virginia Council for permission to manumit his family. The authorities acted favorably on Ashby's petition not long before his death in 1771.

The establishment of stable, emotionally and spiritually nurturing black families is a story of unremitting struggle against great odds. Slaves showed a tenacious determination to make something good out of the most unpromising circumstances. The successful formation of the African-American family takes its rightful place in American history beside the other stories of heroism in the "struggle to be free and equal."

The Family Transformed

During the course of the eighteenth century, relationships within gentry families underwent a fundamental change that set new standards that were gradually emulated throughout society. Historians sometimes call this phenomenon "the rise of the affectionate family." New ideals made hard work a virtue and upward mobility its just reward. Further, the nuclear family became the incubator of the republican ethos. Visitors to Colonial Williamsburg will see in the late-eighteenth-century family portrayed here an early reflection of the individualistic, child-centered world of today.

The Nurturing Family

In the second half of the eighteenth century, marriages in gentry families were made for love more often than the unions between power families had been previously. A growing body of literature concerned with the quest for the one perfect partner reflected the growing importance of romance. Relations between family members became less formal and hierarchical and more openly emotional. The family turned inward, ceasing to be merely a microcosm of the larger society, and its public functions were gradually subordinated to its private ones. The family was increasingly regarded as a refuge from the strife and competition of the outside world, a haven for nobler principles of love, self-sacrifice, and devotion to spouses and children.

The traditional authoritarian role parents played gave way to affectionate bonds, while the relationship between husbands and wives became more companionable. Edmund Randolph acknowledged the influence his wife had over his beliefs and attitudes. St. George Tucker wrote unabashedly emotional poetry to his wife, Frances, during their courtship and marriage and memorialized her with tender sentiments after she died.

Fathers took a more active role in day-to-day childrearing. St. George Tucker provides an excellent example. As a widower, his rules for governing the household

showed Tucker's reliance on humor instead of physical punishment to mold the behavior of his children. He often referred to them playfully as "vagabonds," "rogues," "sweet brats," and even "my little monkies."

Women became more active in the spiritual direction they gave their children and servants. Obituaries of women, especially young women like Elizabeth Prentis and Frances Horrocks, emphasized the importance of faith and the value of women within a family. Death notices also reflected a more open, unrestrained grieving process.

Childhood Assumes New Importance

Along with the new emphasis on emotional values came a basic change in the way children were perceived. Infants and young children became a focus of family life and their development a source of delight to adults. Parents began to give children pet names, distinctive clothing, juvenile books, playthings, and self-consciously educational experiences. A flood of books on childcare and children's behavior tapped a growing interest in the art and science of childrearing. Parents continued to believe in the importance of raising children to be upright, moral, independent members of society, so only the way in which they were educated changed.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, families typically included six to eight children despite the fact that stillbirths and miscarriages were common for both black and white women. Fear for the health of both the newborn child and its mother was part of every childbirth experience. Lying-in was a time when female relatives and friends rallied to support this important event.

Throughout history, parents have mourned the loss of a child. It was no different in the eighteenth century. The forms grieving took became more openly emotional because the importance of the individual was broadened to include children. Landon Carter noted that his slave Winny was "greatly affected" by the loss of one of her children, as was Carter himself when, a few days later, his daughter fell ill and died while he was away. The deaths of no fewer than four of Frances and Robert Carter's children must have brought great sadness to these residents of Palace Street in Williamsburg and may have been a factor in the family's decision to move back to Nomini Hall plantation.

The New American Family

The design of houses reflected changing social relationships in the family: passages allowed for more privacy, beds were relegated to upstairs or back rooms, and entertainment spaces brought people together for dining and dancing. The socially driven demand for new domestic activities such as tea drinking led to the acquisition of the

necessary "tools" to carry on those activities. Consumer goods such as tea equipages changed how family members--parents, children, slaves--used the home. Household servants enabled whites to devote more time to social activities.

A surplus of white men residing in the capital city may explain why some young women were successful in finding partners among higher social ranks. Successful artisan families in Williamsburg like the Powells and Geddys were able to marry their socially accomplished daughters into the lower gentry. Living in Williamsburg had other benefits. Parents who could afford to school their children in music, dance, and deportment had ready access to instructors and tutors in the social arts. While living in town, the Robert Carter family took advantage of these opportunities to enrich their children's education. After they returned to Nomini Hall, it was necessary to employ a live-in tutor and engage the services of an itinerant music and dance master.

The Williamsburg community illustrates a mix of status groups through marriages. Members of the prominent Blair family married both across and down the social scale. Blair women were linked to local merchants, artisans, and professionals through marriage connections to Armistead Burwell, Benjamin Powell, Dr. George Gilmer, and Robert Andrews. Town clerk Joseph Davenport's daughters married cabinetmaker/tavern keeper Anthony Hay, Yorktown butcher Patrick Matthews, merchants John Greenhow and William Holt, and printers Alexander Purdie and Augustine Davis.

The more openly affectionate, child-centered family that gained acceptance by the end of the eighteenth century struck a sympathetic chord with the nation's republican sentiments. The lessening of paternal authority paralleled the rejection of the patriarchal authority of the English monarch. The substitution of a more egalitarian ideal in place of a hierarchial one was mirrored in the more equal sharing of authority in the family. Successful middle-class families became more self-assured, less accepting of subordination, and more confident of their own values.

War and the New Nation Force Further Change

Family life was altered in other ways as husbands left for war while their wives at home found themselves temporarily--or sometimes permanently--single parents. St. George Tucker's letters record the strain imposed by separation. Wives' roles expanded as they assumed duties usually performed by their absent husbands. Children had to adapt to changing family conditions too. The postwar ideology of republicanism changed people's thinking about education. Mothers were expected to take primary responsibility for instructing children in the virtues necessary to a new republic; as a consequence, girls received more education.

Some families in the new nation lost rather than gained opportunities. Deprived of land, their population reduced, and important aspects of their traditional culture under assault, Native Americans were repeatedly uprooted and often obliged to create a different family life. Slave families still lacked legal rights. Eve and her son George ran away from Betty Randolph on hearing about Dunmore's Proclamation but found small comfort for their act of courage and desperation. This slave family was later split when Betty Randolph changed her will and ordered that Eve be sold rather than given to a niece along with George. The opening of the frontier and the cotton lands farther south after the Revolution meant that separation of African-American families was both distant and final.

Historian Stephanie Grauman Wolf writes, "More modest nuclear families, ones that gave each of the children a chance through education, love, and a comfortable existence . . . were, in a way, the right kind of family structure for the new nation with its emphasis on individual attainment." Wolf refers to an archetype that was beginning to emerge among some white middling and gentry families toward the end of the period we interpret at Colonial Williamsburg. Over the next two hundred years, momentous changes in American society that profoundly affected families of all economic and ethnic groups continued to take place. Westward expansion, new waves of immigration, the growth (and reduction) of economic opportunity, eight wars, the abolition of slavery, the Victorian codification of behavior, the industrialization and urbanization of America, the civil rights struggle, the women's movement, the nonconformism of the tumultuous 1960s, and changes occurring in society today have all helped shape families as we now know them and the idea of family as we think it should be. Yet, behind all the apparent differences, some characteristic and important features of the modern American family are a legacy of the eighteenth century.

"Transforming Family" and the Becoming Americans Theme

Diverse Peoples

Native Americans, Africans, and British colonists held different cultural perceptions of the family. These understandings underwent profound alterations in response to the New World environment and in reaction to the other groups. The highly abnormal demographic conditions of the seventeenth century delayed and stunted the formation of family life, which was further reshaped when whites imported Africans to labor on their plantations. Encroaching settlement by Europeans and their slaves pushed the Indians from their traditional homelands.

Clashing Interests

Most Europeans considered Native-American family customs to be outlandish and debased. As patriarchal slave masters, whites intervened profoundly and often peremptorily in the family experience of their bondsmen and imposed laws that relegated African-Virginians to the status of inferiors.

Some members of the gentry resisted the changes that affected many families by the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The friction between Landon Carter and his son and daughter-in-law may be interpreted either as a generational disagreement over family relations or as an expression of individual preferences. At all times, variations in individuals' beliefs about what a family should be added diversity to early Virginia society.

Shared Values

Africans, Native Americans, and Europeans all placed a high value on children, family relationships, and kinship networks. As African-Virginians helped raise white children, lived and worked in close proximity to whites, and interacted with the master's family, accommodation between the races and an unconscious exchange of values took place. Living in Williamsburg could be a positive experience for both Sarah Trebell and her family's slave, Eady. Black and white Williamsburg children had some opportunity for schooling. After the Revolution, the adoption of a more egalitarian sharing of authority began to set a standard that was understood by all levels of society and is still perceived as important today.

Formative Institutions

While white masters began to accept the importance of slave families, neither the law nor the church sanctioned slave marriages. Legislation enforced the moral teachings of the Anglican church regarding acceptable social behavior and the treatment of dependents such as apprentices, servants, and slaves. Education was regarded as the chief means to pass one society's values and rules on to the next generation. The home was the unchallenged center for education, religious learning, and spiritual development.

Partial Freedoms

The gentry enjoyed more freedom in their family relationships by 1770, but these changing attitudes had no effect on slave families. Nor were they experienced in all white families, or even in all upper-class families. For example, although both husband and wife recognized the woman's role in a family, their lives continued to be narrowly defined and they were seldom educated to reach their full potential. The black family experience

continued to lack stability. The opportunity for most black children in Williamsburg to receive some formal education faded when the Bray School closed its doors at the death of Ann Wager. A few masters such as George Wythe occasionally taught individual slaves to read. Few slave families responding to Dunmore's Proclamation gained their freedom. Native-American families continued to be confined to reservations in the East or were pushed to the limits of the frontier in the West.

Revolutionary Promise

Even before the Revolution, changes in white family values and experiences heralded transformations. Those families with skills, material goods, and knowledge of the appropriate behaviors increased their opportunities for social mobility. Racism and lack of opportunity meant that Native-American and slave families' full participation in the new republic remained an unfulfilled promise. A few slaves such as "Saul, the property of George Kelly Esquire," whose petition was brought before the 1792 Virginia Assembly were granted freedom for service to the Revolutionary cause. Virginia law recognized that some marriages were not successful, so limited divorce became available here and also in the rest of the nation. After the war, educating children to participate in the new republic contributed to the optimistic expectations for the United States. The transformed white American family became a cornerstone of the American character.

Connections to Other Becoming Americans Story Lines

Taking Possession

Settling the land displaced Native-American families and changed their economic and family patterns. Since land and labor were factors determining the success of whites, settling the land was an important aspect of their family life. Settlement of the frontier altered family living patterns. For example, younger sons could own land earlier in their lives. Movement to the frontier changed family life for slaves who were forced to leave family members behind when their masters relocated. Because western settlers owned fewer slaves, family formation was difficult for those African-Virginians.

Enslaving Virginia

Although Africans came to Virginia with concepts of family, slavery altered traditional patterns by not allowing legal marriage and separating families by gift or sale. Authority in the slave family ultimately rested with the white master, which redefined customary relationships. The close proximity of domestic blacks to white masters and

mistresses in a family required accommodation on the part of both.

Buying Respectability

As more families had more access to more goods, more domestic labor, and more opportunities for lessons in deportment, music, and other genteel behaviors, interactions within the family occurred. Lessons, particularly in urban Williamsburg, were available to many. The market economy recognized the importance of childhood, creating books about child care and a variety of toys, games, and publications for children. Families accumulated more goods that had to be cared for by both mistress and domestic slaves. Mistresses spent more time supervising the household, and, freed from the burden of physical labor, had more time to educate their children. These changes improved family comfort and allowed for social mobility. Consumer goods became symbols of their owners' rank in society, while the outward behaviors associated with using them indicated status.

Choosing Revolution

The family was both the agent for and a product of the historical process. A lessening of paternalism in society at large paralleled changes in family relationships. The Revolutionary War gave wives new responsibilities in the absence of their husbands. War required children to adapt and adjust. When peace came, the new republic idealized aspects of family. Educational opportunities for females increased.

Freeing Religion

White women were appreciated as models for piety, guardians of family religious faith, and teachers of young Virginians. The church was responsible for the care of the dependent--the orphans and the destitute. Yet both church and law supported only white families, white apprentices, and white widows.

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SUPPORT FOR
THE ESSAY

Section I - Surviving the Seventeenth Century

A. Marriage

...In seventeenth-century Maryland, most marriages lasted less than seven years, and only one-third lasted as long as a decade. In two out of three cases, the surviving spouse was the wife, and colonists in Maryland responded to this high death rate by assigning more rights and powers to widows than was the practice elsewhere in the colonies. Law and custom assigned widows primary responsibility for holding their farms and households together, and husbands' will reflected this concern. Most husbands made their wives executors of their estates and entrusted their spouses with more land and property than the law required-reflecting their confidence in their wife's abilities to manage the estate and recognizing their spouses' economic contributions to the household, which included raising tobacco, milling corn, growing vegetables, milking cows, churning butter, making cheese, as well as spinning yarn and knitting clothing.

Mintz, Steven and Susan Kellogg. Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life. The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan, Inc. New York: 1988, pp. 39-40.

...Parental control over native-born men and women in Maryland was not significantly greater than that of the immigrant generation. Because most parents died before their children reached marriageable age, native-born men and women in Maryland also frequently married without parental consent. Stepparents or guardians could prevent their charges from marrying before they were of age but could not control what they did afterwards. Up to the 1690s, most men did not marry until several years after the age of inheritance, at which time their own fathers had often been dead for some years. Thus the wishes of a man's parents infrequently entered into his decision about when and whom to marry.

Somewhat more control was exercised over women, since they married much earlier than men. Because of community distaste for child brides, most guardians refused to allow, or the court instructed them to prevent, girls marrying much below the age of fourteen. Orphaned women, however, generally became free to order their lives when they reached the age of inheritance-sixteen-making relatively short the period in which others could restrict their freedom to marry. Seventeenth-century marriages were unusual in other ways. Frequent disparity in the age and status of the partners characterized many unions. Often, a man marrying for the first time was ten years older than his bride. When widowed, a woman might choose a second husband not older and perhaps younger than herself. Since many unions were broken by the early death of one of the partners, second marriages were frequent. Single men often married widows with a charge of children, and some single girls chose husbands with families by earlier wives. If both husband and wife had previously married, they were each likely to have custody of underaged offspring by their first spouses. Age differences and conflicts arising from the presence of both natural children and stepchildren in the same household must have heightened tensions within a marriage. . . . Lack of family ties, unsettled New World conditions, and the pressures

of sex ratio all contributed to a milieu of relative sexual freedom in seventeenth-century Maryland. One result was a high rate of bridal pregnancy, especially among immigrants. In a register of marriages and births for seventeenth-century Somerset County, more than a third of immigrant women whose marriages were recorded were pregnant by the time of the ceremony. Such a high rate of bridal pregnancy—two or three times that of many contemporary English parishes—is testimony to extent of social disruption. There is little evidence that the community objected to this kind of sexual freedom; no presentments for bridal pregnancy appear in any of the Maryland courts.

Walsh, Lorena S. "Till Death Us Do Part": Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland." The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics. Edited by Thad W. Tate & David L. Ammerman. W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 1979. pp. 131-132.

B. Childrearing

... While seventeenth-century parents had tried to make their children into adults as quickly as possible, more and more middle- and upper- class couples in the eighteenth century were coming to feel that their children were entitled to be children. This does not mean that earlier generations of youngsters didn't laugh and cry, run and play, or act silly and mischievous. In fact, their daily lives may not have varied too much from those of children of their station in life a hundred years earlier. What changed was the way in which adults perceived the basic nature of children and arrived at a different understanding of human development, one which stimulated new methods for achieving the same old goal of turning irresponsible and incapable babies into responsible and productive members of society.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York, New York, 1993. pp. 104-105.

Colonists in seventeenth-century Maryland bore children and brought them up through the early years of life much as they themselves had been born and brought up in the Old World. In later childhood and adolescence, however, familiar patterns often broke down. Because at least one of a child's natural parents so often died early, the community was forced to take on responsibilities for the support, supervision, and education of children that had traditionally been carried out by the family. Not entirely prepared for the role so suddenly thrust upon it, the community was far from completely successful in carrying out these responsibilities.

Babies were born in the home, usually with the help of a midwife. The husband was probably customarily at hand; the explanation of "his wife being neare Delivery" regularly excused men from jury duty and other official business. He might be joined by his nearer neighbors as soon as they heard the delivery was in progress. They apparently went to the house in order to be among the first to view the new arrival and to celebrate the event with a round of drink. When a minister was available, the infant was normally baptized within two months, otherwise baptism would be delayed until a minister arrived in the neighborhood.

Infants were breast-fed, and if for some reason the mother could not nurse, a

neighbor with milk to spare was hired to help nourish the baby. One such negotiation was recorded. John Ashbrooke related: *"Mr. Arthur Turner came to this Deponent's house on the 25th of October last past hee Sat him downe by the table, and this Deponants wife Sukling her owne Child upon the left breast, sayd Turner Sitting by Sayd unto this Deponants wife, Roase I see thow hast good Store. I sir Replied this Deponants wife. So I have thanke Godd for it whearupon the sayd Turner Sayd hee had a Child that wanted it to which this deponant Sayd, Sir, if in Case you have I coold wish it had as much as my wife coold Spaer it." Infants were occasionally also nourished by other means. Turner had previously approached Marie Dod about nursing the child, and she "answered Shee could not for She thought She was with child herself but if hee woold have it drie nurst she woold doe her best endeavor for it."*

For first two or three years of their lives, children were probably attentively cared for. Petitions for aid from the county levy to help maintain orphan infants attest to *"trouble I have with such an one,"* and *"Trouble of my hous with 2 small children [twins about one and a half year old] washing Lodgeing Combeing, Pickeing, nurseing and fostering them one whole yeare."* Until a child was able to walk well, it was carried in the arms of one of the parents when they went abroad, and very young children were probably frequently picked up and fondled. Women are often recorded as going out *"with their infants in their arms,"* and a father was described as *"walking in his Hall with one of his Children. . . in his Armes."*

The line between infancy and childhood was crossed at age three. A child was likely to be weaned sometime at the beginning of the second year, and a new baby might be expected by the end of it. One or both of these events apparently signified transition from the status of infant to that of "little adult." A child's chances of surviving to maturity also improved about the third birthday. This fact was reflected in public policy. County courts authorized payment from public taxes to persons who cared for orphans without estates until they were two years old. Thereafter orphans, in theory, paid for their maintenance through their own labor. Clearly, a child of three or four would not be able to do much work, so custom of public payments for early care must have taken into account a high infant death rate. The chances of a baby not living to repay the costs of its care were apparently so great that public compensation was necessary to induce a couple to take charge of an orphaned infant. Conversely, masters were willing to accept the risk for children above age three.

From an examination of period inventories something can be learned about the material conditions in which children were raised. It appears that whatever toys children may have had were homemade and of so little worth that they were never valued. Since most houses were quite small, usually just one or two rooms, children generally slept with their brothers and sisters in the same room as their parents or in a loft above. Most children were provided with but one new suit of clothes and a pair of shoes and stockings per year. They might in addition be given combs, and boys perhaps received pocket knives. There was little in a typical merchant's stock that was designed specifically for the young, aside from clothing, which, except in the case of infants, apparently differed from that of adults merely in size. Probably the single treat that a parent might ever purchase

for his children at the store would be a little sugar.

Walsh, Lorena S. "Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland." The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics. Edited by Thad W. Tate & David L. Ammerman. W.W. Norton & Company: New York. 1979 pp. 141-143.

[Letter of petition to justices from Peter Jennings]

I am necessitated to intercede in the behalfe of Doctor Haddon in case of his non appearance at your court & doubt not of a candid interpretation of my desires since the occasion which caused his absence proceeds from the wh [sic] law itself dispenseth with necessity In fine my daughters sickness hath occasioned his stay nor dare I suffer his absense from her I shall leave it to you to judge of me you are all fathers whether on such on occasion as this where the life or death of your child inprobability depends that latitude may not be allowed wch in another case may be judged intolerable I shall therefore humbly beseach you that the Doctors absence may not prejudice him in his affayres but that all business depending may be suspended til the next court . . .

Recorded 8 March 1668/9 court, York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4), p. 237.

[Deposition taken 24 October 1657 presented to justices]

The deposicon of John Horsington aged 32 yeares or thereabts. sworne & examd. saith that being in discourse w/ Sarah Taylor the wife of John Taylor the sd Sarah said that shee heart that wee shall be parted & I made her answeare that was in every bodyes mouth in the parish then she said that if they were parted she would come to him by night or by day for where love could not goe itt would creepe att any other time I being att Robert Taylor his house where the sd Sarah did live the sd Robert Taylor coming home hee sd to Sarah the wife of John Taylor there is a sweet clamour abroad for people say that I dandle you on my knee & kisse you, Itt is noe matter said Sarah if you have the Devill take you if you doe not. And further saith not.

Recorded 26 October 1657 court, York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3), p. 4.

C. Education

The education that children received was supposed to suit their station, and might be practical or academic or both. Apprenticeship was a common method of educating children in many places, but as practiced in southern Maryland in the seventeenth-century, it was mainly a means for teaching trades, including planting, to orphans. Until the late 1690s very few fathers bound out their children; when families were not broken up by the early death of the father, both sons and daughters were kept at home. Rather, it was the widows who insured that their orphaned sons were cared for and taught how to earn a living through apprenticeship and that their orphaned daughters were provided for by binding them out to learn housekeeping. Unlike the New England area, where

nonagricultural trades developed, the labor-intensive, staple crop economy of the Chesapeake offered no rationale for apprenticing children to trades when their labor was needed in the family's fields.

Walsh, Lorena S. "Till Death Us Do Part": Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland. The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics. Edited by Thad W. Tate & David L. Ammerman. W.W. Norton & Company, New York: p. 148.

[Undated letter showing a mother's concern for her son and informing him of the death of his father, John Perrin Sr. Location of son unknown.]

Sonn John my love to you, and I was very glad to heare of your health but very sorry to heare of the accedent wch befell you by fire I have sent you a boy wch I desire that you would have as much care of him as if he was your owne also I have sent you some things as much as I am able at this time and if God shall enable to live another yeare I shall send you more your father hath departed this life and hath left you a little house in the southgate street in bury worth the matter of 40 lbs there is a noate in the barrell it lieth in the topp in the new blankett and I have sent you by Tho. a smale peece of gould for your wife also I have pd for the boy his passage his name is [Backer] your unkle Christopher lives at [ascamak] at Cheristone Creeke & as you desire my blessing have a care of the boy and learne him his trade and not to part from him [torn] my love to you and your wife desiring of God to keepe [torn] loving Mother

Susana Perrin

Recorded 11 November 1648, York County Deeds, Orders, & Wills (2), p. 434.

Note: The impact of the European contact on Native American families is explored in the section on Native Americans.



Section II - The White Family

A. The Patriarchal Ideal

In the everyday world, the dynastic family model was for the most part, an ideal rather than a reality. Most members of Western society lived in domestic households—the alternative form of traditional family—circumscribed by the single farmstead, the craftsman's house and workshop, or the shopkeeper's apartments and store. Family members included those who lived and worked within these confines: the head of the household, his wife and resident children, his servants and apprentices. The grand alliances of dynastic families were mirrored on a small scale by the rural cooperation of neighboring farm households through resource sharing, labor pooling, and intermarriage. Urban merchant families did business with relatives, in-laws, and coreligionists in far-off places because they were felt to be known, and therefore more reliable and trustworthy than strangers.

... The idea of "family" as blood or affectionate relationship was nearly as irrelevant to the domestic household as it was to the dynastic House. Individuals came and went, leaving one family and joining another as they grew from children in their fathers' houses to apprentices or servants in the houses of their masters; became heads of their own households when they finished their training, married, and went into business on their own; and finally, when widowed or elderly, entered the families of others, as dependents. They were always "kin," of course, to their birth relatives, emotionally and nostalgically attached, perhaps, but that was not part of the family domain.

While the dynastic family was based on the three L's of land, lineage, and labor, it was the third of these—labor—that really defined the parameters of the domestic household. The position of every member was determined by his or her ability to contribute to the economic goals of the enterprise. While the man at the head of the house was not necessarily the oldest male, he was the publicly acknowledged economic man of action, of legal maturity and in the fullest flower of his abilities, vigor, and energy. He headed the family unit as husband, father, and employer; his wife was wife, mother, manager of domestic arrangements, and, usually, a worker or supervisor in the business as well. The sons and daughters of the family were workers in the domestic economic venture as well as children of the household; apprentices and servants were usually young, and were treated as children of the household as well as workers. ...

Great landed southerners were, perhaps, the only colonists who continued to extend their concept of family to all who lived on their property, however far-flung their quarters from the home plantation, however temporarily or impersonally connected to the household. ...

When it came to the traditional role of the community as keeper of the peace and enforcer of the law, the system continued to rely on the structure of the institutional family, or at least on its patriarchal orientation, whenever possible. A free, married man was the "head of the family" and master of all its members, no matter how marginal his own position in society. Black slaves were thoroughly dehumanized, appearing in inventories

of property along with the cattle, horses, and other livestock if they were field hands, and among the pots, pans, and "dough troughs" if they were house servants. Servants, apprentices, wives, and children were not "chattels" in the same literal sense, but they were generally not regarded as being "people" or "men" in the public arena. Only the head of the household was recognized as a fully empowered responsible member of society; only he was considered an adult, qualified to conduct legal and civil affairs; only he was, in fact, truly a human being. This legal fact of life impinged far more on eighteenth-century Americans than any lack of political rights like speaking in public, voting, or election to office.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York, New York, 1993. Page 18-19, 31, 246.

In 1750 about half of the white heads of households in eastern Virginia owned one or more slaves.

Suzanne Lebsack. "A Share of Honour." Virginia Women 1600-1945. W. M. Brown & Sons, Richmond: 1984, p. 36.

... The terms describing authority are frequently defined imprecisely, if at all, and often assume completely different meanings for scholars investigating the history of different social relations. To those explicating political theory, "patriarchy" connotes state power under the rule of an absolute monarchy, whereas "paternalism" signifies reciprocal yet still deferential social relations under a weaker crown. To historians of the family, "patriarchy" means the rule of the father over his wife, children, and dependent household members but is often used interchangeably with "paternalism," by which is meant a softer, more affectionate familial system. For feminist scholars, however, "patriarchy" and "paternalism" both describe a male-dominated political and economic order, with the latter appearing, at least on the surface, to be characterized by greater mutuality and reciprocity in domestic relationships between men and women. Studies of slavery have provided perhaps the most sophisticated explanation for paternalism, yet scholars still disagree about the specific connotations of each term.

Despite different usage, most analysts share the assumption that paternalism represents a qualitative improvement in human relationships over patriarchy, gradually displacing more coercive social relations sometime during the late eighteenth century. Historians use the words "warm," "soft," "mellow," "affectionate," "companionate," and "face-to-face" to describe a paternalistic world of heightened intimacy and emotion in which the crasser, sharper edges of patriarchy have been smoothed or "domesticated," and the "impersonal" relations of a class society have not yet taken hold. The unstated assumption behind this use of language is that paternalistic social relations accompany a flowering of domestic life and emotional intimacy characterized by face-to-face contact. This view both celebrates "modern" family relations and is nostalgic for the lost intimacy of preindustrial society. It is also based upon generalizations inappropriate for female slaves, for whom paternalism's face-to-face style presented graver dangers than less intimate relations with masters.

An eighteenth-century planter's authority cannot be easily described using either

of these terms exclusively. Before 1750, it would not be unusual for the same individual to court a woman with tender words, threaten to disinherit his child, whip a slave, and offer rum to social subordinates at a militia muster. Was such a man a patriarch or a paternalist? If we were to examine only his relationship with his wife-to-be, we might conclude that harmonious domestic relations had supplanted crude patriarchal authority. Similarly, if we noted only the whipping or the disinheritance, we might come to a very different conclusion. In the instance of our fictional planter, the coexistence of paternalistic language and patriarchal tactics suggests a more complicated relationship between styles of authority often taken to be distinct.

The overlapping of different kinds of authoritative relations within the life of a single individual complicates matters further. Within the plantation house, for example, a man frequently shifted his primary identity from father to husband, master to gentry patron, host to plantation manager. Ideally, he strove to move from role to role effortlessly, conducting himself so that each identity complemented the others and augmented his authority. . .

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, as we have already seen, Virginia's planter class had reason to consider themselves patriarchs. Planter power coalesced in 1705 with the reorganization of the colony's law codes. In that year, legislators rewrote Virginia's statutes to create a comprehensive body of slave laws that reiterated and extended the master's powers over his slaves...The consolidation of the power of the father with that of political patron and slaveholder launched Virginia's elite planters on a nearly fifty-year reign of social and economic supremacy.

During this high-water mark of planter authority, elite men derived their power from five main sources: landownership, control over sexual access to women, rights to the labor of slaves and servants, formal access to political life, and the ability to create and manipulate symbols signifying these other sources of power. Planters such as William Byrd and Landon Carter, who kept extensive diaries, depicted their daily exertions of authority in graphic physical terms. Slaves could be whipped, shackled, or medicated; wives and enslaved women could be compelled to engage in sexual intercourse; children's diets and bodily functions required careful monitoring. Although men like Byrd and Carter tended to write self-consciously about their authority as being public and political, their management of the bodies in their households was perhaps the most vivid expression of their power.

If ever Virginia gentlemen were patriarchs, it was between 1700 and 1750. Yet, even at the peak of their power, planters compared themselves unfavorably to their English counterparts and worried that their domestic authority was being usurped. . . .

Perhaps the most telling evidence of the emergent planter class was the appearance by the 1730s of brick dwellings and more elaborate wooden structures to house wealthy planters and their families. Often these houses were built to celebrate the marriage of individuals from prominent families. The Stratford mansion, built by Colonel Thomas Lee between 1725 and 1730, became the house of Lee and his second wife Hannah Ludwell Lee. Upon his return to Virginia with his second wife in 1726, William Byrd II began to replace his father's wooden Westover house with a brick mansion. Between 1720 and 1730, Mañn Page and his son completed the Rosewell mansion in

Gloucester County. Landon Carter, son of Robert "King" Carter, settled his family at Sabine Hall during the 1740s; his brother, Charles, built the Cleve mansion a decade later at the time of his marriage to Anne Byrd, his second wife. In James City County in 1751, Carter Burwell, a grandson of Robert "King" Carter, completed his Carter's Grove plantation home. Throughout the 1750s and 1760s, many other planters began married life in brick mansions that were constructed to celebrate their coming of age.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1996 pp. 260-261, 322-323.

[Letters to family and friends in England from successful Williamsburg apothecary, a University of Edinburgh graduate, whose house (core of the St. George Tucker House) fronted on Palace Street in the 1750s]

Your kind letter of February 18. 1752 is rec^d with Everything also safe and to good satisfaction. . . I parted last Christmas with my second son, to the care of M^r John Harmer and Walter King, Merchants in Bristol, who have put him under the care of M^r Root a Dissenting Minister, a man of good character. Excuse my fondness in telling you that he is a lovely and good child of his age. He is just turned of nine--had the Small Pox in `47, when I lost his dear Sister. My eldest son who I intended for Scotland, is likely to be disappointed from a villanous relation, who keeps me out of a fund, I intended for that purpose. My youngest boy is a charming prattling rogue. Poor M^{rs} Gilmer has lost me another girl--but thank God for the blessings I enjoy. They far exceed anything I ever expected in this life.

Brock Manuscript Notebook, pp. 152-153. George Gilmer to Mrs. Ridgeway [wife of Dr. Ridgeway of London and mother of Gilmer's first wife], 27, June 1752.

B. The Patriarchal Reality

The changing reality of American life- the dwindling role of traditional domestic households in the North, and the tiny proportion of all but slaves who lived within dynastic families in the South-gradually forced the community to deal more and more directly with individuals. In the years following the Revolution, a growing number of young people, particularly indentured servants and apprentices, frequently girls and young women, ran away from their jobs and masters. Mingling with the immigrants and sailors who clustered around the docks of the seacoast towns, they were out of the oversight of any household.

Issues that had previously been considered moral, and therefore the responsibility of the family, were either criminalized, like "drunk and disorderly conduct"; dropped entirely from the lexicon of unacceptable behaviour requiring community oversight, like fornication or adultery; or transformed into a purely economic issue, like bastardy. No longer was there a concerted attempt to determine the father of an illegitimate child so as to assign blame and punishment for immoral behavior; the blame, such as it was, belonged to the woman, although economic responsibility for the child's support belonged to the father, if he could be found.

The growth of autonomous, nuclear families lacking firm economic or social basis within the community required the government to become involved in a whole host of other issues as well.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York: 1993, pp. 246-247.

In Virginia practice, few children were raised exclusively by their own parents, and many people found themselves raising other people's children. Families were suddenly bereft, then just as suddenly recombined into new households as surviving parents remarried, each bringing with them the children, stepchildren, orphans, servants, and slaves from their previous households. The shape of the family, therefore, was complex, unpredictable, and always changing.

Suzanne Lebsack. "A Share of Honour", Virginia Women 1600-1945. W. M. Brown & Son, Richmond: 1984. p. 21.

In the Chesapeake the equalization of the sex ratio after 1700 significantly altered women's status, for women lost their earlier advantages in the marriage market, and the heavy importation of slaves early in the century diminished the economic usefulness of women in and out of the household. . . .women found themselves increasingly confined to the home as the well-ordered family became defined as a more sex-segregated unit in which wives concentrated on the private sphere of domesticity while husbands operated as breadwinners and as spokesmen for the family in legal and political matters.

Daniel Blake Smith, "The Study of the Family in Early America: Trends, Problems, and Prospects," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, Vol. 39, (1982), p. 15.

It is a commonplace of southern history that the family was of overriding importance, that the family line took precedence over the individual. True, family obligations were taken seriously, but it is easy to oversimplify, for notions of family responsibility were neither vague nor overarching. More important was a particular vision of domestic happiness. The premium was placed not on honor (as those who emphasize the traditional nature of southern culture would expect), nor on affection (as those impressed by its modernity believe), but on peace.

As a result, Virginians of the gentry class were neither introspective nor self-critical. They masked and moderated their feelings; consequently, they did not expect or demand intimacy with others. Thus, in 1769 one man could inform a good friend of his recent marriage in these words: "Last Tuesday Miss Kendall gave me her hand, and I am happy in having all the reason in the world to believe that her heart also gave me the preference to every other person." To be sure, the language is in some measure conventional, but the convention in itself is revealing, for it dissociates the heart from the hand; and once again, behavior-here, the act of marrying-serves as a sufficient index of love. Edmund Randolph voiced the belief on which the convention was based. At the time of his wedding, he did not believe that marital happiness "depended upon an exclusive preference being given to [the husband] before all other men, and desired nothing more

than that she should sincerely persuade herself, that she could be happy with me." If he did not expect his bride to know and love him deeply, neither did he stare into her soul. Writing three and a half decades after his marriage, Randolph noted that he had not at that time "reflected much upon that range of qualities which I afterwards found to be constituents of marital happiness." Virginians did not like to reflect upon matters of feeling.

Emotional intensity between husband and wife, as between parent and child, was avoided. Landon Carter, for example, found a Mrs. Foy "more fond of her husband Perhaps than the politeness of the day allows of." There is a suggestion that good manners or even happiness required the curbing of instinct and its expression. Thus, one young bride, pregnant for the first time and distressed by her husband's sudden departure on an extended business trip, thought she could "bear the disap[p]ointment better at any time than this as I expect within these two months to stand in need of some such a comforter as you but I will not make you uneasy with complaints & will summon all my small stock of philosophy to wait with patience till that mercifull director of all things... Shall think fitt to bless me with meeting you again." The only acceptable way in which Margaret Parker could reveal her anxiety was by saying that she would hide her true feelings for fear of disturbing her husband's peace: In baring her emotions, she feared she did wrong. . . Lewis, Jan. *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia*. Cambridge University Press: New York, 1988. pp. 36-37.

C. Male and Female Roles

Men devoted their time to working outside the home-supervising the slaves, inspecting the crops, or laboring in the fields themselves. Women managed domestic affairs inside and around the "great house." Typically, women and the house servants were charged with such tasks as tending the vegetable garden, caring for the dairy and poultry yards, cooking, cleaning, making clothes, spinning, sewing, and knitting. In wealthy households female servants performed much of this work while the planter's wife supervised and her daughters helped whenever they were needed.

. . . The sex-segregated upbringing of planters' children was vividly described in one traveler's account of plantation work roles in early eighteenth-century North Carolina: "The mothers took the care of the girls, they were train'd up under them, and not only instructed in the family duties necessary to



This print illustrates the modeling of expected behavior by the mother and the appropriate behavior shown by the girls. (1962-221,53)

the sex, but in those accomplishments and genteel manners that are still so visible amongst them, and this descended from Mother to daughter. As the father found the labours of his boys necessary to him, he led them therefore to the woods, and taught the sturdy lad to glory in the stroke he could give with his Ax, in the Trees he felled, and the deer he shot; to conjure the wolfe, the bear and the Alligator; and to guard his habitation from Indian inroads was most justly his pride, and he had reason to boast of it."

Daniel B. Smith. Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Ithaca, NY, 1980, pp. 59-60.

The prevailing idea, in fact, was that women were inferior to men in every way -- in physical strength, in reasoning ability, in their capacity to withstand moral temptation -- and thus was justified the exclusion of women from voting and holding public office.

Suzanne Lebsack. "A Share of Honour", Virginia Women 1600-1945. W. M. Brown & Son. Richmond: 1984, p. 22.

[From the introduction to the cookbook]

The grand arcanum of management lies in three simple rules: "Let every thing be done at the proper time, keep every thing in its proper place, and put every thing to its proper use." If the mistress of a family will every morning examine minutely, the different departments of her household, she must detect errors in their infant state, when they can be corrected with ease. But a few days' growth gives them gigantic strength, and Disorder, with all her attendant evils are introduced.

Mrs. Mary Randolph. The Virginia House-Wife. Edited by Karen Hess. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia: 1984; reprint of Washington, D.C., 1824 edition p.x.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[20 September 1774] Fanny & Harriet by stuffing rags & other Lumber under their Gowns just below their Apron-Strings, were prodigiously charmed at their resemblanc to Pregnant Women! They blushed, however, pretty deeply on discovering that I saw them-

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg : University Press of Virginia, 1957. p.193

[Betsy Braxton (b.1759) visited her aunt Ann Blair in Williamsburg who wrote to Betsy's mother about her activities]

...Betsey is at work for you, I suppose she will tell you tomorrow is her dancing day, for it is her thoughts by Day & her dreams by Night. Mr. Fearson was surprized to find she knew so much of the Minuet step, and could not help asking if Miss had never been taught, so you find she is likely to make some progress that way - Mr. Wray by reason of Business has but latly taken her in hand, tho he assures me a little practice is all she wants: her Reading I hear her twice a Day, and when I go out she is consign'd over to my Sisr: Blair; we have had some few quarrel's, and one Battle, Betsey & her Cousin Jenny had been fighting for several day successively, and was threatn'd to be whip't for it as often, but as they did not regard us – her Mamma & self thought it necessary to let them see we were

in earnest--if they have fought since have never heard of it--she has finish'd her work'd Tucker, but the weather is so warm, that with all the pain's I can take with clean hands and so forth she cannot help dirtying it a little. I do not observe her to be fond of Negroes Company now nor have I heard latly of any bad Word's chief of our Quarrel's is for eating of those Green Aples in our Garden, & not keeping the Head smooth. I have had Hair put on Miss Dolly, but find it is not in my power of complying with my promise in giving her silk for a Sacque & Coat, some of our pretty Gang, broke open a Trunk in my absense and has stolen several thing's one of wch. the silk makes a part--so immagine Bettsey will petition you for some. . .

Blair, Bannister, Braxton, Hamer and Whiting Papers, 1765-1890. Original at the College of William and Mary, transcript at the Colonial Williamsburg Library. Anne Blair to Mary Braxton, 21 August 1769.

[Diary, including references to her illness and needlework, kept by the wife of planter, James Nourse of Berkeley County, who immigrated with his family from London in 1769]

1781 - January

- 25 *bad wth. Head in night & all day - only up for an hour in eveng.*
- 26 *still very poorly, but rather [sic] after tea in the afternoon.*
- 27 *tollerable - Jobd. - rain & Cold & therefore not out of room letters & papers, linnen & hats*
- 28 *head ach in mornng. better after & wrote to Mrs. Gates & Betsey Jim to Travellers Rest*
- 29 *tollerable - made night Cap . . .*
- 30 *made sleeves & cuffs for John Banners Jacket, tyerd & poorly in evening - Jim returnd. From Genl. Gates's*
- 31 *bad head ach in mornng. & worse after, brot. Up what little diner I eat, & to bed very unwell - Mr. Norse to Genl. Gates's to change Air*

1781 February

- 1 *still very poorly - cut out little things for Zelpha & worryd. . . .*

Diary 1781-1783 of Mrs. Sarah Fouace Nourse, wife of James Nourse, of Piedmont, Berkeley Co., Va. Nourse & Morris Family Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, #3490-b; transcript Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[Byrd's observation shows that hands-on training in managing household affairs was part of the education of gentry daughters.]

. . . My Young Gentlewomen [daughters Evelyn (b. 1707) and Wilhemina (b. 1715)] . . . are every Day up to their Elbows in Housewifery, which will qualify them effectually for useful Wives & if they live long enough, for Notable Women.

Letter Wm Byrd II to John Lord Boyle, 2 Feb 1726/7, VMHB vol. 32 p. 30.

[In stilted prose Mildred informs her friend that Rachel Warrington has a child out of wedlock]

. . . notwithstanding you were of opinion that I was sometimes inclined to severity as to my strictures on Female Conduct particularly with regard to your old Friend R 1 yet the event has proved that I was right in congratul[at]ing you upon your good fortune in being removed from her infatuating power over you--she is--Oh how shall I repeat, she is indeed lost to

every thing that is dear to Woman—well might you say "how I hate the French—but why blame the Viscount. had she but kept in View the dignity of her Sex — or had she poor soul been blest with a mothers care in early life and been taught the heinousness of such a departure from Female rectitude all might yet have been well.

*"When lovely Woman stoops to folly"
And finds too late that men betray-
What Charm can soothe her melancholy
What tears can wash her guilt away."*

Poor deluded girl. . .

Source: Eliza J. Ambler Papers, original and transcript, Colonial Williamsburg Library, Mildred Smith to Eliza Jacquilin Ambler, Yorktown, 1782.

The Lady's Complaint

*Custom, alas! doth partial prove,
Nor give us equal Measure;
A Pain for us it is to love,
But is to Men a Pleasure.*

*They plainly can their Thoughts disclose,
Whilst ours must burn within:
We have got Tongues, and Eyes, in Vain,
And Truth from us is Sin.*

*Men to new Joys and Conquest fly,
And yet no Hazard run:
Poor we are left, if we deny,
And if we yield, undone,*

*Then Equal Laws let Custom find.
And neither Sex oppress;
More Freedom give to Woman kind,
Or give to Mankind less.*

Virginia Gazette (Parks) 22 October, 1736, p. 3.

[Letters to family and friends in England from successful Williamsburg apothecary, a University of Edinburgh graduate, whose house (core of the St. George Tucker House) fronted on Palace Street in the 1750s]

. . . I am also glad to hear that my dear child improves both in his learning and agreeable acquaintance. . . . I have at last received a line or two from my friend Harmer excusing

himself from acquainting me concerning the expense of George's board &c not having yet rec'd his half year's account. . . . I hope you will be candid and not flatter me about my child's learning &c. I cannot conclude with acquainting you with our present Situation. By Capt. Lee in the Sally arrived one Hallam with a Company of Strollers. They met with great opposition from the Governor on account of their loose behaviour in the last and the disturbances they had like to have occasioned in female families. At last the voice of the County, and proper Application, obtained his leave, on which they purchased Finney's theatre, enlarged it neatly lining it, so altering it as to make it a regular house.

Brock Manuscript Notebook, pp. 156-157, Original: Huntington Library; microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Library.
George Gilmer to Bristol merchant, Walter King, December 14, 1752.

[Wife of Lund Washington (cousin of George and his estate manager for Mount Vernon), who kept a journal of marriage and household management advice in hopes it would be instructive to her daughters as they grew up. This entry was written in 1784 when she had been married for four years.]

. . . [stray'd from my 1st purpose] which was to lay down rules how I would conduct my self in my family—by treating my domesticks with all the friendly kindness that is possible for me to do,—& never to think they were given me to domineer over by treating them with harsh expressions, because they are in my power,—such as fool—Blockhead—vile wretches,—& many other names that I hope I shall ever think myself above using,—but on the contrary I will endeavour to do as follows,—first—never to scold at a servant if it is possible to avoid it,— & I think if I endeavour to refrain from it — I shall be able to resist,— but when they do wrong talk to them in a kind & friendly way, pointing out their fault with calmness,—but at the same time with a steadiness that they may know I will not be impos'd upon—& I will endeavour to make them think I do not wish they should behave well for my sake, but because it will be pleasing in the eyes of the almighty— & that if they will do their business for his sake, I shall be well serv'd if they never think of me,—which is truly the case. . . nothing would give me so great pleasure as having a truly religious family—not led away with Baptistical notions—but a religion that effectually touches the heart—no outside show.—

I will never find fault of a servant before their master—never to let them know that their master has the least idea that they ever offend me by any neglect of their business,...for that way of everlastingly finding fault & complaining of the worthlessness of servants I do abominate, — & it must feel erksome to every man who is ty'd to such women—it is my wish that my husband should court my company—not avoid it if he can as must be the case with those men who has those teasing kind of wives,—or what else can be the meaning of men being so fond of going abroad—if it was not that they are sometimes tired of their wives company,—mine I thank God has hitherto appear'd always pleas'd with being with me & I hope I shall never disgust him by any conduct of mine. . .

Elizabeth Foote Washington Diary, 1779-1796, Washington Family Collection, Box 2, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[Comment by an English clergyman who spent a year in Virginia.]

The women are, upon the whole, rather handsome, though not to be compared with our fair country women in England. They have but few advantages and consequently are seldom accomplished; this makes them reserved, and unequal to any interesting or refined conversation. . . they seldom read or endeavour to improve their minds; however, they are in general good housewives; and though they have not, I think, quite as much tenderness and sensibility as the English ladies, yet they make as good mothers, as any in the world.

Reverend Andrew Burnaby, Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America in the Years 1759 and 1760. Cornell University Press, Ithaca: 1968, pp. 25-27.

[A Young English loyalist who came to America to seek his fortune]

[7 January, 1775] Here was about 37 Ladies dressed and powdered to the life, some of them very handsome and as much vanity as necessary. All of them fond of dancing, but I do not think they perform it with the greatest elegance. . . Old Women, Young Wives with young children in the lap, widows, maids and girls come promiscuoucly to these assemblies which generally contiue till morning. . . I went home about two o'clock, but part of the company stayed, got drunk and had a fight.

Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777, edited by A.G. Bradley. Dial Press, New York: 1928. p. 53.

[This comment by a French officer refers to the Taliaferro sisters (nieces of Elizabeth Wythe). April 10-11, 1782.]

These young ladies often came to Williamsburg to attend the balls there; they were as well dressed as those of the town and always behaved with becoming modesty.

Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782. Edited by Howard C. Rice, Jr. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1963, Vol. 2, p. 384.

Thomas Gwatkin, after studying at Oxford and being ordained, sailed to Virginia in 1770 to teach mathematics and languages at William and Mary. His five-year stay at Williamsburg was hectic. Since he strongly opposed the establishment of an American episcopate he was at first high in the esteem of the Virginia patriots. By 1774, however, his loyalty to Lord Dunmore and to George III had made him so unpopular that he was subjected to cruel treatment and his very life endangered. Deprived of his professorship, abandoning his personal papers, library, and household furniture, Gwatkin sought the protection of Lord Dunmore and sailed with him and his lady to England, June 29, 1775.

It is impossible to date this fragment of an essay. . . it seems probable that it was written before the author's bitter experiences of 1774-1775. Perhaps it was intended for his family and friends in England to give them some idea of his life in Williamsburg. . . .

To describe the manners of foreign countries is no easy task. Men are too much inclined, when they sit down to write, to express their own feelings, instead of painting the distinguishing features of others. . . .

To be entirely exempt from the influence of prejudice in giving you an account of the manners of the Virginians is more than I can promise, to Guard against it as much as in my power I do undertake.

The greater part of both sexes particularly the Women are taller and robuster than

in England. But if you imagine this circumstance implies more strength or a longer life you are mistaken. I have been informed by officers of the strictest veracity that during the last war in which the Provincials acquired deserved reputation, 'tho they discovered all the marks of undoubted courage, they were less capable of sustaining the heats of the climate and other hardships that the new raised troops from Europe. Indeed it is an Observation of their own that foreigners in general are not so soon affected by sudden changes in Weather, and live to a more advanced age than the Natives. Many persons imagine this is to be ascribed to the natural constitution the stamina of which is not so strong in them as it was in the first Settlers. But I must confess I consider these reasons as far from being entirely satisfactory. Much is to be attributed to the difference of education. That they eat larger quantities of Animal food and are permitted to indulge in it even from their infancies is certain. It is no uncommon thing to see meat both cold and harshed served up in conjunction with tea and coffee for breakfast at houses of persons of the first rank in the Country: And they are too fond of their children to prohibit them from following their own inclinations. Another circumstance that ought to be taken into the account is the nature of their common drink which is toddy or a mixture of rum water and sugar. In general it is made pretty weak, the proportion being about a glass of rum to six of water. But nevertheless I cannot help thinking the constant use of spirituous liquors extremely injurious to the human Constitution.

Besides the above proportion is not always observed, and the use of strong waters in the morning is universal. I would not be understood to insinuate that the Virginians are remarkable for excessive drinking. On the Contrary I never saw so much liquor consumed at a sitting as I have at entertainments in England. But everyone the least acquainted with the practice of physick must have observed the pernicious Effects of the constant use of Spirituous liquors 'tho taken in the greatest moderation.' A convincing proof of their tendency to shorten human [life] may be brought from the Ladies of this Colony who generally live to a much more advanced age than the men. The longevity of Women in comparison of Men is apparent every where. Their common drink is water, except a small draft of toddy just before a single Glass of Madeira after dinner. This and the same quantity at supper is rarely exceeded. But the principal Cause of the brevity of life of the Virginians has not yet been mentioned. Their Constitutions are frequently destroyed before they arrive at Manhood; and a young Man of twenty with all the infirmities of Sixty is no uncommon spectacle. This flows from their early connections with the Negroe Wenches, who find their Interest too much concerned and their vanity too much flattered in bestowing favours on their young masters. By this means their health at the time of Marriage is generally so much impaired as to render the condition of their Wives little better than that of their nurses. Their Offspring (as may be reasonably supposed) is weak, and puny; thus the human Species in this Country suffers a continual degradation, insomuch that were it not for the Supplies they receive from other countries; and their inter-marriages with the inhabitants of the Upland Counties, whose manners are very different from those of the Lower parts of Virginia, I cannot help thinking they would scarcely be able to support any given degree of population during the space of fifty years. . . .

I observed above that the natives of Virginia eat greater quantities of animal food

than the Inhabitants of Britain. A short account of their manner of living may afford you some entertainment. Their breakfast, like that of the English consists of tea Coffee and Chocolate; and bread or toast and butter, or small Cakes made of flower and butter which are served to Table hot, and are called hoe Cakes from being baked upon a hoe for that purpose. They have also harshed meat and homony, Cold beef, and hams upon the table at the same time, and you may as frequently hear a Lady desiring to be helped to a part of one of these dishes as a cup of tea. Their tables at dinner are crowded with a profusion of meat: And the same kind is dressed three or four different ways. The rivers afford them fish in great Abundance: and their Swamps and forests furnish them ducks teale blue-wing, hare Squirrells, partridges and a great variety of other kinds of fowl. Eating seems to be the predominant passion of a Virginian. To dine upon a single dish is considered as one of the greatest hardships. You can be contented with one joint of meat is a reproach frequently thrown into the teeth of an Englishman. Even one of the fair Sex would be considered as Gluttons in England. Indeed I am inclined to believe more disorders in this Country arise from too much eating than any other cause whatsoever. In the Afternoon teas and Coffee is generally drank, but with bread or toast and butter. At supper you rarely see any made dishes. Harshed and Cold meat, roasted fowls, fish of different kinds, tarts and sweetmeats fill up the table. After the Cloth is taken away both at dinner and supper; Madeira and punch or toddy is placed upon the table. The first toasts which are given by the Master of the family, are the King; the Queen and royal family; the Governour and Virginia; a good price for Tobacco. After this, if the Company be in a humour to drink, the ladies retire and the Gentleman of the house drinks to all the friends of his Company and at last concludes with drinking a good Afternoon or good Evening according to the time of day. . .

William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser. IX, (1952) pp. 81-85

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

My dear,

. . . The power of a wife over her husband is boundless when she knows how to govern with moderation and method. If he slips away now and then, it is easy to bring him back and the only secret consists in making the interests of his family dearer and more interesting to him than all other diversions, in short, in making him find true happiness in his home.

Henri J. Stier to Rosalie E. Calvert, [Antwerp] 10 November 1804 in Callcott, Margaret Law, editor. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. p.114.



The Native American Family

A. Native American Culture at the Time of Seventeenth-Century White Settlement

[Note: This section has been abbreviated from the original data base to include only information about Virginia Native Americans at the point of contact and in the last half of the eighteenth century. Further materials are available to those interested and some will be used in the Taking Possession storyline.]

Algonquian-speaking Indians in Virginia . . . occupied a region . . . extending about one hundred miles from east to west (including both shores of the Chesapeake Bay) and one hundred miles from north to south. The six thousand square miles of land available were occupied by at least fourteen thousand Algonquian speakers in 1607-1608. There had probably been many more people than that a century earlier before European contact brought new diseases to North America. . . .

Indians in Virginia after the end of the last Ice Age lived very well by hunting, gathering, and fishing . . . The Powhatans of the early seventeenth century kept up all these ancient skills. The English colonists called it "living from hand to mouth," but it was precisely these skills that were needed in the spring and early summer, when the previous year's supplies ran out and the crops were not yet ripe, or when a summer drought -- no uncommon occurrence in Virginia -- blighted the (nonnative) crops.

. . . All of the farming work except the clearing of fields was done by the women, assisted by children. That was a standard Woodland Indian practice, and being food producers as well as food preparers seems to have given Powhatan women a higher status in their society than English women had in theirs. For their part, Powhatan men had their hands full being hunters and fishers; yet the English persisted for centuries in viewing them as lazy because they did not do the farming.

Powhatan fields also looked less smooth and . . . produced less food than expected by the English, with their intensive plow agriculture. Indian fields were cleared by the slash-and-burn methods, which left tree stumps behind . . . and their digging-stick horticulture was time consuming enough that most women did not plant really big fields. The crops planted -- maize, beans, and squash -- grew handsomely and were nourishing. But the women planted them amongst one another (a practice called intercropping), so that by midsummer Indian fields looked overgrown with vegetation. In years with normal rainfall, fresh garden vegetables were available from July (early August for corn) through October.

The Powhatans, like other coastal Algonquians, used no fertilizer on their fields, and after a few years they would leave some fallow and move on to others. Land was "owned" strictly by usufruct; deserted fields could be cleared again later by anyone who wanted to use them. Ultimate ownership remained with the tribe or, once he had established supremacy, with the mamanatowick, or paramount chief. Most Powhatan towns had a dispersed settlement pattern in which the houses were scattered randomly among the

gardens. Since dwellings were made of perishable materials. . . women found it expedient to build new houses near their new fields. Thus a whole town would gradually move, amoeba-like, to another location after a couple of decades. The new town would be called by the name of its new location, although the residents remained the same. . . .

The Powhatans, . . . like their fellow Algonquians up and down the Atlantic Coast, . . . saw watercourses as centers of districts, not boundaries. Waterways were major sources of food and avenues of transportation, and if a waterway was . . . a mile or less, the people in a tribe would build their towns on both sides of it in much the same way that we build on both sides of our major highways. . . . a small village might stretch along a mile of waterfront. "Town center" was wherever the weroance's (chief's) house stood. All houses were barrel-vaulted frameworks of saplings, with coverings of mats (doubled in winter) or, for those of higher status, bark slabs. . . .

Beyond the villages lay a zone of forest cleared of underbrush, used both for sanitation and for firewood gathering. Beyond that lay the forest proper, where men went hunting and warring, and women and children went foraging for nuts, berries, greens and fiber for cordage. Landward boundaries among the Powhatans appear to have been inexact, one tribe's hunting territory shading gradually into the next tribe's. . . . a fact lost upon the boundary-conscious English settlers of a later date.

. . . the Powhatans' ability to elaborate their material culture was severely limited by the nature of their cutting tools. Before European iron became available in the late sixteenth century, the Powhatans were a Stone Age people . . . with a shortage of stone. . . . Smooth stone axes with reasonable cutting edges were made by chipping and then laborious grinding. Well-crafted stone knives and arrowheads were made, but sometimes hunters had to substitute mussel shells or sharpened reeds for the knives and shaped oyster shells or wild-turkey spurs for the arrowheads. Scraping of wooden surfaces was usually done with beaver incisors for small jobs and with clamshells (after burning the surface) for big jobs such as canoe making. . . . in 1607 the Powhatans were already fiercely eager to obtain English iron tools: the men wanted hatchets and the women wanted knives and "paring irons" (digging sticks). The men's desire for firearms came soon afterward. However, Indian house-building methods remained the same for more than 150 years after iron tools came into use. . . . Powhatan houses, were better adapted than English ones to the hot Virginia summers, when a smoky but partially ventilated house meant sleeping coolly and mosquito free, and to the cold winters, when the extra mats or bark and the roaring central fires made them as "warmed as stoves."

. . . All men, even ruling ones, could and did go hunting, fishing, and warring, often taking their sons along in the first two activities. . . . they wore the basic men's garb: buckskin breechclout, leggings, moccasins[,] . . . long hair in a knot on the left, a roach along the crown, with head shaved on the right to avoid the tangling of hair in bowstrings. All women and girls spent most of their time producing food, preparing food, making pottery, making and repairing houses and mats and baskets, and caring for the younger children. . . . they wore the basic women's garb: buckskin apron and, in the forest, leggings and moccasins. Their hair was worn loose, or in a single long braid with bangs in front, or cut short all around the head. Prepubescent girls went naked and wore their

heads shaved except for a long braid at the back. Both sexes wore buckskin mantles ("matchcoats") for warmth in winter. . . .

. . . Women did, in fact, control their family's food supply and their own bodies, both before and after marriage. They were choosy about husbands and insisted that the men provide economic and military security. A man who was a good provider could therefore have more than one wife, and the women appear to have been willing to join such polygynous households. Romance could be found, usually with a husband's permission, in the arms of a lover. Inheritance among the ruling families was matrilineal; it may have been matrilineal or bilateral among the common folk.

All men, except possibly the priests, were trained from infancy to be hunters of animals or of people. Babies were washed daily in cold water to make them hardy, a practice that both sexes followed throughout life. Boys were not fed their breakfast by their mothers until they had hit targets their mothers tossed for them. Boys were expected to increase their hunting exploits over time, receiving new personal names denoting their achievements; grown men, even brothers of Powhatan, did the same thing in war and politics throughout their lives. Boys heard about and occasionally saw the fate of male war captives (women, children, and "royals" were adopted), who were slowly tortured to death by townspeople of both sexes. Some time before puberty, boys were expected to go through a harrowing ordeal of several months' duration called the huskanaw, in which they were ceremonially "killed," isolated, and fed a "decoction" that sent them mad and gave them amnesia, and then were "reborn" and retrained by men, away from women's influence. Some boys did not survive. The effects on those who did were incalculably deep.

Powhatan men were "real he-men," ever ready for war and councils of war, ever ready to gain honor in going against foreigners and in taking revenge for perceived slights, ever prepared to meet stoically a death by torture, and in the meantime ever ready to prove themselves as great deer hunters in order to acquire wives. Men and women alike expected this role of men; the women's role (which included farming) was complementary and separate. Indian men literally hated to be shamed . . . The women would not marry any man who did not measure up.

. . . By 1607 the territory occupied by the coalescing ethnic group had a name: Tsenacomah. If its inhabitants had a collective name for themselves, the English did not record it. (Modern scholars' use of the term "Powhatan" for these Virginia Algonquians is primarily for our own convenience . . .).



White observers regularly commented on roles of women and childrearing practices (C83-775)

Rountree, Helen C., Pocahontas's People: the Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries, (Norman, 1990), University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, pp. 3, 5-13.

[Captain John] Smith, though a vainglorious man, was also a sensitive ethnographer. He carefully recorded the Indians' seminomadic economy and undoubtedly understood its survival value. In the spring the Indians congregated along the James estuary, subsisting on marine life while they planted their crops of corn, pumpkins, beans, and so forth. As summer approached, the tribes dispersed into smaller groups, residing usually on a hill with a fresh water spring, yet near the river where they gathered fish, oysters, and crabs. By dispersing, the Indian bands avoided the deadly estuarine zone, while exploiting scattered edible plants and animals during this leanest of seasons. But survival had its price. The scattered band were politically and militarily weak. They sniped at their vulnerable, sick, and weak English enemies, but a summer war of attrition was impossible. As this flux in Indian power eluded most Virginians, they were terrified by late summer.

Earle, Carville V. "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Early Virginia." The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics. Edited by Thad W. Tate & David L. Ammerman. W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 1979. pp. 106-107.

B. Native American Culture by the Eighteenth Century

Totally different patterns of family life existed among the indigenous people of the American continent. While staple crops, living arrangements, and even population growth varied widely across the Western hemisphere, and the term "Amerindian" subsumes a great number of language groups, confederations, and tribes-Tlingits in the Northwest, Hopi in the Southwest, Iroquois in the Northeast, and Muscogulges in the Southeast, to name just a few-they possessed the same kind of basic similarities that united Swedes, Germans, English, French, Italians, or any of the other nation/state/language groupings under the single rubric "European." Anthropologists refer to this similarity where peoples share a common cultural heritage, if not a collective culture, a "grammar of culture."

Generally, relationships within Native American families, clans, and tribes were far more supportive than were the frequently adversarial activities of landed families and nationstates in Europe. Extended families among the Amerindians carried most of the responsibility for organization, order and diplomatic decisions. While women were surely not "leaders" in our sense of the word (this kind of linguistic problem is what makes cultural differences so hard to discuss), they clearly played an important, sometimes central, role in Amerindian public affairs. Among the Iroquois in the North, for example, family membership was determined through the mother rather than the father, in what we call a matrilineal pattern. Groups of families related through the mother's side made up *ohivarcheras*; several of these made up a clan; a number of clans constituted a village; and constellations of villages made up the Iroquois Nation, or "kinship state." The *ohivarcheras* and the senior women who headed them had real political power. They chose the men who represented the clans in the larger meetings of villages and tribes, and who, in turn, picked the chiefs of the ruling council of the Nation. These men were always

subject to being "dehorned," or removed, if they ignored the wishes of the women who had appointed them. Among the people in the Southeast, political succession followed matrilinear clan lines, so descent was through the eldest child of the eldest sister of the chief, leading to a number of women becoming chiefs in their own right.

Within the household, Amerindian women also wielded considerable power. While membership in the clan or totem of the Chippewas was inherited through the father, domestic life was organized through the bloodline of the mother. The important events of everyday life were controlled by hunting bands made up of matrilineal family units who lived next door to each other in individual wigwams belonging to the wife. When the son of an Iroquois family married, he left his own mother, sisters, and cousins to join his wife's household. If the couple could not work out a successful union, it was up to the wife to initiate divorce by setting her husband's belongings outside the door of their house. Muscogulge husbands were not themselves members of their wives' clans, but their children were, and while husbands might leave or be sent away, the children remained and were educated and disciplined by the mother's brother or another male relative.

Increasingly frequent intrusive and brutal contacts with European explorers and settlers forced alteration in the everyday family lives of Amerindians to meet the new situations. By the time the Muscogulge peoples—who were among the first to greet de Soto when he arrived in the southeastern part of the continent in the sixteenth century—had been renamed Creeks and Seminole by the English in the early eighteenth century, their way of life had diverged far from its original settled agricultural patterns. They had, in fact, become professional hunters, closely tied to the international fur market. On the other hand, at the end of the century, the Mississauga tribes in the Great Lakes region learned through hard experience that they could only survive the European tidal wave by transforming their economy, and therefore their cultural patterns, from hunting and gathering to herding and farming.

The newcomers were not even aware of the deepest ways in which they influenced Amerindian life. . . . Goods that had once been manufactured within the domestic economy of the village were replaced by imports that served the same purpose but were made of materials considered more desirable. For example, brass and iron kettles were deemed preferable to vessels of soapstone or birch-bark, and glass bottles were selected over gourds and wooden bowls. Ironedged tools and guns were clearly superior to flint axes, spears, and arrow points; while fashion dictated the replacement of dressed rawhide and fur clothing with woven textiles. While such substitutions were cultural adaptations rather than changes, the loss of the productive economic function of the family within the tribe struck a decisive blow at Amerindian domestic life.

The radical differences between Native American definitions of family and those of European colonials played a large part in the settlers' opinion that Indians were "savage" and "uncivilized." . . . In a way, they lived within a system that was just the opposite of Europeans, downplaying the status of wealth, birth, and gender; rewarding individuals who were, at once, independent yet loyal to the tribe. These basic values of Indian society, when combined with power sharing between men and women, permissive methods of childrearing, and a legal process that did not "rationalize" nor write down its laws and

decisions, created the impression among Europeans that Indians had no social controls, rules, or regulations at all.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York, New York, 1993. p.p. 21-24.

Lawson's virgin "wilderness" was home to Native Americans of the southern colonies, a home long since disrupted and changed by successive waves of European explorers and settlers. Removed from their original lands and decimated by disease, the local population had combined in survival groups, forming a new culture that combined many elements that had been common to their precontact ancestors. Maize and tobacco still played central roles in their lives and their towns gathered around "square grounds," where each side represented one of the four sacred points of the compass. . . .

During the same period, Native Americans in the North were perhaps even more deeply affected by European contact than their brothers to the south. Each community continued to be identified by a particular tribal name, but its population included the members of many other tribes: sometimes there as captives or slaves, sometimes married in, sometimes refugees, like the victims of internecine "Fox Wars" that sent the Mesquakie of Wisconsin "to live with the Iroquois in New York and Pennsylvania." Native American communities also included Europeans and Africans captured as children or adults, as well as French, Scottish, or Irish traders who lived there with their Indian families. The mobile nature of everyday life among the woodland Amerindians created towns that, while permanently sited, might be almost entirely vacant when the community moved to winter fishing and hunting camps, leaving the elderly to serve as caretakers. Over the course of the century, the traditional building styles of the communities were frequently modified to the "more comfortable" log cabins with glazed windows and stone fireplaces that were the hallmark of European settlement.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York, New York, 1993. p.p. 223-224.

Indian men throughout the eighteenth century were primarily hunters; only their weapons had changed. . . . They were still adept at camping in the woods, though they now made their fires either "out of the pans of their guns with a little powder & dry wood" or else "with a flint & steel," . . .

Beverly wrote that Indian hunters -- Powhatans and probably other tribes to the southwest -- were killing large numbers of deer for reasons other than food: . . . they traded them [deerskins] for the English goods that had become an integral part of their culture: guns, ammunition, cloth, and the iron hatchets long used for tree cutting and canoe making. Beaver skins also are mentioned as being traded by Indian hunters; . . .

Men and women alike produced tradeable items with which to buy English goods. The men produced the above-mentioned skins, plus "venison, Deer-suit [suet], & feathers," and women made "baskets, &c." The women's ceramic pipes and pots, the latter made in styles modified for European methods of hearth cookery, brought in income throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth. . . .

Powhatan farming continued to be of the slash-and-burn variety, using iron hatchets for clearing and, presumably, the iron hoes or dibble sticks that Indian women had preferred for nearly a century. Land was owned in common. . . Planting, weeding, and harvesting were still work for women and children, as were the gathering of wild plants, making of household utensils, and cooking.

The Indians' diet continued to be a mixture of domesticated and wild foods, but there were two notable additions: . . . hogs . . . [and] fruit . . . Indian people continued to eat heavily and irregularly during the day and night whenever food was available.

The Powhatans continued to live in near-traditional yi-hakans (now called "wigwams" or, more commonly, "cabins"). There were only three changes in house building after a century of contact with Europeans. . . bark coverings became standard on most houses, . . . windows left between the slabs of bark: And . . . not only rectangular dwelling houses . . . but also some smaller domed or conical dwelling houses, . . . These may be sweathouses, [or] . . . dwelling houses, . . . which would be a response to a breakdown in a traditional social structure -- the extended family unit -- previously common in Powhatan society. Each house still had a central hearth.

The core people among the Powhatans still favored traditional clothing styles, but they used English fabrics whenever they could, especially on formal occasions. . . .

When an Indian man chose an English-style coat, he wanted it to be "of divers colours," . . . Indians also wore clothing purchased from or cast off by Europeans . . . Leggings and moccasins continued to be worn, . . .

The status of women in Powhatan society probably remained high, since they continued to be major producers of income for their families. . .

Powhatan marriage customs appear to have remained constant up through the beginning of the eighteenth century. Prominent men who could afford them were allowed as many wives as they could support. Marriage continued to be a secularly celebrated tie which could be dissolved, leaving both partners free to remarry. . .

The Indian school at the College of William and Marry 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 use it, . . . the College of William and Marry. 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. . . in 1711, Lieutenant Governor Spotswood hit upon a plan. . . to remit the tribute of the poverty-stricken tribes if they would send some of their male children to the college. . . By the summer of 1712 there were twenty Indian boys at William and Marry. 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." . . .

By 1715 some of the Indian children at William and Marry could "read and write tolerably well, [could] repeat the Church Catechism, 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 Baptism." 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. . . . Few Indians were at the school now, . . . The standard curriculum was entirely European: reading, writing, "vulgar Arithmetick," and catechism. . .

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; . . . The Indian school . . . after the Brafferton Fund, . . . was diverted to the West Indies during the American Revolution...

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 had tried to exclude for just that reason. . . . 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. . .

Andrew Burnaby visited the Pamunkey Reservation in 1759 and found the Indians living in traditional yi-hakans while wearing English clothes; the men's chief occupations were still hunting and fishing, which continued to be the case until well into the twentieth century. In 1765 Governor Francis Fauquier also wrote that some of the tributary Indians were wearing English clothing.

The evidence for literacy among the Pamunkeys is mixed. The petition of 1798 was written by Robert Mursh, yet all but two of the signers of the 1812 petition (including some whose names appear among the school children of 1754) signed with their "marks." By then, family names had become patrilineal and so probably had kinship in general. Some families owned horses or mules, and a few owned slaves. Everyone spoke fluent English, most people were probably monolingual English speakers, judging by how few words were remembered later by two women born in the 1770s.

By the 1780s at the latest, the way in which the Pamunkeys married one another had become semi-civil, semi-ecclesiastical. . . . Once the match had been agreed upon by . . . the couple had their "marriage bonds" published three different times in "their Church or Missionary Station," whenever a Baptist preacher came to visit. . . . 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 Pamunkeys apparently converted late to Christianity, . . . Oral tradition among the modern Chickahominies states that they were the first to convert: . . .

Thus, according to the limited evidence, the traditional Powhatan way of life changed slowly on the relatively isolated Pamunkey Reservation. The groups that had lost their reservations and become squatters on the less desirable lands away from the rivers may have changed more rapidly.

Rountree, Helen C., Pocahontas's People: the Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries, (Norman, 1990), University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, pp. 145-147, 150-151, 168-170, 172, 175-176.

[Observations of a young Virginian who visited the Cherokees in what is now eastern Tennessee]

. . . their dress is now become very much like the European; and, indeed, that of the men is greatly altered. The old people still remember and praise the ancient days, before they were acquainted with the whites, when they had but little dress, except a bit of skin about their middles, mockasons, a mantle of buffalo skin for the winter, and a lighter one of feathers for the summer. The women, particularly the half-breed, are remarkably well featured; and both men and women are streight and well-built, with small hands and feet" . . . They have now learnt to sew, and the men as well as women, excepting shirts,



As you look at this picture, notice what is European and what is remaining of the Native American Culture. Ostenaco and his companions requested a meeting between themselves and the King, "their father." (C68-654)

make all their own cloaths; the women, likewise, make very pretty belts, and collars of beads and wampum, also belts and garters of worsted. . .

Lieut. Henry Timberlake's MEMOIRS, 1756-1765, edited by Samuel C. Williams. Continental Book Company, Marietta, GA, 1948, pp. 77 and 86.

C. The Family in the Eighteenth Century

1. Eighteenth-century Courtship and Marriage

In the native societies of eastern America, marriage was one of the classic rites of passage because one spouse made a distinct and publicly recognized transition to the other spouse's family and often household. Moreover, it ascribed a new adult status to both partners, demanding new responsibilities and decorum, and brought the young woman in

a socially acceptable way to the threshold of motherhood, another important step in female status. Unlike childbirth and religion, for example, Indian marriage has the advantage for the historian of having been highly popular, common to both sexes, and publicly discussed and celebrated, which made it widely accessible to foreign observers. . . .

Before serious courtship leading to marriage, the young people of most eastern tribes indulged in sexual exploration with the tacit approval of the parents, sometimes even before puberty. But there were no public displays of adolescent affection. Kissing was largely unknown until imported from Europe, and social mores frowned on any kind of overt emotionalism. The young lovers commonly met at night or clandestinely in cornfields and strawberry patches to carry on their ageless rites of wooing.

When a young man set his heart on a particular girl, he sent intermediaries -- a brother, an uncle, or his parents, depending on the custom of the tribe -- to ask her parents' consent to the match. Frequently, the girl's close clansmen and even the village sachem were consulted because a marriage represented a union of two clans as well as two individuals, with expanded responsibilities for all. But a girl was seldom forced to marry against her will, though her parents might veto her first choice and urge her to look further.

When both families were satisfied that the match was suitable, a two-part wedding ceremony was performed. The first part consisted of a private exchange of gifts between the espoused and their families, symbolizing the reciprocal nature of native marriage and later making it easy for either spouse to initiate divorce. Since Indian women did not bring expensive and legally entangling dowries to their husbands, as European women of all but the lowest classes did, the men were as free to divorce and remarry as their wives. The second part of the wedding was a public feast, for the whole village or at least the two clans involved, to announce the union and to signal the couple's new status. . .

Rather than establishing their own independent households, most young couples went to live with the girl's parents for a specified period, usually a year, while the husband demonstrated his ability to provide for a family and to get along with his in-laws. In some tribes the couple abstained from sexual relations for much or all of that time in order to knit their affections as "brother and sister," the closest relationship the natives knew. The lack of children also allowed the couple to work out the inevitable early problems of marriage or to freely divorce if they could not be resolved. Once a couple had children, they tended to stay together on their account.

At the completion of the trial period, the couple could move into their own lodge or, more frequently, remain with or near the wife's relatives (in matrilocal societies) or move near the husband's relatives (in patrilocal societies). Wherever they lived, the woman assumed complete control over her immediate household, distributing the fish and game her husband caught and her own horticultural crops to family and friends with a free hand. As long as children came along and the couple treated each other well, without flagrant or socially proscribed resort to other lovers, the monogamous marriage endured, perhaps a full lifetime. (In some tribes a husband was allowed sexual relations outside the marriage bed during his wife's pregnancy and nursing period.) Only if the man was obliged by tribal custom to marry a brother's widow or his wife's sister, or by social success

and position to acquire another wife to help provide hospitality, would his first wife have any competition for his affections. Even then she would be "first among equals."

The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes, edited by James Axtell, Oxford University Press, New York, 1981, pp. 71-72.

The native peoples encountered by surveyor and town-founder John Lawson in his 550-mile swing through the Carolinas in 1700 apparently regarded courtship and marriage much as their northern cousins did. The Tuscaroras, Catawbas, Santees, and other small tribes from the coast to the Piedmont believed in clan approval of a match, sexual continence during the early months of marriage, at least until the full "brideprice" of gifts had been paid to the girl's family, an incest taboo, the appropriateness of a man's marrying two sisters or his brother's widow, and the primary responsibility of the male lover for a wife's infidelity. . . . It is also interesting that the girls who married European traders and resorted to means to abort children were later accepted by their tribesmen without apparent discredit, perhaps because they brought to their native husbands wealth in trade goods and the prestige of special alliance with the now indispensable traders. Whether these girls and their sisters discerned any real difference in the sexual prowess of Indian and European men is difficult to judge. An Englishman may be forgiven for thinking that the "daughters of the country" valued his skill in bed when they actually preferred his pots and pans.

...
When any young Indian has a Mind for such a Girl to his Wife, he, or someone for him, goes to the young Woman's Parents, if living; if not, to her nearest Relations; where they make Offers of the Match betwixt the Couple. The Relations reply, they will consider it, which serves for a sufficient Answer, till there be a second Meeting about the Marriage, which is generally brought into Debate before all the Relations (that are old People) on both Sides; and sometimes the King [sachem], with all his great Men, give their Opinions therein. If it be agreed on, and the young Woman approve thereof, . . . the Man pays so much for his Wife; and the handsomer she is, the greater Price she bears. Now, it often happens, that the Man has not so much of their Money [roanoke, a form of shell bead] ready, as he is to pay for his Wife; but if they know him to be a good Hunter, and that he can raise the Sum agreed for, in some few Moons [months], or any little time, they agree, she shall go along with him, as betroth'd, but he is not to have any [sexual] Knowledge of her, till the utmost Payment is dischar'd. . . .

They never marry so near as a first Cousin; and although there is nothing more coveted amongst them, than to marry a Woman of their own Nation, yet when the Nation consists of a very few People (as now adays it often happens) so that they are all of them related to one another, then they look out for Husbands and Wives amongst Strangers. For if an Indian lies with his Sister, or any very near Relation, his Body is burnt, and his Ashes thrown into the River; as unworthy to remain on Earth; . . . Although these People are call'd Savages, yet Sodomy is never heard of amongst them

The Marriages of these Indians are no father binding, than the Man and the Woman agree together. Either of them has Liberty to leave the other, upon any frivolous Excuse

they can make; yet whosoever takes the Woman that was another Man's before, and bought by him, as they all are, must certainly pay to her former Husband, whatsoever he gave for her. Nay, if she be a Widow, and her Husband died in Debt, whosoever take her to Wife, pays all her Husband's Obligations, . . . But if a Man courts her for a Nights Lodging, and obtains it, the Creditors will make him pay her Husband's Debts, and he may, if he will, take her for his Money, or will her to another for his Wife. I have seen several of these Bargains driven in a day; . . .

The young Men will go in the Night from one House to another, to visit the young Women, in which sort of Rambles they will spend the whole Night. In their Addresses they find no Delays, for if she is willing to entertain the Man, she gives him Encouragement and grants him Admittance; otherwise she withdraws her Face from him and says, I cannot see you, either you or I must leave this Cabin, and sleep somewhere else this Night.

They are never to boast of their Intrigues with the Women. If they do, none of the Girls value them ever after, or admit of their Company in their Beds. . . .

The Trading Girls [Indian women who lived with European traders], after they have led that Course of Life, for several Years, in which time they scarce ever have a Child; (for they have an Art to destroy the Conception, and she that brings a Child in this Station, is accounted a Fool, and her Reputation is lessen'd thereby) at last they grow weary of so many, and betake themselves to a married State, or to the Company of one Man; neither does their having been common to so many any wise lessen their Fortunes, but rather augment them.

The Woman is not punish'd for Adultery, but 'tis the Man that makes the injur'd Person Satisfaction, which is the Law of Nations practis'd amongst them all; . . .

The Indians say, that the Woman is a weak Creature, and easily drawn away by the Man's Persuasion; for which Reason, they lay no Blame upon her, by the Man (that ought to be Master of his Passion) for persuading her to it. . . . [John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709).]

The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes, edited by James Axtell, Oxford University Press, New York, 1981, pp. 93-96.

[Observations of a young Virginian who visited the Cherokees in what is now eastern Tennessee]

There is no kind of rites or ceremonies at marriage [among the Cherokee], courtship and all being. . . . concluded in half an hour, without any other celebration, and it is as little binding as ceremonious; for though many last till death, especially when there are children, it is common for a person to change three or four times a year. Notwithstanding this, the Indian women gave lately a proof of fidelity, not to be equalled by politer ladies, bound by all the sacred ties of marriage.

Lieut. Henry Timberlake's MEMOIRS, 1756-1765, edited by Samuel C. Williams. Continental Book Company, Marietta, GA, 1948, p. 89.

[See also comment on "Indian Marriage" at the end of James Smith's captive narrative.]

2. Intermarriage Between Europeans and Native Americans

The reluctance of the average British colonist to accept intermarriage with the Indians was, in the opinion of William Byrd of Westover, a basic cause for Indian-White conflict. Writing in his History of the Dividing Line in 1728, Byrd observed that the Indians "could, by no means, persuade themselves that the English were heartily their Friends, so long as they disdained to intermarry with them." If the colonists had been serious about converting and civilizing the Indians, Byrd said, "they would have. . . brought their Stomachs to embrace the prudent alliance...For, after all that can be said, a sprightly Lover is the most prevailing Missionary that can be sent among these, or any other Infidels." Byrd suggested, with just a touch of irony, that the Indians might be prepared to give up their lands peacefully as a form of dowry if they were convinced that their daughters would be accepted as equals in white society.

Governor Alexander Spotswood, writing to the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in 1717, also commented on the absence of intermarriage:

And as to beginning a nearer friendship by intermarriage (as the Custom of the French is), the inclination of our people are not the same with those of that Nation, for notwithstanding the long intercourse between ye inhabitants of this Country and ye Indians and their living amongst one another for so many Years, I cannot find one Englishman that has an Indian Wife, or an Indian marryed to a white woman.

Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian: British-Colonial Attitudes, Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1969, pp.91-92.

* * *

. . . And so as that none of our Officers or Men may remain longer than two Years in the same Garrison; Provided that such Men may be permitted to do it as shall take Indian Wives; by which means our Interest among the Indians will be strengthened both by the Women, and their Breed, proving the hardiest and best attached. And therefore it will be prudent to encourage such Marriages. . .

. . . Able bodied men Convicts for petty crimes, instead of being hanged, or incorporated among the People of our Colonies, being sent to that distant Fort at the sd Conflux to plant Corn for the use of the Indians, who by their Genius & manner of Living are often reduced to great want of it, will become usefull by attaching them thereby the more to it. And by marrying Indian wives, & having Land allotted to them when their Servitude is expired, they will strengthen the place, & their Offspring prove a valuable sort of Inhabitants.

Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier: The Edmund Atkin Report and Plan of 1755, Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed., University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC., 1954, pp. 80 and 91.

3. Eighteenth-century Childbirth

Pregnancy itself was surrounded by a number of taboos, some of which sought to protect the unborn child and others to shield the community, particularly its male half, from the heightened powers of the woman's condition. In pregnancy, as in menstruation, Indian women were thought to possess an abundance of spiritual power, which, like all power, had the double-edged capacity to harm or heal. Thus a pregnant woman was at once revered and feared for her intimate connection with the mysterious forces of nature, and regarded as a socially different person. This gradual process of separation was completed in most eastern tribes as delivery neared and the woman put down her daily tasks to withdraw to a special hut in the woods. There, either alone or with the help of relatives, priests, and midwives, she participated in the child's abrupt translation to the society of the born, an event marked by special attention to the cutting and care of the umbilical cord. Many observers -- all of them men -- thought that her role was painless and easy. She, herself, knew the universal pains of labor, but sublimated them for her cultural ideals, which demanded that mother and child display a stoic courage in the face of all adversity.

The newborn child began its initiation into native life with a healthy swig of animal oil, a quick dip in a cold stream, and a warmer acquaintance with its mother's breast, at which it would continue to feed for two, three, or more years. For a year it would nestle against a fur-clad, bone-straightening cradleboard, toes in to give it a distinctive Indian walk for narrow trails and snowshoes. Meanwhile, after the new mother had remained for a certain time in her birthing hut, she and the baby returned to the family lodge with some ceremony of incorporation. There she assumed the prestigious status of a mother, no longer just a woman, and abstained from sexual relations with her husband until the infant was weaned, thereby safeguarding the "purity" of her milk and postponing any sibling rivalry over it.

In most tribes, the infant's full entrance into the community came a few months after birth when the village elders and priests officiated at a formal initiation rite. There, surrounded by the members of its maternal or paternal clan, the child received its public name, usually from a special clan repertoire, and sometimes had its ears and nose pierced. This first rite of passage was thus complete, infancy was left behind, and the culturally formative years of childhood lay ahead. . .

Indian childbearing practices in the upper South differed little from those in the North, according to the observations of a well-travelled English gentleman and man of science, [John Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina. (London, 1709)]

The Savage Women of America, have very easy Travail with their Children; sometimes they bring Twins, and are brought to bed [delivered] by themselves, when took at a Disadvantage; . . . some of these Midwives are very knowing in several Medicines that Carolina affords, which certainly expedite, and make easy Births. Besides, they are unacquainted with those severe Pains which follow the Birth in our European Women. Their Remedies are a great Cause of this Easiness in that State; for the Indian Women will

run up and down the Plantation, the same day, very briskly, and without any sign of Pain or Sickness; yet they look very meager and thin. Not but that we must allow a great deal owing to the Climate, and the natural Constitution of these Women, whose Course of Nature [menstrual period] never visits them in such Quantities, as the European Women have. And tho' they never want Plenty of Milk, yet I never saw an Indian Woman with very large Breasts; neither does the youngest Wife ever fail of proving so good a Nurse, as to bring her Child up free from the Rickets and Disasters that proceed from the Teeth, with many other Distempers which attack our Infants in England, and other Parts of Europe. They let their Children suck till they are well grown, unless they prove big with Child [pregnant] sooner. They always nurse their own children themselves, unless Sickness or Death prevents. . . After Delivery, they absent the Company of a Man for forty days. As soon as the Child is born, they wash it in cold Water at the next Stream, and then bedawb it [with "Bears Oil, and a Colour like burnt Cork"]. After which, the Husband takes care to provide a Cradle, which is soon made, consisting of a Piece of flat Wood, which they hew with their Hatchets to the Likeness of a Board; it is about two Foot long, and a Foot broad; to this they brace and tie the Child down very close, having near the middle, a Stick fasten'd about two Inches from the Board. which is for the Child's Breech to rest on, under which they put a Wad of Moss, that receives the Child's Excrements, by which means they can shift the Moss, and keep all clean and sweet. Some Nations have very flat Heads...which is made whilst tied on this Cradle...These Cradles are apt to make the Body flat; yet they are the most portable things that can be invented; for there is a String which goes from one Corner of the Board to the other, whereby the Mother slings her Child on her Back; so the Infant's Back is towards her, and its Face looks up towards the Sky. If it rains, she throws her Leather or Woolen Match-coat, over her Head, which covers the Child all over, and secures her and it from the Injuries of rainy Weather.

The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes, edited by James Axtell, Oxford University Press, New York, 1981, pp. 3-4.

[Observations of a young Virginian who visited the Cherokees in what is now eastern Tennessee]

. . . As soon as a child [Cherokee] is born, which is generally without help, it is dipped into cold water and washed, which is repeated every morning for two years afterward, by which the children acquire such strength, that no ricketty or deformed are found amongst them. When the woman recovers, which is at latest in three days, she carries it herself to the river to wash it; but though three days is the longest time of their illness, a great number of them are not so many hours; nay, I have known a woman delivered at the side of a river, wash her child, and come home with it in one hand, and a gourd full of water in the other.

Lieut. Henry Timberlake's MEMOIRS 1756-1765, edited by Samuel C. Williams, Continental Book Company, Marietta, GA, 1948, p. 90.

4. Eighteenth-century Childrearing

The Indian child in eastern America moved from the cradleboard into a relatively uninhibited world of individual initiative and freedom. Its bones having been set straight

by swaddling in the first months of life, the child was now expected to learn to walk the narrow paths of culture by following its own developing sense of reason. . . Therefore, they relied less upon negative sanctions, such as corporal punishment, than upon positive inducements, such as the example of elders, frequent praise, and enhanced public reputation. When a wayward child needed correction, public shame and ridicule were usually effective in the small, face-to-face communities in which they lived. Withdrawal of maternal affection was especially useful in matrilineal groups, where fathers participated in the education of their children less than mothers and maternal aunts and uncles, and where men were absent much of the year on hunting, trading, and warring expeditions. .

Almost as soon as children could toddle, they were introduced to the economic roles appropriate to their sex. Boys hunted small game and birds with miniature bows and arrows, set traps, and stalked each other in war games. Girls worked beside their female relatives in the fields and house, learning by imitation to make clothes and moccasins for dolls, plant and weed corn, and weave mats, baskets, and burden straps. Indian adults knew well what many modern parents have forgotten - that play is serious business to a child and that the best way to learn is through playful emulation. Social relations were probably learned in a more serious spirit. Age brought increased awareness of and responsibility toward one's clansmen, especially the "grandmothers" and "grandfathers" to whom one owed the greatest respect, not least for the care they bestowed on the "grandchild's" moral education.

As children grew physiologically older, they also approached social puberty, which was marked in all the eastern tribes by special rites of passage. Boys began to form lifelong "particular friendships" with male contemporaries, perhaps partly as an answer to the closer sodalities of women in their largely horticultural and matrilineal communities. When a boy killed his first big game, and again when he performed some deed of bravery on the warpath, he was feted and given a new name to replace his childhood nickname. A more solemn occasion was a successful vision quest, in which a young man - less frequently a young woman - dreamed of a spiritual guardian who would guide his actions and give him confidence for the rest of his life. These visions normally followed a period of fasting and other sensory deprivation alone in the woods. Other forms of social initiation required longer and more arduous communal trials. In most tribes, potential religious and political leaders were



After European contact, even the toys and games played by children showed the Western influence that vastly changed the lives of their parents. (C-83-776)

selected by rituals in which the child candidates were ritually "killed" to be "resurrected" as adults who had literally forgotten the things of childhood. All these occasions involved separation from the world of women and children, strict dietary and other taboos, and public rites of incorporation into the company of men.

. . . While boys required considerable public ceremony (in lieu of obvious physical change) to become men, girls experienced a sudden and discernible physiological transition to womanhood. With the onset of menstrual discharge came the community's attribution of heightened supernatural power, which made her an object of fear and reverence. Dreams occurring during her period were hearkened to as specially significant, but otherwise her touch and look were avoided like the plague to which she was likened. While European male observers interpreted her seclusion as onerous and shameful, she herself may have looked forward to a monthly respite from the work routines and close personal demands of village life (except in cold weather) and taken secret pleasure in her novel power. Considering the perceptible mood changes in most menstruating women (whether physiological or socially caused), segregation may have helped preserve the delicate balance of feelings in her face-to-face society.

The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes, edited by James Axtell, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1981, pp.. 31-32.

* * *

Children, especially boys, are not held to work; that latter are to become hunters. They are allowed their own way, their elders saying: "We did not work ourselves in the days of our youth." They follow their own inclinations, do what they like and no one prevents them, except it be that they do harm to others; but even in that case they are not punished, being only reprov'd with gentle words. . . . for the reason that they think the children might remember . . . and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity. Girls are rather more accustomed to work by their mothers, for as the women must pound all the corn in a stamping trough or mortar, they train their daughters in this and also in such other work as will be expected of them, as cooking, breadmaking, planting, making of carrying-girdles [tumplines] and bags, the former used to carry provisions and utensils on their backs while journeying and the latter to hold the provisions. . .

Boys and girls sleep apart. As soon as girls walk[,] a little frock is fastened about them in order that they may accustom themselves to wear their clothing in a modest manner, the garments of the women being short, for the reason that long gowns would seriously inconvenience them in their movements through the forests. In this particular the boys are neglected, wearing little or nothing until at the age of five or six years, when a flap of cloth is fastened to a leathern band or girdle that has been worn [around the waist] from early in infancy in order that they might become accustomed to it. . . .

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. . . . When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. . . . If they go to war together and one perishes

the other will fight desperately to avenge him, . . .

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads. They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, . . .
[David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians.]

The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes, edited by James Axtell, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1981, pp. 41-43.

5. Eighteenth-century Old Age and Death

The final rite of passage in the human life-cycle commemorates the irreversible transition from life to death. This is not a simple passage because both the living and the dead undergo rites of separation, transition, and incorporation. In the native cultures of the East, the dead were separated from the society of the living only gradually. After being dressed and painted to best advantage, they remained for a time in the lodge where they had died to allow the survivors to bid farewell, sing their praises, and lament their passing. Other ceremonies at graveside prolonged the process of separation until the deceased were interred in various ways depending on their age, sex, and social standing and the circumstances of their death. But even burial -- in the ground or on scaffolds -- did not signal their complete separation. Some native groups apparently believed that the souls of the dead did not make the final journey to the afterlife until their bones had lost all flesh, either through natural putrefaction or scraping. Thus the obligations of the living to the dead were not finally met until these clean bones had been reinterred in new ceremonies, such as the Huron "feast of the dead." Then, if the dead had been properly buried with the articles and food they would need for their long journey, their souls could take their final departure. Having successfully made the journey, the souls could then be incorporated into the villages of the dead, which closely resembled in appearance and social structure the societies from which they had come.

Rites similar in character marked the painful passage of the survivors from grief to acceptance. The living underwent separation both from the deceased and from the larger society. According to their closeness of kinship to the deceased, survivors were regarded as "impure" by virtue of their contact with the dead and were therefore required to separate themselves for a prescribed period from normal social relations. Close relatives, such as spouses or siblings, mourned for the longest period in disheveled hair, no make-up, and ragged clothes. The higher the social standing of the deceased, the longer the suspension of social life and the more people involved. The death of an important chief might cause general mourning among a whole tribe and several of its closest neighbors and allies. Shortly, however, the survivors would be reunited with each other by feasts and other celebrations, some of which occurred at graveside. Spouses particularly were reintegrated into society by their in-laws, who lifted the obligations of mourning, dressed them in new clothes, and gave them permission to remarry. When life returned to normal for the living and the souls of the dead had reached their destination, the final rites of passage for the

eastern Indians had come to a close.

Native funeral customs were generally consistent throughout the East and within the northern and southern culture areas. . . . One characteristic shared by most eastern tribes was the dead were differentiated as they had been in life by sex, office, and social status. Women, accordingly, seldom received expensive or ostentatious funerals. Indeed, among the men, only headmen, renowned warriors, and shamans were honored in the manner . . . most southern observers describe. This consisted of the placement of their cleansed bones in a dressed deerskin pouch or, in Virginia, their embalmed skins, and then in an elevated sepulcher reserved for "grandees." Hired female mourners sang their doleful tunes and the surviving headmen renewed tribal alliances and histories at funeral orations and feasts. Other characteristics shared by the Carolinians with their northern neighbors were sensual visions of "heaven" and "hell," and mat and wood burial vaults to keep the earth from touching the corpse. Only an unusually short period of mourning before women could remarry – if Lawson was correct – seems to have separated Carolina customs from the eastern pattern. More typical were the Creeks, who permitted spouses to remarry only after four annual Green Corn ceremonies had been held, by marrying a sibling of the deceased, or with the consent of the deceased's family.

The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes, edited by James Axtell, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1981, pp. 199-200 and 220-223.

[Observations of a young Virginian who visited the Cherokees in what is now eastern Tennessee]

They seldom bury their dead, but throw them into the river; yet if any white man will bury them, he is generally rewarded with a blanket, besides what he takes from the corpse, the dead having commonly their guns, tomahawkes, powder, lead, silver ware, wampum, and a little tobacco, buried with them; and as the persons who brings the corpse to the place of burial, immediately leave it, he is at liberty to dispose of all as he pleases, but must take care never to be found out, as nothing belonging to the dead is to be kept, but every thing at his decease destroyed, except these articles, which are destined to accompany him to the other world. . .

This custom was probably introduced to prevent avarice, and, by preventing hereditary acquisitions, make merit the sole means of acquiring power, honour, and riches. The inventor, however, had too great a knowledge of the human mind, and our propensity to possess, not to see that a superior passion must intercede; he therefore wisely made it a religious ceremony, that superstition, the strongest passion of the ignorant, might check avarice, and keep it in the bounds he had prescribed. It is not known from whence it came, but it is of great antiquity, and not only general over all North America, but in many parts of Asia. On this account the wives generally have separate property, that no inconveniency may arise from death or separation.

Lieut. Henry Timberlake's MEMOIRS 1756-1765, edited by Samuel C. Williams, Continental Book Company, Marietta, GA, 1948, pp. 90-92.

D. Captive Narratives

[The Ingles and Smith families] were part of a relentless white emigration from the Atlantic coast into the North American forests, mountains, and meadows east of the Mississippi. Whether to find new land for farming or for speculation, the move west was not without risk. As families . . . moved onto the western Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky frontiers, some of their farms and small villages came under Indian and French attack. . .

While attacks and captures by Indians were not everyday experiences along the Atlantic and Appalachian frontiers, families could not ignore the potential threat. . .

Prisoners were taken for four major purposes: to avenge losses of kin, to replace the lost relatives, to prevent expansion onto Indian lands through direct threats to white settlers, and for trade or ransom in exchange for weapons and goods. These purposes were accelerated and magnified with European conquest. Disease and the intense warfare, in which the French, the British, and the Spanish played off one group of Indians against another, left the eastern Woodland Indians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fearing extinction. In parts of the South occasional captures to avenge the loss of kin became a widespread trade in Indian slaves among the Cherokees once trade goods and an entire life-style could be bought by trading the bodies of the enemy. Traditional practice among Iroquois, Hurons, and many other American tribal peoples encouraged the replacement of a dead brother, sister, or spouse by a young person of either sex, who was chosen to become a member of a particular family and was initiated by ritual adoption. . .

Seaver, James E. A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison, with an introduction by June Namias. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman: 1992, pp.6-8.

Mary Draper Ingles

[Mary Ingles's narrative was recorded by her son, John Ingles, Sr. (1766-1836). In 1750, William Ingles (born London 1729) married Mary Draper (born Philadelphia 1732, died 1815) at Draper's Meadow in Virginia. Two sons - Thomas and George - were born before the capture in 1753. George died in captivity, but Thomas was rescued by his father in 1768. The Ingles had four more children - Mary, Susan, Rhonda, and John after Mary escaped from her captivity.]

. . . at a time it was little expected a party of Shawneys fell in upon my fathers family and an uncles family John Draper which lived at the same place and killed severale and took the balance of prisoners, to wit, my mother and her 2 children Thos. 4 yrs & George 2 & Aunt Draper & others. My grandmother Draper . . . was killed. . .

. . . the Indians took the advantage of attacking the Hows while the men (M.S. faulty) at their work in the harvest field and the field being some distance (M.S. faulty) the howse new nothing of the attack untill it was Intierly out of Their power to render any survice to the family. . .

. . . The Indians . . . gathered up their prisoners & plunder and started & steared their

course down the New River. They made but slow progress in getting on as their way was much Impeded by the thickness of the forrest & undergroath which covered the whole country . . . my mother said that they always treated her with more respect (M.S. faulty) aney of the other prisoners and permitted her to ride on one of the horses the greater part of the rod and to carry her children though my aunt Draper who had her arm broke was principally put under her cear and my mother had to dress her wound. . . . the Indians lived at the mouth of the Bigg Sioto & which took them about one month to performe from the time they were taken untill they arived at the nation. The next day after they got to the nation the prisoners had to undergo the Indian custom of running the gauntlett which was performed by forming a two lines of all the Indians in the nation men women and children and the prisoners to start at the Head of the two rows formed & run down between the lines & every Indian giving them a cut or a pelt with switch sticks.

. . . in a few days . . . her children taken away from her and consigned to different owners. . .

. . . about that time a party of the Indians started to the Bigg Bone lick which is now in the state of Kentuckey and took my mother & severale other of the prisoners . . . so distressed in being separated from her children . . . came to the determined resolution that she wood leave them & try to get Home or dy in the woods & prevailed on an old duch woman that was there and a prisoner too to engage with her in the seemingly Hopeless & daring attempt . . . they arranged . . . to get leave of the Indians to go a peace from the Lick with a view to Hunt & geather some grapes & provided themselves with a blankett and tomehock a peace & perhaps a knife and . . . took no other kind of clothing only what was on them. . .

. . . being woorn down by fateigue & starvation . . . they picked up in the woods such as black walnuts grapes pappaws etc. & very often so pushed with hunger that they wood dig up roots & eate that they knew nothing of and in all this extrematy the old duch woman . . . got very ill natured to my mother & made some attempts to kill her...be accident got loos from the old woman...the moon giving little light espied a Cannoe at the bank of the river...crossed the river to the other side it being at a place where some Hunters had made a little Improvement & built a Cabbin . . . discovered a little turnip or two which had escaped the wild beasts She pulled them out and ate . . . the little clothing which she had started with was nearley or entirely worn out or dragged off of by the Brush on her long Journey & her mocosans intierly worn out that she had become litteralery naked and the weather growing cooler that her prospect of succeeding was almost a Hopeless one . . .

. . . that kind of providence which had sustained her through a Journey estimated not less than from 7 to 900 miles the rout which she was nessesarily obliged to travele exposed to the Inclemancy of the weather & verosity of wild beasts Hunger & starvation . . . in an unknown willderness still provided for her releaf it so happened that a man of the name of Adam Harmon and two of his Sones was at a place on New River securing their corn and Hunting. When my mother got to the improvement not seeing aney Howse began to Hollow Harmon on hearing the voyce of a woman was a good deal alarmed . . . and well acquainted with her voyce said to his sons it certainly was Marry Ingles voice & knowing that she was taken prisoner by the Indians was cautious there might be Indians with her

him and his sons Caught up their guns and run on to where my mother was & you may expect it was a Joyfull meating. . .

Thus ended her tryals and defiqualteys of nearly 5 months from the time she was taken prisoner & 42½ days of that time in her returning back in the wilderness when my mother fell in with Harmon and his sons. . . you may guess what was the sensation and feeling of my Father & mother at his arriving at the fort the next day at so unexpected meting (my Aunt Draper did not get released untill about 6 years afterwards. . .).

. . . the frontier settlements was still Harrassed by the Indians every year for many years after my Father returned to New River with his Familey. My father and mother lived and raised a small familey of 5 children 2 sons & 3 daughters who sustained as respectable Charectors as aney in the whole country my father died . . . at the age of 53 years my mother still continued to live in New River & Injoyed an extraordinary portion of good health after all her tryals & Defiqualteys untile the year 1815 & dyed at the advanced age of 83 or 84 years of age.

The Story of Mary Draper Ingles and Son Thomas Ingles as Told by John Ingles, Sr., edited by Roberta Ingles Steele and Andrew Lewis Ingles, Commonwealth Press Inc., Radford, VA., 1969, pp. 7-18, 21-22.

James Smith

James Smith was born in 1737, in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, at that time the backwoods frontier, the extreme limit of civilization. . . he received but a limited education in book-learning, but, as befitted a backwoods boy, he was well versed in wood-craft, active in the hunt, and inured to all the hardships and trials of a frontier life. At the age of eighteen, in 1755, he was taken captive by the Indians, was adopted into one of their families, and accompanied them in all their wandering, till his escape in 1759. He returned to Conococheague early in 1760, and was received with great joy by his family and friends.

He settled himself at his old home in the ordinary routine of pioneer farming, and in May, 1763, married Miss Anne Wilson, by whom he had seven children -- four sons, Jonathan, William, James, and Robert; and three daughters, Jane, Elizabeth, and Rebecca. . .

After the temporary peace made with the Indians in 1778, he removed to Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, and settled on a farm on Jacob's creek. Here his wife died. . .

In 1785, he spent most of the summer in Kentucky, looking after some land claims; there he married his second wife, Mrs. Margaret Irvin. . .

. . . in 1788. He took with him, his wife and her children, and of his own children, James, William Robert, and Rebecca, and settled on Cane Ridge, in Bourbon County, Kentucky, . . .

. . . he spent much of his time in his later years as a missionary among the Indians, for which work his familiarity with Indian character eminently fitted him.

On his return from one of his missionary excursions in Tennessee, he found that his son James had during his absence joined the Shakers. . .

. . . Col. Smith spent the remainder of his days, thus embittered by the unnatural conduct of his son, chiefly with his step-children, the Irvins, in Washington County,

Kentucky, where he died in 1812.

After the Revolutionary War, when French and British claims to the Ohio country had been extinguished, an aging Indian reflected on his people's role in their struggle for this area. Comparing England and France to the blades of a scissors, he concluded, "we are the cloth." European penetration had been marked by tri-partite maneuvering, with both "civilized" nations seeking to enlist the tribes as military allies and commercial patrons. The Indian response was a shifting pattern of loyalties and allegiances, based on the hope that the imperial conflict could be used to their own advantage, which was variously bolstered or undermined by a structure of ancient inter-tribal feuds and friendships. Unremitting, amidst the vagaries of the contest, was the constant rending of the cloth until its integrity was destroyed. . . British imperialism crossed the Alleghenies in the packs of Pennsylvania and Virginia fur traders. . .

French anxiety was compounded by a parliamentary grant of 500,000 acres bordering the Ohio River to a combination of enterprising Virginians. . .

In 1754 Virginia's Governor Dinwiddie ordered the building of a fort at the forks. Before the works could be completed, a French force, supported by a chain of outposts anchored at Presque Isle, routed the Virginians. Militia under George Washington arrived too late to prevent the French success, was itself invested in hastily built Fort Necessity, and capitulated. French arms held sway on the upper Ohio, based on the appropriated works at the forks, now christened Fort Duquesne.

In London, Parliament took up the gage, dispatching Major General Edward Braddock and 1,400 regulars who landed in Virginia in April of 1755. . . Reinforced by colonial militiamen, General Braddock moved in the early summer of 1755 to dislodge the French from the Forks of the Ohio. Near the line of Braddock's advance, a party of Pennsylvanians was engaged in road building. The young James Smith was among them.

In May 1755, the province of Pennsylvania, agreed to send out three hundred men, in order to cut a waggon road from Fort Loudon, to join Braddock's road, near the Turkey Foot, or three forks of Yohogania. My brother-in-law, William Smith esq. of Conococheague, was appointed commissioner, to have the oversight of these road-cutters.

Though I was at that time only eighteen years of age. . . I concluded I must...go out with this company of road-cutters, to see the event of this campaign. . .

. . . About four or five miles above Bedford, three Indians had made a blind of bushes, stuck in the ground, as though they grew naturally, where they concealed themselves, about fifteen yards from the road. When we came opposite to them, they fired upon us, at this short distance, and killed my fellow traveler . . . the Indians immediately ran up, and took me prisoner.

Some time after I was there [Fort Duquesne], I was visited by the Delaware Indian already mentioned, who was at the taking of me, and could speak some English. . .

. . . and told me that as soon as I recovered [from wounds received from torture of warriors], I must not only go with the Indians, but must be made an Indian myself.

A few days after this. . . they took me in a canoe . . . to an Indian town on the west

branch of Muskingum, about twenty miles above the forks, which was called Tullihias, inhabited by Delawares, Caughnewagos and Mohicans. . . .

The day after my arrival. . . a number of Indians collected about me, and one of them began to pull the hair out of my head. . . excepting three locks, which they dressed up in their own mode...their mode of adoption: . . . The old chief holding me by the hand, made a long speech very loud, and when he had done he handed me to three young squaws, who led me by the hand down the back into the river. . . they plunged me under water, and washed and rubbed me severely. . .

These young women then led me up to the council house, where some of the tribe were ready with new cloths for me. . . They again painted my head and face with various colors, and tied a bunch of red feathers to one of these lock they had left on the crown of my head, which stood up five or six inches. They seated me on a bear skin, and gave me a pipe, tomahawk, and polecat skin pouch, which had been skinned pocket fashion, and contained tobacco, killegenico, or dry sumach leaves, which they mix with their tobacco, – also spunk, flint and steel. When I was thus seated, the Indians came in dressed and painted in their grandest manner. As they came in they took their seats and for a considerable time there was a profound silence. . . At length one of the chiefs made a speech, which was delivered to me by an interpreter, – and was as followeth: – "My son, you are now flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone. By the ceremony which was performed this day, every drop of white blood was washed out of your veins; you are taken into the Caughnewago tribe; you are adopted into a great family, and now received with great seriousness and solemnity in the room and place of a great man; after what has passed this day, you are now one of us by an old strong law and custom – My son, you have now nothing to fear, we are now under the same obligations to love, support and defend you, that we are to love and to defend one another, therefore you are to consider yourself as one of our people." . . . from that day I never knew them to make any distinction between me and themselves in any respect whatever until I left them. – If they had plenty of cloathing I had plenty, if we were scarce we all shared one fate. . .

The Indians are a slovenly people in their dress.—they seldom ever wash their shirts, and in regard to cookery they are exceedingly filthy. When they kill a buffaloe they will sometimes lash their paunch of it round sapling, and cast it into the kettle, boil it and sup the broth; tho they commonly shake it about in cold water, then boil and eat it.—Notwithstanding all this, they are very polite in their own way, and they retain among them the essentials of good manners; tho they have few compliments, yet they are complaisant to one another, and when accompanied with good humour and discretion, they entertain strangers in the best manner their circumstances will admit. They use but few titles of honor. In the military line, the titles of great men are only captains or leaders of parties – In the civil line, the titles are only councilors, chiefs or the old wisemen. These titles are never made use of in addressing any of their great men. The language commonly made use of in addressing them is, Grandfather, Father, or Uncle. They have no such thing in use among them as Sir, Mr. Madam or Mistress – The common mode of address, is, my Friend, Brother, Cousin, or Mother Sister, &c. They pay great respect to age; or to the

aged Fathers and Mothers among them of every rank. No one can arrive at any place of honor among them, but by merit. Either some exploit in war, must be performed, before any one can be advanced in the military line, or become eminent for wisdom before they can obtain a seat in council. It would appear to the Indians a most ridiculous thing to see a man lead off a company of warriors, as an officer, who had himself never been in a battle in his life: even in case of merit, they are slow in advancing any one, until they arrive at or near middle-age.

They invite every one that comes to their house, or camp to eat, while they have any thing to give; and it is accounted bad manner to refuse eating, when invited. They are very tenacious of their old mode of dressing and painting, and do not change their fashions as we do. They are very fond of tobacco, and the men almost all smoke it mixed with sumach leaves or red willow bark, pulverized, tho they seldom use it in any other way. They make use of the pipe also as a token of love and friendship.

In courtship they also differ from us. It is a common thing among them for a young woman, if in love, to make suit to a young man: tho the first address may be by the man; yet the other is the most common. the squaws are generally very immodest in their words and actions, and will often put the young men to the blush. The men commonly appear to be possessed of much more modesty than the women; yet I have been acquainted with some young squaws that appeared really modest: genuine it must be, as they were under very little restraint in the channel of education or custom.

When the Indians meet one-another, instead of saying, how do you do, they commonly salute in the following manner – you are my friend – the reply is, truly friend, I am your friend, – or, cousin, you yet exist – the reply is certainly I do. They have their children under tolerable command: seldom ever whip them, and their common mode of chastising, is by ducking them in cold water; therefore their children are more obedient in the winter season, than they are in the summer; tho they are then not so often ducked. They are a peaceable people, and scarcely ever wrangle or scold, when sober; but they are very much addicted to drinking, and men and women will become basely intoxicated, if they can, by any means, procure or obtain spirituuous liquor; and then they are commonly either extremely merry and kind, or very turbulent, ill-humoured and disorderly.

Some of their ancient laws or customs are very pernicious, and disturb the public weal. Their vague law of marriage is a glaring instance of this, as the man and his wife are under no legal obligation to live together, if they are both willing to part. They have little form, or ceremony among them, in matrimony, but do like the Israelites of old – the man goes in unto the woman and she becomes his wife. The years of puberty and the age of consent, is about fourteen for the woman, and eighteen for the men. Before I was taken by the Indians, I had often heard that in the ceremony of marriage, the man gave the woman a deer's leg, and she gave him a red ear of corn, signifying that she was to keep him in bread, and he was to keep her in meat. I enquired of them concerning the truth of this, and they said they knew nothing of it, further than that they had heard it was an ancient customer among some nations. Their frequent changing of partners prevents propagation, creates disturbances, and often occasions murder and bloodshed; though this

is commonly committed under the pretence of being drunk. Their impunity to crimes committed when intoxicated with spirituous liquors, or their admitting one crime as an excuse of another, is a very unjust law or custom.

SCOUWA: James Smith's Indian Captivity Narrative, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, OH, 1992, pp. 7-9,11-13,18,20,24,28-31,150-154,159-160.

A. Slaves from Africa

More African-born people . . . were distinctive because of ritual scarification-bodily patterns that identified tribal affiliations. Englishmen described these as including parallel facial scars on the temples, diagonal or curving stripes, and "printing works" (i.e., scarification) upon women's backs and stomachs.

Africa was a country whose oral traditions were as strong as if not stronger than those in England, a land of rich cultural complexity, but it was also little understood. In their apprehension of its difference, upper-class English drew upon the precedents of shame and public spectacle to instill fear in the Africans brought to their shores. Chesapeake people described Africans as "outlandish" because of the foreign tongues in which they spoke, their delight in the hot summer heat, their measure of time by the moon, their unfamiliar appearance, and "country-marks. . . . The fact that their "seasoning" in the region had a different pattern than that of the English was yet another contrast. The first steps in assimilation took place when Africans began to wear western clothing and hair styles (which owners could enforce) and learned to speak English (a capability partially controlled by the slave). . . .

Ibos, " when employed at any kind of labour, continually talk to their tools, and that in an earnest manner, as if they were addressing a human being.

Yentsch, Anne Elizabeth. A Chesapeake family and their slaves: A study in historical archaeology. Cambridge University Press: 1994. Page 180, 184.

The kinship group was an entity that continued through time and grew and expanded through marriage and childbirth. The manner of acquiring spouses varied greatly in African societies, but marriage often involved the payment of bride-price, a transfer of goods and services which had more symbolic value than economic importance and did not give the man any absolute rights over the woman. While polygamy was common, there also were many monogamous marriages.

Marriage was never considered complete without procreation. Africans believed that without the birth of children the chain of being had been broken, and so they were, and are, highly valued. The names given to children in some African societies underscore this importance. Among the Yoruba of Western Nigeria, names like *Owotomo*, "money is not as valuable as children", *Omodumbi*, "children are sweet to have", *Omololu*, "children are the summit of achievement", and *Omoniyi*, "children are the source of prestige", attested to the value of children. Birth was and is an occasion celebrated by appropriate rites in all African communities. Even before the new-born arrived, preparations were made in anticipation of the event and pregnant women observed certain rites and taboos.

A person normally had to be initiated into the group at an appropriate time, usually at puberty, the ceremony being significant in making that individual a full member of the community. Some societies held initiation rites for both sexes, while other such rites were confined to women.

Among the Mende of Sierra Leone all young people were initiated into adulthood:

the men joined the Poro association and the women belonged to the Sande. (The Poro association was also found among people in Liberia and Guinea.) Mende boys were not regarded as mature adults until they had been initiated into the Poro, a ritual which involved being taken to the Poro compound in the bush for several weeks of training and instruction in Mende traditions, customs, the endurance of hardship, self-discipline, cooperation and respect for one's elders. These rites were secret and initiates took an oath of secrecy. The end of the training symbolized the change in status of those taking part and made them full members of the society. Women were similarly initiated into the Sande association.

The system of beliefs and thoughts that ordered the life of each African society included recognition of a supreme God, although African religious systems are often mistakenly generalized in terms such as animism, paganism, fetishism and polytheism. Africans were not animists in the sense of believing that every object had a soul; they did believe that spirits *used* certain objects as their abode and exerted influence through these objects. Paganism is a Western term commonly referring to practices and beliefs of those who were not Jewish, Christian or Muslim, and, as such, is too vague to apply to African religion. A fetish was originally a work of art or object such as a religious charm, but the fact that Africans made use of religious charms should not be allowed to categorize their religious systems. Neither can African religion be adequately described as polytheistic—rather than worshipping many co-ordinate or several gods, Africans recognize a Supreme Being who is above all and is the Creator of any other gods, and is given various names in different areas of the continent. African societies viewed God the Creator as being essentially a life-giving and just spirit, devoid of form. He was everywhere, therefore there were no shrines and temples dedicated especially to Him; there were no feast days set aside for Him or priests appointed to serve Him. The essence of the worship of God was African societies' acknowledgment of His presence and their expression of dependence upon Him.

In addition to their Supreme God, Africans venerated their ancestors. Death, like other rites of passage, was a public affair, when the community was brought together to give the deceased person a proper burial. Many societies believed that the dead entered into a spiritual state of existence, so ancestors were revered, the dead being believed to be able to guard, protect or even punish their descendants. Protection manifested itself through prosperity, fertility, and abundant crops. Punishment took the form of epidemics, illness, misfortune and even death. Ancestors who had lived exemplary lives were often singled out for special reverence. Because Africans believed that their ancestors were alive and visited the living, they attempted to keep in touch with them through offerings of food and drink placed on their tombs.

The African pantheon contained other divinities who were created by God to fulfil specific functions, and who could be male or female or good or evil and had abodes in natural phenomena and animals. Some of the divinities were recognized as unique. Of these, the spirit of the earth ranked after God. Since everyone had access to the earth, no temples, shrines or priests were dedicated to it, but sacrifices were made on special occasions, such as the beginning of the planting season. Spirits or deities inhabited

bodies of water of all kinds, and such spirits had priests and shrines and were worshiped and offered sacrifices.

Although all divinities were capable of doing both good and evil, certain deities were considered harmful because they were antagonistic toward people. Among the Yoruba of Western Nigeria, Eshu was known as such a deity, and Sasabonsam was the evil spirit among the Akan of Ghana.

In addition to evil spirits, Africans believed in the mystical forces of witchcraft and magic. Witches were usually women and, occasionally, children who used their powers to harm those they did not like. Belief in witches may have rendered misfortune and adversity more understandable by blaming them on external forces. Magic, also employed to understand the environment, could be used for beneficial purposes. Medicine men used it to attempt healing, and rainmakers used it to encourage rain. Used for anti-social purposes African society called it black magic.

Religion pervaded the lives of all African communities, determining moral and ethical values, and its ultimate function was the establishment and maintenance of harmony, peace and prosperity for the benefit of the society. . . .

Reynolds, Edward. Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Allison & Busby, London, 1985, pp. 15-18.

Kinship is the key to understanding African society, using the word to refer to descendants of a common ancestor or people who share a physical (sexual) relationship. The family was a basic unit of the kinship structure, within which relatives were often known simply as father, mother, brother, sister. An individual's mother's brother's son or father's brother's son was considered a brother. Kinship was the bond that cemented human relationships in the society and instilled harmony, security, co-operation and a sense of community therein. Since the place of each person in the society was unique, kinship gave everyone identity, meaning, function and purpose. Two basic lineage structures existed in Africa: a patrilineal system and a matrilineal one. In the patrilineal system, descent was traced through the father, who remained the authority figure even when the child became an adult. In the matrilineal system, descent was traced through the mother, and the mother's brother had the ultimate authority over his sister's children. Kinship groups beyond the family were viewed as a lineage; several lineages formed a clan and many clans formed a unitary group or state.

Reynolds, Edward. Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Allison & Busby, London, 1985, p. 15.

In many African societies, women were farmers, the main breadwinners in agricultural systems that looked very much like the one developed by Virginia Indians. The Africans who procured slaves for the trade may have been reluctant to let their hardworking women go.

. . . Slaves in Africa were ordinarily something like resident aliens -- not full citizens but still free to marry, raise children, acquire property, and live more or less like their free neighbors.

Suzanne Lebsack. "A Share of Honour", Virginia Women 1600-1945. W. M. Brown & Sons, Richmond: 1984, p. 39.

Olaudah Equiano was kidnaped as a boy from his home in what is now the Benin province of Nigeria. After several changes in ownership he was sold to British slavers in 1756 and brought by them to Barbados. From here he was taken to Virginia, where a British naval officer bought him and took him to England as a servant, giving him the name of Gustavus Vasa...He was only eleven years old when he was kidnaped, and the little he can remember of his travels is naturally muddled and incoherent, nor can we fill out many of the gaps by referring to present-day ethnography, for no detailed studies have yet been made of this part of Nigeria. It is clear from his name (Equiano, or Ekwuno, is a common Ika and riverain Ibo name) and from the few vernacular words he uses that Olaudah was an Ibo, and we can locate his home with some certainty in the northern Ika Ibo region, which is in the eastern part of the present Benin province.

Africa Remembered. Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade, Philip D. Curtin, ed., University of Wisconsin Press, 1968, pp. 60-61.

This kingdom [Benin] is divided into many provinces or districts: in one of the most remote and fertile of which, I was born, in the year 1745, situated in a charming fruitful vale, named Essaka. . . My father was one of those elders or chiefs.

. . . Adultery, however, was sometimes punished with slavery or death; a punishment which I believe is inflicted on it throughout most of the nations of Africa: so sacred among them is the honor of the marriage bed, and so jealous are they of the fidelity of their wives. . . The men, however, do not preserve the same constancy to their wives, which they expect from them; for they indulge in a plurality, though seldom in more than two. Their mode of marriage is thus: — both parties are usually betrothed when young by their parents, (though I have known the males to betroth themselves.) On this occasion a feast is prepared, and the bride and bridegroom stand up in the midst of all their friends, who are assembled for the purpose, while he declares she is henceforth to be looked upon as his wife, and



The finality of the enslaved leaving their African lives became the focus for Abolitionist Literature and Prints in the later years of the slave trade. (C83-620)

that no other person is to pay any addresses to her. This is also immediately proclaimed in the vicinity, on which the bride retires from the assembly. Some time after, she is brought home to her husband, and then another feast is made, to which the relations of both parties are invited: her parents then deliver her to the bridegroom, accompanied with a number of blessings, and at the same time they tie round her waist a cotton string of the thickness of a goose-quill, which none but married women are permitted to wear: she is now considered as completely his wife; and at this time the dowry is given to the new married pair, which generally consists of portions of land, slaves, and cattle, household goods, and implements of husbandry. These are offered by the friends of both parties; besides which the parents of the bridegroom present gifts to those of the bride, whose property she is looked upon before marriage; but after it she is esteemed the sole property of her husband. The ceremony being now ended, the festival begins, which is celebrated with bonfires, and loud acclamations of joy, accompanied with music and dancing.

. . . When our women are not employed with the men in tillage, their usual occupation is spinning and weaving cotton, which they afterwards dye, and make into garments. They also manufacture earthen vessels, of which we have many kinds. Among the rest, tobacco pipes, made after the same fashion, and used in the same manner as those in Turkey.

Our manner of living is entirely plain; for as yet the natives are unacquainted with those refinements in cookery which debauch the taste: bullocks, goats, and poultry, supply the greatest part of their food. — These constitute likewise the principal wealth of the country, and the chief articles of its commerce. — The flesh is usually stewed in a pan; to make it savory we have salt made of wood ashes. Our vegetables are mostly plantains, eadas, yams, beans, and Indian corn. The head of the family usually eats alone; his wives and slaves have also their separate tables. Before we taste food we always wash our hands: indeed our cleanliness on all occasions is extreme; but on this it is an indispensable ceremony. After washing, libation is made, by pouring out a small portion of the drink on the floor, and tossing a small quantity of the food in a certain place, for the spirits of departed relations, which the natives suppose to preside over their conduct, and guard them from evil. They are totally unacquainted with strong or spirituous liquors; and their principal beverage is palm wine.

Each master of a family has a large square piece of ground, surrounded with a moat or fence, or enclosed with a wall made of red earth tempered: which, when dry, is as hard as brick. — Within this, are his houses to accommodate his family and slaves; which, if numerous, frequently present the appearance of a village. In the middle, stands the principal building, appropriated to the sole use of the master, and consisting of two apartments; in one of which he sits in the day with his family, the other is left apart for the reception of his friends. He has besides these a distinct apartment in which he sleeps, together with his male children. On each side are the apartments of his wives, who have also their separate day and night houses. The habitations of the slaves and their families are distributed throughout the rest of the enclosure. These houses never exceed one story in height: they are always built of wood, or stakes driven into the ground, crossed with wattles, and neatly plastered within and without. The roof is thatched with reeds. Our day-houses are left open at the sides; but those in which we sleep are always covered, and

plastered in the inside, with a composition mixed with cow-dung, to keep off the different insects, which annoy us during the night. The walls and floors also of these are generally covered with mats. Our beds consist of a platform, raised three or four feet from the ground, on which are laid skins, and different parts of a spungy tree, called plantain. — Our covering is calico or muslin, the same as our dress. The usual seats are a few logs of weed; but we have benches, which are generally perfumed to accommodate strangers: these compose the greater part of our household furniture. . . .

Agriculture is our chief employment; and every one, even the children and women, are engaged in it.

Our women, too, were in my eye at least, uncommonly graceful, alert, and modest to a degree of bashfulness; nor do I remember to have heard of an instance of incontinence amongst them before marriage. — They are also remarkably cheerful. . .

Our tillage is exercised in a large plain or common, some hours' walk from our dwellings, and all the neighbors resort thither in a body. They use no beasts of husbandry; and their only instruments are hoes, axes, shovels, and beaks, or pointed iron, to dig with.

Those prisoners which were not sold or redeemed, we kept as slaves: but how different was their condition from that of the slaves in the West Indies! With us, they do no more work than other members of the community, even their master; their food, clothing and lodging were nearly the same as theirs, (except that they were not permitted to eat with those who were free-born;) and there was scarce any other difference between them, than a superior degree of importance which the head of a family possesses in our state, and that authority which, as such, he exercises over every part of his household. Some of these slaves have even slaves under them as their own property, and for their own use.

As to religion, the natives believe that there is one Creator of all things, and that he lives in the sun, and is fitted round with a belt that he may never eat or drink; but, according to some he smokes a pipe, which is our own favorite luxury. They believe he governs events, especially our deaths or captivity; but, as for the doctrine of eternity, I do not remember to have ever heard of it: some, however, believe in the transmigration of souls in a certain degree. Those spirits, which are not transmigrated, such as their dear friends or relations, they believe always attend them, and guard them from the bad spirits or their foes. For this reason they always before eating, as I have observed, put some small portion of the meat, and pour some of their drink, on the ground for them; and they often make oblations of the blood of beasts or fowls at their graves. . .

I have before remarked that the natives of this part of Africa are extremely clean. This necessary habit of decency, was with us a part of religion, and therefore we had many purifications and washings. . . . Every woman, too, at certain times was forbidden to come into a dwelling-house, or touch any person, or any thing we eat. I was so fond of my mother I could not keep from her, or avoid touching her at some of those periods, in consequence of which I was obliged to be kept out with her, in a little house made for that purpose, till offering was made, and then we were purified.

Though we had no places of public worship, we had priests and magicians, or wise men. I do not remember whether they had different officers, or whether they were united

in the same persons, but they were held in great reverence by the people. — They calculated our time, and foretold events, as their name imported, or we called the Ah-affoe-way-cah, which signifies calculators or yearly men, our year being called Ah-affoe. They wore their beards, and when they died, they were succeeded by their sons. Most of their implements and things of value were interred along with them. Pipes and tobacco were also put into the grave with the corpse, which was always perfumed and ornamented, and animals were offered in sacrifice to them. None accompanied their funerals, but those of the same profession or tribe. They buried them after sunset, and always returned from the grave by a different way from that which they went.

These magicians were also our doctors or physicians. They practiced bleeding by cupping; and were very successful in healing wounds and expelling poisons. . . .

. . . My father, besides many slaves, had a numerous family, of which seven lived to grow up, including myself and a sister, who was the only daughter. As I was the youngest of the sons, I became, of course, the greatest favorite of my mother, and was always with her; and she used to take particular pains to form my mind. I was trained up from my earliest years in the art of war: my daily exercise was shooting and throwing javelins; and my mother adorned me with emblems, after the manner of our greatest warriors. In this way I grew up till I was turned the age of eleven, when an end was put to my happiness in the following manner: . . . One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as usual, and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment seized us both, and, without giving us time to cry out, or make resistance, they stopped our mouths, and ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands, and continued to carry us as far as a small house, where the robbers halted for refreshment, and spent the night...my sister and I were then separated, while we lay clasped in each other's arms...At length, after many days travelling, during which I had often changed masters, I got into the hands of a chieftain, in a very pleasant country. This man had two wives and some children, and they all used me extremely well, and did all they could to comfort me; particularly the first wife, who was something like my mother. . . .at the end of six or seven months after I had been kidnaped, I arrived at the sea coast . . . The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast, was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror, when I was carried on board. I was immediately handled, and tossed up to see if I were sound, by some of the crew; and I was not persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me...When I looked round the ship too, and saw a large furnace of copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejections and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate.

The Life of Olaudah Equiano. . ., Negro Universities Press, NY, 1969, reprint of 1837 edition, pp. 9-11, 13-15, 17-18, 20-21, 23-24, 30-33, 42-43.

[Journal of an English traveler to Virginia in 1732]

[1732] *The Negroes are all Slaves brought in or born here. I have been on board 2 Ships from Guinea and Angolo. One had near 500 Negroes. The men are Stowed before the*

foremast, then the Boys between that and the mainmast, the Girls next, and the grown Women behind the Missen. The Boyes and Girles [were] all Stark naked; so Were the greatest part of the Men and Women. Some had beads about their necks, arms, and Wasts, and a ragg or Peice of leather the bigness of a figg Leafe.

"The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove," edited by Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler, III, The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 85, p. 31.

B. Virginia Slave Family Life

[Schoepf came to America in 1779 as a German surgeon to Hessians in British army and traveled extensively in Virginia in 1783]

[1783-1784] However, small spots are to be found here and there which are always dry, and these have often been used as places of safety by runaway slaves, who have lived many years in the swamp, despite all the snares set for them by their masters, even if planters living near-by, for they are chary of going in.

Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation: 1783-1784, (originally published 1788) New York: Burt Franklin, 1968, pp. 99-100.

[Stratford 18th of Feb 1743/4] The Coarse Cotton, I sent by Bowman, was design'd for blankets for my Negroes: there must be four yards and a half for each Blanket. They that have not two bankets [sic] already, that is one tollerable old one and one pretty good one, must have what is wanting to make it up, 4½ yards in a blanket. And every one of the workers, must have a Good suit of the Welch Plains made as it should be, not too scanty not bobtail'd, and Each must have Two shirts or shifts, of the Ozenbrigs, and Each of the Children must have a Coat of Worser Cotton, of Plaiding, or Virginia Cloth; and two shirts or shifts of Ozenbrigs, and the workers must Each of them have summer suits of the Brown Rolls. And all the workers must have Good strong shoes & stockings: and they that go after the creatures or much in the Wet, must have two pair of shoes. Bess, Winny, Nan, Hannah, and Frank, must have their shifts, and Linen Petticoats, and their Children's Linen, Cut out and thread and needles given them, and they must make them themselves; and they must not be cut too scanty, not bobtail'd. The rest of the folks, must have their Linen made by somebody that will make it as it should be. And you must get a Taylor to make their woolen Cloths strong, & well. And all must be done in good time; and not for the Winter to be half over before they get their winter Cloths, and the summer to be half over before they get their summer Cloths; as the Common Virginia fashion is.

Letter Book of Joseph Ball, 1743-1780 (M-21)

On large plantations [ca. 1725-1750] "a Negro Quarter, is a Number of Huts or Hovels, built some Distance from the Mansion-House; where the Negroes reside with their Wives and Families, and cultivate at vacant Times the little Spots allow'd them."

Allan Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., Volume 35, p. 247.

[June 16, 1774] RUN away . . . from the Subscriber, a Negro Man named BACCHUS . . . He formerly belonged to Doctor George Pitt of Williamsburg, and I imagine is gone there under Pretence of my sending him upon Business, as I have frequently heretofore done. . . is well acquainted with the lower Parts of the Country, having constantly rode with me for some Years past, and has been used to waiting from his Infancy.

Gabriel Jones.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), June 30, 1774 in Lathan A. Windley, comp., Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Vol. 1: Virginia and North Carolina. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983, pp. 149-150.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[August 2, 1778] No longer ago than last night when that hell born Coachman Ben was getting a pass to go to Capt. Ball's at which place he pretends he has a wife.

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, vol. 2 (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1987), p. 1139.

[Excerpts from an English traveler's interview with an elderly slave. Bracketed text is taken from footnotes. For a complete version, see the rare book or the transcript in the Foundation Library]

As I considered old Dick a much greater philosopher . . . I always put him upon talking about himself, and one evening when he came to see me, I desired he would relate to me the story of his life.

STORY OF DICK THE NEGRO.

"I was born at a plantation on the Rappahannoc River. It was the pulling of corn time, when' Squire Musgrove was Governor of Virginia. I have no mixed blood in my veins; I am no half and half breed; no chesnut-sorrel of a mulatto; but my father and mother both came over from Guinea.

When I was old enough to work, I was put to look after the horses; . . .

'Squire Sutherland had a son who rode every fall to look at a plantation on James River, which was under the care of an overseer. Young master could not go without somebody on another horse to carry his saddle-bags, and I was made his groom.

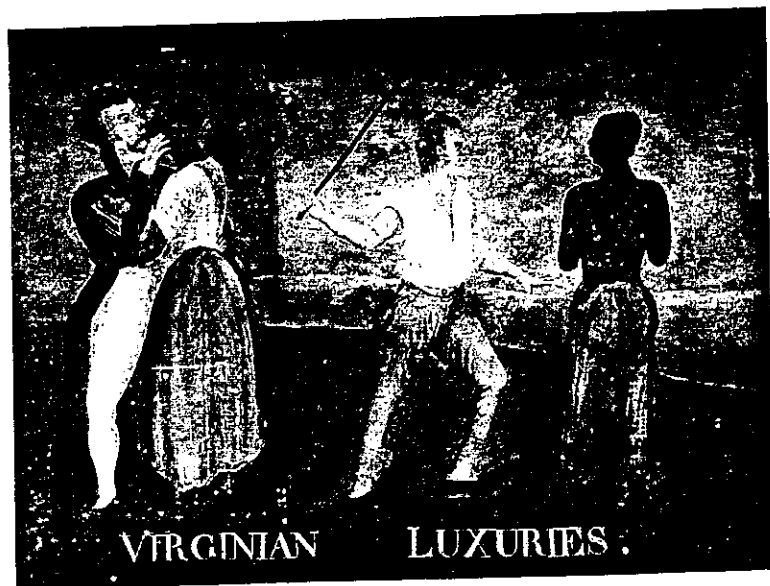
This young chap, Sir, (here Dick winked his left eye,) was a trimmer. The first thing he did on getting out of bed was to call for a Julep; * [A dram of spirituous liquor that has mint steeped in it, taken by Virginians of a morning.] and I honestly date my own love of whiskey, from mixing and tasting my young master's Juleps. But this was not all. He was always upon the scent after game, and mighty ficious when he got among the negur wenches. He used to say that a likely negur wench was fit to be a Queen; and I forget how many Queens he had among the girls on two plantations.

My young master was a mighty one for music, and he made me learn to play the Banger. [A kind of rude Guitar.] I could soon tune it sweetly, and of a moonlight night he would set me to play, and the wenches to dance. My young master him-self could shake a desperate foot at the fiddle; there was nobody what could face him at a Congo Minuet; but Pat Hickory could tire him at a Virginia Jig.

The young 'Squire did not live long. He was for a short life and a merry one. He was killed by a drunken negur man, who found him over-ficious with his wife. The negur man was hanged alive upon a gibbet. . . .

The old Gentleman took on to grieve mightily at the death of his son; he wished that he had sent him to Britain for his education; but after-wit is of no use; and he followed his son to that place where master and man, planter and slave, must all at last lie down together.

The plantation and negurs now fell to the lot of a second son, who had gone to Edinburgh to learn the trade of a Doctor. He was not like 'Squire Tommy; he seemed to be carved out of different wood. The first thing he did on his return from Britain, was to free all the old negur people on the plantation, and settle each on a patch of land. He tended the sick himself, gave them medicine, healed their wounds, and encouraged every man, woman and child to go to a Meeting-house, that every Sunday was opened between our plantation and Fredericksburgh. Every thing took a change. The young wenches, who, in Master Tommy's time, used to put on their drops, and their bracelets, and ogle their



Exploitation of slaves was rampant because the enslaved had no control over any aspect of their lives, including their bodies. (93-46-97)

eyes, now looked down like modest young women, and carried their gewgaws in their pockets till they got clear out of the woods. He encouraged matrimony on the plantation by settling each couple in a log-house, on a wholesome patch of land; hired a schoolmaster to teach the children, and to every one that could say his letters gave a Testament with cuts. This made me bold to marry, and I looked out sharp for a wife. I had before quenched my thirst at any dirty puddle; but a stream that I was to drink at constant, I thought should be pure, -- and I made my court to a wholesome girl, who had never bored her ears, and went constantly to Meeting.

She was daughter to old Solomon the Carter, and by moon-light I used to play my banger under her window, and sing a Guinea Lovesong that my mother has taught me. But I found there was another besides myself whose mouth watered after the fruit. Cuffey, one of the Crop Hands, came one night upon the same errand. I am but a little man, and Cuffey was above my pitch; for he was six foot two inches high, with a chew of tobacco clapped above that. But I was not to be scared because he was a big man, and I was a little one; I carried a good heart, and a good heart is every thing in love.

Cuffey, says I, what part of the plan is you acting? Does you come after Sall? May be, says he, I does. Then, says I, here's have at you boy; and I reckoned to fix him by getting the finger of one hand into his ear, and the knuckles of the other into his eye.* [This is what is called Gouging.] But the whore-son was too strong for me, and after knocking me down upon the grass, he began to stomp upon me, and ax me if I had yet got enough. But Dick was not to be scared; and getting his great toe into my mouth, I bit it off and swallowed it. Cuffey now let go his hold, and it was my turn to ax Cuffey if he had got enough. Cuffey told me he had, and I walked away to the Quarter. . . .

My master the next day heard of my battle with Cuffey. . . .and sold me to a Georgia man for two hundred dollars. My new master was the devil. He made me travel with him hand-cuffed to Savannah; where he disposed of me to a tavern-keeper for three hundred dollars.

I was the only man-servant in the tavern, and I did the work of half a dozen. I went to bed at midnight, and was up an hour before sun. I looked after the horses, waited at table, and worked like a new negur. But I got plenty of spirits, and that I believe helped me.

The war now broke out, and in one single year I changed masters a dozen times. But I knowed I had to work, and one master to me was just as good as another. When the war ended, I was slave to 'Squire Fielding, at Annapolis, in Maryland. I was grown quite steady, and I married a house-servant, who brought me a child every year. I have altogether had three wives, and am the father of twelve children; begot in lawful wedlock; but this you shall hear.

My wife dying of a flux, I was left to the management of my children; but my master soon saved me that trouble, for directly they were strong enough to handle a hoe, he sold the boys to Mr. Randolph of Fairfax, and the girls to 'Squire Barclay of Port Tobacco. It was a hard trial to part with my little ones, for I loved them like a father; but there was no help for it, and it was the case of thousands besides myself.

When a man has been used to a wife, he finds it mighty lonesome to be without one; so I married a young girl who lived house-servant to a tavern-keeper at Elk Ridge Landing.

It is a good twenty-five miles from Annapolis to the Landing-place; but a negur never tire when he go to see his sweetheart, and after work on Saturday night I would start for Elk Ridge, and get to my wife before the supper was put away. . . .

I was not perfectly satisfied with my new wife; I had some suspicion that she gave her company, when I was away, to a young mulatto fellow; but as her children were right black, I was not much troubled. I never could bear the sight of a mulatto; they are made up of craft. They are full of impudence, and will tell a black man that the Devil is a negur; but I believe one colour is as much akin to him as another.

I did not keep to my second wife long; she was a giddy young goose, fond of dress. She wore a ruffled smock; and on a Sunday put on such sharp-toed shoes, that the points of them would have knocked out a mosquito's eye. If her children had not been right black and right ugly like myself, I should have suspected her vartue long before I had a real cause.

I had made Dinah a present of a little lap-foist; a right handsome dog as you would see; and one Saturday, at negur day-time, [A cant term among the negroes for night; they being then at leisure.] a mile before I got to Elk Ridge, the little foist came running up to me. Hie! thought I, Dinah must be gadding, and looking forward I saw a man and a woman run across the main-road into the woods. I made after them, but I was getting in years, and a walk of twenty miles had made my legs a little stiff. So after cursing till my blood boiled like a pitch-pot, I walked on to the tavern.*

I found Dinah in the kitchen; but the mulatto fellow was not there. She ran to me, and fell on my neck. I hove her off. Begone girl, says I; no tricks upon Travellers. Dick in his old age is not to be made a fool of. Did not I see you, with Paris, Mr. Jackson's mulatto: Lack a daisy, Dick, says she, I have not stirred out of the house. I swear point blank I have not. I would kiss the bible, and take my blessed oath of it! – Nor the foist either! says I. Get you gone, you hussey, I will seek a new wife. And so saying I went up stairs, made her gowns, and her coats and her smocks into a bundle, took the drops out of her ears, and the shoes off her feet, and walked out of the kitchen.

I trudged home the same night. It troubled me to be tricked by a young girl, but it was some satisfaction to know that I had stripped her of all her cloathing. Fine feathers makes fine birds; and I laughed to think how she would look next Sunday; for I had left her nothing but a home-spun suit that she had put on when she got back. . . .

My master at Annapolis being made a bankrupt, there was an execution lodged against his negurs. I was sent to Alexander, [Alexandria.] and knocked down at vendue to old 'Squire Kegworth. I was put to work at the hoe, I was up an hour before sun, and worked naked till after dark. I had no food but Homony, and for fifteen months did not put a morsel of any meat in my mouth, but the flesh of a possum or a racoon that I killed in the woods. This was rather hard for an old man, but I knowed there was no help for it.

'Squire Kegworth was a wicked one; he beat Master Tommy. He would talk of setting us free; you are not, he would say, Slaves for life, but only for ninety-nine years. The 'Squire was never married; but an old negur-woman kept house, who governed both him and the plantation.

Hard work would not have hurt me, but I could never get any liquor. This was

desperate, and my only comfort was the stump of an old pipe that belonged to my first wife. This was a poor comfort without a little drap of whiskey now and dan; and I was laying a plan to run away, and travel through the wilderness of Kentucky, when the old 'Squire died.

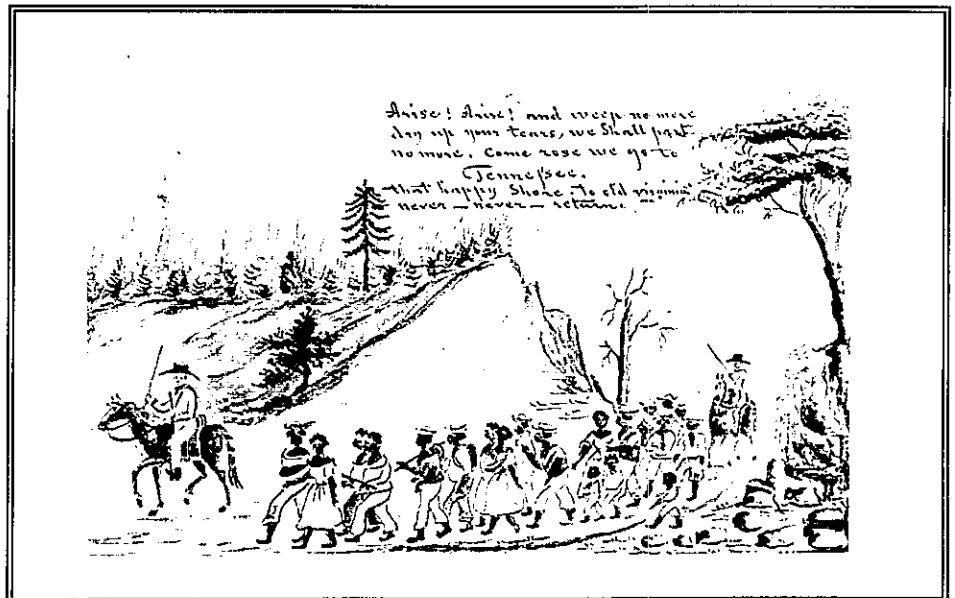
I was now once more put up at vendue, and as good luck would have it, I was bid for by 'Squire Ball. Nobody would bid against him because my head was grey, my back covered with stripes, and I was lame of the left leg by the malice of an overseer who stuck a pitchfork into my ham. But 'Squire Ball knowed I was trusty; and though self praise is no praise, he has not a negur on the plantation that wished him better than I; or a young man that would work for him with a more willing heart.

There is few masters like the 'Squire. He has allowed me to build a log-house, and take in a patch of land, where I raise corn and water Melions.* [Dick's log-hut was not unpleasantly situated. He had built it near a spring of clear water, and defended it from the sun by an awning of boughs. It was in Mr. Ball's peach-orchard. A cock that never strayed from his cabin served him instead of a time-keeper; and a dog that lay always before his door was an equivalent for a lock. With his cock and his dog, Dick lived in the greatest harmony; . . . I look after the cows, dig in the garden, beat out the flax, curry-comb the riding nag, cart all the wood, tote [Tote is the American for to carry] the wheat to the mill, and bring all the logs to the school-house."

John Davis, TRAVELS OF FOUR YEARS AND A HALF IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; DURING 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, AND 1802. London, 1803. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, pp. 378-389.

C. Kinship and Families

How frequently masters sold or bequeathed their Afro-American slaves and where they sent them affected black household composition. Three points seem clear. First, planters kept women and their small children together but did not keep husbands and teenage children with their immediate family. Slave owner after slave owner bequeathed women and their increase to sons or daughters. However, children of Chesapeake



Slave Families traveled great distances to see family members but removal from one colony to another often meant that family members never saw each other again. (78-DW-2817)

slave owners tended to live near their parents. Thus, even when members of slave families were so separated, they remained in the same neighborhood. Second, slaves who lived on small farms were separated from their families more frequently than those on large plantations. At their death small slave owners typically willed a slave or two to the widow and to each child. They also frequently mortgaged or sold slaves to gain capital. If a slaveowner died with many unpaid debts, his slaves had to be sold. Finally, relatively few slaves were forced to move long distances. More slaves were affected by migration from the Chesapeake region to the new Southwest in the nineteenth century than by long-distance movement in the region before the Revolution. These points should not be misunderstood. Most slaves who lived in Maryland or Virginia during the eighteenth century experienced forced separation from members of their immediate family sometime in their lives, and about twenty-six thousand tidewater slaves (a quarter of all the region's slaves) were forced to move to Piedmont or to the valley of Virginia between 1755 and 1782, usually over such long distances that they could no longer see their kindred. More than two-thirds of all of tidewater's slaves, however, probably lived close enough to visit most family members.

... Slave families in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake were often unstable, but African-Americans learned to cope with displacement and separation from kindred with some success. Slaves created flexible kinship networks that permitted slaves to adjust to separation. Most slaves were either members of a kin-based household or could call upon kindred on their own or nearby quarters for aid and encouragement. A girl who grew up in a two-parent household on a large plantation, for instance, might be sold in her teens to a small planter, marry a slave from a neighboring farm, and raise her children with minimal help from her husband. She would have learned about alternative child-rearing methods from playmates whose fathers lived elsewhere and would have been familiar with the nocturnal movement of men to visit their families. Her husband's kindred could provide some help and friendship if they lived nearby. If she longed for her old home, she could run away and visit, knowing that kindred and friends would hide her from the whites.

In sum . . . slave kinship networks provided Afro-Americans with an alternative system of status and authority and thereby set outside limits to exploitation by the master. A slave had not only a place in the plantation work hierarchy, mostly determined by the master, but a position within his kin group. Slave culture and religion developed within this system: blacks participated as kindred at work and in song, dance, celebrations, prayer, and revivals at home.

Kulikoff, Allan. Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1986, pp. 359 and 380.

Faced with economic crisis in 1769, the Virginia planter Bernard Moore devised a lottery scheme to raise cash. His slave assets included the twenty-two-year-old forgerman Billy and his wife Lucy, a young wench "who works exceedingly well in the house and field"; the thirty-year-old blacksmith Caesar, Nanny his wife and their young daughter Nell; the sawyer Robin, his wife Bella, and their young daughters, . . . the mulatto house servant

and mantuamaker Sarah and her child; Eve ('used to both the house and plough') and her child; and the 'gang leader' York, his wife and their child.

. . . After Robert Carter, who believed in "moderate correction in every case," listened to a slave mother's complaint that the overseer had whipped her son, he felt that "in the present case' the overseer should have made 'allowances for the feelings of a Mother."

Gutman, Herbert G. The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750-1925. Vintage Books/Random House, New York: 1976. pp. 345-346.

Even as Black culture survived, adapted or was recreated in the New World, social organizations such as the family survived despite the assault inflicted under the exigencies of slavery. Families were often separated through sales. The Black woman was abused sexually by the men on the plantation . . .

The family, notwithstanding the deleterious effect of slavery whereby masters could separate couples and the authority of the master nullified parental authority, remained an important part of slave community life. Recent discussion of evidence from narratives and correspondence of slaves suggests that the family was crucial as a sustaining force for survival in slavery. As the historian John Blassingame put it:

The family, while it had no legal existence in slavery, was in actuality one of the most important survival mechanisms for the slave. In his family he found companionship, love, sexual gratification, sympathetic understanding of his sufferings...The important thing was not that the family was not recognized legally or that masters frequently encouraged monogamous mating arrangements in the quarters only when it was convenient to do so, but rather that some form of family life did exist among slaves.

At times, slave owners encouraged strong family discipline and stability, feeling that such cohesion among the slaves lessened the chance of individuals running away from the plantations. Thus, far from being crushed by the experience of slavery, Blacks created societies and institutions that helped them cope with their conditions in the Americas.

Reynolds, Edward. Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Allison & Busby, London, 1895. pp. 121-122.

[About one-third of the slaves, advertised as runaways in about 1500 notices in Williamsburg, Richmond, and Fredricksburg newspapers between 1736 and 1801, ran away to join family members according to historian, Gerald Mullin in Flight and Rebellion. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. p. 109]

Run away, last December, from the said [John] GREENHOW, an old Negro man named HARRY, by trade a cooper; he did belong to Col. Moseley of Princess Anne, and lived many years at Hampton, where he has children. It is supposed he is either about Hampton, Norfolk, or Newtown. He is a sly thief, few locks or doors will turn him, and is seldom long in a place before he puts his ingenuity in practice. Whoever conveys him to me shall be paid as the law directs. He is outlawed.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 11 April 1766. p. 4.

D. Work and Gender Roles

As I learned more about them, I realized the wide variety of children's work: they thinned corn, weeded potato patches, fed the hen, carried water, set tables, waited at table, gathered feathers, ran errands, and were companions, sometimes friends, for young white boys and girls. . . In other social spaces women held, fed, suckled, changed, bathed, told stories to, or rocked the master's children to sleep. Black women washed, ironed, mended, sewed, dusted, made candles and soaps, stocked the cellar and storerooms, swept and scrubbed floors and took out garbage. Some were healers; the Calvert family records reveal how their sons and daughters were born with the help of African-American midwives. The English ideal for slave behavior throughout much of the social space in colonial homes was for slaves to work quietly if not invisibly.

Elsewhere, dishes had to be washed and copper kettles cleaned; often women worked together: "shucking corn, snapping beans, shelling peas, kneading dough, mending and hemming, folding cloths," talking and assisting one another as they did so. Kitchen boys and girls worked under the baker, the cook, the butler; more children ran errands. Some were involved in presentation duties which put them on public display so that their demeanor was especially important as was their ability to anticipate the needs of their master and mistress (e.g., Benedict Leonard's boy, Osmyn). Slave women also spun, knitted, pickled fruit, went to market, gossiped, and became pregnant.

. . . Black feminists point out that slave women worked the longest of all; after a day in the fields that began before sun-up - hoeing, raking, shoveling, mucking out stalls, slaughtering animals, cutting wood and clearing bush, weeding, planting, and harvesting - they still cooked and cared for their families, laundered, made clothes, wove fish nets, hushed a child, rubbed away its aches and pains or soothed its soul.

Yentsch, Anne Elizabeth. A Chesapeake family and their slaves: A study in historical archaeology. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1994. pp. 173, 187, 176..

RUN away from the Subscriber, in York County, the 7th Instant (June) a small Mulatto Wench about fifteen Years old, named Sall who took with her all her Wearing and Bed Clothes, amongst which were several Dutch Blankets. There went off with her, as her Husband, a Mulatto Fellow belonging to John Hatley Norton, Esq; and as they were seen to go by Colonel Harwood's Mill, I have Reason to believe they are lurking about Williamsburg or Jamestown. Whoever secures the said Wench, so that I get her again, shall have 20s.

PHILIP DEDMAN

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 16 June 1774, p. 3.

Hobb's Hole, June 6, 1769

RUN away from the subscriber, on the second of May last, a Negro boy named BILLY, about 16 years old, a likely, stout, well made lad, and not very black: Had on, when he

went away, a brown cloth coat, with red sleeves and collar, and green plains waistcoat and breeches. He was seen in Richmond county; going upwards with one David Randolph, a cooper by trade, who ran away from this town about the same time. He is a stout well made fellow; and had on a blue lappell'd serge coat, with yellow buttons, a blue and white striped waistcoat, (which appear'd to be country made) and leather breeches: He had other clothes with him, and some coopers tools: He work'd some time ago at Mr. James Hunter's; but I am inform'd he serv'd his time in Philadelphia, and am apprehensive he will carry the boy to Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and sell him. Whoever takes up the said boy, and secures him, so that I may get him again, shall receive FIVE POUNDS, if taken in the colony; if out of the colony, TEN POUNDS.

JOHN BROCKENBROUGH

Virginia Gazette (Rind), June 15, 1769. p. 3.

Let the Negroes have Good Warm Clothing, and in Time: and let Each Bed have a Good New Cotton Blanket of Two Breadths, and Two yards & a Quarter long; they catch their Deaths for want of Good Covering a nights. I would send proper Things, but for fear of their being taken this War time.

Let Israel have a Good warm Kersy Coat besides a Wastecoat.

Letter from Joseph Ball in England to Joseph Chinn in Virginia, October 22, 1756 Letter Book of Joseph Ball, 1750-1759, Original in the Library of Congress, microfilm in the Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[Journal of an English traveler to Virginia in 1732]

. . . the Negroes at the Better publick houses [in Williamsburg] must not Wait on you unless in Clean shirts and Drawers and feet Washed.

"The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove," edited by Gregory A Stevenson and Patrick H. Butler, III, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 85, p. 22.

E. Black and White Interactions and Slave Discipline

Like many other slaveowners, like some of his own ancestors, George Calvert had another family. We can be sure of at least one slave mistress, and he probably had others. There were children from his liaisons, and Calvert, a man not given to freeing his slaves, set them free. There is no evidence that Rosalie knew of his relationships with his female slaves; certainly she never mentioned anything of the sort in her letters. It is difficult to imagine, however, that she did not know. Her slaves knew, and for a number of years Calvert's wife and his mistress lived on the same plantation.

George Calvert's relationship with his slave mistress, Eleanor Beckett, began long before he met Rosalie Stier. After his father's death in 1788, George, age twenty, became master of Mount Albion plantation, and there he spent a long bachelorhood, not marrying Rosalie until he was thirty-one. At Mount Albion Calvert began his affair with Eleanor Beckett. Evidently the relationship became emotional as well as sexual, for eventually he freed her, his children by her, and other members of her family as well. After his own marriage, he arranged a suitable marriage for Eleanor. When she was widowed, he

moved her and her family to Montgomery County and made costly arrangements for their well-being. Like his Lord Baltimore ancestors, he did not deny his illegitimate offspring or the woman who had borne them.

There are only fragments of information about Eleanor Beckett. Apparently she was an Indian-Negro mulatto belonging to the Calverts, and sometimes she was called Charlotte, sometimes Nellie. Her first child with George Calvert was probably Anne, born in 1790, and the second was Carolina, born in 1793. Both used the Calvert surname in later years. Three more children came along to Eleanor -- Cyrus, Charlotte, and John. They were also probably George's children, but we cannot be sure, and we do not know what surname they used.

The legal record begins in 1801 when, two years after his marriage to Rosalie, George Calvert freed ten of his slaves, including "Charlotte" Beckett and her five children, Anne, Caroline, Cyrus, Charlotte, and John. In 1822, soon after Rosalie died, George Calvert returned to court to clarify the record, explaining that the "Charlotte Beckett" he had freed twenty years before had been "christened" as "Eleanor Beckett" and reaffirming that she and all her children were forever free.

It was difficult in Maryland for manumitted blacks to maintain their free status, and evidently people were raising questions, because Calvert kept returning to the court to reaffirm the freedom of Eleanor and her children. In 1824, Calvert thought it necessary to repeat the manumission of Eleanor Beckett's second daughter, Caroline, age 31, along with her seven children -- his own grandchildren -- George, age 11; Caroline Elizabeth, 9; John Henry, 8; Henrietta Maria, 6; Thomas Adolphus, 5; Marietta, 2; and Richard, one month.

We can wonder about his thoughts as he freed the grandchild apparently named for him by his mulatto daughter who herself bore the same name as his first-born daughter by Rosalie. The following year he reaffirmed the manumission of Eleanor's first daughter, Anne, then age 35, and her six children: Theophilus, 11; Louisa, 10; Lucian, 8; John, 6; George Washington, 5; and Lucretia, 2.

A remarkable family account, handed down through four generations and published in 1927 by Nellie Arnold Plummer, a black great-granddaughter of Eleanor Beckett, supplements the legal record. Nellie Arnold Plummer descended from one of Eleanor Beckett's later children, after Eleanor lived with an Englishman named William Norris. Nellie Arnold Plummer recounted the family memoir:

Nellie [Eleanor] Beckett, an Indian-Negro mulatto, a slave of the Calverts, married William Norris, an Englishman, who had to serve Calvert for seven years for debt. On finding that his wife was bearing children for Calvert as well as his own, noting his helplessness to correct matters, he died of a broken heart. Norris, with Philip Brashears and two apprentices, made all the shoes worn on the Riverdale [sic] plantation. Norris had two sisters who accompanied him to America. The sisters went to Montgomery County, Maryland, while their brother's time was bought by George Calvert, Riverdale [sic], Prince George's

County, Maryland. The Calvert children of Nellie Beckett-Norris were so white that they were sent to Pennsylvania to live. From there Caroline, who had become Mrs. Crompton [sic], took her children and her six sisters to Monrovia, Liberia, Africa, with other mulattos who wished to be free.

No record remains of William Norris's bondage to George Calvert or his service at Riversdale, but a link between the two men exists in the record of George Calvert's manumissions. In 1822 Calvert freed two young mulatto women, Charlotte and Sophia Norris, both born about 1803. Several years later, Calvert freed Matilda Norris, a "bright mulatto" born about 1805. These could have been Eleanor Beckett's daughters by William Norris or by Calvert while she was living with Norris. In 1827 Calvert freed a mulatto male named William Beckett, about twenty-one, perhaps another of Eleanor's children.

In all, George Calvert freed thirty-three slaves during his lifetime. Twenty-nine of these bore surnames or are identifiable by family group, and twenty-three were members of the Beckett-Norris family.

Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. Edited and translated by Margaret Law Callcott, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991, pp. 379-381.

[John] Custis's 1748 letter to [his son] Daniel brought a very special slave into the picture. Generally held to be the planter's natural son, his "dear black boy Jack" was inordinately important to the elderly man, who was plainly willing to express to Daniel this emotional tie. Besides the deed of manumission also given here, Jack received a significant bequest from Custis, who included both plans for a house and details about its furnishings among his arrangements for the boy's future." (Footnote: "*And whereas by my deed of Manumission recorded in the county Court of York I have freed and set at liberty my negro boy Christened John otherwise called Jack born of the body of my slave Alice Now I do hereby ratify and confirm the said deed of manumission unto the said John otherwise called Jack . . . and I hereby strictly require that as soon as possible after my decease my executor build on the land I bought of James Morris Scituate near the head of Queen's Creek in the county of York for the use of the said John otherwise called Jack a handsome strong convenient dwelling house according to the dimensions I shall direct and a plan thereof drawn by my said friend John Blair Esquire and that it be compleatly finished within side and without and when the house is compleatly furnished with one dozen high Russia leather chairs one dozen low Russia leather chairs a Russia leather couch good and strong three good feather beds bedsteads and furniture and two good black walnut tables I desire that the house fencing and other appurtenances belong to the said plantation be kept in good repair and so delivered to the said negro John otherwise called Jack when he shall arrive to the age of twenty years I also give him when he shall arrive to that age a good riding horse and two able working horses...I also give [Mrs. Anne Moody] the picture of my said negro boy John otherwise called Jack It is my will and I desire that my said negro boy John otherwise called Jack live with my son until he be twenty years of age and that he be handsomely maintained out of the profits of my estate given him [typescript copy of Custis's will, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; copy of the will, probated 1750 in James City County, Custis Family Papers].*

. . . I wish you would determine to come down often, wch I am sure would bee very much to your advantage, besides my satisfaction the Jorny is nothing, to A young man; my dear black boy Jack [is] [ms.mutilated] sick; wch make me very melacholly; and if please God [h]e [ms. mutilated] should do otherwise than well, I am sure I should soon follow him; it would break my heart, and bring my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave my lif being wrapt up in his; . . .

Zuppan, Jo. Father To Son: Letters from John Custis IV to Daniel Parke Custis. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 98, pp.. 87-89 quotes from Custis' 3 February 1747/8 letter to his son.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[Jan.30 1774] This Evening the Negroes collected themselves into the School-Room, & began to play the Fiddle, & dance—I was in Mr Randolph's Room;—I went among them, Ben, & Harry were of the company—Harry was dancing with his Coat off—I dispersed them however immediately. . . .

[February 4 –This Evening, in the School-Room, which is below my Chamber, several Negroes & Ben, & Harry are playing on a Banjo & dancing!

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg : University Press of Virginia, 1957. p. 62

[Betsy Braxton (born 1759) visited her aunt Ann Blair in Williamsburg who wrote to Betsy's mother about her activities]

I do not observe her to be fond of Negroes Company any now nor have I heard latly of any bad Word's chief of our Quarrel's is for eating of those Green Aples in our Garden, & not keeping the Head smooth. I have had Hair put on Miss Dolly, but find it is not in my power of complying with my promise in giving her silk for a Sacque & Coat, some of our pretty Gang, broke open a Trunk in my absense—and has stolen several thing's and of wch. the Silk makes a part—so immagine Bettsey will petition you for some.

Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, & Whiting Papers, 1765-1890. Original in the College of William and Mary. Transcripts in the Colonial Williamsburg Library. Anne Blair, 21 August 1769, to her sister, Mary Braxton.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[June 4, 1773] Yesterday, Billy Beale finding fault with Fork Jamy's slovenly weeding corn was answered a little impudently which obliged him to give him a few licks with a switch across his Shoulders, on which the fellow turned upon him and Beale had a fair box with him; and then had him brought up; I enquired into it, and made Selfe frighten him with a gentle correction for his being so impudent; but it seems nothing scared him, and he told the overseer he should not whip him without my orders. I did not hear this and ordered him to work, but he returned saying his Stomach pained him so much he could not work. As we have had all the year bilious Complaints about I ordered him a vomit which cleared a very foul Stomach.

This morning he said he could not move he was so bad, but finding no fever I ordered him out or expect a whipping; he pretended he could not move, but could run away and is nowhere to be found. I suppose as usual he is turned freeman and gave off as he

did before. A most passionate lazy rascal, and I always find he is more as he works abroad, for the people treat him so much like a gentleman, that he can't fancy himself otherwise when he gets home.

[September 18, 1770] left Nassau at home to attend Mr. Carter just taken with a lax. But I was surprized he would not let the boy Ben that waited upon me ride the bald face horse, Pretending the horse ran away with him. . . He kept this horse to ride out for a drunk;

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, vol. 1 (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1987), pp. 491-492 and Vol. 2, p. 754.

F. Social Events

A series of eighteenth-century accounts reveal that slaves drew together to dance, wrestle, drink, eat, sing, chant, and conduct heady conversation in all the African dialects they understood. At these gatherings, men played banjos, fiddles, flutes and horns, beat drums, and kept time with bone rattles. This is why the English used the word "tumultuous" (i.e., "full of commotion; marked by confusion and uproar; disorderly and noisy; violent and clamorous") to refer to the socializing. African-Americans today might speak of it in terms of *gumbo ya ya*. These social events are recorded at Philadelphia (before 1693), New Orleans, Charleston, Norfolk, every town in the West Indies, and assuredly took place in Annapolis. . . . In Virginia, Governor Spotswood found such expressions of African values and the sight of Africans at play unnerving. Not able to understand everything that was being said (and the messages were multiple), he wrote that "tumultuous meetings" were social arenas for planning revenge and urged Maryland governor to join with Virginians and enact legislation outlawing them.

Yentsch, Anne Elizabeth. A Chesapeake family and their slaves: A study in historical archaeology. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1994. p. 178.

[An active loyalist during the Revolution in Virginia and Maryland, Smyth returned to England in 1783]

[ca. 1784] But instead of retiring to rest, as might naturally be concluded he would be glad to do, he generally sets out from home, and walks six or seven miles in the night, be the weather ever so sultry, to a Negroe dance, in which he performs with astonishing agility, and the most vigorous exertions, keeping time and cadence, most exactly, with the music of a banjo (a large hollow instrument with three strings), and a quaqua (somewhat resembling a drum), until he exhausts himself, and scarcely has time, or strength, to return home before the hour he is called forth to toil next morning.

John F.D. Smyth, A Tour in the United States of America (Dublin, 1784), Vol. 1. pp. 27-28.

G. Family Records and Naming Patterns

Three Allen [a North Carolina family] slaves born between 1745 and 1748- Jack, Peter, and Dublin- were named for their slave fathers, and Sabrina's second child, born in 1759,

was named for her slave maternal grandmother, Juno. . . Other mid-eighteenth-century slaves also were named for their slave fathers. In 1757, Landon Carter recovered some 'lost' slaves among them 'Carpenter Ralph's son Ralph, George's boy George and Nassau's son Nassau.

Gutman, Herbert G. The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750-1925. Vintage Books/Random House, New York: 1976, p. 346.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[July 13, 1774] drew off this morning for Dadda Gumby a List of his Children, & their respective ages – He himself is 94 – For this office I had as many Thanks, As I have had blessings before now from a Beggar for Sixpence – Thank you, thank you, thank you Master, was the language of the old Greyheaded pair. – Call on us at any time, you shall have Eggs, Apples, Potatoes – You shall have every thing we can get for you – Master! – In this Torrent of Expressions of Gratitude I was rung to Breakfast; I bow'd to the venerable old Negroes, thank'd them in my Turn for their Offers, & left them. . . .

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg : University Press of Virginia, 1957. p.140.

H. Slave Family Separations

"It was supposed that some misfortune might have been the Consequence if the man had been separated from his wife," explained John Carter after paying forty pounds to purchase a woman and her children separated in a will from their husband and father.

. . . After the carpenter Sam fled and stayed away for a week, he bargained with Robert Carter, who advised the overseer, "Sam thinks it a hard case to be separated from his wife". . . . Another Carter worried about Dennis and his wife Frankey because they lived apart from one another, hoped they were "Constant to each other" and wanted them to live together. He also wanted seventy-one-year-old Payne to live with "his grand Children."

Gutman, Herbert G. The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750-1925. Vintage Books/Random House, New York: 1976, p. 346.

* * *

[Extract of a letter from St. George Tucker to his father. He had lately return to his work in Winchester after a visit to Williamsburg, and had brought a boy, Bob, with him to take the place of Johnny (his valet and groom).]

[Winchester Feb.17th 1804] I enclose a short note from Bob to his mother. Poor little fellow! I was much affected at an incident last night. I was waked from a very sound sleep by a most piteous lamentation. I found it was Bob. I called several times before he waked. "What is the matter, Bob?," "I was dreaming about my mammy Sir"!!! cried he in a melancholy & still distressed tone: "Gracious God!" thought I, "how ought not I to feel, who regarded this child as insensible when compared to those of our complexion." In truth our thoughts had been straying the same way. How finely woven, how delicately sensible must

be those bonds of natural affection which equally adorn the civilized and savage. The American and African-nay the man and the brute! I declare I know not a situation in which I have been lately placed that touched me so nearly as that incident I have just related.
Virginia Silhouettes, edited by Mrs. George P. Coleman. Richmond, VA: Press of the Dietz Printing Co., 1934. pp. 9-10.

[Examples of masters who took steps to bring slave families together]

As Lot's Boy Harry (I believe that is his name) is now deprived of all his Friends & Connections & is of a size & sort to be usefull in a factory he must come down with them & so must Bet's Husband rather than part them unless they mutually agree to part. . . . as Dick is likely be troublesome [sic] I have wrote down to Mrs Burwell for his Wife even at the enormous price of £6 . . . Indeed the maintenance of her [the slave's wife] & Children is considerable more than the Hire of a Negro Fellow.

[Carter also exchanged men between two quarters because] *"the Distance from Coles Point to Dicks Quarter is rather far for a Walker"* [and asked that the slave named Dennis be moved closer to his wife, and that a slave be found to replace him.]

Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-century Virginia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 27-28.

**"JAMES CARTER'S
 ACCOUNT OF HIS
 SUFFERINGS, ETC."
 JULY 16, 1807 -
 CAROLINE COUNTY,
 VIRGINIA**

. . . My Sister Nelly was sold to one Johnson a merchant of Fredy it is true that Johnson is a Speculator but his Greatest Speculation is on human flesh he sold my sister Nelly where I have never heard of her sence my little sister Judy was sent for from my mothers house to be Brought to Bensons Tavern by Mr Landon Carter of Savern Hall who is a son in law of Mrs Lucy Armisteads to be viewed by these Bloodthirsty fellows this Child was a bout 8



The death of a master was a dangerous time for slave families. Most masters kept young children and their mothers together; however, less concern was shown to husbands and wives. (78-DW-2817)

years old and was very much a afraid of them She cried very much my mother and myself beaged Mr Carter not to sell this child out of Fredy he gave us his word and honor that he would not but as soon as we left him he sold the Child to these fellows and Did not let us know of it and as soon as the fellow had got as many as he could conveniently convey a long he came to my mothers house and take the child by its arm and led it of he would not so much as to tell my mother what part the Country he live my mother in this time had got part of the money to purchase the Child we have never heard of the child sence my mother has had 9 children and altho She and Mrs Armistead has been brought up together from little girls she has suffered all my mothers children to be picked from her my mothers family has Served the Family of Mrs Armistead upwards of one Hundred and 30 years my mother is at this time 64 years old and He has just gave her the discharge as she can not be of any service to them my father is 67 years old and I have offerd Mrs Armistead One Hundred Dollars for him and She would not take it as I want him to go and live with my mother . . .

Linda Stanley, ed. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. (1981) pp.. 336-339.

[Example of a master assisting his slave by allowing him the use of a horse]

A servant of ours having come to Gloucester on foot to see his wife, gives me an opportunity of returning your Horse sooner than I expected. How to express the gratitude which fills my bosom on every recollection of your abundant kindness – and great politeness to a poor distressed traveller...Should the Servant, John, reach your house in safety – be so good as to give him the old Horse left with you – and some directions to find the way horne – as he is an entire stranger to every foot of the way.

Letter from Mary Ellis, Severn Hall, 30 July 1799, to Robert Carter, King William County, in Shirley Plantation Papers. Original in the Colonial Williamsburg Library.

I. Slave Experience at Death of Master

[College President James Horrocks had been dead for six months when his father-in-law, Thomas Everard, wrote this letter expressing concern that because Horrocks died without having left a will, his daughter had not received her full inheritance as a wife]

[September 21, 1772] I wrote you by Capt Goosley requesting the favour of your Assistance in behalf of Mrs. Horrocks to come to some terms with her brother in Law for his right to the Slaves which lately belonged to Mr. Horrocks. –Whatever success you may have in this Matter I shall be glad to be advised of as soon as possible that I may satisfie the poor Negros what is to become of them as they are very unwilling to part with their Mistress.

Frances Norton Mason, ed., John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1937), pp. 273-274. Thomas Everard, 21 September. 1772, to John Norton in London.

TO BE SOLD, on WEDNESDAY the 3^d of JANUARY next, at the Dwelling-House of the late Mr. JOHN PRENTIS, ALL the HOUSEHOLD and KITCHEN FURNITURE, also several

valuable SLAVES, chiefly House Servants, among which is a very good Cook.- And the Saturday following, at his Plantation in James City County, the STOCK of CATTLE, CORN, FODDER, &c. Six Months Credit will be allowed for all sums above five Pounds, on giving Bond, with approved Security, to

The EXECUTORS.

Virginia Gazette (Dixon) 23 Dec. 1775, p. 3.

J. Free Blacks

A few free black husbands and fathers quietly resisted the racism that overflowed from the slave system by turning the increasingly formalistic legal climate, which offered protection to established free male property holders, to their advantage. Their success as landowners and masters of households, although limited, testified to the discrepancies between identities produced in the courtroom and those generated through daily interaction in a community. The most successful of these free black men owned property, wrote wills, married, fathered children, and regularly used the county courts to collect debts and record deeds for sales and purchases. . . John Rawlinson, a substantial York County shoemaker born in 1725, also amassed considerable property before his death in 1780. In addition to eight houses and lots in Williamsburg, Rawlinson could boast a horse, saddle and cart, and "old Negro fellow," a looking glass, and a spinning wheel among his possessions.

. . . In addition to transmitting freedom to their progeny, free black women also provided their children with crucial links to other free people, creating the sinews of emerging free black communities. The free Afro-Virginian children of white mothers, in contrast, usually entered free black social networks, not by right of birth, but only to the degree that they were able to form their own alliances. . .

As free parents, black women often formed the first line of defense against encroachments upon the freedom of children, making possible free black family and community life. Many free woman may have participated in relationships unrecognized by white courts and churches, either because marriage ceremonies were not conducted according to white law or because white or enslaved black men could not legally become their husbands. Some women, in addition, may have entered these sexual relationships unwillingly, leaving them without partners when children were born. Both the failure of courts to recognized the presence of men in the lives of these women and the actual absence of men in some cases resulted in a legal burden of mammoth proportions. Often the only adult kin capable of intervening in their children's fate, free black women provided their offspring's main protection against slavery.

Despite legal harassment, free black women turned to the courts both to arrange apprenticeship terms and to protect children from exploitative and abusive white masters. In doing so they were similar to mothers in the poorest white families, where poverty was often a consequence of widowhood or pregnancy outside wedlock. Yet there were important differences in the way the courts treated white and free black mothers. White

mothers appearing in court on behalf of white children usually offered routine consent to the apprenticeship agreement, specifying the skills the child should be taught. Even when the child's father was black, a white mother retained a customary right to object to the terms under which her child was bound. Free black women seem to have had greater difficulty in establishing their right to voice consent to a child's apprenticeship arrangement. The failure of the 1723 law to require that the children of mulatto women be bound by legal indenture may have been the prime reason for this difficulty. Such children remained extremely vulnerable to being treated as slaves unless their mothers initiated procedures for legal indentures.

By making their children's indentures a matter of public record, some black mothers may have hoped to stave off attempts by the unscrupulous to turn young Afro-Virginia servants into slaves. . .

When masters failed to provide adequate food, clothing, and training, or in other ways abused a bound child, free mothers found it necessary to intervene. Although the situation varied depending on the county, several women appear to have viewed the courts as their best remedy. In Norfolk and Lancaster Counties, where free black social and economic networks were less dense, women intervened on behalf of their children more often than in York County, where a sizeable number of free black people lived in and near Williamsburg. . .

Some free women tried to protect their children by keeping them in the same or an adjacent neighborhood, making it easier for a mother to act quickly in cases of abuse and increasing the chances that white neighbors could testify to the child's free birth and subsequent treatment should such testimony be necessary. Not the least of a mother's motives may have been the desire to remain in close contact with children over whom she would otherwise have very little control. When servant Mary West of York County bore two sons while serving a thirty-one-year term to Sarah Walker, her sons were subject to the same punishment of extended service. Whether by West's urging or her own initiative, Walker requested the court to allow her to keep the boys at her house until they turned thirty-one, "being the term of y[ea]rs their mother was bound for." Mary Banks of York County lived near her mother and managed to make the same arrangements for her own children, who appear to have grown up on an adjacent Yorkhampton plantation.

If free children were lucky, their mothers lived long enough to protect them during their years of service and to help them secure their freedom at the very end of the term. Very often a child's only hope for freedom, a mother could be a powerful advocate.

Although fraught with numerous obstacles for petitioners, the legal system may have provided the best means for free black women to protect their children from slavery. In several cases, a woman's use of the courts succeeded not simply in securing freedom for herself and her children but in creating a public record of a family's free condition that subsequently may have facilitated her descendants' claims. The late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century York County free black register is filled with names from a hundred years earlier, including Rawlinsons, Bankses, Jaspers, Cannadys, and Poes. Although many of these individuals were indeed the actual descendants of an earlier generation of free women, others had simply adopted their surnames.

In a society based on racial slavery, a free black mother's protection of her children was not only good for her child, but also in her own self-interest. Families provided primary social identities, legal protection, and economic sustenance. Not least, they imbued daily life with meaning. Lacking kin, an individual could only hope to cultivate friends who would take an interest in his or her prosperity.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1996, pp. 225, 229-232, 235.

Free Black Communities

Although many associations among free black and white people resulted from reluctant decisions by Afro-Virginians who found their choices constrained, other contact was voluntary, perhaps even mutually satisfactory. . . Like many other free black men and women in Williamsburg, shoemaker Rawlinson depended upon the business of white neighbors as well as of other free Afro-Virginians in the area. Mary Roberts, a woman from York County's Hampton parish, described as a "mulatto," earned part of her income from white people by providing midwife services to their servants and slaves.

By the mid-eighteenth century, significant populations of free Afro-Virginians lived in Yorktown, Williamsburg, Norfolk, Portsmouth, and several other towns, making community life possible. . . In York County, economic opportunity in Williamsburg's large houses and workshops may have drawn many free black people to the area from more rural environs.

Although dependent in many ways upon important economic and social networks with white people, free Afro-Virginian life in York County by the middle of the eighteenth century had become more firmly rooted in the interactions of free black people with each other and with slaves. Free women like Elizabeth Armfield assisted in the births of enslaved women's children. As guardians, Afro-Virginian men like John Rawlinson supervised the upbringing of orphaned children and watched over their estates. Free black people also represented each other in court, as when Jane Savey acted on behalf of Ann Gwin in a suit against two other Afro-Virginian women, Elizabeth and Martha Armfield. In addition to these connections, free black people forged ties with other free people of color through barter, the extension of credit, and patronage of each other's businesses. Later in life, free Afro-Virginians married and bore children, knitting together their families of origin. The Gillets, Macklins, Robards, Cannady's Bankses, Saveys, and Combes found themselves intertwined by the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The networks of free black people standing as witnesses for each other and posting security grew denser, as did the suits for debt, trespass, and assault and battery. At the end of their lives, free people witnessed each other's wills, died in each other's homes, and left inheritances to siblings, children, godchildren, and other kin.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1996, pp. 236-237, 240-241.

[Williamsburg spinster, Mary Stith freed the rest of her slaves between October of 1793 and December of 1813, when she wrote her will. Stith wrote that:]

All the coloured people in my family being born my slaves, but now liberated, I think it my duty not to leave them destitute nor to leave them unrecompensed for past services rendered to me. As in the cause of humanity I can do but little for so many, and that little my conscience requires me to do, therefore I subject the whole of my estate to the payment of my just debts, and to the provision which I herein make for them. I give and bequeath my dwelling house and lot to Jenny the mother of the family, together with all the furniture as it now stands in the room below stairs, and one third part of all the other goods and chattles and wearing apparel as they stand in my dwelling house at my decease, the whole there of to her and to her heirs and assigns forever. Moreover, I give and bequeath to the said Jenny, out of the interest accruing upon the debts due to me, the sum of twenty pounds per year, until my executor shall pay to her the sum of one hundred pounds. I recommend to the said Jenny to take her two grand daughters Jenny Gillet and Patty Gillett under her protection in consideration of which I bequeath to her five pounds more per year for each of them during her lifetime. I give and bequeath to the said Jenny Gillett and Patty Gillett jointly, my house in the yard called the tin shop, together with the other two-thirds of my wearing apparel before mentioned to be divided between them as they shall agree with themselves, to them and their heirs and assigns forever. To the said Patty Gillett I give and bequeath my bed and bedding, together with my chairs, press and dressing table. I give to the said Jenny Gallate twenty five pounds, and to the said Patty twenty five pounds to be paid them by my executor when he can conveniently do so. I give to Peter Gallate the sum of ten pounds to help him in his trade. I give and bequeath to Nelly Bolling and her two sisters Eve and Sally, my house on the main street called Woods shop, with the use of the yard to be held by them in fee simple and by their heirs and assigns forever. I give to the said Nelly Bolling Fifty pounds – to the said Eve and Sally twenty five pounds each, and I give to the three the sum of five pounds per year until they shall receive from my executor the aforesaid sum, which he will pay them when it is convenient for him so to do. I give to Benjamin White thirty pounds, and to Beverley Rowsay Forty pounds. I give to Rachel White Twenty pounds, and to her sister Fanny White Twenty pounds. . . William White the sum of Ten pounds. . . .

Robert Anderson Account Book, Williamsburg and Yorktown, 1800-1854, p. 44. Original: Virginia Historical Society, Microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[May 1775] He also took with him an old bay horse very gray about the head, . . . 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 the 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.

Gabriel Jones

Virginia Gazette (Purdie), June 16, 1775 in Lathan A. Windley, comp., Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Vol. 1: Virginia and North Carolina. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983, pp. 246-247.



Section V - The Family Transformed

A. The New American Family

... Personal relationships and values within the family were transformed. Families cut some of their ties to the outside world and became much more private and insular. Servants were more difficult to acquire, and their relationship to the other members of the household became less intimate. The family core of father, mother, and children became more distinct from the household, and affection became more important than dependency in holding the family together. Lower infant-and-childhood mortality enabled parents to make a greater emotional investment in their offspring. Parents paid more attention to the

individuality of each child and sentimentalized the family's inner relationships. The practice now developed of giving children affectionate nicknames, and composite family portraits including father, mother, and children became much more common. Although the family remained hierarchical, the mutual relationships of its nuclear members became more complicated. Sons were no longer seen simply as the representative of the stem line of the family, and after mid-century fathers were less apt to name a son after themselves. The individual desire of children now seemed to outweigh traditional concerns with family lineage.

... Despite their power, however, the new ideas about parent-child relationships developed slowly, erratically, and confusedly, and they were largely confined to the literate and educated elements of society. This revolution against patriarchal authority was a century-long affair at least (indeed, it is still going on), and even so the new enlightened thinking about parent-child relations was never complete, never undisputed, never final. The age-old claims of blood and breeding remained persistently powerful, even among the enlightened. Indeed, throughout the century opposing monarchical and republican strains of thinking existed simultaneously in the culture, and often within the minds of individuals." Wood, Gordon S. Radicalism of the American Revolution. Vintage Books. New York: 1991. pp. 148-149.



That new American family was more private, more openly affectionate and developed different role expectations for family members. (C73-1945)

Doubly Virginians broke with their ancestors, both in their surrender to emotion and in their belief that happiness could be found primarily in one realm of life. Doubly the bonds of moderation were snapped. Virginians in the years prior to the Revolution had given priority to neither family life-the home of affection- nor the emotions. Both were managed to serve higher good, domestic tranquillity. The family was conceptualized as a counterpoint to a tumultuous world, and activity in that world was considered significant and exciting. Family life, in contrast was designated as pleasant, yet simple. Consider, for example, one young man's formula for "Happiness": "a Virtuous, improve[d] mind, a happy female Companion, and independent situation." . . . Cultivation, property, and an amiable yet anonymous mate were the elements of contentment. Significantly, no one aspect tipped the balance, and just as significantly, the image of the family was warm, simple, and vague.

Sociologist Richard Sennett has argued that in eighteenth-century cosmopolitan Europe, public life was more compelling, more vital to men than the private realm. Who would want a private life that was dangerous or challenging when public life was all that and more? Instead, at home, a man could express a different side of himself: his natural sympathies, a set of benevolent, compassionate impulses supposedly common to all men. Thus, at home when one acted "naturally", one acted like all men, that is, without individuality. Home life was intended to be warm and affectionate, yet simple and restrained. Neither the individual expression of emotion nor even happiness, as Lucy Ann Terrel used that term to designate a psychological state, was expected or desired. Happiness, instead, was a product of measurable, material relationships, of one's position and role more than one's personality.

Although Sennett's work is sociology more than history, the ideal of eighteenth-century family life that he depicts seems to fit nicely recent descriptions of the British upperclass family at that time. Presumably, this ideal of family life "after the English manner" was imported into pre- Revolutionary Virginia along with issues of the *Spectator* and *Tattler* and copies of those novels that were so popular on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, a recent study of eighteenth-century Virginia family life shows it to resemble markedly its British counterpart; on both side of the Atlantic among the well to do, the affectionate family was in vogue. . . . Virginians in the years before the Revolution intended family life to be pleasant, but not central. From it no Virginian would derive his all of happiness.

Instead, happiness or, more appropriately, satisfaction would come from playing a variety of roles, of which family member was only one. And within the family, relationships would be managed and arranged so that obligations could be met easily and simply. Yet, as we have seen, there was a certain amount of artifice in this endeavor to keep family affairs pleasant and restrained. The domestic peace Virginians achieved was fragile and, as they were aware, could all too easily be rent asunder if emotions were not checked. That realization, combined with religion and the prevailing currents of thought, all acted to keep the potentially disruptive passions in rein.

Lewis, Jan. The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: 1983, p. 171-173.

A Maryland or Virginia household in the 1770s was very different from what it had been a hundred years earlier. Over the course of a century standards of life in the colonial Chesapeake changed remarkably, and the lifestyles of the rich were transformed. To some degree these changes paralleled changes taking place in England. There had generally been a considerable time lag between the appearance of new goods or modes of behavior in the mother country and their adoption in the colonies. But by the time of the American Revolution new European fashions appeared in rich planter households almost as soon as they appeared in London. A rising standard of consumption was underway on both sides of the Atlantic, and it brought changes in behavior even among people too poor to participate, except in token amounts.

We are not talking here of essentials -- sufficiency of food, shelter, clothing. Chesapeake settlers, after the very first years, never suffered famine in a land where a few days' labor could yield a maize crop that would feed a man for a year and a few pigs in the forest could supply his meat. The forests provided timber for housing and firewood. Exported tobacco crops purchased basic tools and clothing. Rather, we are talking of the nonessentials -- things that made life more comfortable or inspired awe or envy in those who did not possess them. To be sure, these items usually did not include other kinds of equipment that today we would consider essential to well-being: items for cleanliness or sanitation. Not until the early nineteenth century did cleanliness become socially important. Until then, these changes concerned increasing attractiveness and elegance in living quarters and dress, greater individual use of space and utensils, and increased emphasis on manners and social ceremony. In the eighteenth century these could be summed up on the word *gentility*.

The culture of gentility became a means of emphasizing social differences and fueling social competition. Members of the seventeenth-century planter elite had signified their positions with large holdings of land and labor, the sources of their wealth, and these remained basic elements of hierarchical distinctions. But near the turn of the century colonial men of wealth and power began to signal their rank through elegance of lifestyle. By the 1760s the social position of anyone could be gauged not just by wealth or offices held but by their dress, household arrangements, and social ceremonies.

. . . At the lowest levels of wealth, some planters were acquiring more of the ordinary amenities that had been missing in equivalent seventeenth-century households: chairs, bedsteads, individual knives and forks, bed and table linens, and inexpensive ceramic tableware. They also were acquiring a taste for that symbolic luxury, tea. Middling families moved beyond commonplace amenities, substituting a piece of case furniture for plain, utilitarian chests and trunks, setting tables with full ceramic place settings, preparing more varied and elaborate meals with a burgeoning variety of cookware, and drinking tea in full, ritual fashion. Neat, orderly domestic furnishings that afforded comfort with an appropriate touch of elegance here and there -- and of course manners to match -- were becoming one of the chief means of conveying a family's status and respectability.

Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake," in *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville: 1994, pp. 59-61 and 67.

Innovation in British-American housing did indeed occur in the eighteenth century, a change in building design that reflected increased desire for visual order and functional separation, if not segregation in the modern sense. This change was more than a stylistic shift. It involved the same quest for social esteem that encouraged people to read novels, buy large matched sets of ceramics and glassware, follow rules of etiquette, and travel for pleasure to out-of-the-way places with bad-smelling water. Symmetrical facades, circulation passages, fully plastered rooms, and specialized spaces for entertaining provided acceptability and enforced social inequalities, as did mezzotints and foppish poses. The revolution reached every corner of the English speaking world. It was a mile wide and an inch - no, a foot – deep. Most people were touched by the change, if only the way they were treated by their social superiors. Just as clearly, many people did not take part in the architectural transformation.

American buildings themselves testify to a major historical event that is generally overlooked by historians and not fully revealed in the records. Beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing into the nineteenth century, American housing underwent a dramatic rebuilding. Close examination of almost any area of the East Coast reveals that the great majority of standing early houses below the gentry level are post-Revolutionary. The transformation of middling housing varied considerably by region, but the general pattern of this republican rebuilding is pervasive and undeniable. It is true of both urban and rural houses.

The degree to which the sizes of houses or numbers of rooms grew is difficult to know. What is very evident is that more people made the shift from impermanent to durable housing, and from rudely finished to more refined -- at least partially refined -- housing, and toward increased division of activities, particularly segregation of work and social endeavor.

Edward A. Chappell, "Housing a Nation: The Transformation of Living Standards in Early America," in Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century, edited by Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville: 1994, pp. 193-94.

[Letters to family and friends in England from successful Williamsburg apothecary, a University of Edinburgh graduate, whose house (core of the St. George TUCKER House) fronted on Palace Street in the 1750s]

M^s Gilmer is perfectly satisfied with your conduct about her China and desire you will take your own time. I have just finished a closet for her to put it in as agreed on before you left us. I am wainscoating my dining room, which with a handsome marble chimney piece & with glass over it, will make it a tolerable room for an Apothecary.

. . . I have packed up by this same opportunity, ninety odd oz^s of silver for M^r Harmer on my boy's account. I hope I am not behind as I have ordered Lidderdale and Co^s balances to be paid him on the same account. Nothing in life shall be wanting on my part to contribute to the improvement of his genius. Excuse this freedom.

Brock Manuscript Notebook, p. 154. Original: Huntington Library, microfilm in the Colonial Williamsburg Library. George Gilmer to Walter King, August 6, 1752.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

...I have thought often, dear Father, of the comparison you made between our two countries. . . . Considering first our children, there is no doubt that America offers the most advantages. As you observed once, in alliances, by strict economy, and by investing in secure stocks. However, the last two of these three foundations seem very precarious, and thus the other becomes also.

Education in the public colleges of the north here is excellent and offers several outstanding courses of study. Education for girls is usually very poor, but a mother attentive to her family's interest can easily remedy that, especially in the countryside. Education in Europe must be quite neglected at present.

As for our children's future, I don't know which country offers the best prospect. If everything returns to the old footing and the Scheldt stays open, perhaps you have the advantage. But the torment with the servants poisons all these pleasures. Perhaps by hiring housekeepers and spending twice as much, we would have less trouble, but I am not in a position to do that. My husband doesn't feel this inconvenience as I do, since he is used to it."

Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. p. 85. Rosalie Calvert to her father H. J. Stier, Riversdale, 14 May 1804.

[Observations of an admiring naturalized citizen from France who settled in rural New York state.]

At home, my happiness springs from very different objects; the gradual unfolding of my children's reason, the study of their dawning tempers, attract all my paternal attention. I have to contrive little punishments for their little faults, small encouragements for their good actions, and a variety of other expedients dictated by various occasions. But these are themes unworthy your perusal, and which ought not to be carried beyond the walls of my house, being domestic mysteries adapted only to the locality of the small sanctuary wherein my family resides.

Crevecoeur, J. Hector St. John de. Letters from an American Farmer. [1782] edited by Albert E. Stone. Penguin, American Library, New York:, 1981, pp. 64-65.

[These 1720s letters from husband and mother to Elizabeth Pratt Jones who had gone to



Mothers were expected to teach moral values important in the new nation and education for women became an expectation. (C74-91)

England for her health express open affection and closeness that is unusual in the correspondence of Virginians before the second half of the eighteenth century.]

. . . I would not keep you too long in Suspence of [informg?] you what I believe you most of all thing desire to know the Condition of our family, being all very well. Betsy Pratt is in as good health as ever She was in her life and is as perfectly Easy, and as well contented. I ask'd her 'tother day, whether she had not rather live with some body else than with me, but she told me she wou'd not leave me to go to any body or anywhere else, and you know she is a plain Dealer and not afraid of incurring my displeasure for any thing she can say. She drinks your healths very cheerfully every day after Dinner. Upon a late Visit she made to the Governors Lady passing through the Hall where the Governor myself and sevl. more were seting, she behav'd so very prettyly, that he cou'd not forbear taking particular notice of her. She also behaves very handsomly at Church & all publick places which I promis'd her to let you know.

Tom is very well in health brisk and Gay. he grows, but is spare, tho full as fleshy or more than he was when you went away. He is always in some action or other when he is awake, and will hardly stand or sit long enough to Eat his Meat. there is a great prospect of his making a fine Boy.

Dolly is very plump, healthy, and every way thrives and is as ingaging as I think it possible for a Child of her age to be. She is very quiet and as little trouble as can be expected.

These two dear pledges of your love gives me all the satisfaction tis posible for me to enjoy without you. but at the same time cannot help reflecting upon your absence with as dear a concern, as if my soul was fluttering ready to take a flight from its present situation to some more agreeable Mansion; and as nothing can so much Affect me as the Consideration I have for your health and Life, I hope you will not omit procuring the best Advice in England, nor any other thing that may contribute to the recovery of one, and the preservation of the other; which I earnestly recomend to you as you value my quiet & happiness in this World, for nothing can be so great a pleasure to me as to see you live in a perfect state of health, and Tranquility of Mind, and cou'd part with all I have and submit to the greatest difficulties rather than you shou'd want either one or tother, which I hope I have no great Occasion for using much persuasion to induce you to believe.

. . . I have bought some Negros this Year, and keep a Girl here that promises both in Temper and capacity to make a good servant. She is very good natur'd & tractable, lively and handy among the Children. Tom keeps to his old Maid Daphne and is grown very fond of her calling upon Da Da in all his Extremities. The tother tends upon Dolly and will make a much better dry Nurse than Daphne and is very handy at Sewing so far as she has been try'd, but she is no Beauty. . .

I know of nothing further I have to ad but that you constantly have my best Wishes for all manner of Comfort and Blessings, and that I can know no real happiness till I see you, Trusting in Divine Providence that was once so propitious to me to put you into my arms, will protect you and return you safe thither again, which I shall acknowledge to be the most inestimable Bounty I can receive, and shall cherish the favour in my Bosom so long as I am suffered to have a Terestial Being. . . be assured that with the most sincere

& perfect Love, I am

My Dearest Life

Your most Affectionate

Husband

To. Jones

I think its a bout a fortnight ago since I wrott to my dear Children & tould thm. I did not know that it might be the last I should write, but as I promisd to mis no opertunity, I beleve I have kept my word. I gave yu. an act. of Dolly's haveing ben ill but was recoverg. she continues well & has wean'd herself. she eats very heartyly & wont touch the brest whn. offord her, wch. I think yu. have no reason to be sorry for, but it was first occasiond by her being kept from it wn. she took the bark, but thn. she never seemd. to desire it. she continues a sweet temperd quiet childe, Mr. Jones & Nanny have boath ben ill since the childe was. they had feavours as is usual at ths. tyme of the year but are boath perfectly recoverd now. . . . Tom is very well & is since his [mama?] went, fallen in love with his maid Daffny, he kisses her & runs his head in her neck, for wch. he is never the sweeter nor cleaner but yu. know Children thrive best in durt. . . . the childe is a diverting & good natured childe . . . he is enough to distract all about him accept his pa-ppa & to him I beleave all his noys is musick if he cant have & do every thing he as a minde to he is redy to tare the howse down, but if Nanny has opertunitys she wil bring him to better order before yu. return. . . I pray to God to bless yu. boath & grant me the happyness of seeing yu. return in helth & safety to us again, wch. I shall esteem a great blessing. in the mean tyme I commit yu. to his care & [torn] my dear Children.

Yr. ever affect[torn]

E H[torn]

Mr. Jones wd. take it very ill if he should know tht. I tell tales of Tom he could not make a jest of it.

Letter: Thomas Jones, Virginia, 22 July 1728, to Elizabeth Pratt Jones, and letter from Elizabeth Holloway to Elizabeth Jones [& perhaps another daughter], 7 September 1728, Jones Papers, Library of Congress. Microfilm: Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[This attention to consumerism reflects ideas of the new American family]

Colonel Alexander came up & brout George [Dumfries] to see us, he & Frank are both well. They are in want of Hatts. Geo: went up to Smiths store but could not get any there. Geo: told me Mrs Alexander told him to bring some winter Cloaths down with him for next month would be cold. He says he has only a winter waiscoat. Mr. Clayton says he is getting cloth for the boys [speaking to her granddaughter] My dr Polly I am truly concern'd at yr not going on with yr Musick. Time will not wait for you & losing it will not do. When yr Birth day arrives I shall celebrate it & drink yr Health. Miss in her teens will be remembered. In the Alexandria paper I saw the Inclosed advertisement which I sent down to Mr Clayton to make enquiries as to the Price. But it was sold. Doctr Steward bought it for one of the Miss Custises and gave 120£ for it. This was a sum I should be very lothe to give, was it in my Power without a certainty it wd: not be thrown away. Do my Dear borrow your Mamma's humbrella and exert yourself in doing what will induce us to get you a good Instrument and we shall not omitt every encouragement. I am sorry to hear the acct: yr

Mamma gives of yr hating writing. Poking yr head and not minding her admonitions. I beg my dear Girl I may not hear these things of you again. Geo: claims yr Promise of a Guinea & half. He has got through the Grammar. . . .

Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner and Whiting Papers. Original at the College of William and Mary; transcripts at the Colonial Williamsburg Library. Mary Prescott to her daughter Betsey Braxton Whiting, 24 August 1794

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

. . . I hope he won't delay any longer presenting you with a grandson of his own making. Tell me in time so I can make a nice little outfit, American-style, which would give me much pleasure. The fashions here for children are charming now.

Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. p. 121. Rosalie Calvert, Riversdale, 13 June 1805, to her father, H. J. Stier.

B. The Nurturing Family

Families at the very lowest end of the economic scale had little in the way of time or resources to spend on children, however beloved. Time was money, and with both mothers and fathers involved in the economic struggle of daily life, young children were not only left to fend for themselves, but also-often by the age of three or four- expected to care for those younger than they. Most households lacked extra hands, and on isolated rural farms there was no recourse to neighbors who, in any event, would have been busy with their own concerns....None of this presupposes a lack of love or affection, merely a scale of priorities in which the needs of children were ranked low, and their rearing subordinated to other, more pressing tasks.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York: 1993, pp. 116-117.

Several historians have viewed the eighteenth-century Virginia gentry family as particularly affectionate, shaped by that "surge of Sentiment" that would distinguish so-called modern families from their more traditional European antecedents. Surely, if a young man could and did demand from his family "testimonies of. . . kindness and affection," love was one of the bases of family life; yet pre-Revolutionary gentry relationships lacked - or, more precisely, stifled- emotional intensity. Put another way, love was important, but it was not central. Both within and without the family, other ideals-such as peace and moderation-prevalled, creating the context within which emotion might safely be displayed.

If parents had clear material obligations to their children, so also had children duties to their parents. They showed their love by their deportment. Even when grown, they were expected to be cheerful and obedient-in the language of the time, a "comfort" to their parents in their old age. Thus, when the planter William Fitzhugh heard that his mother had experience misfortune, he released money to his brother in England to aid her. "I . . . do think it both our dutys. . . . not to suffer one to want, who gave us our being, nor suffer

her to struggle to live, who (under God) gave us life here," he explained. "Nature, duty, the Laws of God and Man. . . command . . . to give the utmost help to a distressed Parent." Fitzhugh was doing no more than adopting for himself a standard he held for others. The sentiment and language were similarly stilted when Fitzhugh hoped that a cousin's son would as "he grows in years . . . grow in grace to serve his God, & then without question you his Parents will find him abound with all dutiful observance, & due Obedience." Literally repaying a parent was one way of discharging the child's debt, but men and women whose parents were materially secure could lighten the burdens of old age and discharge their debts in other ways. When he completed his college education, John Clopton hoped he would "cease to be so expensive" to his father. He appreciated the older man's "paternal kindness. . . for which may I ever retain a grateful Sense, study to be an Honour to your old Age by diffusing thro' the world the Fruits of that liberal Education you have been so careful to give me." The language is mannered, but, significantly, Fitzhugh and Clopton felt that by sending money or a noble sentiment they were playing the part of the dutiful son.

The language was stilted because the role was scripted and most children learned their lines. In the wider world the gentry were bound to assert themselves, prove their prowess, leave their mark. They were trained to act with more restraint and less individuality at home: The goal was a family life that was at once simple and affectionate. So long as a son or daughter was obedient and appreciative most parents felt amply repaid for the expense and care of rearing them. When expectations were thus clear and simple, children could be confident that they had discharged their duties. An exception that helps prove the rule of reciprocity comes from the agitated domestic experiences of Landon Carter, an unusually bitter and bad-humored man, who found his children a continual disappointment. Carter contrasted their disobedience to his devotion to his own father. When his father was declining, Carter used to sleep at his head, to comfort and divert him. "I did it with both duty and pleasure," Carter boasted to his diary; "but I fancy not a child of mine but would refuse even their duty." In fact, Carter kept the diary in the hope that his offspring would one day read it and recall how they had failed him; in it he recorded his frequent quarrels with his children, one daughter-in-law, and his son-in-law. Lewis, Jan. The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia. Cambridge University Press: New York, 1988. pp.30 -32.

* * *

[Letter of advice and family history written by Dr. Robert Carter to his children just before he sailed to Great Britain in 1803]

I can offer no other apology for having deferred addressing a few lines of advice and affection, to remind my dear children of their Parents until the moment of my departure for a foreign country than that lively hope with which it has pleased God to inspire me of again meeting them on this side of the grave.

Your dear Mother and myself were married on the 3rd of December, of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four each of us having attained our twentieth year. On the 14th of April of the year one thousand 7 hundred and 96 she gave birth to her first

child who was called Hill in memory of our ancestors on your Grand Father Carter's side. June the 27th of the following year her second child Anne, after your Grand Mother Carter. February 3rd of the year one thousand 7 hundred and 99 her 3rd child Lucy after your G. Mother Nelson, and on the 8th day of October one thousand 8 hundred her last child Thomas, after your Grand Father Nelson. Beloved little Group! How often has your bewitching prattle enlivened the fireside of your indulgent Parents, and made their anxious hearts heave alternate with joy and hope! But Alas, how fleeting are the enjoyments of this life and how inadequate to permanent bliss! No my dear children you will never attain this, if you confine your affections to the things of this world. . . .

. . . I accordingly took upon myself the cares of a family at the very juncture when my mental faculties were about to develop themselves. Thus deficient in the fundamental part of my education with talents by no means above mediocrity, and even these much cramped by the mistaken tho well intended rigor of parental discipline, with habits always retired and unassuming, sequestered in a part of the county devoid of science and rational emulation, you will not be surprised at my failing to have reared such a superstructure as to have rendered myself a conspicuous member of society. This seems to depend on a certain grade of intellect aided by a fortuitous concourse of circumstances, for which it would appear I was not destined.

. . . .
I must now hasten to those subjects of advice which I have so much at heart and which I beseech and entreat you, which I charge you by the love I bear you, to give an impartial hearing and at least to weigh well before you reject. Remember it is your Father who now addresses you, your friend of earthly friends, who would not see an hair of your head injured, who would die for you ten times over. Remember the sacred charge which was imposed on me and your Mother at the moments of your births, and which now devolves on me incompetent to fulfil. Remember the pain of body and mind which she must have suffered when she brought you forth into this world of trial. Let me remind you of the anxious sleepless nights and solicitude with which she watched over your infantile slumbers when but for her you must have perished. I say my dear children suffer me to remind you of the disgrace and ignominy which will wait you in this life and of the evils that may be denounced against your poor, frail, impotent father as well as yourselves in the life to come, if you fail to do all on your part to become worthy members of society, and to fill that station with honor, truth, justice and humanity, to which it may please God to call you. But I will not anticipate our mutual friends your Uncles and Aunts in a task of which they are so capable and willing to perform – that of advising those who in case of my decease will be left helpless orphans. There are however, subjects on which all are not equally capable of giving advice; subjects on which some persons are incapable of judging form a great variety of cases, not very palpable to the generality of observers. . . .

. . . .
1st My dear children let your father conjure you by all you hold precious or sacred to consider yourselfes amenable to an all-wise, all powerful, incomprehensible and just God who createth, governeth and disposeth of all things present and future as seems good to him.

2nd. *Respect and obey the ten commandments taken from the XX Chapter of Exodus. . . .*

5th *Be humane to your slaves, and dependents. Tho it has ever been a wish near my heard to have avoided entailing the miseries of slavery upon my children yet from circumstances which I could not entirely control it seems likely that you are to ingerit this misfortune. Partial emancipation as it has been conducted in this state has certainly been attended with inconveniences to society, in a variety of respects, but the circumstance which has tended most to suspend my determination on this subject, is, that a freed man in this state, is often placed in a situation less desirable by emancipation, than by holding him in slavery, under humane treatment.*

And this I am free to acknowledge was the chief argument with me (as I never professed to know much of national policy) for deferring emancipation, so far as I was personally concerned, either until I was in a situation to give the subjects of it, something to begin with without injuring my children, or until my desirable end, so as to benefit the slave with injury to society at large.

But if I may judge of the future by the past, I cannot suppose that this happy temper of mind will very soon prevail in Virginia, or any State to the Southward of it. . . .

Shirley Plantation Collection, Container 1, Folder 4, 10 items. Orig. Colonial Williamsburg Library. Dr. Robert Carter's letter to his children, Hill, Anne, Lucy, and Thomas Carter. Hampton, October 12th, 1803.

[Letters to family and friends in England from successful Williamsburg apothecary, a University of Edinburgh graduate, whose house fronted on Palace Street in the 1750s]

"M John Harmer my particular friend had frequently importuned me to send home my Second son to be educated under his eye either in or near Bristol according to a promise made his dear mother before her death.

It met with a long struggle in my breast parting with so sweet a child at such an age and to so great a distance. But the frequent repeating of his desire by M Harmer before him raised such a strong inclination in him to go that I could not resist the impulse of so favorable an opportunity as offered in his kind God Father M Walter King going with Capt Tate and Lady who promised all the assistance necessary for the care of him on such a voyage at such a time of year. All these things joined together to make me rob myself of so valuable a blessing in order I hope to secure his present and future happiness. . . . If business will permit besides your duty in schooling, do add one more favor at your leisure in sincerely [com]municating to a fond Father, your sentiments with regard to his dear child. In so doing you will extremely oblige, dear Sir,

Your Most Humble Servant

Geo. Gilmer"

Brock Manuscript Notebook, p. 156. George Gilmer to Rev. Mr. Root, August 8, 1752.

[Gossipy letters to her brother, John Minson Gault studying medicine in Scotland, from the wife of a Williamsburg tavernkeeper and daughter of Samuel Gault, a Williamsburg silversmith.]

Our dear tender Mother is very well in health tho she is always lementing that she must

part with her Boys but hopes its for their Interest. I think she grows more anxious about her Children then ever, her Girls will not stay with her a great while longer as I imagine Lucy will live with Sally when she is married, & that will be about the time Jamie goes to Richmond. Liddy I dare say intends to have R. Coke the old people are extremely fond of it they had her to dine with them a few days ago & sent Roby home with her, (alls well that ends well,) I hope she will be happier than her sisters has been in their Marriages. remember Me to good Mr Farlom tell him Ill thank him when I see him for his kind present. I have some thoughts of coming down with the two Mrs Fannies in their Boat as they tend down this week & have given me an invasiion to go with them, I shall not determine (till I Consult Mr Trebell) whether I go with them or not.

Letter, Sarah Trebell to John Galt, Williamsburg, Orig: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Special Collections. Letter 12 May 1766.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738] [October 19, 1760] *Went with my wife to Northumberland meeting, where we heard Mr, Hunt deliver an excellent sermon on love.*

Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va., in William and Mary College Quarterly. p. 20.

[Affectionate comments about her children from a doting mother to her stepbrother.] *[Elizabeth] is the most grateful and perfectly good tempered being I ever knew. Her sister [Frances Lelia] too is sweet as possible. . . I fear their mother and father doat on them too much, but it is unavoidable. . . [as they] are dearer than self.*

Frances Tucker Coalter to John Randolph, 18 March, 1809 [transcript], John Randolph Papers, VHS.

C. Childhood Assumes New Importance

It is not to the evangelicals that we can look for the invention of childhood during the eighteenth century. The place of "carefree" youth was in households that have come to be considered "typically American." The parents in these homes were often deeply religious, but their religious beliefs were set within the new context of the scientific, rational, and worldly goals of eighteenth-century thinkers who followed in Locke's footsteps. Many were upwardly mobile, working hard to create family fortunes so that their children would have the best in terms of education and culture, providing expanded opportunities in career and marriage choices. . . . The number of such families was small, perhaps, but they had increasing influence as they rose in wealth and prominence throughout the eighteenth century. To a great extent, it was their secular ideas and economic hopes that were reflected in the Constitution and the new republic.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York: 1993. p.115.

Parents were diverted by, rather than impatient with, the nonsense language and "childish" behavior of their young offspring. Jane Swann wrote to her uncle of the satisfying moments she and her husband spent with their four-year-old girl. Their

daughter, she said, was "very lively & full of Inocent Prattle with which She often pleasantly amuses her Father & my Self. May the Almighty preserve her long with us."

Daniel B. Smith. Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Cornell University Press. Ithaca, NY, 1980, p. 43.

The roots of the transformation that had taken place in the American family lay in enlightened philosophical, religious, political, and economic ideas about the rights of the individual. In the years just before the American Revolution, a flood of advice books, philosophical treatises, and works of fiction helped to popularize revolutionary new ideas about child rearing and the family. The most popular books in the colonies on the eve of the American Revolution were not political discourses, such as John Locke's Second Treatise on Liberty, but philosophical tracts on child rearing -- such as his Essay Concerning Human Understanding and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Emile -- and novels, plays, and poems concerned with family relations, such as Samuel Richardson's Clarissa and Pamela and Oliver Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield. Such works disseminated a radically new sensibility that was to transform American ideals about the family over the next century.

In the fiction of Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, and Laurence Sterne, and numerous lesser-known writers, the patriarchal family came under attack as unduly repressive and incompatible with the spirit of the time. Readers learned that love was superior to property as a basis for marriage; that marriage should be based on mutual sympathy, affection, and friendship; that parental example was more effective than coercion in governing children; and that the ideal parent sought to cultivate children's natural talents and abilities through love.

... A new attitude toward children was an essential element in the emerging mid-eighteenth-century conception of the family. Childhood was depicted as a stage in the life cycle, and the child was described as a special being with distinctive needs and impulses. Drawing on Locke's view of the child's mind as a tabula rasa, or "blank slate" which could be imprinted in an infinite variety of ways, and on Rousseau's conception of children as naturally social and affectionate, novelists and child-rearing experts told their readers that the primary object of child rearing was not to instill submission to authority but to develop a child's conscience and self-government. ... Even before the Revolution, parents were advised to train their children in independence. While still young and malleable, they had to develop a capacity for self-reliance, self-assessment, and self-direction, in the hope that this would prepare them for a world in which they would have to make independent choices of a career, of friends, and of a spouse. Childhood, previously conceived of as a period of submission to authority, was increasingly viewed as a period of growth, development, and preparation for adulthood.

Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life. The Free Press: New York, 1988, pp. 45-47.

* * *

[Extracts from Tucker family letters reveal the close relationship that St. George and had with his children and stepchildren]

My ever dear Boys,

Your several favors of the 22d and 30th of April & of the 6th of May have afforded me the most heartfelt satisfaction, as they confirmed my hopes that you would be agreeable as well as advantageously fixed at Princeton, where I make no doubt you will both have good sense enough to avail yourselves of the opportunity of improvement which you now have before you. I regret very sincerely that the only alternative left to your mama & myself was either to sacrifice the pleasure of having you with us, or the pleasing hope of seeing you hereafter good men, and an ornament to your friends and country. I need not I am sure repeat, what I have from your earliest infancy endeavoured to inculcate in your minds, that every man is respectable in society in proportion to the talents he possesses to serve it. A Blacksmith, a Cobler, a Wheelwright, if honest men are respectable Characters in their proper spheres- but a man of Science, a Philosopher or a Legislator, as they have talents to be more eminently and extensively useful, so are they more eminently and generally respected. The world is a circle about every man, exactly of such a size as his abilities make it. It is very well known five miles about Petersburg that Mr. Booker is a good Chair-maker - That Alexander Taylor is a very tollerable Cabinet-maker. It is known for a circle of an hundred miles that Doctor Strachen is a good Physician. It is known throughout Virginia & perhaps through America that Mr. Baker & the present Governor are eminent pleaders at the Bar – but it is known all over the civilized World that General Washington is a great General - that Doctor Franklin is a great Philosopher & Politician, and that Mr. Rittenhouse is a great mathematical Genius. It is in your election at present whether you will have a world like Mr. Booker's & Alexander Taylor's worlds, or a world like General Washington's, Doctor Franklin's and Mr. Rittenhouse's: for neither of these eminent characters let me tell you possessed half your advantages at your time of Life. Let me therefore conjure you not omit any thing that can contribute to your improvement in virtue or in understanding -without the former the latter is only a Curse: an Evil more diffusive than the pestilence, and more fatal to the possessor than Pandora's famous box, of which you either have read, or may read in Ovid's Metamorphosis.

You will no doubt be extremely happy as the arrival of your Brother Richard - sequestered from the rest of your friends the ties of affection & friendship. I hope will every day be more closely knit between you all. It was no small inducement to me to send your Brother to Princeton that you were there already. Let me not be disappointed in the hope of seeing you grow up together with the strongest attachment to each other. I have been often unhappy in observing people of the same Family appear perfect strangers to each other –nay more, to observe a perfect animosity prevailing between children of the same parents. There can not be a stronger symptom of human depravity, nor should I be surprisid of the person who is daily at variance with his Brother, should beat his father or suffer his mother to pine in indigence. Believe me, my dear Boys, the moral virtues are all nearly allied to each other - they must all be cherished or they will all be impaired. Let me

then enjoin you to live in mutual harmony with each other, to check the first impulses of wrath, and to consider that mutual good offices will endear you to each other & secure a friendship more valuable than any other, and of equal duration with your lives.

Your mama is now writing to you - she will probably give you the history of your respective favorites; and what she omits Richard will be able amply to supply. I shall therefore say nothing more of them than that they are all very well, & often wish to see you. Poor Fan has lost her music master (Victor) after receiving a single lesson from him. I must get a tutor for them soon or they will be quite spoilt.

It gives me pleasure to hear from Mr. Witherspoon that you have been diligent and tractable. Continue to conduct yourselves in that manner and you will find it not only greatly to your advantage in point of improvement but of happiness. It is really surprising what pains some people take to incur Reproof or punishment, when with half the trouble they might obtain Commendation and Rewards. Think on this subject and I am sure will not hesitate a moment which to prefer.

Adieu! my ever dear Boys! The most tender anxiety for your happiness & the most earnest endeavours to promote it, will ever fill the mind, & mark the conduct of

Your most truly affectionate Father

St. G. Tucker

*Masters Theodorick
& John Randolph
Princeton.*

[Letter of St. George Tucker, Matoax, 12 June 1787, to stepsons Theodorick and John Randolph at Princeton, Tucker-Coleman Papers, Swem Library, College of William and Mary]

[Such expressions of open affection are unusual in the correspondence of Virginians before the second half of the eighteenth century]

. . . I shall be in the highest expectation imaginable of hearing you are well by the first opportunity that offers which you may be assured will be the most acceptable to me of anything next to the possession of your dearest Person, which I shou'd think the greatest Blessing that Heaven cou'd bestow upon me; and shou'd receive it with the greatest Joy into my open arms, which is not Words of Course, but proceeds from the dictates of the sincerest affection that can be imagined. . . .

Our family has been all very well ever since you went, and is so now. Madam Pratt is as sturdy as ever she was, and I think looks rather better than when you left her. her Aunt Binny and she has been Bed fellows ever since. her Grand Ma-ma and her grand Pa-pa are extremely indulgent of her, and take a great deal of notice of the rest of the Children.

Tom for the first fortnight after you went was a little out of Order with his Teeth, but has been very well ever since. he runs about the house, hollows, & makes a noise all day long, and as often as he can, gets out of Doors. at my return I found a great alteration in the use of his Feet in so short a time, and I believe is as forward in that as most Children of two years old. when he falls I order him not to be taken up by which means he takes it patiently unless he hurts himself pretty much. he is very backward with his tongue. I

[use?] him to pa-pa & Ma-ma and in a Morning he will say (not Tea) but Tee, and sometimes mo which is all the improvement he has made that way. he grows Tall and is a fine Boy.

Dolly has had her health & thrives very well, and is as fine a Child I think as ever was born, always pretty, & pleasant, hardly ever Cries, or hardly ever out of humour and is a most ingaging Chit, I begin to think you did me a great deal of wrong when you reprov'd me for not loving her so well as Tom . . .

*Your ever Affectionate
Husband*

To. Jones

Letter: Thomas Jones 8 July 1728 to his wife, Elizabeth Pratt Jones who had gone to England for her health. Jones Papers, Original: Library of Congress, microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Library.

*[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]
[September 26, 1762] My dear little Betty has been unwell since Thursday: but to-day she seemed not so sick.*

[September 27, 1762] Intended to go to Richmond, but did not incline to leave my dear little child.

Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va., in William and Mary College Quarterly, First series, Vol. XI, p. 233.

[Letters to family and friends in England from successful Williamsburg apothecary, a University of Edinburgh graduate, whose house (core of the St. George Tucker House) fronted on Palace Street in the 1750s]

Little family incidents tho' no way agreeable to a man of business yet to one in your State and familiar acquaintance cant help being amusing. Since finishing my letter to you this afternoon, Honest Harry grew sleepy and she laid down – But Jack with his [nails?] was so noisy she could not compose herself any way. I got up and put him to bed with her, but there his restlessness conquerd, so up she got again and Seeing I was heavy headed innocently proposed a game of Back Gammon, to which I complied, The little dog continud to give us the same disturbance, on which we called in his man [Harry or Henry?] and gave them cards by which we got some respite whilst they built houses so as to play 2 or 3 games in which I conquered.

Brock Manuscript. Orig: Huntington Library; microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library. George Gilmer to Walter King, 1752 (November or December?).

D. War Forces Further Change

White Families

Although the goals of literacy, morality, manners, and patriotism formed the basis of the education given to both sexes, the subjects for girls continued to stress particularly

feminine accomplishments, and the ideals of the new republic were expressed in the mottoes and decorations they stitched into their compulsory samplers rather than in poems, essays, and valedictory speeches. One small indication only remains to us of possible dissatisfaction with the female status quo. In 1800, a young Maryland girl carefully embroidered on her sampler, "Patty Polk did this and she hated every stitch she did in it. She loves to read much more." Patty's rebellion extended only so far; she *did* work the sampler regardless of her feelings, and we can only speculate about the attitudes of the mother or teacher who encouraged her to put these sentiments in so permanent a form.

... When it came to the traditional role of the community as keeper of the peace and enforcer of the law, the system continued to rely on the structure of the institutional family, or at least on its patriarchal orientation, whenever possible. A free, married man was the "head of the family" and master of all its members, no matter how marginal his own position in society. Black slaves were thoroughly dehumanized, appearing in inventories of property along with the cattle, horses, and other livestock if they were field hands, and among the pots, pans, and "dough troughs" if they were house servants. Servants, apprentices, wives, and children were not "chattels" in the same literal sense, but they were generally not regarded as being "people" or "men" in the public arena. Only the head of the household was recognized as a fully empowered responsible member of society; only he was considered an adult, qualified to conduct legal and civil affairs; only he was, in fact, truly a human being. This legal fact of life impinged far more on eighteenth-century Americans than any lack of political rights like speaking in public, voting, or election to office.

The changing reality of American life--the dwindling role of traditional domestic households in the North, and the tiny proportion of all but slaves who lived within dynastic families in the South--gradually forced the community to deal more and more directly with individuals. In the years following the Revolution, a growing number of young people, particularly indentured servants apprentices, frequently girls and young women, ran away from their jobs and masters. Mingling with the immigrants and sailors who clustered around the docks of the seacoast towns, they were out of the oversight of any household.

Issues that had previously been considered moral, and therefore the responsibility of the family, were either criminalized, like "drunk and disorderly conduct"; dropped entirely from the lexicon of unacceptable behaviour requiring community oversight, like fornication



An ideal picture of the mid-nineteenth century shows blacks, white and Native Americans in a world dominated by whites (78-DW-2774)

or adultery; or transformed into a purely economic issue, like bastardy. No longer was there a concerted attempt to determine the father of an illegitimate child so as to assign blame and punishment for immoral behavior; the blame, such as it was, belonged to the woman, although economic responsibility for the child's support belonged to the father, if he could be found.

The growth of autonomous, nuclear families lacking firm economic or social basis within the community required the government to become involved in a whole host of other issues as well.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers, New York: 1993. pp. 131, and 246-247.

Well before the war began, a number of prominent "widow ladies" signed an agreement to boycott British imports, and they posted a notice in the newspaper to make their position plain. Another group of women, acting at the behest of Martha Washington and Martha Wayles Jefferson (the wife of Governor Thomas Jefferson), raised thousands of dollars for the patriots by organizing collections through the churches. In Fredericksburg "the ladies" turned out to work in the gunnery and helped make "about twenty thousand cartridges with bullets, with which the Spotsylvania militia and the militia from Caroline have been supplied." And in Williamsburg, advertisements announced the need for nurses: "WANTED for the Continental Hospital in Williamsburg, some NURSES to attend the sick."

For most women the war, like life, was primarily a family affair. For a few this meant going with the army. The hardships of the terrible winter at Valley Forge are well known. Not so well known is the fact that Martha Washington was there, too. For poorer women the motivation for following the army was probably economic; they came along for fear of starving if they stayed home alone. The army needed the women as much as the women needed the army. Armies as yet had no elaborate quarter mastering system, and they needed women to do women's work.

In the case of Sarah Benjamin, her husband demanded that she come along. Many years later she described her work at Yorktown, where she "busied herself washing, mending, and cooking for the soldiers, in which she was assisted by the other females." While her husband worked on the entrenchments, she "cooked and carried in beef, and bread, and coffee (in a gallon pot) to the soldiers." One morning there was a furious artillery barrage, intense beating of drums, and then "all at once the officers hurraed and swung their hats." The British had surrendered. For Sarah Benjamin business continued as usual: "Having provisions ready, [she] carried the same down to the entrenchments that morning, and four of the soldiers whom she was in the habit of cooking for ate their breakfasts."

Suzanne Lebsack, "A Share of Honour", Virginia Women 1600-1945. W. M. Brown & Son, Richmond: 1984, p. 52.

[Expressions of love from an affectionate husband and father serving in the army.]

Nothing is so dear to my heart as that happiness which I promise myself with you and our

little ones, when the destruction of our savage Enemies will permit me to return home to the uninterrupted Enjoyment of the Felicity which awaits me there.

I anticipate the pleasure I shall have in answering the thousand Questions which [the children's]. . . curiosity will prompt them to ask in my return.

St. George Tucker to his wife, Frances, 15 September and March 1781. "Childrearing in the Early Chesapeake: The Tucker Family and the Rise of Republican Parenthood," Thesis by Linda Clark Wentworth, College of William and Mary 1984. pp. 52-53.

[Letter from Patrick Henry's sister who had come to Williamsburg with her husband to serve as hostess at the Palace for her widowed brother, then governor of Virginia.]

I now have the pleasure of telling you that we are all well, tho I have been very unwell since I come here to live for about a fort night, but thank god am now recovered. I am really quite tired of this place and were it not for being with Mr. Christian I should very soon leave it, however I dont think we shall get leave to stay here much longer, without affairs take a more favorable turn that we expect they will at present, we have heard this day of 1000 men to be here shortly, & the Govourner is expected at York every day & the people there are quite unprepared for an attack there-things in general appear very discouraging here, we have not more than 300 men in this Town, all our Army is still at Norfolk, tho that place has been reduced to ashes since new years day-I hate much to enlarge on the publick news for none of it is good, nothing here is to be expected by wars and fightings in the Spring, I wish to god we were out of the reach of them, living peaceably at home again which is one of the greatest blessings this life can afford-we are still living in Town but every day expecting an alarm, which may drive us up to Hanover, Mr. Christian is very well, & what surprises me much seems more contented then I can possibly be, at this great distance from home, yet I must conclude myself better here with him then at home with out his Company, God only can see the event of all this Confusion which at present our lower Country is in-but I heartily wish I may see an end to it soon & once more enjoy the bles'd retreat of a country life-I beg you'll remember me to our dear Mother & tell her I woud wrote to her but one letter will give you & her the news at once [] My kindest wishes attend [Mr] Fleming, Ro[x]y, M[r Smi]th, & Children & believe me to be with much esteem Dear Sister your ever affect.

Annie Christian, Williamsburg, 14 January 1776, to her sister Anne Fleming in Botetourt County. Original: Virginia Historical Society Miscellaneous Collections. Microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library.

[Letter to her loyalist father who had left his family and was then in New York.]

We last night had the pleasure of your last letter, which we earnestly waited for, & which mama not being very well able to write, has desired me to answer, which I wish you may ever receive; for there seems to be a great many things to interfere, and prevent its journey. Mama seems very unwilling to a separation of 1 or 2 years, at any rate, and desires you will shorten the time as much as you can, which at any rate will sit exceeding heavy on her. she is at present better than she has been. I carried her to Alex'a and she employed a doctor there, who prescribed something beneficial. I wish I could write free

and unreserved, for I have many things I would say to my dear & ever beloved father that I don't like the curious should see. I will endeavour to act in the department I am in as well as circumstances will permit, tho' exceeding troublesome in some respects; however, as to your 2d son, I think the best way will be to have him inoculated & send him to school, for it does not suit otherwise, & a friend of your's is very ready to board him. If you stay long enough at New York, pray write your pleasure in this regard. The family here are all as well as can be, & I am glad to hear no more odd adventures befell you in your way. I suppose you met no difficulties where you are; nothing could reconcile me to your voyage but the trust in the Almighty that you will safely return. I expect you will leave my brother in the other land. Pray do not omit writing & making him do it; tis owing to the General's interposition that you will receive this. I am exceeding glad of his protection. Mama will not be able to go to Alex'a this winter, there is always a reg't of soldier inoculated there, & the infection is never out of the town. She will be exceeding lonesome this year, however this is circumlocutious. I hope to often hear and yet I don't know how.

*Hon'd Sir: Give my love to my brother. I hope he will acquire the polite assurance & affable cheerfulness of a gentlemen, yet not forget the incidents of Fairfax Co. I must conclude with the family – y'r most truly & most unaffectedly
dutiful daughter,*

Virginia Historical Magazine, Vol. 11 (1904), p. 214. Letter from Sally Fairfax, [1778] to her father, Bryan Fairfax.

[Alice Lee Shippen grew up at the Westmoreland County plantation Stratford. She was the wife of a prominent Philadelphia resident when she wrote this letter to her daughter who was attending a boarding school outside of Philadelphia.]

I was extremely surprized when the waggon return'd the other evening without one line from you after I had been at the trouble & expence of sending for you as soon as I was inform'd 4000 troops were landed in Elizabeth-Town. Surely you should not omit any opportunity of writing to me, but to neglect such a one was inexcusable, but I shall say the less to you now, because you have been taught your duty & I take it for granted M^s Rogers has already reproved you for so great an omission, but do remember my dear how much of the beauty & usefulness of life depends on a proper conduct in the several relations in life, & the sweet peace that flows from the consideration of doing our duty to all with whom we are conected. I am sorry it is not in my power to get you the things I promised. It was late before I got to Philadelphia the afternoon I left you & the shops were shut the next day. I have looked all over this place but no muslin, satin, or dimity can be got. However your Uncle Joe says he has a whole suit of dimity very fine & that you may have what you want. Get enough for two work bags one for me & the other for yourself.

Your Pappa thinks you had better work a p^r of ruffles for General Washington if you can get proper muslin. Write to me as soon as you receive this & send your letter to your Pappa. Tell me how you improve in your work. Needle work is a most important branch of female education, & tell me how you have improved in holding your head & sholders, in making a curtsy, in going out or coming into a room, in giving & receiving, holding your knife & fork, walking & seting. These things contribute so much to a good appearance that they are of great consequence. Perhaps you will be at a loss how to judge wether you improve

or not, take this rule therefore for your assistance. You may be sure you improve in proportion to the degree of ease with which you do any thing as you have been taught to do it, & as you may be partial to yourself as to your appearance of ease (for you must not only feel easy but appear so) ask M^s Rogers opinion as a friend who now acts for you in my place & you must look upon her as your parent as well as your Governess as you are at this time wholly in her care & you may depend upon it if you treat her with the duty & affection of a child she will have the feelings of a parent for you. Give my compliments to her & tell her I thank her for the care she takes of you. Give my compliments to the young Ladies. I am sorry Miss Stevens has left you. Dont offend Miss Jones by speaking against the Quakers. Tell Polly I shall remember her when I return. There is an alarm here the enemy are said to be coming this way, tis lucky you are not with me. Your Uncle F. Lee & his Lady & M^r & M^s Haywood are with me in the same house. They set out today for Lancaster & I for Maryland. I believe I will write to you as soon as I get settled. Farewell my dear. Be good & you will surely be happy which will contribute very much to the happiness of

*Your Affect. Mother
A Shippen*

Reding 22 Sept. 1777.

Miss Shippen

at Mrs. Rogers

Ethel Armes, ed., Nancy Shippen, Her Journal Book, B. Bloom: New York, 1968, p. 40.

[Helen (Calvert) Maxwell Read (b. Norfolk, 1750, d. Norfolk 1833) dictated her life story to her son William Maxwell in the early nineteenth century. Daughter and wife of prominent Norfolk residents who was in the last stage of pregnancy when she and her children fled Norfolk just before Dunmore invaded the city at the beginning of the Revolution.]

I [Mrs. Helen Calvert (Maxwell) Read] was born in Norfolk, on the 20th day of June, 1750 [d. 1833, Norfolk]. I was the daughter of Maximilian and Mary Calvert, of that place .

Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, Vol. I, (1895), p. 60.

Upon my marriage with Mr. Maxwell [1767 James Maxwell]

[Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, Vol. II, Part 2, (1897), p. 56]

. . . when I had passed my twentieth year, I had my first child, a daughter which we called Sarah after my husband's aunt in London. After a year afterwards, I had another, a son, whom we called Maximilian, after my father. Then I had another daughter called Helen, after myself. So, we were going, as usual, and enjoying much domestic happiness when the Revolutionary War came on to disturb our quiet and drive us from our peaceful home. . . Many of the officers visited at our house. . . said to us. . ."There is no danger of it at present, but when it is decided on, I shall know it of course, and will give you a hint in time." Accordingly a few days after, he told us it was time for us to be moving, and we set about sending all our valuable articles of furniture &C. over to Max Herbert's at the point, where we took a room. . .leaving a negro woman, old Sarah behind to take care of the house and

lot, and look after a sow and pigs which she was raising for herself with great care. Scarcely was this done, when we saw the ships all drawn up in a line before the town, from the upper wharf to town point and heard the drums beating on board of them and presently afterwards they began to fire away on the town about four O'clock in the afternoon (Jan. 1st 1776). In the midst of the cannonade we saw a small boat rowed by a single man, with another person in it, put off from the Norfolk side, and make for the Point where we were looking one, and could not imagine what could be in it. The enemy soon saw her, too, and concluding, no doubt, that she carried the Mayor, or some other personage of equal consequence, who was trying to make his escape, they despatched a barge well manned after her, and soon took her and carried her to one of his ships. And who were the fugitives? Old Sarah and her sow and pigs. For it seems, being alarmed by the great guns, and trembling for the safety of her darlings, whom she loved as if they had been her own children, she abandoned the care of the property, and was trying to save her bacon in this way. . . . Here Mr. and Mrs. Herbert, and his sons, seeing the boat coming, and apprehending an attack on the house, armed themselves with their guns and went down to the landing to keep the barge off. This was enough for me. I instantly caught up my daughter Helen in my arms, and taking little Max by the hand, I set off to make my escape with them to another Mr. Herbert's who lived some miles off, and where, I thought, I should be more safe. By this time night was coming on, and the roar of the cannon was more and more dreadful in my ears. When I got to the great gate, I met a negro man named Jack belonging to the family, coming home. "Oh, mistress," said he, "where are you going" Indeed Jack, said I, I can hardly tell you, but I believe I am going to Mr. . . . Herbert's . . . Why, mistress, said he, Mr. . . . Herbert lives at least 8 miles off, and I am sure you can never get there this night. But there is a Mrs. Herbert who lives about two miles from here, up the river, and if you will wait a little till I can just go to the house and carry my bag, I will show you the way there, . . . Agreed said I, and presently Jack was gone and come, and taking up Nelly in his arms we set off to trudge our way through the wood and marsh, to Mrs. Herbert's. We had not proceeded far, however, when we were met by my mother in a chaise, with my brother Jonathan driving her. She knew my voice and cried out, "Oh, Nelly, is that you? So I told her what had happened and where I was going. Just then who should come up to us but Mrs. Herbert herself, who was flying from her house in the greatest alarm, saying that she had heard . . . that the British were going to set fire that night to all the houses along the river, . . . just then Mr. M. came up having succeeded in making peace with the barge men and the Herberts, and immediately set out after me. He assured Mrs. Herbert that the British would have enough to do that night with the town, and persuaded her to go back to her house, put down beds on the floor, and take us all in till next morning, . . . the next morning, he came with a fine barge, which he had borrowed from one of the ships and took me bag and baggage up the Branch to Kempsville. I took up my lodging in a room in Billy White's house, one of the largest and best in the village, where my sister Marsden was staying, . . . and where, I made sure that I would be safe.

Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, Vol. II, Part 3, (1898), pp. 79-81.

. . . Soon afterwards, However, Lord Dunmore took it into his head to make an excursion into the country, at the head of his troops, consisting of a fine body of grenadiers,

and a large company of refugees, and carried all before him. A number of the militia, indeed, from Norfolk and all about commanded by Col. _____ (the son of the old Col.) had been drawn up in a field before Kempsville to stop his march, but when they saw the British coming, with colors flying, arms shining, and drums beating, they all took to their heels and ran away as fast as their horses and legs could carry them, without staying to fire a single shot. . . . After this Lord Dunmore entered the town in triumph, at the head of his soldiers and proceeded at once to establish his headquarters at Mrs. Logans. . . . and those who could not conveniently run away, went at one and took the oath of allegiance. . . . All who thus declared themselves on the King's side, wore a badge of red cloth on their breasts, and the price of the article rose in the stores. . . . Never, I suppose since wars began, was there a victory more complete or won with so little loss of blood. Seeing the town thus taken and alarmed again for our safety, my sister Marsden and myself, went over in the afternoon to Charles Sawyers, who lived a little out of Kempsville, to stay with his family as he had kindly invited us to do. We had hardly got there however, when an ugly looking negro man, dressed up in a full suit of British regimentals, and armed with a gun, came in upon us, and asked with a saucy tone -- Have you got any dirty shirts here? (this is the name by which our soldiers were known) I want your dirty shirts. No said I, we have no dirty shirts here. . . . said I, to my sister, this is no place of safety for us, and, I think we had better go back to the town before that horrid wretch returns, . . . I then went to my trunk and took out a purse of gold, and filled my pockets with dollars, and we set off. It was now dark, and as we entered the town, we found the houses all lighted up, and Mrs. Logans particularly appears almost illuminated. Knowing that I had a friend at Court in her, the thought struck me that I would go over, at once, to her house to see Lord Dunmore, and complain to him, of the insult we had just received. Mrs. Logan received me with great kindness, and introduced me to Lord Dunmore, who was sitting at his ease, and apparently highly pleased with his days work. So I told him my tale. Why, madam, said he, this is a provoking piece of insolence indeed, but there is no keeping these black rascals within bounds. . . . Yet he had excited the negroes himself. . . . pray madam, continued he, where is your husband all this time? Indeed, my Lord, said I, I cannot tell you where he is. For he left me this morning, . . . I cannot say when I shall see him. Well, madam, when you do, you must be sure and tell him for me, that . . . His Majesty wants his service, and I will give him any place he will name, if he will come in and join us. . . . Shortly afterwards I rose to go home, when his Lordship followed me to the door, and offering me his arm, insisted on seeing me safe to my lodgings. I tried to decline the honor, especially, as I thought there was some risk, saying, O! dont trouble yourself, my Lord, It is but a step . . . So I took his arm, and he escorted me very politely to Billy Whites door, where he bade me good night, . . . When I entered the house, I found it filled with refugees, some of whom knew me and was disposed to be very polite. They had a rousing fire below, and were very merry. My sister, however, had a room up stairs, and I another opposite to it, and we both went up and retired to our chambers. Soon, afterwards, a servant girl came in to say that there was some one at the bottom of the garden, wanting to see me, and, she added, he says you must come to him directly. And, who is it? said I. Why he told me not tell any one said she, but, he says he is your husband. So, I followed the girl, and there I found Mr.

Maxwell. I told him, of course, all the occurrences of the day. Well, said he, I see that I must still keep out of the way, for I am determined not to join Lord Dunmore in any event. Well, said I, but at least, you can be safe here to night, and you can come in privately and spend it with me, . . . So we went in together, and shortly afterwards retired to rest. . . . Not long afterwards, however, I saw by the light of the moon shining into the room, two tall grenadiers, armed cap-apee, come in and make directly for the bed where he lay. In an instant Mr. Maxwell was up, and demanded, What do you want? . . . Hush or you are a dead man. Still Mr. Maxwell persisted What do you want, I say? Leave the room this instant, or, your officers are below, and I will call them up. At this the fellow made a pass at him with his bayonet, which went through his shirt and even grazed his breast, and, turning then, they made for the door, and ran down stairs, and Mr. Maxwell after them. At this, I rose also, . . . and drawing on my gown, followed the chase, making but one step from the top to the bottom of the stairs. Here, I found my sister and several of the refugees with lights crying, whats the matter? and Mr. M. pointing to a hoisted window and saying I saw the rascals go out of that window. But, I know them, and will have them punished for this outrage in the morning. So, we all returned to our apartments again. The next morning Mr. M. left me again, and I saw no more of him for several days. At last, I saw him come in the house, with a bit of red cloth on the breast of his coat. Oh! said I, is it come to this? Believe me, I would rather have seen you dead than to have seen you with this red badge. Phast! said he, do you think it has changed my mind? Dont you see how Dunmore is carrying all before him, and, if I can save my property by this step, ought I not in common prudence to wear it, for your sake and the children? . . . I shall never join the enemy. Shortly afterwards, he told me that Billy White and Charles Sayer were going to take their families out into North Carolina, . . . So, he went and hired lodgings for me in the house of one Squire Evrgan in Pasquotank county in N.C. and, some time afterwards, I removed there. In the mean time, Lord Dunmore, elated by his easy victory over the Norfolk and Pungo militia, determined to attack our troops at the Great Bridge, where we had about a thousand men who had been sent down under the command of Col. Woodford, and who were strongly posted behind a breastwork which they had thrown up at the further end of the long causeway which led into the village from the Norfolk side. It was, indeed, a foolhardy undertaking, but, he thought that his grenadiers were invincible. . . . Shortly afterwards, my husband came in and took me out, to my lodgings which he had taken for me in Pasquotank. Here I had Polly. Here we were quiet, and I liked our situation so well, that Mr. M. had thought of buying a farm there and settling us down on it, when he received a letter from Gen. Washington, I think, or some one – inviting him to come and take charge of the Navy Yard which it was proposed to establish, and he determined, at once, to accept the invitation and join the standard of the country, which, I was both proud and pleased to have him do. We then came down and went to stay for a short time at the house on the farm on Tanners Creek, which belonged to my father. Thence, we went up to the Ship yard on the Chickahominy river.

Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, Vol. II, Part 4, (1898), pp. 132-138.

Some time after this (the British having burned us out at the Ship Yard) I moved to a farm in New Kent, seven miles further up, belonging to Jerry Waden, where, I thought, it should

be out of the way. . . . Here, shortly afterwards, my young brother Savage came up from Norfolk and joined me. He was about fifteen years old, and had a Coat. . . . not unlike Joseph's of many colors. . . . We had not been here long, however, before we learned that the British were coming down on their way to York, and one morning I looked out and saw turning the corner of the fence and coming straight up for the gate a company of refugees. "Oh, sister," cried Savage, in great alarm, "What shall I do with my Coat? . . . Here! just take up the child (little John) from the cradle, and I will . . . put it under the clothes, and will keep rocking the cradle." . . . – "Oh, sister, he has got my Coat" – when I went back and found the lad in a tussel with one of the company, who had turned the child the first thing, without much ceremony, and seized upon the prize, . . . I called out, "Who is the captain among you?" . . . "Well then, good Captain," said I, "do make this man give up my brother's Coat to him." "That I will, Madam," . . .

Not long afterwards I looked out and saw a fine company of light horse coming round the corner of the fence, and making up to the great gate in front of the house. "Well now," said I to myself, "I will pluck up a little courage this time and meet them boldly if I can." So, I went, at once, to the door, where they were all drawn up before me in the yard. . . . "But to come to the point, come – my good madam," said he, "what have you got for us? for, we are beating about for provisions." "Indeed, sir," said I, "I am sorry to say, I have got very little for you," . . . "Here," said he, to one of his officers, "go along with this good lady, and see what she calls a little, and mind – don't take more than half of what she has got, for we must be generous to her." So, the officer came in, and with the men to help him proceeded very politely to rob me of what he called half of all my provisions in the house – though, I thought he took full two-thirds. In the meantime, I found out that these people were only part of a large body who were all encamped on my very plantation, and were hid from my eyes only by a small forest of woods. I was of course, in great alarm, lest I should be exposed to further depredations from them, and requested the Captain (who was growing more soft and civil) in consideration of my supplies, to send me a guard, for the protection of my house. This, however, he assured me was not necessary, but shortly after he had gone away with his troops, there came two soldiers, a Hessian and a Scotchman, . . . The Hessian was a frightful-looking fellow who could not speak a word of English, and soon after, threw himself down, apparently overcome with fatigue, and slept profoundly. . . . After this several Hessian soldiers straggled over to the house, and some of them seemed well disposed to be rude, but my trusty Scot kept them off according to his word. The next morning, when the bugle blew, the Scotchman took his leave to join the troop who were under arms for a march, but all he could do, he could not wake up the Hessian, . . . after sleeping all day, he woke up and went off to overtake the army as fast as he could. Towards evening, Savage, who had gone out to reconnoitre, returned with the joyful news that the British had all passed over the Bridge (Dyer's or New bridge) and broke it down after them to keep our people from following them too closely; and "Come, now, sister," said he, "you have slept none for several nights past, but now the enemy has gone, you may sleep quietly with no fears about your stays, and I shall have none about my Coat." Accordingly, I retired soon afterwards to rest, taking off my stays, in whose capacious breast I had carried the purse of gold for so many anxious nights, and

composed myself to rest. Just as I was falling asleep, however, I was roused by the trampling of a horse galloping towards the house, . . . Just then listening with all my ears, I caught the sound of a well-known voice – it was my husband talking with the negroes who had come out to take his horse. In an instant he was in the room, and I was in his arms. "Oh,!" said I, "are you come again? And what have you been about? Here is Cornwallis, has gone up the country and taken my trunk of valuables at the Point of Fork, and down the country, taking everything his own way. And pretty fellows are you and the Marquis La Fayette, and all the rest of you, to let the British and Refugees come and harry poor woman and children this way." "Hush," said he, "the Marquis knows what he is about. He has had but a handful of men with him all the time yet, and quite too few to join battle with. But our turn is coming. The country is rising around us. Our men are coming in from all quarters. The enemy are flying to York, where we shall catch them all as cleverly as you ever saw a partridge caught in a trap. Then hey! for Norfolk, and happy times!" So, he cheered me up with his lively spirit, and I told him the story of Savage and his coat, and my other adventures since we had parted, at which, he laughed very heartily. Indeed, they were more pleasant to tell, than they had been to bear.

Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, Vol. III, Part 1, (1899), pp. 24-29.

. . . Sometime after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York, we moved down to Norfolk, but as the town was not yet rebuilt, and it was impossible to get a house in it, we accepted the invitation of Mr. Plume who had a small house at Pattenween, near Fort Norfolk, to take a part of it, until we could obtain one of our own. Here I had my son William (1784). In the meantime Mr. M. had bought a part of the confiscated estate of Neil Jameison, Scotch tory, who had gone off with Lord Dunmore, and began to build a wharf with two or three warehouses on it, and also a dwelling house in little Water Street, at the head of it. He had become owner, also, of two or three Hampton Boats, and became jointly concerned in the Ferry with Capt. Hunter of that town. He was thus making money rapidly. About this time Mr. Plume, who was in partnership with one Newton in the ropewalk which they had established where it now stands, made an overture to Mr. Maxwell to go out to the West Indies to collect debts owing to them there, and Mr. M., who was also desirous of collecting those which were due to the late firm of Marsden, Maxwell & Co., consented to go, provided they would build him a ship for the purpose. This they did, and he superintended the building of her in Scott's neck, near Fort Nelson, and afterwards sailed away in her, leaving me, with my two small boys, Max and James, to manage the wharfs and boats, and look after the carpenters who were building our dwelling house. Accordingly Mr. Plume and I used to go over to Norfolk every morning in a canoe, I often with William in my arms, and look after our different engagements and return in the evening. When Mr. M. returned from his voyage, we went into our new house.

Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, Vol. III, Part 2, (1900), pp. 49-50.

E. The Black Family Story

Contrary to popular views of family stability, the familial history of slaves in colonial and antebellum Loudoun and throughout Virginia offers compelling evidence that many

slaves did not have a nuclear structure or "core" in their families. There also is very little evidence that suggests that a nuclear family was the slave's sociocultural ideal. Virginia slave families, while demonstrating much diversity in form, essentially were not nuclear and did not derive from long-term, monogamous marriages. The most discernible ideal for their principal kinship organization was a malleable extended family that, when possible, provided its members with nurture, education, socialization, material support, and recreation in the face of potential social chaos that the slaveholder imposed. Matrifocality, polygamy, single parents, abroad spouses, one-, two-, and three-generation households, all-male domestic residences of blood, marriage, and fictive kin, single- and mixed-gender sibling dwellings -- these, along with monogamous marriages and co-residential nuclear families, all comprised the familial experience of Virginia slaves like James Monroe's Daniel. Beneath this overwhelming record of diversity, however, the extended slave family remained the consistent norm and the most identifiable ideal. . .

The primary role of the slave woman within her family, while more predictable and "stable" than that of the slave man, also was uniquely different from that of free women. She never was able to give the needs of her husband and children great attention, much less first priority. Even though most slave children were part of matrifocal families, the slave woman's most important duty was the labor she performed for her master, not her family. This responsibility claimed so much of her time and energy that childbearing was limited, while childrearing necessarily was a task she shared with a number of other females.

Slave marriages, even monogamous ones, rarely were uncompromised. While slave couples committed to monogamy may have been devoted to one another and able to sustain feelings of love and respect over time, feelings sufficient to lead them to marry legally after emancipation, many did not have the opportunity to express their feelings for more than a few years while enslaved. Across time and space, the frequent and indiscriminate separation of slave spouses, temporarily and permanently, denied them the opportunity to live together, to share the responsibilities of their households and children, and to provide each other with sociosexual outlets.

Free people of color, by law and custom, had more control of their family lives and greater domestic stability than slaves. Their free status guaranteed them at least the possibility of "traditional" monogamous marriages, nuclear families, and other functional familial structures. Their race and its stigma, nonetheless, had incredible impact on every aspect of their communities, and especially their family life.

Brenda E. Stevenson, Life in Black and White. Family and Community in the Slave South, Oxford University Press, New York: 1996, pp. 160-161.

* * *

CAME to the house of the subscriber, in Springfield township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, some time in September last, a Negroe Lad, who says his name was James, and that he ran away from his master in Virginia, to Dunmore, and that his master's name is Samuel

Morgan. – His master is desired to come, prove his property, pay charges and take him away.

William Bryan.

Pennsylvania Gazette, (Hall & Sellers), 30 October 1776, p. 1.

November 2, 1775

RAN away last Night, from the Subscriber, a Negro Man named CHARLES, . . . stole several of my Shirts, a Pair of new Saddle Bags, and two MARES, one a darkish, the other a light Bay, with a Blaze and white Feet, and about 3 Years old. . . believe he intends an Attempt to get to Lord Dunmore; . . .

Robert Brent.

Virginia Gazette (Dixon & Hunter), November 18, 1775 in Lathan A. Windley, comp., Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Volume 1: Virginia and North Carolina. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983, pp. 172-173.

[Monticello slave Isaac Jefferson dictated his memoirs to historian Charles Campbell in 1847.]

[1781] Till they fired, the Richmond people thought they was a company come from Petersburg to join them; some of 'em even hurrahd when they see them coming; but that moment they fired everybody knew it was the British. One of the cannon balls knocked off the top of a butcher's house; he was named Daly, not far from the Governor's house. The butcher's wife screamed out and holler'd and her children too and all. In ten minutes not a white man was to be seen in Richmond; they ran hard as they could stave to the camp at Bacon Quarter Branch. There was a monstrous hollering and screaming of women and children. Isaac was out in the yard; his mother ran out and cotch him up by the hand and carried him into the kitchen hollering. Mary Hemings, she jerked up her daughter the same way. Isaac run out again in a minute and his mother too; she was so skeered, she didn't know whether to stay indoors or out. . . .

When Isaac's mother found they was gwine to cart him away, she thought they was gwine to leave her. She was cryin' and hollerin' when one of the officers came on a horse and ordered us all to Hylton's. Then they marched off to Westham. Isaac heard the powder magazine when it blew up – like an earthquake. Next morning between eight and nine they marched to Tuckahoe, fifteen miles; took a good many colored people from Old Tom Mann Randolph. . . .

Memoirs of a Monticello Slave as Dictated to Charles Campbell by Isaac [1847]. James A. Bear, Jr., ed., University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1967, pp. 7-9.

FAMILY
LIFE
CYCLE

Section A - Courtship and Marriage

1. Courtship

Marriage was vital to class formation and gentry identity. It was one of the primary means by which Virginia's planters maintained their dominance for the rest of the century. Through strategic intermarriages, wealthy families reaffirmed their social position and launched their sons in prominent political careers. Their daughters, meanwhile, gained economic security and a release from some of the manual labor that characterized the lives of less wealthy and enslaved women.

If marriage was the gateway to gentry status, it was also its testing ground. During courtship, a young man risked repudiation in his quest of self-affirmation and an advantageous match. Courtship also constituted a period of trial for his family, during which its fortunes would be judged by the courted woman and her parents. For an elite woman, however, courtship's liminality offered an unparalleled chance to intervene in the course of her own life and influence the men in it. A woman could reject a suitor, shattering fragile egos and blasting family pretensions. She might also influence her father to accept a man he would otherwise consider unworthy. Courtship was thus an unusual time in which the balance of power tipped briefly in favor of young women.

Strategic marriages within the ranks of Virginia's planter class established several families and helped others to maintain their position for several generations. Although Robert "King" Carter is best known for building a fortune through shrewd deals and the ruthless management of estates, he was also the matchmaking "king" of early-eighteenth-century Virginia, a skill that contributed in no small measure to his success. The son of John Carter, a man who had prospered through five marriages of his own, Carter advanced his career through two advantageous matches. By the time his children came of age, Carter was in a position to help them attract and win the wealthiest partners in the colony through generous marriage portions. Each son received a home plantation, several subsidiary landholdings, and the necessary slaves, livestock, and tools to make them profitable. Each subsequently married a woman who brought to the union considerable wealth and political connections.

"King" Carter's greatest accomplishment, however, may have been the marriage of his daughters. Daughters often proved a financial liability because of the need to provide sons-in-law with substantial marriage settlements. Carter appears to have facilitated these marital agreements with cash rather than property, with the result that his family cemented alliances with four of the wealthiest families in the colony -- the Burwells, Pages, Harrisons, and Fitzhughs -- without losing control over family lands.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: pp. 249, 256.

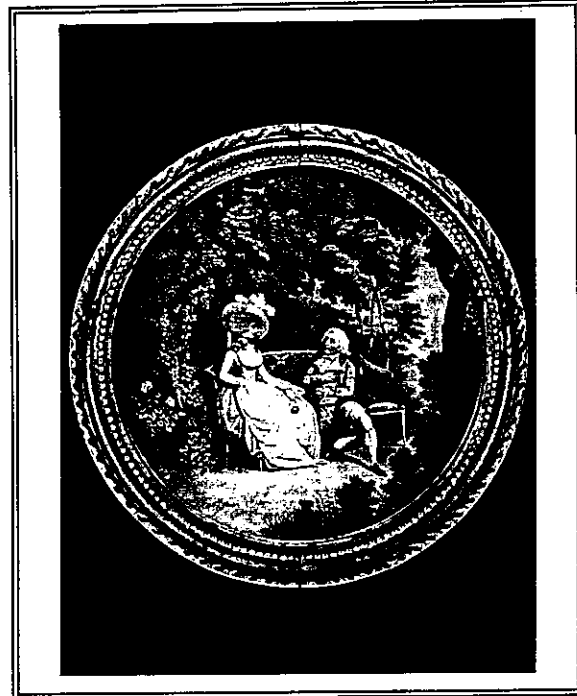
[Robert Bolling's journal-epistle, which he entitled "A Circumstantial Account of Certain Transactions, that once greatly interested the Writer. . ." recounts his courtship of Anne ("Nancy") Miller from January to September 16, 1760. . . [and] Robert Bolling's "Circumstantial Account" reveals the emotions (and some of the actions) of a young man in love. It is the most detailed colonial American courtship account told from a young man's viewpoint.

Anne Miller and Robert Bolling were both great-grandchildren of Robert Bolling (1646-1709), the emigrant, . . . In January 1760, when the journal begins, Bolling was twenty-one and Ann Miller was sixteen. . . Anne ("Nancy") Miller was the daughter of Hugh and Jane Bolling Miller of Grenock. She was born on March 13, 1742/43, . . . After her mother's death in the winter of 1756-57, her father Hugh Miller, who had emigrated to Virginia from Scotland . .

. . . resolved to return to Glasgow. . . The Millers left Virginia on October 17, 1760 . . . arrived in Glasgow. . . probably during the summer of 1761, Hugh Miller moved the family to Edinburgh while he went to London, where he died on February 13, 1762. . . Late in 1762 Peyton Skipwith, whom Bolling feared as a rival in 1760, voyaged to Edinburgh to woo Anne Miller. . . Anne Miller and Peyton Skipwith returned to Virginia in 1764, perhaps as a result of the news of Peyton's father's death on February 25 of that year. "About a fortnight after," they were married in Virginia. . . They had four children. First, Lelia. . . (c. 1767-1837), who married, first, George Carter (1761-1788) of Shirley and, second (on October 8, 1791), St. George Tucker, . . . Second, Grey (1771-1852), who inherited the estate of Sir Thomas Grey Skipwith (d. 1791) of Newbold Hall, England. Third, Maria, who died young. And fourth, Peyton (1779-1808) . . . Anne, Lady Skipwith, died at Hog Island, Surry County, on September 14, 1779, the day after the birth of her fourth child, Peyton.

About a year after Anne Miller left Virginia, Bolling began courting Mary Burton. . . and he married at the "old Plantation," Northampton County, on the Eastern Shore, on June 5, 1763 . . . Bolling and his wife Mary had one child, Mary Burton Bolling, born at Jordan's, Prince George County, the home of Bolling's stepfather, Richard Bland. Two days later, May 2, 1764, Bolling's wife Mary died.

Bolling's courtship journal evidently was written after Anne Miller sailed from Virginia on October 17, 1760. The whole account is therefore suffused with Bolling's bitter feelings about the outcome of the affair, though he occasionally forgot his resentment in reliving the courtship's happier moments. The "Appendix" seems to have been added several



There was freedom for young people to be together during courtship as shown in the Bolling courtship. (C86-556)

years after Anne Miller's return to Virginia and her marriage to Peyton Skipwith . . .

A
*Circumstantial Account
of Certain Transactions,
that once
greatly interested the Writer and which
terminated at Flower-de-Hundred, on
the sixteenth of September, 1760, as such juvenile
Transactions do frequently to the Satisfaction of Nobody.*

In my Neighbourhood, in Virginia, lived a Scotch Gentleman, whose Name was [Hugh] Miller. . . His eldest Daughter [Anne ("Nancy") Miller], who is to be the principal Subject of the ensuing Narrative, was then about fifteen Years old.

*She was of a Disposition something uncommon. A certain Impetus, a Sprightliness in every Thought and Action, gave me the first Impressions in her Favor. But this Disposition had its Disadvantages, as that *Vis Animi* was no less visible in her Resentments than in her Pleasures and Attachments. Her Person was genteel and the Turn of her Face agreeable, tho not beautiful. She had a Haughtiness, I may even say, a Fierceness in her Countenance; which, on any little Emotion, destroyed, in some Degree, that pretty Softness, which is so amiable in a young Lady. With this Violence of Temper she had a Fund of good Sense, which served as a Counterpoise to that Defect: and which, as she grew older, seemed intirely to have mastered it.*

It was not `til the Year 1759 that I began to feel a particular Pleasure in this young Creature's Company. I knew the Obstinacy of her Father, and his positive Resolution to carry her with him to Great-Britain: and therefore confined myself, as much as possible, within the Bounds of Friendship: but the great Intimacy, between Relations in this Colony, permitting many Freedoms; I found it impossible to have this Lady in my Arms for Hours together, without feeling such Emotions, as are the unavoidable Consequence of much Familiarity between the Sexes. The pleasing Passion insensibly wrought itself into my Constitution, and became as much a Necessity with me as Hunger, Thirst, or any other involuntary Inclination. I therefore endeavoured, without making my Design public, to insinuate myself into her good Graces; and very often pressed her to declare what Hopes I might entertain. She gave no other than evasive Answers, expressing Doubts of my sincerity and Apprehensions of her Father's Disapprobation. Nothing cou'd be more encouraging than this Kind of Behaviour. . . .

([Thursday] the 17), at Herbert Haynes's. . . I took Miss Miller a part and intreated, she wou'd tell me Whether her Friends and Country had not sufficient Charms to detain her here, and whether I might be the happy Person, she wou'd make Choice of, to accomplish that good End. She replied, with a Turn of Expression as little mortifying as possible, "That, if her Father left the Colony, she must in Duty wait on him." "May I hope, my dear Nancy, that you will return with me, if I follow you to Great-Britain?" "'Tis impossible for me to tell

what may then be my Sentiments." "Tell me, I beseech you, Madam, what wou'd be your Sentiments, was it not for that Circumstance of your Father's Departure, and I shall readily guess what they will be hereafter?" "I hope, Sir, you will not think an Answer to that Question necessary."

The young Ladies passed the greatest Part of that Night in my Chamber [at Cobbs]: but, as my Nancy was generally on a Bed with me, I had sufficient Opportunity to represent the Violence of my Passion and intreat a more favorable Sentence. "How can you ask me, my Cousin, when you know I can't." This she said in a melting Accent, and, I believe, was much affected. I expressed Apprehensions of her Attachment to Peyton Skipwith; but she gave me repeated Assurances, that they were ill-founded . . . Sometime after this ([Tuesday, Feb.]26) a little Entertainment was made at Cobbs, to which herself, her Father and Mr. James Johnson (a Gentleman of whom I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter) were invited. There was an End of my Determination. I did indeed endeavour to behave to her with Indifference; but, coming by Accident into a Chamber, where she was sitting, extremely pensive, on a Bed: I cou'd no longer withhold, but overcome by an Excess of Passion, I threw myself thereon, and pressed her to my Bosom, with a Rapture, which can scarce be conceived. She reproached me with (but my Answers convinced her, I had no) Coldness. While we were together on the Bed I overlaid and broke a Fan of hers: a Necklace too had already fallen a Sacrifice to my Caresses.

([July] 16) I went thence to Grenock. . . . we retired unobserved into the Room called the Nursery; where we were near two Hours together. She gave me the most obliging Assurances, that she would write to me often after her Arrival in Scotland, and that, if Things shou'd turn out so that she cou'd return to Virginia, she declared, she wou'd give me immediate Information thereof. The Tears ran plentifully down her Cheeks. I must own, that, on that tender Occasion, I cou'd not forbear mixing my own with her's; and shewing a Sensibility, of which I was ashamed.

To Mr. Hugh Miller.

Dear Daddy,

August 26, 1760.

Pray be so good as calmly read this Letter; for, I must tell you, my whole Happiness depends on it. Not to keep my dear Daddy any longer in Suspense, I have fixed my Affections on Mr. Bolling; nor it is in my Power ever to be tolerably happy, unless you will be so good as to consent to my marrying him. He is no Stranger to my Inclinations: he wou'd have waited on you himself, but I made it my Choice to prepare you for a Visit from him on this Occasion. Do not believe, good Sir, that it is a sudden Thought: no: for some time I have prefer'd him to all Mankind; but did not think my Affections were so deeply rooted, 'til I found we were to be separated forever: which, give me Leave to tell you, I believe, will be impossible, so must conclude your

dutiful Daughter

Ann Miller

I waited, as was proposed, the next Day on Mr. Miller ([Wednesday, Aug.] 27). He treated me with a Civility, I by no Means expected; but which, I found afterwards, was

occasioned by his Apprehension of our making an Elopement. He was however severe enough in his Determination, which was, that, If for two Years we continued to have the same Sentiments for each other, we then professed, he wou'd give his Consent to our Union; and added, that, if I cou'd accomodate my Circumstances, so as to live in Great-Britain, it wou'd lesson, if not intirely remove, his Objections. He declared he had none against myself in particular, but cou'd not bear the thoughts of a Separation from his Daughter, whom, he said, I might visit at his House `till the two Years expired. I desired his Permission to be as much as possible with her, while she continued in Virginia. This he refused, at first; alleging, that it might transport us both to take Measures, that might not then even enter our Imaginations. . . .

On my Return from that Place ([Friday, Sept.] 5) I found Miss Sukey just arrived, but with very ill News, . . . that Mr. Miller was much displeas'd at my seeing his Daughter. Strange! that he shou'd imagine, I wou'd remain within two Miles of, and not make her one Visit. In Consequence of this, my Nancy, after weeping in the most affectionate manner, concluded with desiring me not to give her Father that Subject of Uneasiness. I must own, that the Request not only surprized but displeas'd me. I apprehended, that, if *Consensus et non Concubitus facit Matrimonium*, as say the Civilians, she owed me more Duty, as her Husband, than she did her Father. I departed, without taking Leave.

After Colonel Bolling's Return to Mitchels ([Thursday, Sept.] 18) I waited on him not without Hopes, I own, of having some agreeable Message from my Butterfly. His Wife and himself inform'd me, that after my Departure, she was much affected, threw herself backward on the Bed and continued in that Situation great Part of the Afternoon: That they left her the next Day on Board the filthiest Vessel in the World in a State of Distraction, they cou'd not describe without weeping. When they took Leave of her, she clasped the Colonel by the Hand and with every visible Mark of Despair, "O my dear Uncle," said she, "what wou'd I give to return with you! O I wou'd give the whole World," and immediately ran off the Deck into her Cabbin, making Lamentations, that might be heard all over the Ship; her Father, who was present, being the only Person unaffected. She still declared, that I was and ever wou'd be the Object of her Inclination. A Lock of her Hair was delivered to me, I suppose by way of Compromise for the whole which I ought to have received.

J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., *Robert Bolling Woos Anne Miller, Love and Courtship in Colonial Virginia, 1760*: University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville and London, 1990, pp. 1, 4, 13-15, 20, 31, 49-70.

[Brotherly advice on pending marriage of Betsey Braxton to Henry Whiting (married 16 Nov. 1780)]

Mr. Whiting Yesterday delivered to me your letter of the 23rd ult: Stranger as that Genl: is to me, it is impossible I can conceive any other opinion of him than what you teach me to conceive. He is of a very good Family & I can have no Reason to doubt that he deserves the character you give of him. In an affair of so much consequence to Betsey, I would not suppress if I were acquainted with the man of her choice any considerable objection he must be liable to; but Mr. Whiting is so perfectly unknown to me that I have only to repose myself on the favorable Judgement of those who have had the best opportunity of making it & comfort myself with the fair prospect of my Niece's happiness.

The Distance is so great that I fear it will be too Herculean an undertaking for me to witness the Joy of the approaching occasion. . . My Daughter is very desirous of seeing the last act of Betsey's Liberty. We must endeavor to gratify her. . . My wife joins me in Love to you & best wishes to the Expecting Heart fluttering Niece we have with you.

Your affectionate Brother John Blair

Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, & Whiting Papers, 1765-1890. Original College of William and Mary, transcripts Colonial Williamsburg Library. John Blair Jr. to his sister Mary Braxton, October 3, 1780.

[Carefree banter of young, unmarried sister who had been visiting in Hampton where three ships were in port and the young ladies had been enjoying the attention of the ship's officers]

Nothing my Dr. Sisr. (a Husband excepted) could give a more additional satisfaction to the Happiness we now enjoy then yr. Company; do come, and resolve with us, Since Life is no more then a passage at the best to strew the way over with Flowers. . .

Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner and Whiting Letters. Original: College of William and Mary. Transcripts Colonial Williamsburg Library. Anne Blair to her sister Mrs. Mary Braxton [1768].

[The next two items show male perspectives on courtship prospects during Public Times at the theater and at balls in taverns]

In the most melancholy fit that ever any poor soul was, I sit down to write to you. Last night, as merry as agreeable company and dancing with Belinda in the Apollo could make me, I never could have thought the succeeding sun would have seen me so wretched as I now am! I was prepared to say a great deal: I had dressed up in my own mind, such thoughts as occurred to me, in as moving language as I knew how, and expected to have performed in a tolerably creditable manner. But, good God! When I had an opportunity of venting them, a few broken sentences, uttered in great disorder, and interrupted with pauses of uncommon length, were the too visible marks of my strange confusion! The whole confab I will tell you, word for word, if I can, when I see you...

Julian P. Boyd, editor, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 1, p.11-12. Thomas Jefferson to John Page 7 Oct 1763.

In a few days after I got to Virginia, I set out to Wmsburg, where I was detained for 11 days, tho' I spent the time very agreeably, at the plays every night, & really must join Mr. Ennalls & Mrs. Bassette in thinking Miss Hallam super fine. But must confess her luster was much sullied by the number of Beauties that appeared at that court. The house was crowded every night, & the gentlemen who have generally attended that place agree there was treble the number of fine Ladyes that was ever seen in town before – for my part I think it would be impossible for a man to have fixed upon a partner for life, the choice was too general to have fixed on one.

William and Mary Quarterly, Series 1, Vol. 2, p. 241. Letter from Hudson Muse, Northumberland Courthouse, April 19, 1771, to his brother Thomas Muse, of Dorchester Co., Maryland.

WHEREAS A.B. next door to Bank's ordinary, King William, being 21 years of age, well made, about 6 feet high, black hair, bright eyes, and a long nose, is in want of a fair young lady, of a good family, these are to give notice that if any such has a mind to dispose of

herself in marriage to a person of the above description, she may be provided with a husband, by a letter being left at Bank's ordinary, and directed to A.B. His reason for this is that he dreads the thoughts of courting, he being very bashful.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 16, 1769, p. 3.

[Letters to family and friends in England from successful Williamsburg apothecary, a University of Edinburgh graduate, whose house (core of the St. George Tucker House) fronted on Palace Street in the 1750s]

My circumstances for above a year have been melancholy enough. Poor Mrs Gilmer in the deepest distress and no relief to be found but what was procured by Opiates, died perfectly resigned. All that occasioned her uneasiness was the thought of displeasing God by her unwillingness to part with us here. She was constantly devout. I have been a great sufferer also in body from Rheumatism. I am now lame in my right shoulder, which I suppose will continue for life. Notwithstanding all these afflictions my natural temper has got the better of these disasters and set me a dancing after Mrs Burwell my wife's niece, who is generous enough to beg I would desist, not being able to love me. But my vanity keeps up my hopes.

Brock Manuscript Notebook, Original: Huntington Library, microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Library. pp. 165-166
George Gilmer to Walter King, May 3, 1756.

[Correspondence of Yorktown resident with friends she had known since girlhood]

You know I have never with all my faults betrayed one symptom of vanity, but now if you should discover a little spice of it can you Wonder-just at this moment are at my entire disposal two of the Very Smartest Beaux this country can boast of--what think you of G & B both at my feet at one. there is much speculation going on as to the preference I shall give & tho I do not intend to practice one Coquettish air as you are pleased to call my little innocent gaieties yet for my own amusement do I intend to leave these speculating geniuss to their own conjectures for some time at least till I have made up my mind as to the time--for you must know I mean to make one Surprise do for all by being married off hand--believe me it is impossible for me to think too long on the subject lest I should in truth be whimsical.

Eliza J. Ambler Papers, Original and transcripts Colonial Williamsburg Library. Eliza Ambler to Mildred Smith, February 1785.

[William Bolling was thinking about and enjoying the company of young ladies while visiting at private homes and during carriage rides]

[December 2, 1795] 2d *Instead of going to my studies which I generally did after Breakfast I again went to see Miss Eliza she, running so much in my head (as would have been the case with almost any other Girl) that I knew if I pretended to read I could not confine my attention to what I was about I therefore spent the morning with her.*

[December 14] *Went Mr Harrison again to see Polly R but was disappointed as she & Miss Sally Meade were down Town & in walking from MR H's to Town I was fortunate enough to meet them in the Street & prevailed on them to come to our House I got up behind the Chariot we called at Mr H's took in Mrs Meade (of Maycox) & I continuing my*

seat (or rather stand) came with them to our House where they staid a short Time.

[December 15] Went down Town in order to meet with A Randolph as I knew she was to leave Town on this way; I met with them at Mewburns store where they all got out & I then got in the Carriage with AR & went with her to Mrs Boyers which was a place we did not know the [?] to & were consequently some time findg it during which time we had a great deal of Conversation of the most agreeable Kind, the other Ladies waited till we returned at Gilliet store.

William Bolling, "Diary," Misc. Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[Fifteen-year-old Judith Randolph clearly knew how to charm her twenty-year-old suitor while presiding at the dinner table and later while displaying her musical talents in the hall.]

After an agreeable ride we at length reached the house about two o'clock, just about the time when Miss J's beauty was in its meridian splendor. We found her doing the honors of the table with the most ineffable sweetness and grace. She rose as we entered to salute us. . . . What her blushes proceeded from I cannot tell, unless it was the eyes of the whole house being upon us two since every member of the family knew my attachment to her and conceived I had come with a determination to pay my addresses to her. . . . After dinner we assembled in the hall where the sweet Judah favored us with a good deal of her incomparable musick. She played as if she had been inspired by some deity of musick, and tho excelling in so peculiar a manner, seemed to do it with a modesty which appeared to indicate an opinion of her own deficiency, which few so eminent as herself wou'd ever have thought they possessed. . . . She is beautiful, sensible, affable, polite, good-tempered, agreeable, and to crown the whole truly calculated both by her virtues and accomplishments to render any man happy.

Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 48, p. 238-242. Peter S. Randolph [age 20] to [unknown] Carr, July 28, 1787.

[Gossipy letters to her brother from the wife of a Williamsburg tavernkeeper]

. . . both the Mr. Charltons are very well, the old gentlemen visits Miss Hunter as usual but no appearance of a marriage he has offer'd his House for sale. I suppose you grow impatient to see the word Craig & wonder I have not yet mentioned that good family. they are all in perfect health, Mrs Craig has got another Daughter it's name Sally. Miss Judy grows very fat rather too much so, but looks extremely well, I told her I was going to write to you by Capt Lilly she desired to be remembered to you. I assure you Molly grows hanson as well as taller. all your other acquaintance are well. I should make your excuses to your Brother Dipes when I see them they will be glad hear from you by any means.

Sarah Trebell Letters. Original and transcripts: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library. Sarah Trebell, Martins Hundred, 16 January 1767 to her brother, John Galt.

Published at the Request of an Amiable Young Lady

*How blest that state when mutual love
Two tender hearts unite,*

*Where friendship incontroll'd does rove
 Through every fond delight;
 Whose souls with harmony divine
 By generous thoughts inspir'd,
 Attempt to taste those joys benign,
 By higher powers desir'd.
 If er'er oppress'd with load of woes
 That beautious face appears,
 Each soothing art her mate bestows
 In sympathizing tears.
 Let fops and prudes incessant rail
 At Hymn's sacred hands,
 Such vain attempts will ne'er avail
 Where happiness commands.
 Learn then Virginian youths from this
 To leave the single life
 You'll find all happiness and bliss
 Attend a virtuous wife.*

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) March 17, 1768, p. 3.

[Monticello slave Isaac Jefferson dictated his memoirs to historian Charles Campbell in 1847]

Bob Anderson, a white man, was a blacksmith. Mat Anderson was a black man and worked with bob. Bob was a fifer; Mat was a drummer. Mat 'bout that time was sort a-makin' love to Mary Hemings. The soldiers at Richmond, in the camp at Bacon Quarter Branch, would come every two or three days to salute the Governor at the palace, marching about there drumming and fifing. Bob anderson would go into the house to drink; Mat went into the kitchen to see May Hemings. He would take his drum with him into the kitchen and set it down there. Isaac would beat on it and Mat larnt him how to beat.

Memoirs of a Monticello Slave as Dictated to Charles Campbell by Isaac [1847]. James A. Bear, Jr., ed., University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1967, p. 7.

2. Marriage Advice

[These letters of advice, both from her mother and her cousin to Frances Bland (who later married St. George Tucker) around the time of her marriage to John Randolph]

I hope my Dear Fan you will distinguish your self by making a Virtuous tender affectionate wife and parent, a humain Mistress and a kind Neighbor, for blessed is she of whom many worthy deeds are recorded.

But experience will convince you (when you take upon you the care of a Family) of the Difficulty of getting time to keep up a strict Correspondence, for Domestic Business

confines the Mind to one particular subject without suffering it to entertain itself with the contemplation of anything New or improving it even deprives thought of its Native freedom.
Tucker-Coleman Collection, College of William and Mary. Frances Bland to Frances Bland Randolph c .1770 and Letter, May 10,1769, from Mary Jones to her cousin just before she married John Randolph.

[An approving uncle offers best wishes and the blessings of he and his wife to his niece on her upcoming wedding]

I was in great hopes, as well as your Aunt & Grandmama, that you would have given us the Pleasure of your Company at Westover e'er now, & I should have rejoiced in an Opportunity of convincing you of my affection. Report informs us that you are going to be Married very soon; I wish it had been agreeable to you to have given some of your Friends here Notice of it, because we think ourselves interested in your Happiness; for my part, I shall always be glad to contribute to it. Mr. Armistead is a young Gentleman entirely acceptable to us, & we sincerely wish you both every Blessing of the married State. Be pleased my Dear Molly, to present my very best Compliments to him, & accept yourself of our Love & tender Friendship. I & the rest of your Relations here beg the Favour of you and Mr. Armistead to spend your Christmass at Westover, where many young People are to make merry. give our Love to your Sisters, & bring them with you. Our Coach will attend you anytime at any place. I ever am, My Dear Niece,

Your Most Affec. Uncle,

Virginia Magazine of History, Volume 10, pp. 179-180. William Byrd, Westover, November 25, 1765, to his niece, Maria Carter.

[Parents sometimes voiced concern when young couples insisted on marrying but, as in this case, usually consented to the marriage of underage couples]

I was not surprised at the information your very friendly and polite letter contained, having, like you, suspected it some time ago. It has ever been my wish to keep my Daughters single 'till they were old enough to form a proper judgment of Mankind; well knowing that a Woman's happiness depends entirely on the Husband she is united to; it is a step that requires more deliberation than girls generally take, or even Mothers seem to think necessary; the risk tho always great, is doubled when they marry very young; it is impossible for them to know each others disposition; for at sixteen and nineteen we think everybody perfect that we take a fancy to; the Lady expects nothing but condescension, and the Gentleman thinks his Mistress an Angel. As young people cannot have a sufficient knowledge of the world to teach them the necessity of making a proper allowance for the foibles to say no worse, of Humanity, they are apt to be sour when the delirium of love is over and Reason is allowed to reascend her Throne; and if they are not so happy as to find in each other a similarity of temper and good qualities enough to excite esteem and Friendship, they must be wretched, without a remedy. If the young People who have been the cause of my giving you my sentiments thus freely should ever be united I hope they will never repent of the choice they have made.

I have given Judy Richard's Letters; but have desired her not to answer them before

she has her Father's leave.

Virginia Magazine of History. Vol. 42, pp. 49-50. Mrs. Anne Randolph, 1788, to St. George Tucker.

[An unusually and atypically frank letter from a young wife to her new husband]

You know what to expect from me, as you have seen my character of a good wife. Suppose I tell you now, what I, in my turn, expect, and how you may best please me and make me happy.- Thus then I begin-

Let me ever have the sweet consciousness of knowing myself the best beloved of your heart- I do not always require a lover's attention- that wou'd be impossible, but let it never appear by your conduct that I am indifferent to you. That I may never suspect a diminition of your affection, the following things are necessary-

You must never, when I say or do anything you do not entirely approve, brood over it in silent dissatisfaction; but always tell me candidly of it. These little reproofs must be delivered in the gentlest terms and softened with all the tenderness you are master of. Any little weaknesses incident to the sex, and to me, who am the weakest of the weaker sex, must be smoothed with the tenderest indulgence and when I make a request not proper, or not in your power, to be granted, let the denial be gentle tho' decisive- Never praise too much in another woman any quality that you know I am particularly deficient in. This would hurt me more than you can easily imagine. Love my friends as you would your own, do not be too fond of company at home or abroad, in sickness redouble your soothing attention, and never speak harshly (unless she proves a vixen) to the wife of your bosom. If all this is observed by you, I can never suspect you of want of affection, but if any one article is grossly and continually violated, I should fear myself not as much beloved as I could wish.

And now for some other articles which regard not to your affection for me, but point more generally to your conduct as a husband. When I wish to consult with you on any matter I think of importance, or ever put a serious question to you, if you should not be in a humour to give me yr attention, tell me immediately, and I will defer it until some other time, but never answer carelessly as if what I asked was a matter of no consequence. Give me a decisive reply if in your power, if not, "tell me the reason why." Pray, I beseech you fester me not with unnecessary delays, and tell me not of two or three days, weeks, or months, when the present moment could be better- be decisive in all your words and deeds of any consequence, and ever preserve that energy which is necessary to keep in action those good qualities which were not given to us to lie useless and unimproved. In trifles, be trifling, to trifle agreeably is sometimes very pleasing, but in everything of moment be ardent, firm and decisive. All this I think you now are, continue but so, and I shall love you almost too much.

Brown Coalter Tucker Papers. College of William and Mary. Transcript Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[This disappointed gentry father did little to encourage his daughter Judy who married beneath her station. His will and codicils indicate wavering but, in the end, he restored her original bequest]

[May 16, 1774] *Yesterday Poor Judy wrote to be admitted to see me. I answered her she knew long ago that being satisfied of the pains taken to lead [her] against her duty I wrote to her if she came alone, my heart was ready to receive her as usual and have*

communicated with her to shew I was willing to forget her disobedience on her part. . . and I would lend her Sarah Prince if her husband would give an answer to return her [Sarah?] and her encrease if and when required.

May 25 Yesterday my Poor offending Child Judy came for the first time since she was deluded away to be unhappily married against her duty, my will, and against her Solemn Promise. And this too to a man unsound by birth as he descended from a man long bedrid for months before his birth. . . and how is such a creature to maintain a woman who has always lived well and delicately, with only a poor Pittance of an estate, a bit of land, and about 6 Slaves? Indeed this fine girl has made a hard bed, such has been her deception.

I will contrive that She shall not want for Personal necessaries, But I will give nothing, that either he or his inheritors can claim. I well remember the Case of his Namesake; the old Fox got all he had, whilst his widow got nothing and Paid his debts to boot. Though I resolved not to let nature discover its weakness on seeing her; I was only happy in that I could burst into tears; a poor miserable girl, I could not speak to her for some time.

Greene, Jack P., ed. The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1965. Vol. 2, pp. 814-815.

Landon Carter's will and codicils indicate wavering but, in the end, he restored her original bequest]

. . . My daughter [Elizabeth] Berkeley has been paid her full fortune long ago, and I give her her mother's gold watch and £20 current money. Having paid half (£400 Sterling) of my daughter [Maria] Beverley's fortune, I direct the other half (£400 Sterling) to be paid and also give her a handsome gold watch and chain and £20 current money. To daughter Lucy, £800 Sterling, a gold watch and chain and £20 current money. To daughter Judith, £800 Sterling, a gold watch and chain and £20 current money. . .

Codicil [no date] My daughter Judith has married Reuben Beale. I therefore revoke bequest to her, but give said estate to her after her husband's death, if she survive him...

2nd Codicil; Oct. 6, 1774 . . . Having sufficiently forgiven my daughter Judith, now the wife of Reuben Beale, I now order the fortune first bequeathed to her to be paid. . .

Virginia Magazine of History: Vol. 29, pp. 361-362.

[Approving the match, this wealthy father gave his blessings and offered a substantial gift to the suitor who asked for Lucy's hand]

On thursday last Mr W[illiam] C[olston] came here and Communicated his intention of waiting on my daughter Lucy. I told him I had long entertained such a Suspicion and really with Pleasure for his Virtue and unexceptionable behavior had long attached my good wishes to him. But as a parent I never took any Liberty with a child but to dissuade where I thought I had reason so to do; but in no instance Whatever to persuade. Therefore her approbation must Proceed from his own conduct and her good liking. I should give her £800 Sterling as soon as the times would admit of it.

Greene, Jack P., ed. The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1965. Vol. 2, p. 939.

[Fatherly advice on marriage to his daughter Fanny, who later married Col. John Custis of Williamsburg. Her sister Lucy married William Byrd II]

... God knows if I may see you more, but if I do not, I shall take care to leave you and your sister in happy circumstances, therefore do not throw yourself away on the first idle young man that offers, if you have a mind to marry. I know it is the desire of all young people to be married, and though few are so happy after marriage as before, yet everyone is willing to make the experiment at their own expense. Consider who you marry as the greatest concern to you in the world. Be kind and good-natured to all of your servants. It is much better to have them love you than fear you. My heart is in Virginia and the greatest pleasure I propose to myself is seeing you and your sister happy. That you may be ever so is the earnest desire of your affectionate father,

Virginia Magazine of History. Vol. 20 pp. 377. Daniel Parke, St. James [London] 1702 to his daughter Fanny Parke.

[Extract from long letter of fatherly advice to Susan Randolph Madison at the time of her marriage (31 Dec. 1811) to Robert G. Scott]

... as your husband's success in his profession will depend upon his popularity, and as the manners of a wife have no little influences in extending or lessening the respect and esteem of others for her husband, you should take care to be affable and polite to the poorest as well as the richest. A reserved haughtiness is a sure indication of a weak mind and an unfeeling heart.

"The Duties of a Wife, Bishop Madison to his Daughter, 1811." edited by Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., Virginia Magazine of History. Vol. 91, p.102.

3. Weddings

[Example of preparations for and the festivities at a double wedding at a lower gentry home]

[March 1797 - Woodberry] Mr R & G went away, saw all Miss Bettys fine and fashionable cloaths, she had just came from Newkent, I was sent for to Aunt Hills and went with Liston Temple had a very agreable ride when I got there found Cousin Aggy Sukey Caty Elliott all very busy fixing for the double wedding and Cousin Polly Temple was making a pretty little bonnet to be married in, Sister Polly & Patsy came over in the evening I went with them home after the rain was over, Caty Elliott & Cousin P Tem went to Mr Gwathmeys that evening, I sent to Ayletts for muslin to make a robe, Mr Hill Mr Walker & Mr Walden came to Woodberry after dark and brought my muslin.

[Thursday]

got up very early and went to work alter'd two gowns for Sister Hill made my robe trim'd my petticoat made 3 turbans 2 paripits put up cloaths Sister Polly Patsy & myself walk'd to Mr Joe Temple, dress'd ourselves in a hurry and went to Mr Gwathmeys got there by dark found a great many people, soon after we got there saw Miss Lucy Robertson married to Mr J W Semple & Doct Williamsom to Miss P Temple, I was honour'd with a favour and wait'd on the Bride she did not speak a word while she stood before the Parson, the Brides were dress'd very clever they both look'd handsomer than ever I saw them, we

had a very agreeable company and were very merry we danc'd till 3 oclock had an excelent supper & return'd to Mr Temples again quite saft

Bottorff, W. K. and R. C. Flannagan, eds., "The Diary of Frances Baylor Hill" Early American Literature Newsletter II (1967).

[Account of wedding festivities reported by one of the brides men]

[June 1795] 5th Went to Colo Botts to his Daughter Betseys wedding she was married to mr. Batthure Claiborne I was one of the Brides men Miss Eliza Duncan was my Partner a very agreeable & accomplished young Lade the other Brides Men & Maides were Miss E Robertson E GA S Harrison Miss Peele & Clairborne the men Merrs Randolph, A Robertson Dent Whitlock J Bott & Thomson as there was no Favr given by the new married people my Partner gave me one -- We danced till 3 OClock -- 6th Dancing continued the Company all dined at Colo Botts but several went away after dinner Miss Eliza amongst ther rest went away the remander danced till 11 OClock.

[June 1795] The Sunday after Mrs Claiborne was married she was taken with the Scarlet Fever & Died the Friday following (12th) she was a Bride one Friday & a Corpse the next. William Bolling, "Diary," Misc. Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Microfilm at Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[Gossipy letter to a family friend, from the wife of a Williamsburg tavernkeeper]

[Williamsburg February 27 1765] Since you left us ther has been maney alterations in our City, by the Death of Mr. Yates, your friend Mr. Horrocks is now President of Wm. & Mary Collage and the Minester of our Parish, & is in a short time to be married to Miss Fanny Everard, your favourite Sally Satterwhite has followed your Example & is married to Mr. Rd. Charlton & my Brother Jamie to Molly English poor Sally McKoy is just where she was but says she hopes it will be her turn one time or other. the two Miss Wyatts were married last week both the same evening the eldest to one Mr. Westmore & Kitty to her long loved Matt Moody. I can at present think of nothing else worth your attention so have only to beg you will continue to let us hear from you and to asure you Mr. Trebell joins me in complements & best Wishes to Mr. & Mrs. Palfrey.

Letter, Sarah Trebell to William Palfrey [Boston merchant], Williamsburg, ALS. Orig: Harvard University Library, William Palfrey Letters. Microfilm in Colonial Williamsburg Library.

"Married"

This evening Dr. John Minson Galt of this city was married to Miss Judith Craig eldest daughter of Mr. Alexander Craig. The mutual affection and similarity of disposition in this agreeable pair afford the strongest assurance of their enjoying the highest felicity in the nuptial state.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) April 6, 1769, p. 3.

[This young English merchant, who spent the winter of 1785-86 with a merchant family in Tappahannock, left a detailed account of the three days of festivities that followed the wedding at Robert Beverley's plantation Blandfield when his daughter Maria married Richard Randolph, Jr. of Curles]

[Thursday, December 1, 1785]

. . . At eleven we set out in Miss McCall's chariot in four and drove to Blandfield. The road is very fine all the way, excepting at Mr. Waring's mill, where we were detained half an hour. We arrived at Mr. Beverley's at one o'clock, and were fortunate in finding the ceremony was not begun. as we understood it was to have been at twelve. About two the company became very much crowded. We were now shown into the drawing room and there had the pleasure of seeing Miss Beverley and Mr. Randolph joined together in holy matrimony. The ceremony was really affecting and awful. The sweet bride could not help shedding tears, which affected her mother and the whole company. She was most elegantly dressed in white satin, and the bridegroom in a lead color, lined with pink satin. After the ceremony of saluting, the ladies retired.

At four we joined them to a most sumptuous and elegant dinner that would have done honor to any nobleman's house in England. We were about a hundred in company. Those I recollect were Mrs. Beverley, the bride, Lucy Beverley, Miss Nancy Carter, Miss Carey, two Miss Fitchous [Fitzhughs], Miss Brokenburg, Mrs. Page, Mrs. Cannan, Mrs. Bird, Miss McCall, Miss Betsey Randolph, Mrs. Hopper, etc., etc., etc. the gentlemen I was acquainted with were Hopper, Ritchie, Mr. Page, Dr. Griffin, Mr. Cannan, Two Mr. Braxton's Mr. Fitchou, Mr. Cock, Mr. Burrel [Burwell], Mr. Wylles, Mr. Barclay, Dr. Brokenburg, Mr. MCall, etc., etc., etc.

After dinner we danced cotillions, minuets, Virginia and Scotch reels, country dances, jigs, etc., till ten o'clock. I had the pleasure of Miss McCall for a partner. She is a fine, sensible, accomplished young girl, and by far the best dancer in the room. Her elegant figure commands attention where ever she moves. The bride and bridegroom led off the different country dances. I make no doubt, from appearances, but they will be a very happy couple. After supper, which was elegant as the dinner—it's in vain to attempt describing it—we continued dancing till twelve. The bride, however, slipped away at eleven, and the happy bridegroom soon followed. Mr. McCall and I were under the necessity of turning in ourselves very fortunate in getting so good a bed where there was such a large company.

Blandfield, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2

We rose to an elegant breakfast, at ten, consisting of tea, coffee, chocolate, cold ham, fowls, hashed mutton, and various other dishes. The bride came, beautifully blushing, into the room soon after in an elegant undress, and looked more amiable than ever. The fright of yesterday had taken away all her color, which now returned with a double glow. The bridegroom looked completely happy. I think him a most agreeable young man. He with several of the gentlemen took a ride after breakfast, whilst those that remained—myself among the number—danced with the ladies till near dinner time, when they retired to dress.

At four we assembled again, when the bride appeared in an elegant pink silk trimmed with ribbon of different colors. Her head was beautifully ornamented with fine feathers and delightfully dressed. Indeed, all the ladies had on different gowns from yesterday, but equally elegant, so much so that they would have made a conspicuous

figure in any company in Europe. The hairdresser had good employment at the extravagant price of 10s.6d. each. Our dinner was to the full as elegant as yesterday and the company rather larger. Mr. Beverley has everything within himself--no market to go to here.

At five the ladies began dancing again. Tonight I had the honor of Mrs. Hopper for a partner in country dances. The reels, cotillions, etc., you dance with anybody you please, by which means you have an opportunity of making love to any lady you please. I danced with all the belles in the room at different times, and admire the reels amazingly, especially the six-handed ones. We were all extremely happy in each other's company, the ladies being perfectly free and easy and at the same [time] elegant in their manners. They would grace any country whatever. The manner in which this affair has been managed does honor to Mr. Beverley. To see everything go so smooth, and such harmony prevail in so large a company, is something uncommon.

We danced after supper till twelve o'clock, and afterwards retired, into the large room tonight, with Ritchie, Hopper, Braxton, etc. We slept on the floor, and the girls opposite to us.

2nd day after the wedding

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3

We kept it up in the same manner as yesterday. The ladies again appeared in different dresses, and still more elegant if possible than the former. The bride was in a light blue. Being Saturday night, we gave over sooner than common and retired to bed a little after eleven.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4

Most of the company went away this morning, soon after breakfast, in their phaeton, chariots, and coaches in four, with two or three footmen behind. They live in as high a style here, I believe, as any part of the world.

Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786. Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter, Jr., a Young Merchant of London. ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tining. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1943. pp. 206-209.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]
[June 9, 1759] This day my daughter Anne was married to Mr. Richd. Chichester about 11 o'clock forenoon; had a very agreeable company -- viz.: Col. Conway, Mrs. C. & her children, Col. Tayloe, Dr. Robertson & his wife, Mrs. Chin, Mr. Armistead, Mr. Dale Carter & his wife, Mrs. Doget & Sally, Bridger Haynie, Col. Selden, & Miss Betty Selden, Richd. Spann, Robt. Hening. We invited several others who did not come. The Parson, Mr. Currie, went off first.

Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va., in William and Mary College Quarterly. 1st series, Vol. VI, pp. 104-105.

[St. George Tucker wrote this poem at the wedding of a Mr. Nelson and Miss Cary and read it to the company at breakfast the next morning. The guests had all followed the tradition of putting a piece of bridecake under their pillow the previous evening]

A Dream on Bridecake

*Dear girls, since you the task impose
Of scribbling rhyme, or humbler prose,
Whene'er the bridecake fills the brain
With emblematic dreams of pain,
Or pleasure to be had hereafter,
Or, whatso'er can move your laughter,
The swain to you devoted ever
Will ever try his best endeavor,
To tell you in his doggerel strain,
What fancies visited his brain.
Brimful of claret wine and perry,
You know I went to bed quite merry,
But, as I soon grew wondrous sick,
I wished my carcass at Old Nick.
At length, I sunk into a nap,
With head reclined in fancy's lap;
She rubbed my temples, chaffed my brain,
And then displayed this scene of pain.
Methought, the claret I'd been drinking
So far from giving aid to thinking,
Had muddled my idea-box,
And clapped my body in the stocks.
Beneath a beach's spreading shade
At lubber's length my limbs were laid;
My tongue alone had power to move,
To rest in vain might wish to rove:
Just then, my Flora passing by
This pretty object chanced to spy;
The wanton saw my hapless case,
And clapped me in a warm embrace;
Her balmy lips to mine she pressed,
And leaned her bosom on my breast,
Her fingers everywhere were gadding,
And set my soul a madding;
Whilst I, in vain, resistance made,
Still on my back supinely laid.
She whispered something in my ear
Which I could not distinctly hear:
Then cried, "Pray when will you be sober?"
"My dear," said I, "not till October.*

*"My nerves I find are all unstrung
"Except the one that rules my tongue;
"Their wonted tones so wholly lost
"I shan't recover till a frost."
Away the wanton baggage flew
Laughing like any one of you
And left me in that sordid plight,
To mourn the follies of the night.*

Sept. 19, 1777

The Poems of St. George Tucker of Williamsburg, Virginia 1752-1827, edited by William S. Prince, Vantage Press, 1977, pp. 42-43.

4. White Marriage and Married Life

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them]

[14 May 1804] *My husband does nothing important without informing me of it.*

[10 December 1807] *it is not easy to always have a third person around, especially when a wife and husband get along well together. They want to be alone sometimes.*

Callcott, Margaret Law. ed. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. pp. 85 & 177.

[Norfolk residents, James Parker and his wife, Margaret, to a fellow business friend who had returned to Scotland]

[20 October 1769] *Last week our friend W Ronald was married to Miss Kendell, tho her portion is worth six thousands . . . yet I am fully convinced the match is founded on natural love & doubt not that they will be very happy. . . Since I'm upon matrimony, but known that the very silent & extremely modest Miss Ester Pugh is married to one Billy Pugh, it is reported with a good deal of certainty that she is about seven months gone with child, that however is only a circumstance, & it is to be hoped Billie had the making of it*

[10 November 1769] *Mr Ronald is married lately to Miss Custis in spite of the opposition of all her friends except her mother. She went to court & chose her guardian & was married at night.*

[19 May 1773] *— we had a visit last month from Mr Ballwell & his little Lady, . . . Our females whisper as if she was upon the account, poor little thing she wd be better without children till they have more for them, should that be the case her relations must contrive[?] her some thing more. . . Billies wife is over here as impudent as a she devil, she is now as round as a turnip & never having before been on the account, she flaunts about every where, hauling my old woman along with her to shew her proud.*

Charles Steuart Papers, Original: National Library of Scotland, microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[Wife of Lund Washington (cousin of George and estate manager for Mt. Vernon), who kept a journal of marriage and household management advice in hopes it would be instructive to her daughters as they grew up. This entry written in November 1729 just before her marriage]

... may my gracious God direct & influence my heart & its affections, that I may make it my study to please my husband in every thing that is not against the divine Laws, & as there is a probability of my living in Houses not my own for some time--may the divine goodness assist me, so that I may study to live in peace & friendship with the family where I live, may it be one of my daily petitions to the throne of the grace to conduct myself as a dutiful obedient wife--

I will make a memorandum of these petitions & put them in a little Book in case I should desire any time hence to add more of them,--& that I may remember what was my thoughts at the time of my changing my state. . . I humbly hope my marriage may be a happy one-- & that my husband may never be against my being as my inclination may lead me--I pray God.

Washington Family Collection, Box 2, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, edited transcript Colonial Williamsburg Library.

5. Black Marriage and Married Life

Marriage was far less important for slave women than for white women; slave women, unlike their white counterparts, neither shared property with their husbands nor received subsistence from them. After the relationship was consummated, the woman probably stayed with her family (parents and siblings) until a child was born, unless she could form a household with her new husband. Childbearing, and the child rearing that followed, however, were highly important rites of passage for most slave women. Once she had a child, she moved from her mother's or parent's home to her own hut. The bonding between slave mother and her child may have been far more important than her relationship with her husband, especially if he lived on another plantation. Motherhood, moreover, gave women a few valued privileges. Masters sometimes treated pregnant women and their newborn children with greater than usual solicitude. For example, Richard Corbin, a Virginia planter, insisted in 1759 that his steward be "Kind and Indulgent to pregnant women and not force them when with Child upon any service or hardship that will be injurious to them." Children were "to be well looked after."

Kulikoff, Allan. Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1986, p. 375.

* * *

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[January 26, 1774] *At Supper from the conversation I learned that the slaves in this Colony never are married, their Lords thinking them improper Subjects for so valuable an*

Institution!

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957. p. 59.

Slave owner George Washington's remark shows that he does not fully recognize the marriage of one of his slaves nor does he view such marriages as permanent. His slave William, on the other hand, considered himself to be married to the free black woman.

The mulatto fellow William, who has been with me all the War is attached (married he says) to one of his own colour a free woman, who, during the War was also of my family. . . .

I had conceived that the connection between them had ceased, but I am mistaken; they are both applying to me to get her here, and tho' I never wished to see her more yet I cannot refuse his request. . . . as he has lived with me so long & followed my fortunes through the War with fidelity.

The Papers of George Washington, Confederation Series Vol. 2 (July 1784-1785). Ed. By W.W. Abbott. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville: 1992, p. 14.

RUN away the first of January 1775 a likely mulatto negro wench named Kate, 18 years of age, well made, 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, and talks very smooth. She was hired to mr. Philip Moody of Williamsburg in 1774, and last year to mr. John Thruston, from whence she ran off. She has got a husband in Williamsburg, and probably may pass for a free person as she is well acquainted in that city, and I have repeatedly heard of her being there. She formerly belonged to the estate of Mr. John Cary, deceased, of York county. I will give 20s. to any person that will secure her in jail and give me intelligence thereof, or 40s if brought to me in King & Queen, at Mr. John Thruston's.

Edward Cary, jun.

Virginia Gazette, (Purdie) 29 November 1776, p. 3.

6. Troubled Marriage

Although a wife clearly enjoyed some recourse in cases of unhappy marriages, her options were limited by her husband's control over their property and his legal right to insist on domicile. She could win a separate maintenance if his neglect or abuse made it clear that he was not fulfilling his husbandly duty to provide her adequately with clothing, food, and shelter or if he was endangering her life. Once separated from her husband, a woman could try to make her own living through tavernkeeping or other domestic skills, but her chances of achieving financial security on her own were not good. Still, self-support often represented an improvement over living conditions in which a husband humiliated her with his adultery, drank, or gambled away family resources.

The situation for elite women was somewhat more complicated than that for their white lower-class counterparts. An elite wife who found her husband abusive or their marriage unhappy could usually finance an informal separation whereby she would live with friends and relatives. She could also procure legal advice through sympathetic family members that would enable her to get an official separation and maintenance. But she had few grounds for requesting this separation, as economic abuse was usually not an issue.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1996, p. 338.

* * *

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]

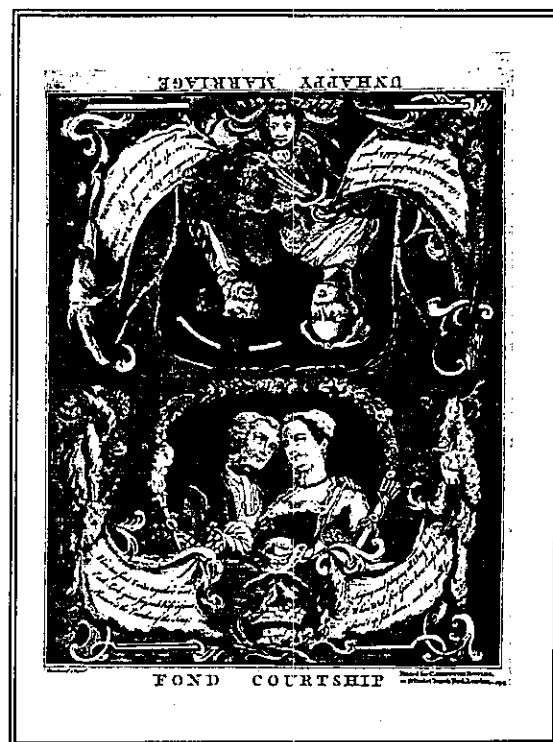
[January 26, 1761] *Mrs. Chin departed this life last Friday night. I heard to-day that Col. Conway has given notice to have a jury on her before she is buried, for it is reported her husband was the occasion of her death by beating & abusing her. O Lord, how are the hearts of men corrupted when devoid of thy grace! O, preserve us from the many & great evils that surround us, & make religion & virtue flourish & increase among us.*

Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va., William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st Series, Vol. XI, p. 217.

[Norfolk resident to fellow business friend who had returned to Scotland. This series of letters refer to the troubled, and according to the wife, unconsummated marriage of Dr. James Blair to Kitty Eustace in May 1771. For a detailed discussion of the scandal, see Frank Dewey, Thomas Jefferson, Lawyer. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1986, pp. 57-72. In the third letter Parker refers to the gossip about Governor Dunmore having an affair with Susannah Randolph, daughter of John and Ariana Randolph.

[25 May 1772] *At dinner, colo Byrd, his son Farley, Jno Gilchrist, Henry Cuyler from New York (his brother Barrand died at Barbadoes) Dr Blair, his wife, mother in law, & sister all present..A most damnable fuss has been at Wmsbg with Dr Blair & his rib, nothing was talked of but separation, matters was painted blacker than they really were & she is acquitted of every thing but not allowing him to have a fair chance ever since they have been married. By the prudent council of D Campbell they are seemingly reconciled & she was to let him make a push the night we left court. Common report says she is not capacious enough, but he has different instruments, and amongst them lie it.*

[18 November 1772] *Matters are now come to an open Rupture at Wmsburg, a suit is*



Not all marriages were happy and divorce was not an option for Virginians during the colonial period. (C81-244)

commenced by Mrs B for a separate mantainance. As to the goodness of the blood, I'm in no doubt at all about it, but in this case, I fancy the fault will turn out on the [] side. The Dr wrote a very foolish letter to Ld D___ on the subject, who sent for his Br Jno & laid it before him, assured him upon his Honour that had he ever inclined to such a conexion, that disturbing the peace of the Blair familie & their friends wd have totally distroyed his peace & render him unhappy in his government, at the same time [directed] him to inform the Dr that if he did not retract what he had wrote, he must lay aside the Gov. The Dr I understand has made concessions to Capt Foy, So the matters stands, the old lady persists her daughter is still a maid, & that the Dr nver has & indeed cannot do as a man should do. For my part I was once of the side that blamed Kitty, I have not altered my opinion, as to the Govr I dont believe he ever had any such intentions, the old woman says she has wrote a state of the case & talks of publishing it, let them work out their own salvation, I am determind to keep clear, I was once asked to be upon the arbitration. . . .

[19 May 1773] Madam Eustace with her maiden widdow Daughter is still at Wmsbg, they refuse to give her dower, there is a suit for it in James City Court, I do not see upon what principle they with hold it from her, I think tw'd be best to give them something & let them decamp -- . . . Thers terrible [paa?] stories at Wmsbg about the G_r & the Atys daughter Sucky, & what is worst they say Jack & the mother know all about it, but pay for his fun there, if Im not greatly mistaken indeed he has paid & is security for somethin considerable already, not a word of this god bless you to any created thing. I have always considered Jack as a D_d villain, this conexion augers no good for us if he can prevent it.

Charles Steuart Papers, 1758-1797 Original: National Library of Scotland, microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Library. James Parker to Charles Steuart on May 25 and November 18, 1772, and May 19, 1773.

Whereas Thomas Baber, my Son, a Youth of about 17 years of age, privately absents himself from my House without my Consent and is supposed to be in Company with Winefred Baley, an evil disposed wench, whom I understand he intends to marry; I do hereby desire to forewarn all Ministers whatever, not to marry the said Thomas Baber until he is arrived at the Age of 21 years.

Thomas Baber

Virginia Gazette (Parks) July 23, 1746, p. 6.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]
[January 31, 1763] *This day we had it confirmed that Capt. Glascock ran away last week, & took a young woman with him, & left his wife.*

[December 30, 1760] *Went with David Hening to Wm. Dogett's -- found him sober. I discoursed with him as well I could about his preventing his wife & daughter from coming to the Lord's supper after they had received tokens, & several other matters. He confessed his errors and promised amendment of life, which I pray God grant him grace to perform.*

Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va., in William and Mary College Quarterly. 1st ser., Vol. 12, p. 1, and Vol. 11, p. 205.

[Following the death of free black Matthew Ashby, his widow (whose freedom Matthew had bought) married George Jones, also a free black. At the time Jones placed this notice in the newspaper, the couple had separated]

WILLIAMSBURG, January 10, 1772.

WHEREAS my Wife Anne and myself cannot agree in the Management of our Affairs, these are therefore to forewarn all Persons from giving her Credit on my Account, as I will not pay any of her Contractions after the Date hereof. The Debtors to the Estate of Matthew Ashby, deceased, are desired to make speedy Payment that I may be enabled to pay the creditors, who are desired to bring in their accounts against the said estate.

George Jones

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) January 30, 1772, p. 3.

7. Persons Who Never Marry

. . . A white spinster's lot was unenviable: single women usually resided as perpetual dependents in the homes of relatives, helping out with housework, nursing, and childcare in exchange for room and board. Even when a woman's skills were sufficient to enable her to earn an independent living, her anomalous position in a society in which marriage was almost universal placed her near the bottom of the social scale. . . .

Given the unattractiveness of such a life it is hardly surprising that throughout most of the eighteenth century white girls saw no alternative to matrimony. To marry was to take "the dark leap," . . . to step from the well-lighted familiar existence of a parental home into a shadowy future governed by a husband one might have misjudged. Yet the options perceived by colonial women encompassed only whom, not whether, to wed. They assumed they would marry, and they recognized the significance of that transition in their lives. . . . Just before her wedding to Lund Washington, Elizabeth Foote wrote in her journal, "I hope I have prepared my self for the worst that may happen -- that is -- if my marriage should prove a unhappy one." . . . These somber thoughts derive from women's remarkable perception of the meaning of marriage: it would determine their "future happiness or misery," it would "Cast the Die" for the remainder of their lives. . . .

In contrast to such intensely personal, deeply felt female concerns about marital decision making, young men exhibited what can only be called a kind of detachment. Their correspondence contained long disquisitions on the nature of matrimony, all of them radically different from women's writings on the subject. Instead of expressing a belief that marriage would determine their fate, young men told each other that matrimony was "a Debt to Society," an "indispensible Duty" that had to be fulfilled unless the greater good would be served by "the Celibacy of some of its Members." Women never said anything comparable to the statement of a Virginian who wrote matter-of-factly in 1779 that "no Man who has health youth & Vigour on his side can when arrived to the Age of Manhood do without a Woman."

The divergent male and female perceptions of the significance of matrimony in their lives reflected the variations of reality. Marriage did fix white women's fates in a way that it did not affect men's. To be sure, an unhappy marriage could be distressing to both

parties, but men's work lives transcended the home, whereas women's did not. Especially if they were city dwellers, men could find sexual outlets beyond marriage by visiting prostitutes, and if their wives were inadequate housekeepers or poor mothers they could hire servants to do the same work. But a woman had no such alternatives. The double standard prevented her from seeking sexual satisfaction with a man other than her husband, and her life was largely defined by her household. Her dependent status made her peculiarly vulnerable to the effects of her spouse's failings.

Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800. Little, Brown and Company, Boston: 1980, pp. 41-44.

8. Childless Marriage

Families with few or no children of their own could more easily afford -- and occasionally needed -- the addition of a few relatives and some friends around the house. Colonel James Gordon and his wife, who had only one child at home in the 1760s, took in a number of short-term boarders. Besides Gordon and his wife and son, their household contained six other people: Gordon's overseer Billy and his wife Betty, Gordon's cousins Robert and Molly Hening, and a teacher, Mr. Criswell, and his new wife Molly. Most of these people stayed in the Gordon home only a short while. Gordon's cousin Robert Hening, for example, was taken in after his wife's death "till he was better provided." Criswell and his wife boarded with the Gordons only during the first two months after their marriage. While no systematic data are available on kin residential patterns, the scattered qualitative evidence suggests that at least among the gentry, households were sometimes large and open affairs offering temporary economic and emotional support, drawing in kin and occasionally friends.

Daniel Blake Smith, Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Cornell University Press, Ithaca: 1980, pp. 190-191.

Today the option of remaining a childless couple has become as socially acceptable as remaining unmarried. Effective birth control has of course made the option much more realistic than it was during the early modern era, when coitus interruptus appears to have been the most widely available instrument for family limitation. ... The causes of infertility were not as well known and thus could not be treated effectively. Moreover, there were couples who wanted to limit the size of their families and some who did not want any children. We do not know about the experience of these childless couples in the past. We can only guess that they were more common than they are now and suggest that they deserve some investigation.

We do not even know what the public attitude was towards marriage without children. The majority of ever-married women bore children in the early modern era...

Vivian C. Fox and Martin H. Quitt, Loving, Parenting and Dying: The Family Cycle in England and America, Past and Present. Psychohistory Press, New York: 1980, pp. 33-34.

9. Remarriage

Husbands in the eighteenth century . . . seem to have provided for their widows as generously as men had in the early Chesapeake. . . . In seventeenth-century Maryland over three-fourths of the male testators left their wives with more than the law demanded, and when there were no children, a widow almost always received the entire estate. Very few men (about 6 percent) placed restraints on a widow's legacy such as a provision that she could possess her portion of the estate only during widowhood or until the children came of age.

Wills analyzed for Albemarle County in the latter half of the eighteenth century indicate that widows received the home plantation for life in about the same proportion as they had in seventeenth-century Maryland. . . . Only a small percentage of testators -- less than 4 percent -- restricted their widows' control of land for the minority of the child. A significant change, however, was the almost fourfold increase in the proportion of wills that called for relinquishment of the widow's claim to the home plantation upon her remarriage. Men were always wary of prospective stepparents encroaching on the family estate, but the growing tendency to penalize a widow's remarriage suggests that husbands worried about outsiders intruding on maternal authority in the family.

For many husbands the child's natural mother was the only proper focus and socializing agent of the family. Occasionally fathers gave explicit instructions that their children were to remain under their mother's influence until maturity. . . . a woman's responsibility as a mother to small children, some men believed, superseded her right to find a new husband. This testamentary insistence on family cohesion reached an extreme in the case of Elias Love of York County. Love's will, composed in 1720, gave a portion of land and all his personal property to his wife Elizabeth, which she was to use to educate their three youngest children. To protect the estate from grasping stepparents and to ensure the performance of the educational provisions in the will, Love required his wife to endure an extended period of widowhood. "My desire is that my wife keeps her Self Single until all the Children come of age." This meant a wait of up to eighteen years for the youngest son, Elias, to reach twenty-one! If Elizabeth remarried, the estate was to be divided between her and the three youngest children while the older brother, Justinian, twenty-four in 1720, would oversee his siblings' portions. Increasingly men sought to encourage maternal authority through provisions against early remarriage and the dispersal of the estate before the children reached adulthood.

Daniel Blake Smith, *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca: 1980, pp. 238-241.

[St. George Tucker's recollection late in his life of seeing Fanny (whom he married within a year) at a service at Bruton Parish Church in 1777 and admitting that he instantly fell in love with her]

"I could not but laugh at your vow never to marry a Widow," [he wrote a young friend in 1812.]

At the age of eighteen, I made a similar vow, and 'till four and twenty, no man would have convinced me that I shou'd ever be guilty of a breach of it. - But, going to

Church on the day when there was a thanksgiving in Williamsburg for the Capture of General Burgoyne's Army, I happened, unwittingly, to take my seat next to a pew in which all the Ladies were kneeling most devoutly. I had not time to seat myself, when they rose from their humble situation, and one of them turning round to the pew where I was discovered a face I had seen some years before, with an Infant in her Arms; she was then a married Lady: she was now a Widow! And from that moment, had I been a Roman Catholic I should have applied to the Pope for Absolution from my Vow. But as I had no such resource, I took upon myself the Authority to pronounce by own solemn recantation, and absolution.



Church was important for both the religious and social aspects of community life as shown by this St. George Tucker story. (C68-1365)

Tucker-Coleman Papers, College of William and Mary. St. George Tucker to Robert Walsh, Warminster, 2 October 1812.

* * *

Section A

1. Pregnancy for White Women

[The St. George Tucker family letters provide much insight into the family story. This is quoted in a letter from a friend to Frances Tucker during a pregnancy]

"Your situation seem'd to call more for my sympathy and tenderness. . ." Same friend describing Frances' mood *"uneasy and languid, groaning under the weight of a heavy burden, . . . your spirits depressed from apprehensions of the approaching event."*

"Childrearing in the Early Chesapeake: The Tucker Family and the Rise of Republican Parenthood," Thesis by Linda Clark Wentworth, College of William and Mary, 1984.

I am very sorry to hear of my Sister Tucker's indisposition, but (with you) I hope it proceeds only from the milk and that a day or two will relieve her. I woud go up immediately but Col. Bland has the horse with him, which is absolutely necessary to assist in the Chariot. I hope he will be at home to night, and if he is I will be at Matoax tomorrow. My best love to fanny and I congratulate her on being thus far out of her nine month scrape.

Tucker-Coleman Papers, College of William and Mary Library. Martha Bland to St. George Tucker, 16 March 1786.

[Norfolk resident, James Parker, to fellow business friend who had returned to Scotland]

Last week our friend W Ronald was married to Miss Kendell, tho her portion is worth six thousands . . .yet I am fully convinced the match is founded on natural love & doubt not that they will be very happy. . . Since I'm upon matrimony, but known that the very silent & extremely modest Miss Ester Pugh is married to one Billy Pugh, it is reported with a good deal of certainty that she is about seven months gone with child, that however is only a Circumstance, & it is to be hoped Billie had the making of it

Charles Steuart Papers, Original: National Library of Scotland, microfilm in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library M-68.2 James Parker, Norfolk to Charles Steuart, Esq. 20 October 1769.

2. Pregnancy for Black Women

Once a slave became pregnant she became much more dependent on other women than she was on slave men. Her interaction with elderly women and other pregnant women increased, especially on large plantations where the "trash gang" fostered intimacy. In some cases women, anywhere from five to nine months pregnant, were put to work sewing, weaving, or spinning in the company of elderly, pregnant, or nursing women. Once a young woman was cognizant of having conceived a child she was likely, on the advice of older women, to impose dietary restrictions upon herself, to

wear some kind of charm, or to perform certain rituals. Such precautions were taken to "protect" the fetus or to ensure that a newborn was not "marked" in any way. For instance, some women thought it wise to stay away from strawberries lest a birthmark in the shape of a fruit be formed on the newborn's body. . . .

The dependence of pregnant women upon other women was particularly evident during and after childbirth. From the beginning to the end of their confinement slave women were attended by women, sometimes including the white mistress. The midwife who attended the slave women was often her everyday companion. Even when a midwife was sent to attend a woman on a neighboring plantation, the odds were that the pregnant woman was an acquaintance of hers, since as a midwife hers was a familiar face to all slaves on farms and plantations adjacent to her own. Sometimes other women assisted the midwife at the birth, and for at least a week of postpartum, slave women, usually the assisting elderly females, were assigned to sit with the lying-in patient.

Childbirth in the slave quarters was usually handled exclusively by women, but the gains derived from the companionship of familiar and sympathetic females could not compensate the birthing woman for the inadequate medical care she received. Of course, early nineteenth-century obstetric practice had not advanced much beyond traditional midwifery. Whether black or white, pregnant women had as much to fear from medical doctors and midwives as they had to gain. Yet, ultimately, slave owners determined the nature and quality of the attention a pregnant slave woman received, and although many increased an expectant mother's food allotment and decreased her work load, the care received by slave women was nevertheless poor.

Ar'n't I A Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South, Deborah Gray White, W.W. Norton & Co., New York, London, 1985, pp. 110-111.

[Joseph Ball, writing from England, to his nephew, Joseph Chinn, 18 February 1743/44. *[Stratford 18th of Feb 1743/4] Let the Breeding Wenches have Baby Cloths; for wch you may tear up old sheets, or any other old Linen, that you can find in my house (I shall send things proper ____?) and let them have Good Midwives; and what is necessary. Register all the Negro Children that shall be born, and also keep an account of their ages among my Papers.*

Joseph Ball Letter Book, 1743-1780 Original: Library of Congress; microfilm in the Colonial Williamsburg Library.

3. Childbirth in White Families

[Then as now, most deliveries were normal but infection and hemorrhaging weakened and eventually claimed the lives of some mothers. Also, there were few effective methods of relieving the pains of labor.]

Giving birth was a fearsome ordeal. Emelia Hunter of Gloucester said it well in the 1750s: "I am now Every Day Expecting, Either to give Life or lose it – Whichsoever it

pleases heaven."

Suzanne Lebsack. "A Share of Honour", Virginia Women 1600-1945. W. M. Brown & Son, Richmond: 1984, p. 74.

Relatives often celebrated childbirth in the family with gifts. In 1774, Frances Norton sent her niece "a set of small China for her amusement," while the child's grandmother gave her a cap. Mrs. Henry Callister received from her brother-in-law Ewan Callister a half-dozen silver tablespoons in honor of the birth of her son.

Smith, Daniel B. Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Cornell University Press, Ithaca: 1980. Pages 32-33.

Childbirth at home could be chaotic and full of danger for mother and child. When Becky Hansen of Maryland gave birth to a son in September of 1783, "confusion & distraction" reigned throughout the house. Another woman described the delivery of her sister-in-law as a "Scene of Sickness" with two children "dangerously ill" and the mother "so much complaining, and so low spirited in her lying-inn." Mrs. John Taylor's delivery of twins in 1771 ended in the death of one who "hanged himself in the navelstring." On July 7, 1766, Landon Carter was called back to his house when his daughter-in-law went into labor. He arrived to find the house in an uproar: "I found everybody about her in a great fright and she almost in despair. The child was dead and the womb was fallen down and what not." Eventually a "large dead child much squeezed and indeed putrified was delivered." His daughter-in-law's unusually quick recovery ran counter to what Carter had read by experts in midwifery and convinced him of the complexity and unpredictability of the childbirth process. "If she should continue so [well] books and experience have not yet amounted to all the particular cases in Midwifery.

Carter's close involvement in the delivery (probably because he was a widower) was extraordinary, for childbirth was normally managed by a midwife and an assortment of female kin and servants. Although a doctor was sometimes present, women controlled the entire delivery and recovery process.

Smith, Daniel B. Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Ithaca, 1980. Pages 28-29.

[Coalter's announcement of the birth of his daughter]

Be it known that on Tuesday morning last Miss Eliz. Tucker Coalter made her appearance in this world on about 10 minutes notice or less. She is a charming accomplished girl – not very beautiful, but of a most amiable temper and enjoying manners – Both she and her Mama are in perfect health – neither of them has had the slightest fever cholic or any thing else to disturb them – the[y] lie chating and playing with each other from morning to night and sleep from night til morning.

Tucker-Coleman Papers, College of William and Mary Library. John Coalter to his father-in-law, St. George Tucker, 28 June, 1805.

[Jaunty message from a male friend to a new father on the birth of his first child (Anne Frances)]
. . . thou hast a little Bantling heir thou. A sweetly-smiling cherub that begins to prattle already. I'll warrant ye, "Dear, pritty little Rogue! . . . It knows its Papa already" . . . thou oughtest to know that whatever gives thee Pleasure creates Delight in me -- at hearing my much-esteemed, thy amiable Fanny has escaped The Dangers of Child-Birth, & had presented to my Friend such a lovely Image of himself. . .

Tell Patty Hall that I can't help having a sneaking kind of regard for her, tho' she is so pettishly severe & keenly poignant in her sarcasms. . . she is no longer expectant of Jack the Giant Killer, [refers to a children's storybook] if she will but bid adieu to a certain Man-Killer, I heard her talk of, when I was last with you, & make me quite [illeg.] that I shan't be whipt thro' the Guts on her account, my Blood & Body are entirely at her Service.
 Tucker-Coleman Papers, College of William and Mary Library. Thomas Davis, Prince George, 3 October 1779, to St. George Tucker.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[October 1, 1774] *Mrs Carter very well yesterd[ay], though very big with child, must needs go visit Mrs Lomex, lately laid in, and came home very well and so continued until I went to bed at 8 o'clock. Her husband like a fool sure of his wife's Punctuality in reckoning, though I often told him the woman must not be without a midwife, Pretended to be sure she would not want one before November. And away goes he on his diversions Up to Fredricksburg.*

This morning no madam to breakfast. I desired to know what was the matter, could get no answer, although I sent her son up to ask in my name; but nothing was the word. At last just as breakfast was over everybody was on the run for somebody, nobody can tell who; the woman in labor and now it comes out; she had not felt her child these 2 months; a thing she never spoak of to one soul. But now it seems she says she told me she was not with child, and that was intended to discover the Child was dead within her, just as if a woman with a dead Child in her, could be thought much more said not to be with Child; and this insisted on even by Miss Lucy.



Childbirth was a time when family and friends gathered; the birth itself was mostly attended by women friends and relations. (1962-221,43)

Half after 9 a dead child born, but no afterbirth can be got away, for she has not even a pain. I sent for Jones. Perhaps Madam will make my words good, She has always been fond of such a hurry; and it is Possible that has fooled her out of her life. As nobody could be instantly got to this distressed but really undeserving woman, after I had ordered her to be put to bed, and had given about 2 hours time to nature to do her own office of expulsion of the Placenta if it could, I ventured to assist her with an active draught or two, which brought on a Proper pain and in about 10 minutes she was well cleared as I am told of everything that should come away.

Her son Landon went to fetch Mrs. Falkes from Mrs. Jones' where she was attending her lying in; and, though my Chariot went for her, she did not come till about half an hour after she was cleared. I directed her to make her inquiries, and if all was as things should be, to let her be kept quiet for a good Sleep. This I understood she was got into, and then I laid down to recover myself from the bad Colic effects of this ill contrived alarm, and in the time Dr. Jones came, which could not be before 12; about 1, I awaked, and the Dr. came down, and went away with Mrs. Falkes to his Lady, Pronouncing all things well. Greene, Jack P., ed. The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778. Charlottesville, Va: University of Virginia Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1965. Vol 2. p. 859.

[Births] Last Sunday evening, the spouse of MR. WILLIAM HOLT, near this City, was safely delivered of two stout boys and a girl, all well, and likely to continue so. Virginia Gazette 4 Nov. 1775, p. 3.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]

[1760]

- Sept. 10: *Between 11 & 12 last night my wife was delivered of a dead child—a girl, & I adore the Almighty God, she is as well as can be expected. Sent for Mr. Chicester & Nancy, but they were coming before Gustin got here. . . .*
- Sept. 11: *My wife continues to recover for which I return the Almighty thanks. . . .*

[1762]

- May 6: *This morning my dear wife was delivered of a daughter & both as well as can be expected*
- May 8: *Went to see Mr. Chicester's new house raised—dined there; soon after I got home some splinter got into my eye, which very much tormented me. My wife has a fever.*
- May 9: *Blessed be God, I rested pretty well, though I c'd not get the splinter out of my eye till almost 2 o.c. Molly Hening looked into my eye & saw it & got it out by my wife's directions. What a small thing disorders our whole frame! My dear wife I think is better.*
- May 11: *Sent Mrs. Miller home. My wife recovers very slowly.*
- May 12: *This has been a day of great sorrow. My dear wife was taken very ill with an ague & then a high fever, which to me seemed very terrifying for several*

hours, but she recovered very much in the eve'g. Likewise heard of my dear daughter Chicester being very ill. These alarms, with the trouble of recovering some goods from Mr. Hartley, gave me much confusion. Blessed be God for the relief he has afforded me, a poor weak worm, that can stand scarce any affliction, even from the hand of so good a God.

- May 13: My wife continues to recover—sat up to-day.*
May 19: My poor wife taken with a chill & a high fever.
June 5: This day Mr. Todd preached. A great deal of company came home with us, as our little child Sally was this day baptised by Mr. Todd.
July 28: Our poor little Salley has been very unwell for several days before I returned after dinner she was taken with fits—had a vast many & we do not expect her recovery.
July 31: Our poor little Sally very ill, so that my wife went to Dr. Flood for medicine & directions for her, but of no service, as the child is so ill.
August 1: About 9 o'clock our dear child left us. Oh, happy change! May we all be prepared for such, & may this awaken us to set our affections on things above!

Journal of Col. James Gordon William and Mary Quarterly, 1st series. Vol. II, pp. 202, 229-230, and 232.

[This colonial Virginia reference documents the number of his wife's miscarriages]

1766

- July 7: This day my Wife was delivered of a dead Child, a fine full grown Boy. What occasioned its death I can't conceive. . . .*
July 15: This day I have been married ten years. I have now living two Sons and a Daughter. My wife has miscarried five times; brought a dead Child, and lost a fine little Boy about 18 months old. . . .

Daybook of Robert Wormley Carter of Sabine Hall: Original: Virginia Almanac [1764], William L. Clements Library; Transcript Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

At last, dear Father, I have the pleasure of announcing the birth of another little daughter, who came into the world on the 20th of November at nine in the morning. She is in excellent health, fat, and as pretty as a little angel—and unlike my first two children, she has not yet cried once. I am also in good health and would have written you sooner, but they wouldn't let me. I am expecting M. Vergnes tomorrow to christen her and I hope you will be her godfather. I plan to name her Marie Louise. My husband is a bit disappointed that it is not a boy, but he says he forgives me because she is so pretty.

...

[To her sister]

[Riversdale, 3 January 1805] I have lived a very withdrawn life recently and take pleasure in economizing in order to be reunited with everyone dear to me. My greatest amusement now is to sit by the fireplace with my husband, Caroline and George playing together, and

my little Louise on my lap. She's the prettiest little baby I ever saw and very fat. I was extremely lucky this time—she scarcely gave us time to get ready to receive her. I went downstairs a fortnight after [her birth] and have felt quite well since. . . I find the best way to recover quickly is not to let anyone in the room the first week except the nurse. Nothing is worse than talking or listening to a lot of conversation.

...
You asked me, dear sister, for a complete account of the birth of my little Eugenie. To give you the best idea, I can only say that if it were always so easy, it would be less feared than a migraine. I think that the climate of America is very favorable to such labor. I had engaged a lying-in nurse for one month, but due to my miscalculation she couldn't come as she was attending another woman. So I was obliged to send for an old negress and I had the doctor in the house in case of mishap. I have an excellent white chambermaid who is accomplished at dressing and caring for a baby and is a good nurse. From the beginning my little darling has been, and continues to be, so good and in such fine health that she causes me no trouble. She is so robust and happy, always in motion, and a delight to me. Of course I am nursing her—I would not want to deprive myself of such an interesting occupation. Miss [Ann] Stuart, my husband's amiable niece, was to have come for my confinement, but [could not]. I wasn't annoyed because I prefer being alone at these times, as long as I have good servants. Too many visitors tire me.

Calcott, Margaret Law. *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. pp. 103, 107, and 162-163. Rosalie Calvert letters to her father, H.J. Stier, 4 December 1804 and to her sister Isabelle van Havre, 5 January 1805 and 2 April 1807.

4. Childbirth in Black Families

Once slaveholders realized that the reproduction function of the female slave could yield a profit, the manipulation of procreative sexual relations became an integral part of the sexual exploitation of female slaves. Few of the calculations made by masters and overseers failed to take a slave woman's childbearing capacity into account. This was particularly true after congress outlawed the overseas slave trade in 1807. The slave woman's "marital" status, her work load, her diet all became investment concerns of slaveholders, who could maximize their profits if their slave women had many children.

...
Beyond the verbal prodding used to encourage young women to reproduce were the more subtle practices that were built into the plantation system. For instance, pregnant women usually did less work and received more attention and rations than nonpregnant women. This policy was meticulously outlined to overseers and managers. Richard Corbin of Virginia told his manager that "breeding wenches more particularly you must instruct the Overseers to be Kind and Indulgent to, and not force them when with child upon any service or hardship that will be injurious to him." While this practice was designed to ensure the continued good health of mother and fetus alike, it also doubled as an incentive for overworked slave women to have children. As previously noted, the trash gang, to which women were assigned in the latter stages of pregnancy, did relatively

lighter work than that done by other hands. On plantations where the work load was exhausting and back breaking, a lighter work assignment could easily have proved incentive to get pregnant as often as possible, and according to Francis Kemble it did just that. Writing about the women on her husband's Georgia and South Carolina rice plantations she noted: "On the birth of a child certain additions of clothing and an additional weekly ration are bestowed on the family, and these matters, as small as they may seem, act as powerful inducements."

Deborah Gray White *Ar'n't I A Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, W.W. Norton & Co., New York: 1985, pp. 68 and 99-100.

5. Midwives

One of the midwife's most important legal functions was to bring official testimony to the county court about the paternity of illegitimate children. Customarily, the midwife would ask the woman during the most intense phase of labor to name the father of her child, at which point the mother's pain and need for assistance might compel her to tell the truth. This was the expectation in 1659 when the Norfolk court requested that the wife of George Hawkins be present at the labor of a pregnant servant, the father of whose child remained unknown to the justices. Midwives might also be asked to swear to the age of the children they had delivered when the court needed verification of birth dates. In these functions, midwives provided the court with information it might otherwise find difficult or impossible to procure and, in doing so, could subvert or facilitate the enforcement of sexual regulations.

A midwife or another married woman might also be expected by the courts to comment on physical abnormalities in cases where violence against a woman or her infant was suspected or to assess the condition of female criminals who claimed pregnancy as a defense against corporal punishment. In a household in which a woman suffered a miscarriage or stillbirth, the mistress might call in a female neighbor who could act as a reputable witness.

Brown, Kathleen M., *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: p. 98.

* * *

[By the mid 1760s Williamsburg residents Dr. Peter Hay, until his death on November 1766, and Dr. George Gilmer practiced midwifery in addition to their practice of medicine. *The subscriber, who just arrived from London, proposes settling in Williamsburg, where he intends practicing as a Surgeon, Apothecary, and Man-Midwife, and hopes, from the application he has made in these branches, to be able to give satisfaction. Those who will please to favour him with their employ may depend upon the strictest attendance.*

JOHN MINSON GALT

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) Feb 2, 1769. p. 3.

To the Publick The subscriber having studied and practiced MIDWIFERY for some Time past, with Success, under the Direction, and with the Approbation, of Doctors Pasteur and Galt, flatters herself she will meet with, as Nothing will be spared to complete her in the Knowledge of an Art so eminently necessary to the Good of Mankind. Ladies and others, are therefore desired to take Notice that they will be waited upon on the shortest Warning, by their humble Servant,

Mary Rose

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) 21 November 1771, p. 2.

Mrs. Catherine Blaikley, of this city, in the seventy-sixth year of her Age, an eminent Midwife, and who, in the Course of her Practice, brought upwards of three Thousand Children into the World.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) Oct 24, 1771, p. 2.

[Reprinted from an English publication]

Letter on the present State of MIDWIFERY

In Times when every Winter brings Scenes of Prostitution from the Privacy of Darkness into the public Light of Day, when our Ladies of Quality, and Women of Fashion, instead of being as remarkable for their Virtues as for their Beauty, openly cast aside every Sence of Shame, and bare-facedly encourage the Addresses of Men who avowedly can have no Intention but to involve them in Guilt, it is the duty of every honest Man to endeavour to trace the Evil to its Source, in Order that, by pointing out the foul Spring which corrupts the Stream, the Fountain may be cleared, and the Contagion which rages from it lessened, if not entirely removed. . . .

It is to the almost universal custom of EMPLOYING MEN-MIDWIVES that I attribute the frequent Adulteries which disgrace our Country.

Ignorance has spread this shameless Custom. Ignorance leads People to suppose Men safer than Women. Ignorance of what the Men-Midwives do lead modest Women at first to submit to employ Men; and it is Ignorance which leads Husbands (who love their Wives) to recommend, nay even sometimes force them on their Wives. . . It is a notorious Fact, that more Children have been lost since Women were so scandalously indecent as to employ Men than for Ages before that Practice became so general. Women have a Tenderness of Feeling for their own Sex, in Labour, which it is impossible Men can equal them in. . . . They lead them to be patient, they prompt Them to allow Nature to do her own peculiar Work. They never dream of having Recourse to Force . . .

. . . . Monstrous! that a Lady can pretend to any Degree of Modesty, and yet, not content with having a strange Man attending her for Hours when in Labour (most of the time intimately acquainted with every Part) she can, without any Compunction, send for a Man, and admit him, without Reserve, to the most unbounded Liberties, at a Time too when she is as able to walk, and do every Act of Life, as if she was not pregnant! Pray let me ask her Ladyship, how did the dear Man, sweet Doctor—find out how the Child lay? By means sufficient to taint the purity, and fully the Chastity, of any Woman breathing! . .

For my own part, if I was a married Man, I declare it would be a Matter of the utmost

Indifference to me whether my Wife had spent the Night in a Bagnio or an Hour of the Forenoon locked up with a Man-Midwife in her Dressing Room. Let this shameless custom be abolished, and then Virtue will fly back again to our Metropolis, with all her Train of genuine self-approving Pleasures; and England be, once more, as much famed for the Chastity as for the Beauty of its Women.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) Oct 1, 1772, p. 1.

6. Birth Intervals, Birth Control and Abortion

. . . The courts were generally uninterested in prosecuting women for abortion, however, unless it occurred late in the pregnancy. In cases where a miscarriage suspiciously resembled abortion, justices might ask housemates and neighbors whether the woman in question "ever took any thing to make her miscarry." Individuals offering testimony in such cases seemed aware that herbal means of terminating pregnancies existed, even if they were not party to the secret remedies.

Although abortion might have been easier to conceal than infanticide, it was often less effective, leaving pregnant women's dilemmas unresolved. For women such as Ann Jacobson, who tried to avoid stigma and prosecution by killing and "privily Burrying" her bastard child, infanticide was the answer.

In the effort to prevent this method of escaping detection and to gain better control over the mothers of illegitimate children, the Governor's Council called for a law in 1710 to prevent the murder of bastard children. Legislators eventually adapted a century-old English statute to punish infanticide. The law specified that any free woman caught concealing the death of her bastard child would be executed for murder whether or not murder could actually be proved. Subsequent laws set severe punishments for householders who secretly allowed unmarried women to bear children in their homes.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: p. 204.

If it is hard to differentiate real sickness from passive resistance it is almost impossible to determine whether slave women practiced birth control and abortion. These matters were virtually exclusive to the female world of the quarters, and when they arose they were attended to in secret and were intended to remain secret. Some Southern whites were certain that slave women knew how to avoid pregnancy as well as how to deliberately abort a pregnancy. When Daph, a woman on the Ferry Hill plantation in Virginia miscarried twins in 1838 the overseers reported that Daph took some sort of abortifacient to bring about the miscarriage.

The jury will have to remain out on whether slave women were guilty of practicing birth control and abortion, but some reason why they might have been guilty as accused should be considered. Certainly, they had reason not to want to bear and nurture children who could be sold from them at a slave master's whim. They had ample cause to want to deny whites the satisfaction of realizing a profit on the birth of their children. But they also

had as much reason as any antebellum woman, white or free black, to shun pregnancy and childbirth. As long as obstetrics had not yet evolved into a science, childbirth was dangerous. We would also be remiss if we did not at least suppose that a few abortions were motivated by attempts to hide teenage pregnancy or marital infidelity. Black women were slaves but they were also human.

Deborah Gray White. Ar'n't I A Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South, Deborah Gray White, W.W. Norton & Co., New York: 1985, pp. 84-86.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

I would have liked, this time, a longer interval of repose [between births], but I find myself once again "in an increasing way. "

...
In your last letter, dear Sister, you mentioned that you were afraid you were pregnant again and you asked me how we were managing not to have any more babies. Alas, that is one of those decisions that a moment of folly can do in.

Isabelle van Havre, spring 1812

Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992, pp. 176 and 233. Rosalie Calvert to Isabelle van Havre, 10 December 1807 and Isabelle to Rosalie, Spring 1812.

7. Nursing White Children

The feeding of babies was a worrisome business. Until the mid-eighteenth century, milk supplied by the mother or wet-nurse was the only viable method of feeding. Feeding vessels, particularly from 1700 onwards, were available but, because the principles of sterilization were not understood, it was considered a great achievement to rear a child by hand, even as late as the nineteenth century. . . .the use of a wet-nurse was largely confined to the upper classes who could afford to pay for such services, and even here it was not universal.

Pollock, Linda. A Lasting Relationship: Parents and Children Over Three Centuries (Anthology). Hanover, New Hampshire, 1987, p. 53.

In the eighteenth century, even though a larger number of families could afford to hire wet nurses, most women, except when ill, seem to have continued to nurse their own children. One woman in 1780, for example, was reported to be "too weakly to Suckel her little Girl & is Obliged to put it out to nurse." Another woman was seen "nursing her little girl, to whom she is quite devoted." . . . parents in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake worried more about children becoming ill from contact with sick mothers. For instance, Margaret Parker of Norfolk, Virginia, wrote to her husband in 1771 that their infant son had "*Sucked the fever from me I believe. I was obliged to get a woman to Suckle him a while till I get*

my milk again which the fever dried up."

... Maternal love, though, was not always the central motivation for mothers who decided to nurse their own children. Given the discomfort of frequent pregnancies and the danger and violent pain associated with childbirth in the eighteenth century, some mothers chose to nurse their offspring because the lactation period tended to delay conception. Landon Carter certainly felt that this was the strategy of his daughter-in-law in 1770 when, according to him, she continued to breast feed her baby girl despite being sick herself. . . .



This print shows a child in swaddling being nursed by its mother and a toddler in a pudding cap after weaning. (C86-157 1962-221)

... The weaning process, however, threatened to disrupt the close ties between a child and its nurse or mother. Sometime in their second year, children were removed from their secure source of nourishment. Weaning was critical in the child's first moves toward autonomy, which normally characterize the second year of life. . . .
 . . . A starchy mixture of flour and milk, such as gruel or pap, was introduced into the child's diet sometime in the first year to begin to accustom him to eating solid food. Mothers often dabbed mustard, pepper, or some bitter substance on their breasts to discourage the child from nursing.

Daniel B. Smith. Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Ithaca, NY, 1980, pp. 35-38.

* * *

[Some white children were nursed by black women; but, Daniel Blake Smith's qualification is well put. (Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Cornell University Press, Ithaca: p. 39.) "Fithian, however, was speaking [when he commented that Mrs. Carter had slave women nurse her children] of a very small minority of women-only those with great wealth and burdened by huge families, like Mrs. Carter. Most mothers, except when seriously weakened by childbirth or sickness, nursed their own infants--often out of strong maternal sentiment."

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

The conversation at supper was on Nursing Children; I find it is common here for people of Fortune to have their young Children suckled by the Negroes! Dr Jones told us his first and only Child is now with such a Nurse; & Mrs Carter said that Wenches have suckled several of hers—Mrs Carter has had thirteen Children She told us to night and she has nine now living; of which seven are with me

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg : University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville: 1957. p. 39.

[Memoirs written in 1907 recalling life of a middling Quaker family on a Loudoun County farm in the 1820s]

I remember an incident that occurred when I was less than two years old. I was the first and only child and my mother allowed me to use her breast very late. I remember one day worrying her for my dinner, at a time when she was trying to wean me. Finally, she called me to her, and upon baring her breast, I saw she had covered her nipples with soot from the "backwall" of the fire place.

John Jay Janney's Virginia: An American Farm Lad's Life in the Early 19th Century, Asa Moore Janney, Werner L. Janney, editors, EPM Publications, Inc., McLean, VA, 1978, p. 15.

[Diary, including references to her illness and needlework, kept by wife of planter James Nourse of Berkeley County who immigrated with his family from London in 1769]

[10 January 1797] got up very early ate breakfast staid in the cellar and see meat taken hem'd a handkerchief for Miss Amy Smith knit a little on my stocking, saw Jack & Charles Smith skate on the ice, Jack Tunstall & John Hill went to Grigory Tunstalls to dinner Sister Polly & Mrs Row to Colo Smith's they all return'd at night, had James Edward to dine with us, I took Hetty Row that night to wean she cri'd and scuffled a little at first but slept tolerable well that night.

"The Diary of Frances Baylor Hill of 'Hillsborough' King and Queen County Virginia, (1797)," edited by William K. Bottorff and Roy C. Flannagan [Ohio University], Early American Literature Newsletter, Vol. 2, #3, (Winter, 1967), p. 8.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

I have your complaint, dear Sister-low spirits-and everything contributes to augment them. I feel better when I can chat with you by letter. I had planned so much pleasure this summer breast-feeding my little Louise, who is the most delightful child possible. My first two cried from morning till evening and gave me only trouble, but this one smiles the moment I take her. [Yet] I fear I will be obliged to wean her or take a wet nurse, since I think I am pregnant again. Isn't that depressing. I am afraid to continue nursing her for long [for fear] of hurting the other one, and it is hard to get a wet nurse whom you really know. I never want to have a black one again-they are not capable of attachment to a child. In short, I simply cannot make up my mind

Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1992. pp. 110-111. Rosalie Calvert to her sister Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, 18 February 1805.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[1770]

Oct 14 . . . Mrs Carter [his daughter-in-law] taken ill yesterday and was seen to be so before, though she would not own it. And poor little Fanny is every time to share her Mama's disorder by sucking her, and this because she should not breed too fast. . . . I have been a Parent and I thought it murder and therefore hired nurses or put them out. . . .

Oct 15 . . . Mrs Carter and little Fanny very ill and [y]et this child is to continue to suck the poizon; she can't live it is said, without the baby, and it is certain she can't live with it. Of course the death of the child is inevitable from such an absurd way of reasoning. . . .

Oct 19 Little Fanny Carter ever since fryday last has had from 4 to near 8 a daily ague, the most violent by account that a grown person generally has, and then a fever. . . but now the child will suck only its mother's milk poisoned with her very bilious habit; and madam pretends she will spit spoon victuals out and will not give her any even as a medicine.

Oct 20 . . . [Fanny seems better] But unless they wean her, still sucking from a morbid breast will in spite of fate bring on a return. Poor baby.

Greene, Jack P., ed. The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778. Charlottesville, Va: University of Virginia Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1965. Vol.1, pp. 510-515.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

When I wrote you that I was afraid I would have to wean her, it was a false alarm which didn't last long. I am still nursing her and will continue until she is eighteen months or two years old, for as you observed, it is a pleasure to nurse a good child. . .

Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. p.131. Rosalie Calvert to her sister Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale 7 October. 1805.

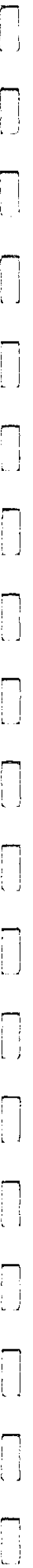
8. Nursing Black Children

African customs of nursing were different from those of Europeans. In Africa women often nursed children for more than three years, abstaining from sexual relations during that period. Black women continued these patterns in the Caribbean slave communities, as did seventeenth-century blacks in the Chesapeake.

Gunderson, Joan Rezner. The Double Bonds of Race and Sex: Black and White Women in a Colonial Virginia Parish. The Journal of Southern History, Vol. LII, No.3, August 1986. p. 361.

For the first few months of life, a newborn infant stayed in the matricentral cell, that is, received his identity and subsistence from his mother. A mother would take her new infant to the fields with her "and lay it uncovered on the ground. . . while she hoed her corn-row down and up. She would then suckle it a few minutes, and return to her labor, leaving the child in the same exposure."

Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1986, p. 372.



C. Childrearing

1. Raising White Children

While seventeenth-century parents had tried to make their children into adults as quickly as possible, more and more middle- and upper- class couples in the eighteenth century were coming to feel that their children were entitled to be children. This does not mean that earlier generations of youngsters didn't laugh and cry, run and lay, or act silly and mischievous. In fact, their daily lives may not have varied too much from those of children of their station in life a hundred years earlier. What changed was the way in which adults perceived the basic nature of children and arrived at a different understanding of human development, one which stimulated new methods for achieving the same old goal of turning irresponsible and incapable babies into responsible and productive members of society. . . .

Families at the very lowest end of the economic scale had little in the way of time or resources to spend on children, however beloved. Time was money, and with both mothers and fathers involved in the economic struggle of daily life, young children were not only left to fend for themselves, but also-often by the age of three or four- expected to care for those younger than they. Most households lacked extra hands, and on isolated rural farms there was no recourse to neighbors who, in any event, would have been busy with their own concerns. . . . None of this presupposes a lack of love or affection, merely a scale of priorities in which the needs of children were ranked low, and their rearing subordinated to other, more pressing tasks."

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York: 1993. pp. 104-5 and 116-117.

Childrearing

The authority of gentry fathers over their children appears in high relief when compared to the relationships of non-elite white parents with their offspring. Lesser planters and yeomen viewed children both as economic resources, whose labor could be exploited during their youth, and as heirs, who needed to be educated and suitably married. Like their elite counterparts, men who composed the middle of Virginia society thus enjoyed some ability to compel obedience from children. White fathers with little property, however, could not easily threaten children with disinheritance. Such parents may have found physical coercion a surer remedy for children's disobedience. Apprenticeships and hired service also distanced poorer white parents from their children, blunting the effects of parental authority. Spending their childhoods in the homes of men and women other than their parents, many white children received corporal punishment and learned basic reading, writing, and occupational skills from masters and mistresses. These contracts were based on parental consent but essentially involved an exchange of

the child's labor for his or her maintenance and education, a resource to which parents customarily had a right.

Poor parents were not completely without influence upon the apprenticeship arrangements of their children. When contracts were violated by children, very often it was with parental complicity. Unhappy children knew they could return to the home of a mother or father to escape a severe master and, with paternal help, perhaps even nullify the old contract in favor of a more satisfactory arrangement. Although there is no way to know how many parents bypassed the county court and tried to return children to these unhappy situations, it is striking that no such instances ever appeared in the court records used in this study. In most cases, it seems, a white parent would seek the court's assistance to break the contract and make an arrangement more to the child's liking.

To an even greater degree than poor white parents, enslaved mothers and fathers also lacked a propertied foundation for parental authority. Depending upon his or her occupation, skill, and personal relationship to a white master, however, an enslaved parent might have some impact upon a child's future.

A woman who performed work as a cook, nurse, or seamstress, for example, had limited opportunities to place her female children in a similar position within the household; this pattern may have been more likely by the later eighteenth century, as the numbers of enslaved women engaged in domestic work increased. She might also be able to press a claim for the training of a son in some craft that would ensure that child's future release from agricultural labor. An enslaved father engaged in tasks that brought him in frequent contact with his white master might similarly have been able to advance his son or daughter to indoor work.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1996, pp. 348-349.

At about ten to twelve weeks of age, the child was short-coated -- put into a long frock, just reaching to the feet. Both boys and girls were dressed in this fashion up to the age of six or seven when they adopted the appropriate adult style of clothing. Boys were ceremoniously breeched -- clad in doublet (later a coat and waistcoat), jerkin and hose like their father. By the eighteenth century they discarded their frocks at about the age of four.



Lewis Miller sketched Virginia in the mid nineteenth century. His depiction of black and white interactions in childrearing shows an important aspect of Virginia family life. (87-1083)

Girls assumed the dress of adult women: low necked gown and leather or whalebone stays. Children's clothing became more informal in the late eighteenth century with the introduction of trousers and plain short jackets for boys and simple, straight dresses for girls. Pollock, Linda. A Lasting Relationship: Parents and Children Over Three Centuries University Press of New England, Hanover: 1987, pp. 55.

[Preparations for a Christmas ball (26 Dec. 1771) at the Bryan Fairfax home from a child's point of view]

On thursday the 26th of decem. mama made 6 mince pies, & 7 custards, 12 tars, a chicking pye, and 4 pudings for the ball.

Miss Polly Payn & Mr. Perce Baillis & Mrs. Wm. Payn & Mr. Wm. Sandford, Mr. Moody & Miss Jenny, a man who lives at Colchester, Mr. Hurst, Mrs. Hurst's husband, young Harry Gunnell, John Seal from the little falls, Mr. Watts & Mr. Hunter, these are all the gentlemen and ladies that were at the ball. Mrs. Gunnell brought her sucking child with her.

"Diary of a Little Colonial Girl," Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. 11, pp. 212-213.

[Mann Page's "Invoice of Goods sent for to John Norton Esqr. & Son Feby. 15th 1770." includes:]

for a Boy 16 yr. old

8 pr. Strong Neet shoes 10 inches long

4 pr. Pumps from Didsborough

8 pr. French Kid Gloves large

6 pr. fine worsted Stockings

6 pr. fine Thread Do. large

1 ps. Silk Handkerchief

2 Hats @ 12/

Tristram Shandy

2 first Volumes of Yorricks Sentimental Journeys

all his Sermons

Frances Norton Mason, ed. John Norton & Sons: Merchants of London and Virginia. New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1968, p.125.

[Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, but at this point living in Williamsburg, ordered from Edward Hunt & Son, August 20, 1764]

Articles for my Daughters

2 ps irish linen 2/6 per yard

1 ps Manchester gingham

10 yds. do Dimaty

2 prs turn fustain[sic] Stays for a girl of 5 years old

2 long lawn frocks for do

2 french fillets for do

2 colour'd silk Bonnets for do

2 silk neck atees	for	do
2 colour'd silk Shagg Caprichens to be lined with sarcenet	for	do
2 cheap Fans	for	do
2 red glass Necklasses	for	do
8 yds. narrow Ribbon of different colours		
2 pr Silk Shoes	for	do
4 pr red leather Shoes	for	do
2 pr white thread Stockings	for	do
8 pr colour'd leather mitt.	for	do
1 silk bonnet for a girl of 2 years old		
6 pr red Shoes	for	
1 dozn: horn buckling Combs		
4 bone dandes Combs		
2 bone ditto		
4 bone ditto		

[from resource packet, Women in Williamsburg]

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

Caroline asks me to thank you for the pretty little tea set you bought for her in Alexandria which, having remained at Gadsby's since your departure, I finally received a few days ago. She has already had three tea parties with it, but she is sorry that her cousins are no longer here.

Calcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. p. 125. Rosalie Calvert to her sister Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, 8 August 1805.

[Fatherly advice on the importance of being properly dressed at all times]

I omitted in that letter to advise you on the subject of dress, which I know you are a little apt to neglect. I do not wish you to be gaily clothed at this time of life, but that your wear should be fine of its kind. But above all things and at all times let your clothes be neat, whole, and properly put on. Do not fancy you must wear them till the dirt is visible to the eye. You will be the last one who is sensible of this. Some ladies think they may, under the privileges of the deshabille, be loose and negligent of their dress in the morning. But be you, from the moment you rise till you go to bed, as cleanly and properly dressed as at the hours of dinner or tea. A lady who has been seen as a sloven or a slut in the morning, will never efface the impression she has made, with all the dress and pageantry she can afterwards involve herself in. Nothing is so disgusting to our sex as a want of cleanliness and delicacy in yours. I hope, therefore, the moment you rise from bed, your first work will be to dress yourself in such style, as that you may be seen by any gentleman without his being able to discover a pin amiss, or any other circumstance of neatness wanting.

Sarah Randolph, The Domestic Life of Jefferson, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1978, p.71.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[Oct 8, 1774] I have repeatedly Pronounced that to give a young man a horse is to make him an ass; for this reason I never treated a son or person under my care with one but always sent one, if necessary to carry them to those Places when they wanted or were to go; and it has been by this means I know not that I ever bread up an ass. . . But my Son must indulge his son against this advice and now see the effects of it. Instead of a book it is his mare to imploy him every moment, and really it is only the inclination of admiring himself on so pretty a creature that makes him so constantly on the brond. [sic]

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1987), Vol. 1, p. 869.

[Memoirs written in 1907 recalling life of a middling Quaker family on a Loudoun County farm in the 1820s]

My bed room, during nearly all the time after I left my mother's arms till I was twenty years old, was in the kitchen loft. It was large enough for a large "colonial chest" and three beds, and still room for the flour barrel, the corn meal, the buckwheat meal, and the salt barrel, besides the "big wheel" (the wool wheel), the "little wheel" (the flax wheel), the reel, and the rats.

There were always two beds in the room, one occupied by my uncle and a farm hand, the other by Bill Shuy and myself. Bill was so near an idiot that he never learned to do any work on the farm except to cover corn at corn planting, carry sheaves at harvest, and rake after a cradler. He could not bind [sheaves]. He could feed and milk the cows, and slop the hogs, but never could learn his letters nor count his fingers. . . Our bed room, during that half of my life there, had but one window, a four pane of seven by nine glass and could not be opened. The roof was so low that when my bed was pushed out close to the side of the room, I have frequently bumped my head against the rafters getting in or out of bed. With no ventilation and the heated roof only two or three feet off, in the summer it was a hot bed room, but in the winter it was cool enough. The gable end was "weather boarded," not with jointed narrow siding such as is now used, but with oak, as wide as the log would make, and they were so warped that the wind and snow came in freely. When our bed was in the west end of the room, I have frequently felt the snow falling in my face and the wind blow the hair about my head, but I never slept better in any bed room than in that kitchen loft.

John Jay Janney's Virginia: An American Farm Lad's Life in the Early 19th Century, Asa Moore Janney and Werner L. Janney, editors, EPM Publications, Inc., McLean, VA, 1978, p. 40.

2. Raising Black Children

For the first months of life, a newborn infant stayed in the matricentral cell, that is, received his identity and subsistence from his mother. . . . Eventually, the child left its

mother's lap and explored the world of the hut and quarter. In the evenings, he ate with his family and learned to love his parents, siblings, and other kinfolk. During the day the young child lived in an age-segregated world. While parents, other adults, and older siblings worked, children were "left, during a great portion of the day, on the ground at the doors of their huts, to their own struggles and efforts." They played with age mates or were left at home with other children and perhaps an aged grandparent. Siblings and age-mates commonly lived together or in nearby houses. . . . Black children began to work in the tobacco fields between seven and ten years of age. For the first time they joined fully in the daytime activities of adults. Those still living at home labored beside parents, brothers and sisters, cousins, uncles, aunts, and other kinfolk. (Even on smaller plantations, they worked with their mothers.) Most were trained to be field hands by white masters or overseers and by their parents. Though these young hands were forced to work for the master, they quickly learned from their kinfolk to work at the pace that black adults set and to practice the skills necessary to "put the massa on."

Kullikoff, Allan. Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1986, pp.372-373.

[Monticello slave Isaac Jefferson dictated his memoirs to historian Charles Campbell in 1847.]

Isaac Jefferson was born at Monticello [c. 1777]. His mother was named Usler but nicknamed "Queen," because her husband was named George and commonly called "King George." She was pastry cook and washerwoman; stayed in the laundry. Isaac toted wood for her, made fire, and so on. Mrs. Jefferson would come out there with a cookery book in her hand and read out of it to Isaac's mother how to make cakes, tarts, and so on.

Mrs. Jefferson was named Patsy Wayles, but when Mr. Jefferson married her she was the Widow Skelton, widow of Batter Skelton. Isaac was one year's child with Patsy Jefferson; she was suckled part of the time by Isaac's mother.

Memoirs of a Monticello Slave as Dictated to Charles Campbell by Isaac [1847]. James A. Bear, Jr., ed., University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1967, p. 1.

3. Behavior and Discipline for Children

From the ANNUAL REGISTER

SIR, I AM engaged in a visit at a friend's house in the country, where I promised myself much satisfaction. I have, however, been greatly disappointed in my expectations; for on my arrival here I found a house full of children, who are humoured beyond measure, and indeed absolutely spoiled by the ridiculous indulgence of a fond mother. This unlucky circumstance has subjected me to many inconveniences, and, as I am a man of a grave reserved disposition, has been a perpetual source of embarrassment and perplexity. The second day of my visit, in the midst of dinner, the eldest boy, who is eight years old, whipped off my periwig with great dexterity and received the applause of the table for his

humour and spirit. This lad, when he has reached his fourteenth year, and is big enough to lie without the maid, is to be sent to a school in the neighbourhood, which has no other merit than that of being but seven miles off. Six of the children are permitted to sit at the table, who entirely monopolize the wings of fowls, and the most delicate morsels of every dish; because the mother has discovered that her children have not strong stomachs. In the morning, before my friend is up, I generally take a turn upon the gravel walk, where I could wish to enjoy my own thoughts without interruption; but I am here instantly attended by my little tormentors, who follow me backwards and forwards, and play at what they call Running after the Gentleman. My whip, which was a present from an old friend, has been lashed to pieces by one of the boys, who is fond of horses; and the handle is turned into a hobby horse. The main spring of my repeating watch has been broke in the nursery, which, at the mother's request, I had lent to the youngest boy, who was just breeched, and who cried to wear it. The mother's attention to the children entirely destroys all conversation; and once, as an amusement for the evenings, we attempted to begin reading Tom Jones, but were interrupted, in the second page, by little Sammy, who is suffered to whip his top in the parlour. I am known to be troubled with violent headaches; notwithstanding which, another of the boys, without notice given, or any regard paid to the company, is permitted to break out into the braying of an ass, for which the strength of his lungs is commended; and a little miss, at breakfast, is allowed to drink up all the cream, and put her fingers into the sugar dish, because she was once sickly. I am teased with familiarities, which I can only repay with a frown; and pestered with the petulance of ludicrous prattle, in which I am unqualified to join. It is whispered in the family that I am a mighty good sort of a man, but that I cannot talk to children. Nor am I the only person who suffers from this folly: A neighbouring clergyman, of great merit and modesty, and much acquainted in the family, has received hints to forbear coming to the house, because little Sukey always cries when she sees him, and has told her mamma she cannot bear that ugly parson.

Mrs. Qualm, my friend's wife, the mother of this hopeless offspring, is perpetually breeding; or rather her whole existence is spent in a series of great bellies, lyings-in, visitings, churchings, and christenings. Every transaction of her life is dated from her several pregnancies. The grandmother, and the man-midwife, a serious sensible man, constantly reside in the house, to be always ready on these solemn occasions. She boasts that no family has ever sent out more numerous advertisements for nurses with a fine breast of milk. As her longings have of late been in the vegetable way, the garden is cultivated for this purpose alone, and totally filled with forward pease, and melon glasses, in hopes that she may luckily long for what is at hand. She preserves, to the utmost, the prerogative of frequent pregnancy; and conscious of the dignity and importance of being often big, exerts an absolute authority over her husband. He was once a keen foxhunter, but has long ago dropped his hounds; his wife having remonstrated that his early rising disturbed the family unseasonably, and having dreamed that he broke his leg in leaping a ditch.

I rever Mrs. Qualm as the mother, and only wish I could recommend her as the manager of children. I hope this letter may fall into her hands, to convince her how absurd

it is to suppose that others can be as much interested in her own children as herself. I would teach her that what I complain of as matter of inconvenience may, one day, prove to her a severe trial; and that early licentiousness will, at last, mock that paternal affection from whose mistaken indulgence it arose.

I am yours X Y Z

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) March 12, 1767. p. 1.

[Egocentric self portrait (written when she was 32) of the eldest child of John Parke Custis and his wife Eleanor]

I had a good memory, & learnt many songs—my father & Dr R taught me many very improper ones, & I can now remember standing on the table when not more than 3 or 4 years old, singing songs which I did not understand—while my father & other gentlemen were often rolling in their chairs with laughter—and I was animated to exert myself to give him delight— the servants in the passage would join in their mirth, & I holding my head erect, would strut about the table, to receive the praises of the company, my mother remonstrated in vain—and her husband always said his little Bet could not be injured by what she did not understand that he had no Boy & she must make fun for him untill he had—he would then kiss her to make his Peace, & giving me a Nod my voice. . . resounded through the rooms, & my Mother who could not help laughing, had to retire & leave me to the gentlemen, where my fathers caresses made me think well of myself

"Eliza Parke Custis, Self-Portrait, 1808," Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. 53, pp. 93-94.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[5 January 1774] Bob & Nancy before Breakfast had a quarrel—Bob called Nancy a Lyar; Nancy upbraided Bob, on the other Hand, with being often flog'd by their Pappa; often by the Masters in College; that he had stol'n Rum, & had got drunk; & that he used to run away &c—These Reproaches when they were set off with Miss Nancy's truly feminine address, so violently exasperated Bob that he struck her in his Rage—I was at the time in my Chamber; when I enter'd the room each began with loud and heavy complaints, I put them off however with sharp admonitions for better Behaviour.

...
[8 February 1774] Before Breakfast Nancy & Fanny had a Fight about a Shoe Brush which they both wanted—Fanny pull'd off her Shoe & threw at Nancy, which missed her and broke a pane of glass of our School Room. they then enter'd upon close scratching &c. which methods seem instinctive in Women. Harry happen'd to be present & affraid lest he should be brought in, ran and informed me—I made peace, but with many threats—

...
[6 June 1774] Mrs [Robert]Carter. . .told me openly & candidly . . . she knows not what to do with her perverse son Bob—He abuses his Mama, Miss Sally, the children, Family, and is much given to slander.

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by

Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg : University Press of Virginia, 1957. pp. 63, 49-50, 116.

[Fatherly advice on the behavior of his daughter Fanny, who later married Col. John Custis of Williamsburg. Her sister Lucy married William Byrd II.]

I Rec'vd y'r first letter, and be shure you be as good as y'r word and mind y'r writing and everything else you have learnt; and do not learn to Romp, but behave y'rselfe soberly and like a Gentlewoman. Mind Reading; and carry y'rself so yt Everyboddy may Respect you. Be Calm and Obligeing to all the servants, and when you speak doe it mildly, Even to the poorest slave; if any of the Servants committ small faults yt are of no consequence, doe you hide them... Love y'r sister and y'r friends, be dutiful to y'r mother. This with my blessing, is from y'r lo: father,

Virginia Magazine of History. Vol. 20, pp. 375-376. Daniel Parke, St. James [London] to daughter Fanny in Virginia. 20 October [c.1700].

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[Aug 11, 1777] If insulting a grand father Storming at a mother, being angry and outrageous at younger Sisters; only loving a horse so much as always to have him in sight, tied at one Slender gate, or feeding before his window to break everything not his own to pieces; Dogs all around him, in his bedchamber and before his door, till he chuses a more orderly room, to fill with flies and ticks, can denot a gentle man of Politeness, Landon, son of the aforesaid Robert, is certainly the highest bread youth on earth.

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1987), Vol. 2, p.1124.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall and remarks here, disapprovingly, of a behavior followed by many children today.]

[Thursday, December 23, 1773] It is a custom with our Bob whenever he can coax his Dog up stairs, to take him into his Bed, and make him a companion; I was much pleased this morning while he and Harry were reading in Course a Chapter in the Bible, that they read in the 27th Chapter of Deuteronomy the Curses threatened there for Crimes; Bob seldom, perhaps never before, read the verse, at last read that "Cursed be he that lyeth with any manner of Beast, and all the People shall say Amen." I was exceedingly Pleased, yet astonished at the Boy on two accounts. – 1st at the end of every verse, befor he came to this, he would pronounce aloud, "Amen." But on Reading this verse he not only omitted the "Amen," but seem'd visibly struck with confusion! –2nd And so soon as the Verse was read, to excuse himself, he said at once, Brother Ben slept all last winter with his Dog, and learn'd me! –Thus ready are Mankind always to evade Correction!

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957. p. 37-38.

[Shetland Island resident and indentured servant who served as a tutor for the William Daingerfield family at Belvidera from 1774-1776]

[19 July 1775] This day I was Informed that Mrs. Daingerfield hade made a Complaint upon me to the Colo. for not waiting after Breackfast & dinner (some times) in order to take the Children along with me to Scholl; I imagine she has hade a grudge against me since the middle of Feby. last the reason was, that one night in the Nursery I wheep'd Billie for crying for nothing & she came in & carried him out from me. Some nights after he got into the same humour & his Papa The Colo. hearing him call'd me & Asked why I cou'd hear him do so & not correct him for it; Upon that I told him how Mrs. Daingerfield had behaved when I did corect him. At that he was angry with her.

Harrower, John. The Journal of John Harrower: An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia. Edited by Edward M. Riley. Holt, Rineholt & Winston, Inc. New York: 1963. p. 103.

[Betsy Braxton (b.1759) visited her aunt Ann Blair in Williamsburg who wrote to Betsy's mother, Mary Braxton, about her activities as does her aunt, Jean, in the second letter]
 . . . we have had some few quarrel's, and one Battle, Betsey & her Cousin Jenny had been fighting for several day successively, and was threatn'd to be whip't for it as often, but as they did not regard--her Mamma & self thought it necessary to let them see we we[re] in earnest--if they have fought since have never heard of it--she has finish'd her work'd Tucker, but the weather is so warm, that with all the pain's I can take with clean hands, and so forth she cannot help dirtying it a little. I do not observe her to be fond of Negroes Company any now nor have I heard latly of any bad Word's chief of our Quarrel's is for eating of those Green Aples in our Garden, & not keeping the Head smooth. I have had Hair put on Miss Dolly, but find it is not in my power of complying with my promise in giving her silk for a Sacque & Coat, some of our pretty Gang, broke open a Trunk in my absense--and has stolen several things one of wch. the Silk makes a part--so immagine Bettsey will petition you for some.

. . . [Betsey] is far from being troublesome to any of the Family as You can Imagine, and I can assure you behaves Pretty well the whole time Nancey [Ann Blair] was at Hampton I had only occassion to scold at her once; and she own'd her falt . . . and Promised never to do so again. You know the Best will err sometimes. . . I have got two Muzlin aprons that I believe would do -- but as it is Association times I am affraid to part with them; for if I do I should have nothing to make up for the Children to go dancing in. . .

Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, & Whiting Papers, 1765-1890. Original College of William and Mary,



Children's gender roles were reinforced through play.
 (C87-500 1951-412)

transcripts Colonial Williamsburg Library. Anne Blair to Mary Braxton, 21 August 1769, and Jean Blair [wife of John] to Mary Braxton, 14 October 1769.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[5 January 1774] *Immediately after Breakfast Ben came over with a Message from Mr Carter, that he desired me to correct Bob severely immediately--Bob when I went into School sat quiet in the corner, & looked sullen, and penitent; I gave some orders to the Children, and went to my Room.--I sent for Bob--He came crying--I told him his Fathers Message; he confess'd himself guilty--I sent him to call up Harry--He came--I talked with them both a long Time recommended Diligence, & good Behaviour, but concluded by observing that I was obliged to comply with Mr Carter's request; I sent Harry therefore for some Whips.--Bob and poor I remained trembling in the chamber (for Bob was not more uneasy than I it being the first attempt of the kind I have ever made--The Whips came!--I ordered Bob to strip!--He desired me to whip Him in his hand in Tears--I told him no--He then patiently, & with great deliberation took of his Coat and laid it by--I took him by the hand and gave him four or five smart twigs; he cring'd, & bawld & promis'd--I repeated then about eight more, & demanded and got immediately his solemn promise for peace among the children, & Good Behaviour in general--I then sent him down--He conducts himself through this day with great Humility, & unusual diligence, it will be fine if it continues.*

[11 February 1774] *Last night I took Bob to my Room, after having in the course of the Day corrected him thrice, & reasoned with him concerning the impropriety of his Behaviour; at the same time I acquainted him with my final resolution to send him over for correction every Day to his Papa's Study, which had so strong an Effect on him (as all the Children are in remarkable Subjection to their Parents) that he firmly promised to attend to my advice, & thro' this Day has been punctual to his word. . . .*

[14 March 1774] *Bob this morning begg'd me to learn him lattin; his Reason he tells me is that yesterday Mrs Taylor told him he must not have either of her Daughters unless he learn'd Latin he urged me so strong that I put him some Lessons for leasure hours. . .*

[15 March 1774] *This morning, as Ben & Bob were agreeing on the price of a Rudiman Grammar, which Bob wanted to purchase of Ben; after some time when Bob would not give 2/10. Bens great demand for a Book almost worn out, which when new, may, by thousands be had in Philadelphia for 2/. that Currency--He threw his Book into the fire, & destroy'd it at once!--An Instance of two*



Tutors, such as Fithian, often had to discipline their students and they used a variety of techniques to get children to behave. (1946-99)

ruling Foibles which I discover in Ben viz. obstinacy, & avarice. And another I mentioned the other day, of is agreeing, for half a Bit, or 3 1/2d. a week, to play the flute for a limited time, every night after I am in Bed; of this however he has grown tired, & given up his wages on account of the Labour, or Confinement of the Task--And I should be deceived, if a very little money would not excite him to submit to almost any menial service--Bob however; for the present is frustrated in his purpose of learning Grammer, & it seems to chagrin him as much, as tho' he actually believed in what Mrs Taylor told him last Sunday.
Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957. p. 49-50, 63-64, 77, 116.

[St. George Tucker's attempt to keep order at his house in Williamsburg [c.1790] after the death of his wife Francis]

Garrison Articles

to be observed by the Officers and Privates stationed at Fort St. George in Williamsburg

- 1. Each officer and private is to be ready for Breakfast and Dinner as soon the same is notified by order of the Major Commandant.*
- 2. No officer or private shall appear at Breakfast or Dinner without their hair neatly combed, Faces and hands washed, shoes clean etc.*
- 3. No officer under the rank of a Major shall presume to stand round the fire in the dining room if any superior officer be present--nor any private if any officer be present.*
- 4. No Captain or subaltern officer, or private shall presume to dance or run about the room at Breakfast or Dinnertime or any other time when the Field officers are present.*
- 5. No officer under the rank of a Major, or private shall run about in the parlour.*
- 6. The officers and privates of the second Company, are always to be drawn up in proper order when in the parlour, and stationed on the settee, or elsewhere in the rear of the first Company.*
- 7. The Duty of reading every evening is to be regularly performed by the Corps, to whom that Duty shall be by general orders assigned.*
- 8. In Case of misbehavior by any private in the Regiment, information thereof is to be immediately given to the Major, or Commander in chief. This rule extends to the Officers of the Second Company as well as privates.*
- 9. Any officer convicted of misbehavior or neglect of Duty shall be instantly degraded to the rank of private.*
- 10. No officer or private is to presume to lay hands or Feet on the Furniture in parlour.*
- 11. Good order and Decorum, peace, and a good understanding and agreement being the principal object of the Garrison [house?], every thing contrary thereto will be strongly [-----] upon.*
- 12. Cleanliness being also a great Desideratum, every thing which tends to the opposite vice will be considered as highly reprehensible, and treated as such.*
- 13. Health and whole bones, being also Objects of the Governments particular attention,*

whoever does anything to endanger either, will be considered as guilty of a high misdemeanor.

Wentworth, Linda Clark. "Childrearing in the Early Chesapeake: The Tucker Family and the Rise of the Republican Parenthood." M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984. Appendix.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

I observe in the course of the lessons, that Mr Christian is punctual, and rigid in his discipline, so strict indeed that he struck two of the young Misses for a fault in the course of their performance, even in the presence of the Mother of one of them! And he rebuked one of the young Fellows so highly as to tell him he must alter his manner, which he had observed through the Course of the Dance, to be insolent, and wanton, or absent himself from the School – I thought this a sharp reproof, to a young Gentleman of seventeen, before a large number of Ladies! . . . When the candles were lighted we all repaired, for the last time, into the dancing Room; first each couple danced a Minuet; then all joined as before in the country Dances, these continued till half after Seven when Mr Christian retired;

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957. p.33-34.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[June 16, 1771] I made it my business and duty to talk to this Grandson and namesake, and set before him the unhappiness he must throw everybody into as well as himself, for he must be dispised by all his relations. At first he endeavoured to avoid me, and went away. I bid him come back; he pretended to be affraid that I wanted to scold at him. I told him no, it was my concern that made me earnest to advise him to employ his good sense which god had blessed him with, and not to sacrifice that to a temper which must in the end make him miserable. At last he seemed to listen, and indeed shed tears at what I said. I hope in God that he will learn to behave better.

Greene, Jack P., ed. The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1965, Vol. 1, p. 578.

[Inscribed 10 January 1798 inside the cover of this book, Williamsburg lawyer, Joseph Prentis wrote: "This Book was presented to Eliza Prentis by her Papa, because he is a good little Girl and is fond of reading." Eliza was then seven years old.]

Directions for an agreeeable Behavior, and Polite Address, &c.

Lesson VII

Of Behaviour at Home to your Parents

3. *As soon as you come into the Room to your Parents and Relations, bow, and stand near the Door till you are told where to sit.*

5. *Never sit down till you are desired; and then not till you have bowed and answered what was asked of you.*
10. *Begin what you would say with, Sir, or Madam; and when you have spoke, wait patiently for an Answer.*
11. *Before you speak, make a Bow, or Courtesy, and when you have received your Answer, make another, but with Descretion.*
12. *You may be sure whatever your Parents order you to do, is right, therefore do it with a good Will and Readiness.*

....

Lesson VIII Of Behaviour to the Family

1. *If you have Sisters or Brothers, it is your Duty to love them; they will love you for it, and it will be pleasing to your Parents, and a Pleasure to yourselves.*
4. *Never revenge yourself, for that is wicked; your Relations will always take your Part, when you behave with Quietness.*
5. *Never quarrel with your Brothers or Sisters.*
6. *Be courteous to the Servants, because they are your Inferiors; but for the same Reason, never be familiar with them.*

John Clarke. Rational Spelling-Book. Dublin: R. Cross, 1796, Colonial Williamsburg Library. pp. 262-263.

4. Childrearing of Non-Blood Kin

WILLIAMSBURG March 4

LAST Wednesday, as the rider who carries the mail between Newcastle & Richmond was returning from thence, about ten miles before he had finished his stage, he found, in the road, a young child, carefully placed in a box, with ten pounds cash, and a letter, the purport of which was, that "whoever should pick up the child, and would take care of it, might apply the money to his own use, and moreover, might expect a further sum at a future day," upon which, the man put the money in his pocket, carried the child to his own house, and is become its foster father.

Virginia Gazette (Dixon) March 4, 1775. p. 2.

[Example of way Elizabeth (widow of Peyton Randolph and called "Aunt Betty" by the Tucker family) assisted with the temporary care of the son of Sir Peyton Skipwith whose mother had died soon after this child was born]

... The small pox, which the hellish polling of these infamous wretches [the British troops] has spread in every place thro' which they have passed has not obtained a Crisis through the place so that there is scarcely a person to be found well enough to nurse those who are most afflicted by it. Your old friend Aunt Betty, is in that situation. A Child of Sir Peyton Skipwiths who is with her was deserted by it's nurse and the good old Lady was left without a human being to assist her in any respect for some Days.

....

Tell Jack that little Peyton Skipwith has quite supplanted him in Aunt Betty's Affections tho' she will not acknowledge it.

St. George Tucker to his wife, Fanny, 11 July and 14 September 1781, quoted in Jane Carson, "Peyton Randolph House Historical Report," [1967], pp. 144-145.



D. Old Age

1. Roles of Grandparents

[Martha Washington referred to her grandchild, Eleanor Parke Custis, as Nelly and George Washington Parke Custis as Tub or Wash]

. . . My little Nelly is getting well and Tub is the same clever boy you left him – He sometimes says why don't you send for Cousin – you know he never makes himself unhappy about absent friends. . .

Joseph E. Fields, comp., "Worthy Partner": The Papers of Martha Washington. (Greenwood Press, Westport, CN, 1994, p. 195. Martha Washington, Mount Vernon, 7 August 1784, to "My dear Fanny" (Frances Bassett).

[Jack] "is very fond of your picture which he knows by the name of Grandpa, [and] stretches out his hands for it kisses it and says 'pretty, pretty.'"

Beverly Tucker to St. George Tucker, 12 October 1812, Tucker-Coleman Papers, College of William and Mary.

Your last letter with its precious contents was extremely acceptable to your Mama and myself. We did not fail to kiss the precious drops [tears] which our sweet Fancilea [Frances Lelia] had shed, and so carefully preserved for her Grandma. Nor was the Lock of her hair less acceptable – since it was an evidence of her fond remembrance and affection. Never fail to cherish that sentiment in her mind – for I feel that I love her too much to bear that she should be indifferent about us.

St. George Tucker to Frances Tucker Coalter, 17 March 1806, Brown-Coalter-Tucker Papers, College of William and Mary.

[Extracts from Tucker family letters reveal the close relationship that St. George and Lelia Tucker had with his children and grandchildren and her stepchildren and step grandchildren]

My ever dear Sir

. . . let me therefore begin by informing you that my dear wife is in pretty good health – better than she has been for some time. That she is now sitting on the Table by me with your sweet Child at her feet learning her to say Grand pa Tucker. The darling toad runs all about the house, is quite well, had two grinders without a fever or sore mouth, and is . . . the finest child in the world.

. . . independent of the want of [delay?] of the greatest pleasure to your Children you must haste to be with us on your own account. How could you . . . not be where Frances Lelia is? . . .

Yours

Jno. Coulter

I should not feel easy were I not to write with my own [torn] to you my ever dear Papa. . . things have gone on much in their usual style except the improvement of your Grand daughter which becomes more rapid every day. I should be completely happy I

think could I see you and my dear Mama Poll & Charles arrive. . . My dear Papa I was never so long without seeing you before. . .

Affectionately your Daughter FBC

Tucker-Coleman Papers, Swem Library, College of William and Mary. John and Frances Coulter to St. George Tucker, Elm Grove, 25 May 1804.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[27 June 1766] We had this day a domestic gust. My daughters, Lucy and Judy, mentioned a piece of impudent behaviour of little Landon to his mother; telling her when she said she would whip him, that he did not care if she did. His father heard this unmoved. The child denied it. I bid him come and tell me what he did say for I could not bear a child should be sawsy to his Mother. He would not come and I got up and took him by the arm. He would not speak. I then shook him but his outrageous father says I struck him. At Breakfast the Young Gent. would not come in though twice called by his father and once Sent for by him and twice by me. I then got up and gave him one cut over the left arm with the lash of my whip and the other over the banister by him. Madame then rose like a bedlamite that her child should be struck with a whip and up came her Knight Errant to his father with some heavy God damning's, but he prudently did not touch me. Otherwise my whip handle should have settled him if I could. Madam pretended to rave like a Madwoman. I shewed the child's arm was but commonly red with the stroke; but all would not do. Go she would and go she may. I see in her all the ill treatment my son gives and has given me ever since his marriage. Indeed I always saw this in her a girl a Violent, Sulkey, Proud, imperious Dutch so One fit to be the Queen of a Prince as the old — always complimented her. As this child is thus encouraged to insult me, I have been at great expence hitherto in maintaining him but I will be at no more. And so I shall give notice.

[26 February 1770] Went up on Tuesday last to Beverley's, took boat at Rappahannock Creek, the wind and tide against and the boat so small we were 33 minutes getting opposite to Col. Fantleroy's, it being very cold and my little Grandson George with me. Unwilling to frighten him his first trip by water we turned into the Colo.'s, Giberne the Child and myself. There we dined, borrowed Colo. Brockenbrough's boat, which was larger, and in the evening reached Blandfield w[h]ere all were well.

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1965 Vol. 1, pp. 310 and 362.

Sir, Child Negroe Molley—about two year old, Daughter of Sukey of Cancer [Quarter] wants a Nurse. I understand that Negroe Payne, 71 years old of the Forest Plantation, is the father of said child—if it be agreeable to you. . . I now direct that Payne be ordered to go to Cancer Plantation & live at Sukey's house be to have the Care of both his grand Children.

Robert 'Councillor' Carter to Charles Haynie, April 21, 1784, R. Carter Letterbook V, 201 [quoted in Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-century Virginia, New York : Oxford University Press, 1972, p.28.]

2. Care of Aged Whites

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

... she [Mary Lee Custis] cannot leave her father who has become feeble in health, and even more in mind. If she did not stay with him, he would be in great danger of marrying an old maid who lives in the house.

Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. p. 188. Rosalie Calvert to her sister Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, 5 May 1808.



Family Life Passages took place in the home. The death of the Head of Household caused serious disruption in the black and white family members. (C84-323)

[William Byrd of Westover showed concern with his advancing age - 28 March 1740 entry written on his 66th birthday]

God preserve my head and grant I may not lose my memory and sense.

Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741. Edited by Maude Woodfin. Dietz Press, Richmond: 1942. p. 50.

[Nathaniel Beverley Tucker written about 1790, recollection of Judge [George] Wythe when Tucker was 5 or 6 years of age].

The writer of this article remembers once, and once only, when a child to have caught the attention, and he will carry to his grave the impression made upon his infant mind, by the kindness of his manner. At this day, (and more than fifty years have passed over him,) he can recall the feeling of awe, mingled with pleased surprise, when accosted by the venerable, attenuated, ascetic old man, with his thin, pale face, and his clear, mild eyes, and his sad smile; and how he held out his long, lean finger to the little urchin, and led him into his house, and up stairs, and into his bed-chamber, and held him up in his feeble arms to the window to show him the working of the bees, in a hive attached to one of the panes. He probably did not even know to whom it was that he was thus imparting a glimpse of the pleasure which the acquisition of knowledge affords.

Tucker, Beverley D. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker: Prophet of the Confederacy, 1784-1851. Tokyo: Nanundo, 1979. p. 49.

[Landon Carter, widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

26 Feb. 1770 Elementary storms indeed are terrible; but what are the prodigious storms within doors? They disquiet the mind and by there strange effects torment the Soul; and

yet how few are so happy as either by nature or prudence to guard against them. I acknowledge my weakness in this; but I hope my God will assist Me. But what will it be with those who Justify them? A Son because he is 40 years of age shall exculpate himself from his Abuses to his father because he has been harsh to him in his language; but at the same time he will not reflect on his eternal reprehensions, contradictions, and manifestly false assertions to his father's face as well as prejudice, though he is near 70 years of Age, which are constantly thrown out to Provoke this strange language? He shall acknowledge he cannot live anywhere else and yet no gratitude inclines him to think of a better treatment to his father; A father that maintains him and a large family in affluence. A father ever Cloathing first one of his Children, then another, and doing him singular and frequent favours. No, none of these things have the least influence on his temper; nay, a Son who has acknowledged he does these things to vex his father, although he can sometimes when conscience, though very Seldom, Pricks, call him Dear father, etc. Yet put him in mind of these things he either denies them solemnly, or argues like his monstrous behaviour; they are all cancelled by mentioning them when by his unnatural conduct he obliges the mentioning them. But this, like the rising Sun, has his votaries. It was but yesterday a weakness of this sort appeared. A Storm begun by the Sun's Contradiction, and indeed Perverse conduct; and a Gentleman in company levelled all at the father. And because the father said every sun has its beams, and the setting is not quite so Promising and warm as those of the rising Sun and this was called a reflection. I was once acquainted with a Gentleman who said he was satisfied every species of ill behaviour, was more than countenanced by the silence of people when they saw it without a Proper reprehension; what is it not then when encouraged by a reprehension on one side, and that on the respectful part, who disserves every tenderness, and not on the other who deserves every severe rebuke for bastardizing the affection and duty he owes to a kind, an indulgent and an humane Parent?

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1987. Vol. 2, pp. 983-984.

[Intergenerational conflicts were common between this son and his family and his father Landon Carter who all lived at Sabine Hall]

[25 August 1766] Determined [to take up residence ?] at Hicory Thicket [for] myself & Family, as the [only method] to avoid the frequent quarrels between Father & me; discoursing about the matter [with] Mr. Parker I recd from him some hints, that Father looks upon it [gambling] in so heinous a light as to threaten to make an alteration in his will to the prejudice of me & my Children; upon this I discoursed with the old Gent on the affair; I understood from him that he would take away the maids that tended my children, & that he would not aid me but distress me; this prevailing reason obliged me to lay aside my design & with it bid adieu to all Satisfaction, being compelled to live with him who told me I was his daily curse; & who [attributed ?] to me his Negroes running away, &c. But he is still my Father & I must [needs] bear with every thing from him; in order [to lead a ?] quiet life; I have fully determined... to avoid all Arguments with him; to consort little with any one in his Compa; never [to be at ?] fault with any management on the Plantation; [never] to concern myself directly or indirectly in domestic affairs; If I can keep these [resolutions ?]

*am in hopes things will alter [for the better ?] & that they may is the sincere [desire of ?]
Robert Wormeley Carter.*

VMHB Vol. 68. (1960) p. 313. "Daybook of Robert Wormeley Carter of Sabine Hall," edited by Louis Morton.

3. Care of Aged Blacks

Harsh life experience matured them [slaves], and whereas some found their sense of self by opposing masters and slave-breakers (as did Frederick Douglass), others were "broken" in spirit or "adjusted fully" to the demands of harsh slave masters. Many, however, found a middle way, a mature acceptance of life's harsh reality, that gave them some pride of accomplishment and some self-respect. When they reached old age they might well achieve a new stature in their own, in other blacks', and in whites' estimation. And this new position changed their attitude and their possibilities in regard to work. As Dick said of his own expertise: "I ought to know these things; I served my time to it."

Landon Carter has left us with very detailed pictures of several of his slaves; the life of Jack Lubber, one of the black people he was intensely involved with, in some ways paralleled Dick's later development. Lubber had probably been born on a Carter estate. At any rate, he had spent many years on Carter's plantations and Carter had been directly involved with him. In the early phases of his life his pattern was very different from Dick's. Lubber was one of the slaves Carter had trusted and mistrusted. He had selected him as an overseer and then had been certain that he had lied, stolen, and allowed the other slaves to evade their "responsibilities." While he was an overseer Carter wrote, "Jack Lubber is a most lazy as well as stupid old fellow grown." He is "too easy with those people and too deceitful and careless himself." When Jack Lubber was "retired," with but limited tasks assigned him in the fruit orchard, Carter's view of him altered radically. . . In their joint old age Carter was ready to listen to Lubber and found both his use of time and his advice prudent.

As Lubber aged, Carter "aged" him even more. By 1774 he was writing that he had "suffered him to follow his own will now 9 or 10 years," although the diary records that he was still an overseer in 1770. Carter surveyed his slave's life, and as Lubber approached death Carter had nothing but praise for him: "As honest a human creature as could live, who to his last proved a faithful and a Profitable servant to his Master." Carter now "remembered" that in 1734 Lubber was foreman of his Mangorike field gang, but was aging and slowing down, and that in 1754 he made him overlooker of five hands at the Fork Quarter "in which service he so gratefully discharged his duty as to make me by his care alone larger crops of corn, tobacco, and Pease twice over than I had had by anyone. . . and besides shoats and piggs used by my house." Carter apparently forgot that he had earlier written that Lubber was "a Devil," "an old sun of a Bitch," a drinker, a cheat, and a liar. Carter claimed to have relieved Lubber of "abuse" from his own great-grandchildren, who were in his crew, and brought him and his wife, "our old midwife, to my henhouse at home, where I received until about 3 year ago the good effects of his care." He then allowed him "to live quite retired" for what turned out to be his last three years. "But ever active as his life has been he then became a vast progger in Catching fish, Beavers, Otters, Muskrats,

and Minxes with his traps, a Constant church man in all good days," and he tended as well to his own garden. He died after getting a severe chill while trying to catch a minx that was destroying Carter's fowls.

The longer Lubber had lived, the more Carter had valued him. In part this was due to Lubber's changed status and behavior. "A constant church man," he may have seemed to have had Christian values. On his own he was enormously active, and as an old man he had much more respect from other blacks. But it was also due to Carter's changing perception of Lubber because of his age. Slaveowners often perceived their elderly slaves as older than their own records should have informed them. In some cases slaves "aged" unnaturally from inventory to inventory; one year they were seventy, the following year they might well be seventy-five. By "ageing" a slave, the owner reduced the social distance between them and could allow himself to treat the black differently.

Aged slaves were widely regarded as "fellow creatures" by white people, inasmuch as respecting them was not seen as dangerous to the master-slave system. In fact, respecting them served the owner's interests, as they were often held responsible for order and stability in the slave community. Moreover, they often seemed to share the owner's attitude toward time and work. Charles Dabney's slaves assumed such shared values when, in 1769, they sent the oldest slave to air their grievances with their owner. They believed "a complaint from him would be listened to." They, as their African parents, respected age and believed their owner would as well. Indeed, in the English tradition out of which Charles Dabney's family came, it was expected that "the old were to rule," although given the radical social change underway in England, and the widespread disdain for those over sixty, the reality fell far short of the old ideal. In Virginia, blacks reinforced the old values of time, work, and respect for the elderly.

Mechal Sobel. The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1987, pp. 41-43.

[Landon Carter, widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[June 12, 1771] I walkt out this evening to see how my very old and honest Slave Jack Lubber did to support life in his Extreme age; and I found him prudently working amongst his melon vines, both to divert the hours and indeed to keep nature stirring that indigestions might not hurry him off with great pain. I took notice of his Pea vines a good store and askt him why he had not got them hilled; his answer was the Prudence of Experience, Master, they have not got age enough and it will hurt too young things to Coat them too closely with earth. . . .

Old Lubber's observation about his pease being too young to be hill[ed] comforts me about mine between the barley which I cannot get a while hoe and earth up.

[June 25, 1774] I fear my very old Slave and fellow creature Jack Lubbar is now going to Pay the debt of nature. About a fortnight ago as he has during his extreme age been subject to tender and indeed sore shins, by his going to fish along the creek side, as he ever has done ever since I suffered him to follow his own will now near 9 or 10 years, he somehow hurt his leg. This brought on a fever; but being of a natural strong constitution

with very little medical care his fevers were removed and his leg restored sound, and to Perfect the cure I have him gentle Apperients to take, this set him about lively and even to walk upright again; and then he made traps to catch a Mink that destroyed my fowls, and in doing this of his own head I fear he got wet and caught cold by going into the swamp. . . . I believe the old man is going. Farewell to as honest a human creature as could live; Who to his last proved a faithful and a Profitable servant to his Master as every remembered Conduct must testify.

Poor Jack is cold in his extremities. Farewell, I may say, thou good and faithful Servant to me.

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1987, Vol I. pp. 574-575, Vol. 2, p. 834.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[July 1774] About ten an old Negro Man came with a complaint to Mr Carter of the Overseer that he does not allow him his Peck of corn a Week – the humble posture in which the old Fellow placed himself before he began moved me. We were sitting in the passage, he sat himself down on the Floor clasp'd his Hands together, with his face directly to Mr. Carter, & then began his Narration – He seem'd healthy, but very old, he was well dress'd but complained bitterly – I cannot like this thing of allowing them no meat, & only a Peck of Corn & a Pint of Salt a Week, & yet requiring of them hard & constant Service.

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957, p. 129.

[Observations of a clergyman who spent nearly a year in Virginia before returning to England in 1760.]

I was rowed [across a river in Northern Neck] by an old gray-headed negro who seemed quite exhausted and worn down by age and infirmity. . . his master had then kindly given him a small piece of ground, and the profits of the ferry, which were indeed very inconsiderable, for his maintenance.

Andrew Burnaby, Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North-America in the Years 1759 and 1760, 3rd ed. [New York, (1798), 1804], pp. 66-67, in Mechal Sobol, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 216.

[19 March 1816] - Tuesday 4 o'clock p.m. our faithful servant Jacob Hindman departed this life. He was my coachman and I shall forever feel his loss, 49 years old.

March 22 - Jacob Hindman put in the ground.

W. Emerson Wilson, ed., Plantation Life at Rose Hill: The Diaries of Martha Ogle Forman: 1814-1845 (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1976), p. 21.

[Diary kept by a late eighteenth-century bachelor planter from Orange County]

July 29 (1787) The Negroes had a Funeral over Old Judy & Betty.

May 28 (1796) Sary told me GC Taylors Eliza died last night I gave her leave to go to Court house. Eliza was not dead.

Diary of Col. Francis Taylor, 1786-1799, Microfilm M-1759, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, typed

transcript in Department of Collections.

[Diary jottings of widowed plantation mistress, Martha Bland Blodget, who lived near Petersburg]

Old George died about 4 o'clock, having lived 17 years free from labor: supposed to be about eighty years of age.

"Cawsons, Virginia, in 1795-1796," Marion Tinling, ed., in *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series, Vol. 3 (1946), p. 283.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[July 8, 1774] – O yes, says Mrs Oakly, I know Dadda Gumby at Williamsburg. I think you look as brisk, as hearty & as young now as you did ten years ago – Gumby – I & my old Woman, here Master, are the two oldest Negres in Mr Carters Estate. Here we live, Master, on our worthy Landlords Bounty – The Nurse, Betsy, & Harriot were at Gumby's House which stands about twenty Rod from the Garden – I was walking, with a Book in my Fist, musing & stumbling along – I saw them, I went up, & with a lower Bow than I should give to a Nurse, if Women are plenty, says I, pray Mrs Oakly do you know Dadda Gumby? We stood chattering with the old African, or rather he stood chattering with us, relating one story after another, leaving some of his Narrations half untold, beginning others in the middle having entered into the true Spirit of Loquacity –

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957. pp. 134-135.

4. Death of Spouse

18th-century Virginia women had a greater chance of losing their husbands at younger ages than do women today. Towns such as Williamsburg were especially likely to be home to a higher proportion of widows. In 1783, for example, we know that a fourth of all Williamsburg households were headed by women, nearly all of them widows.

"Grieving the Loss," program for Women's History Month, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, March 1993.

If the letters and diaries of nineteenth-century genteel Virginians show that sentimental religion increasingly shaped their understanding of death, those writings also reveal the growing importance of love. Religion argued for detachment from the world, but the world was filled with people one loved. Sentimental religion awakened the emotions and those emotions allowed for both more affection and more despair than had been considered wise in the previous century. . .

John Hartwell Cocke in certain ways was typical of the early-nineteenth-century gentry. Rational and unsentimental, patriotic and devoted to "improvement," whether of his mind, his farm, or his nation, he superficially, at least, resembled his older friend, Thomas Jefferson. Like virtually all planters, he kept a farm journal in which he recorded the important events that occurred on the plantation. In it he also on occasion noted family matters, such as the birth of his fifth child in September 1816. This time, however, his wife,

Nancy, [daughter of Williamsburg residents Philip and Anne Barraurd] failed to recover as quickly as she had in the past. For two and a half months she suffered from a "sick stomach," and her strength "manifestly diminished." Although his wife had not shown "the least depression of spirits," Cocke was becoming alarmed. "Oh God," he prayed, "If it is my destiny to lose her, grant me fortitude under this heaviest of earthly afflictions." . . . A farm journal had become a personal one, and the willingness to translate observations and feelings into words and to commit them to paper marked an important change, not only for John Cocke but for other Virginians as well.

By November 29, Nancy Cocke had realized the gravity of her illness. She told her husband that "She had been reviewing her past life, and although she saw in it many things to blame. . . yet she could not charge herself with any great or alarming judgment against her before God. She avowed her faith in the Christian doctrines and declared if it should be God's will to call her at this time from the world, she would not murmur against the decree." She told her husband that she "was convinced of the vanity of earthly things." She was especially happy that she had taken communion while in Norfolk the previous spring.

. . . On December 9, Nancy Cocke believed her last day had come; she began to make arrangements for her death. She conversed with her family and "desired us to moderate our grief and submit with resignation to the Divine Will." Although usually composed, she "gave way to tears" when discussing her family. "She did not wish to leave us. She loved us all. She had been too happy in her family, in her children, in her friends, in all the circumstances of her earthly fortune, not to look back with feelings of pleasure and gratitude to her past life." She believed she had been a dutiful daughter, but feared she had not made her husband "as happy in every respect as she ought to have done, -- but, Oh God! I call thee to witness. . . that she was to me all that I could have hoped for in a wife, or expected in a woman." She feared that she had not been as good a mother, plantation mistress, or neighbor as she might have been "but felt no dread at obeying God's summons." She prepared small gifts for her family and friends and gave her husband her wedding ring, saying, "You must have this, it has never been off before." "During this heart-rending scene," her husband continued, she "was tranquil and composed, and frequently recalled our distracted minds back to a sense of duty and humble submission to the Will of God." She remembered and named "many of her beloved friends who had gone before her, and with whom she was soon to meet. . . an angelic smile lighted up her emaciated features, and her whole manner seemed to be the result of supernatural power." In such a way did Nancy Cocke spend what she believed would be her last day . . .

Christmas Day, her fourteenth wedding anniversary, found Nancy Cocke still alive but extremely frail. . . Two days later, Nancy Cocke knew her end had come. She closed her eyes and, too weak to talk, said goodbye to her family with "gentle pressures of her enfeebled hands. Finally such was the calm and peaceful rest of her blessed spirit, that it left her mortal remains without the slightest tremor of a nerve or the agitation of a muscle. . . Thus, Nancy Cocke was laid to rest in the family plot at Bremo and in her husband's affecting words as well. In expressing himself, John Cocke found solace. But his greatest

consolation came from his departing wife herself. It was, finally, her resignation to her approaching death that enabled John Cocke also to submit. Cocke looked not to religion but to his wife for reassurance.

Lewis, Jan. *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia*, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 81-89.

* * *

[Memoirs written later in life of man who lived with his grandfather Benjamin Waller and studied under George Wythe in the 1780s]

...at his [George Wythe] time of life in his situation [1787 after death of his wife Elizabeth], and with his habits, the presence of a numerous family about him, must occasion much more trouble than he could sustain. The necessary domestic duties occupied too much of his time, broke in upon his pursuits, and interrupted even his business and his amusements -- He was irritated and vexed by a thousand little occurrences he had never foreseen, & which any other would have guarded against. He could not bear, and ought never to have subjected himself to any such burdens; he therefore very properly decided to apply the only remedy, which was to break up his boarding establishment, and to live by himself.

"Littleton Waller Tazewell's Sketch of his own Family . . . 1823: Transcribed and Edited." Lynda Rees Heaton, M.A. Thesis, 1967, p. 164.

[Correspondence of Yorktown resident with friends she had known since girlhood]

... four months only has passed since last I wrote you,—what have I not endurd since then —widowed, wretched and forlorn -a month since I was the happiest of wives -and now Oh my friend -- In february only I think it was I last wrote you, what vississitudes have I not experienced since—the 31st of march made me the happiest of wives. the 15th of June, A day never to be forgotten, my adored B T was snatched from my arms—48 hours of suffering, -such as no pen can describe did I witness, and then, Oh then had to give him up forever,—think, Oh think my friend what it is to be part forever with those we fondly love—forever, did I say let me indulge a better hope and blot out that word—

Eliza J. Ambler Papers, Original and transcript Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library. Eliza J. Ambler to Mildred Smith, 10 July 1785.

[Mason Family Bible Entries of Marriages, Births, and Deaths]

[4 April 1750-11 April 1780] On Teusday, the 9th. of March, 1773, about three O'Clock in the morning, died at Gunston-Hall, of a slow-fever, Mrs. Ann Mason, in the thirty-ninth [ye]ar of her Age; after a painful & tedious Illness of more than [nine months, which she] bore with truly Christian Patience & Resignation, in [faithful hope] of eternal Happiness in the World to come. She [it may be truthfully said, led a] blameless & exemplary Life. She retain[ed unimpaired her mental faculties to] the last; & spending her latest Moments [in prayer for those around her,] seem'd to expire without the usual [pangs of dissolution. During the whole course] of her Illness, she was never heard to utter one peevish or fretful Complaint, and [constan]tly, regardless of her own Pain & Danger, endeavoured to administer Hope & Comfort [to her] Friends, or inspire them with Resignation like her own!

For many Days [be]fore her Death she had lost all Hopes of Recovery, & endeavour'd to wean herself from the Affections of this Life, saying that tho' it must cost her a hard Struggle to reconcile herself to the Thoughts of parting with her Husband & Children, she hoped God wou'd enable her to accomplish it; and after this, tho' she had always been the tenderest Parent, she took little Notice of her Children' but still retain'd her usual Serenity of Mind. She was buried in the new Family-burying-Groun[d] at Gunston-Hall; but (at her own Request) with the common Parade & Ceremo[ny] of a Grand Funeral. Her funeral Sermon was preach'd in Pohick Church by the reved. Mr. James Scott, Rector of Dettingen Parish in the County of Prince William, upon a Text taken from the 23^d, 24th, & 25th Verses of the 73^d Psalm.

In the Beauty of her Person, & the Sweetness of her Disposition, she was equalled by few, & excelled by none of her Sex. She was something taller than the middle-size, & elegantly shaped. Her Eyes were black, tender & lively; her Features regular & delicate; her Complexion remarkably fair & fresh – Lilies and Roses (almost without a Metaphor) were blended there – and a certain inexpressible A[ir of] Chearfulness, Health, Innocence & Sensibility diffused over her Coun[tenance] form'd a Face the very Reverse of what is generally called masculi[ne]. This is] not an ideal, but a real Picture drawn from the Life. Nor was this be[autiful out]ward-Form disgraced by an unworthy Inhabitant:

*Free from her Sex's smallest Faults,
And fair as Woman-kind can be;*

She was bless'd with a clear & sound Judgement, a gentle & benevolent Heart, a s[incere] & an humble Mind; with an even calm & chearful Temper to a very unusual degree Affable to All, but intimate with Few. Her modest Virtues shun'd the public-Eye, Superior to the turbulent Passions of Pride & Envy, a Stranger to Altercation of every Kind, & content with the Blessings of a private Station, she placed all her Happiness here, where only it is to be found, in her own Family. Tho' she despised Dress, she was always neat; chearful, but not gay; Serious, but not melancholly; she never met me without a Smile! Tho' an only Child, she was a remarkably dutiful One; an easy & agreeable Companion; a kind Neighbour; a steadfast Friend; an humane Mistress; a prudent & a tender Mother; a faithful, affectionate, & most obliging Wife; charitable to the Poor, and pious to her Maker; her Virtue & Religion were unmixed with hypocrisy or Ostentation.

Form'd for domestic Happiness, without one jarring Attom in her Frame!

[Her . . .] irreparable Loss I do, & ever shall deplore; and tho' Time I hope will [soften my sad im]pressions, & restore me greater Serenity of Mind than I have lately enjoy[ed, I shall ever retain the most tender and melancholy] Remembrance of One so justly dear.]

The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1792, Vol. I, Robert A. Rutland, ed., University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1970, pp. 481-482.

["The death of his wife in 1787 drove John Page into a severe depression. He wrote his friend St. George Tucker:" Twenty-two Years of sweet domestic Happiness are past! Like a delightful Dream, forever to be regretted forever present to the working Mind, but never to realized, never to be repeated even in the Delirium of Sleep. . . The Conversation of Friends has often made me forget my Sorrows – Books & Business lend their Aid – but all

these are insufficient; Sorrow returns with redoubled Force -- How hard is the Struggle between Respect for ones Friends & Family when such Feelings are suppressed, but perhaps it is happy for the [wretched?] that the world requires this Respect; or Grief prey too much on their Minds.

Daniel Blake Smith, Inside the Great House. Cornell University Press, Ithaca: 1980, p.268.

FAMILY
ISSUES

A. Family Issues - Education and Family

1. Education in General

Parents in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake were responsible for training their children to take their proper place in adult society and teaching them the reciprocal responsibilities of parents and children, husbands and wives, masters and slaves, and magistrates and citizens. All education in the region, whether formal literacy training in schools or informal instruction in the home, aimed at this end. Sons who learned proper behaviour in this society were ultimately rewarded with sufficient property from their fathers' estates to permit them to start their own patriarchal families. . . .

Since most Chesapeake planters and their wives were barely literate, they had to send their children to school to learn how to read, write, and cipher. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, there were few free schools in Virginia, and private schoolmasters, paid by parents, were in short supply. There was but one schoolteacher for every hundred white families in eight tidewater Virginia parishes in 1724, a figure that implies that each child might attend one short school term. At the same time, only four teachers, each responsible for more than four hundred families, ran schools in two Piedmont parishes, and at best they reached a quarter of the children entrusted to their care.

. . . Orphans of middling and substantial planters in three Virginia counties between 1731 and 1808 enjoyed one or two years of formal education after their fathers died. While boys received two years of training, more than half the girls probably had none, and girls who attended a reading school usually went for only one year. Since school terms lasted only a few weeks to a few months, boys probably learned to read and write during their attendance, while girls learned only to read.

Schools in colonial Virginia did teach their more privileged male students to read and write. . . .

Kulikoff, Allan. Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London, 1986. pp. 193 and 196-198.

"How literate were colonial Virginians?" A seemingly simple question deserving of a simple answer. But the question is not simple and neither is its answer. Consider first the nature of the evidence needed to answer it. In the colonial era the issue of literacy must be approached indirectly. No one at the time seemed concerned about it and no studies of the spread of reading and writing were done then. The historian is left to measure the degree of literacy, after the fact, by trying to determine who could actually write. The only surviving evidence of writing comprehensive enough to provide a reasonable measure of a society's literacy is the peoples' signatures on documents. When colonial historians speak of a literacy rate, they are actually reporting a signature rate: how many individuals signed their names and how many made only a mark. Of course, the assumption that, if a person could sign his or her name, he or she was therefore literate is a shaky one. This assumption is based on another assumption that writing is a higher

skill than reading and, thus, if one can sign one's name, she or he should be able to read and write a little. Undoubtedly, some people could read who never learned to sign their names, while some who signed could do little else. Furthermore, even if one accepts the assumption that a signature rate can stand in for a literacy rate (and the historian has no choice but to do so if the question is to be answered at all) it would only measure basic or functional literacy. It is too great a leap to go from a literacy rate to a conclusion that all those people who signed their names were members of a literary or even a literate culture.

Also in colonial Virginia the issue of literacy must be closely qualified for factors of race and gender. For example, a statement that "X percent of colonial Virginians were literate" usually really means that "X percent of WHITE, ADULT, MALE colonial Virginians were literate". Some African Virginians could read and write and a few black children were schooled in reading and writing. But there is no evidence that they were any thing but a very small portion of African Virginians. Given the fact that African Americans made up the majority of Williamsburg's, James City and York Counties' populations at the end of the colonial period, the truest answer about literacy in this region would have to conclude that the majority of people living in and around Williamsburg were illiterate. Of course, when the question is normally asked, the situation among the African Virginians is presumed to be excluded. So what can be said about literacy among colonial Virginia's white population?

Philip Bruce's study of literacy for seventeenth-century Virginia is one of the first efforts to answer this question. By examining deeds and deposition between 1641 and 1700, he found that approximately 60% (59.8%) of men signed them while only 25% (24.7%) of women did. The male signature rate ranged from 48% (47.7%) in Henrico County to 75% (74.7%) in Elizabeth City County. In 1974, Kenneth Lockridge published a study of literacy in colonial New England. In it he compared literacy there to what he determined it to be in Virginia. From a sample of signatures on last wills and testaments he reported that about 68% of Virginia's male decedents signed their wills between 1762 and 1797. In a review of Lockridge's book I reported that a study of 1000 marriage bonds between 1750 and 1779 revealed that 95% of the grooms signed their names, and in Surry County in 1793, 72% of the male taxpayers signed in the sheriff's voucher book. In 1974, Harold Gill also advanced some literacy numbers. In York County between 1740 and 1759, he found that of the 387 men who witnessed either wills or deeds, 94% (93.98%) signed their names. Of the 52 female witnesses, 56% (55.77%) could sign their names.

More recently, Darrett and Anita Rutman in their study of Middlesex County discovered that in the early eighteenth century 29% (28.9%) of white men and 73% (72.7%) of white women made a mark instead of a signature. The most recent and most comprehensive examination of literacy in Virginia between 1750 and 1850 was presented by David Rawson, a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at the College of William and Mary, in a paper delivered at the Antiquarian Society Colloquium in July 1993. Combining the signature rates in a number of document types, he reports that in Orange County, in 1770 38% (38.5%) of white women could sign, while 78% (77.8%) of men could. The figures for 1770 York County were that 61% (61.1%) women and 87% (87.0%) men could sign their names.

What to make of all these numbers? First of all, no one number or percentage is adequate to represent the literacy rate of all colonial Virginians, or even white male colonial Virginians. Literacy rates for white Virginians varied from place to place across time. Rawson's essay clearly shows that the signature rate is not a constant, and, in fact, the male rate drops in York County between 1760 and 1850, while just the opposite occurs in Orange County. Furthermore, Rawson, Lockridge, and the Rutmans show that the signature rate is highly sensitive to wealth and status. In Lockridge's sample those decedents with estates appraised at more than £200 had a 82% signature rate, while those possessing less signed at only 50% rate. In Middlesex, males of low status signed at a rate of 61% while their neighbors of middling to high status were 100% literate. The Rutmans also found a correlation between occupation and literacy; for example 100% of professional signed, while 87% of the metal trades, 68% of the building trades, 54% of the leather trades did. And Rawson found that it was the wealthier sorts who appeared in court frequently and that, given the greater chance that they were literate, their disproportionate presence biased upward the signature rate based on court documents.

Can this complicated answer be simplified? Perhaps it is best to speak only in general terms and in ranges of experiences. (For example, in late eighteenth-century Virginia approximately 2/3 to 9/10 of adult white men could sign, while between 1/2 and 2/3 of adult white women could.) Few African Virginians shared in the literate world of colonial Virginia, but neither did all white Virginians. While it is probably safe to say that a majority of all white male Virginians could sign their name, and were presumably literate, those who were wealthy were almost always literate. On average, women were less literate than men, but well-to-do white wives were probably more literate as a group than poor male planters. Wealth, status, sex, occupation, and even residence all effected now likely it was that a person would be literate. Among the property owners and white heads of households in late colonial Williamsburg, my impression from the evidence I have seen, is that nearly all were literate. But Williamsburg was not all of Virginia; what held true here did not necessarily hold true everywhere else. What is really important to convey to our visitors about literacy in the eighteenth century is not some single literacy rate, but rather that the concept of universal literacy as a positive social good was not yet fully recognized. Large numbers of Virginians, white and black, were able to live fully realized lives without being literate. Although literacy was one of those aspects of eighteenth-century life that helped set people apart and reenforced a hierarchal society, illiteracy was still very much part of the natural order of things. Yet change was under way. The new society engendered by an increasingly capitalistic economy began to see literacy as a necessary tool for making one's way in this new social order. Literacy would still set people apart, but in a different way. In the new order of things, illiteracy marginalized a person and made it difficult for that person to be a fully functional member of society. Literacy became the entree to this "better" capitalistic world.

Memo to Stephen Elliott from Kevin Kelly, November 12, 1993.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

The best school for girls here are run by the French. Caroline [age 8] still hasn't been to school. I am teaching her to read and write myself, along with George [age 5], but I am about at the point of hiring a tutor, if I can find a suitable one. It will be better than sending them so far away.

Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. pp.188. Letter written to her sister Isabelle van Havre, 5 May 1808.

WILLIAMSBURG, May

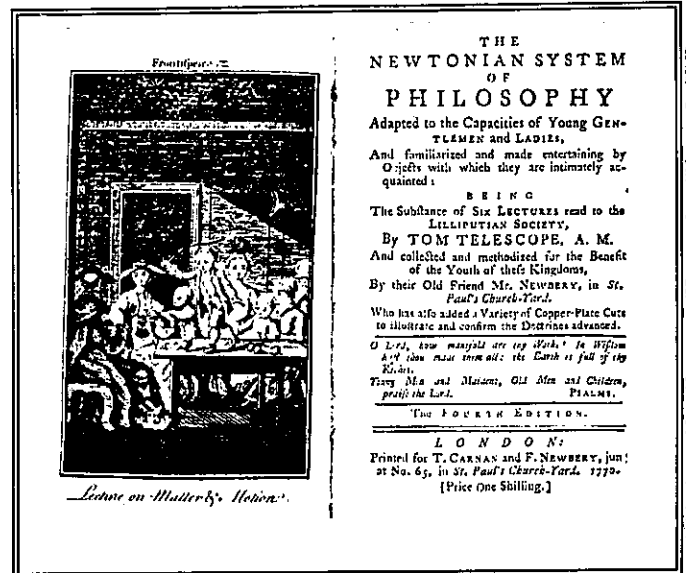
28, 1773

BARTHOLOMEW LE PETIT begs Leave to acquaint the publick that next Monday Week, being the 7th of June, he proposes opening School for the Education of young Gentlemen, and has for that purpose taken the Brick House belonging to Mr. Robert Jackson, in the Market Square, where he will teach the ENGLISH, LATIN, and FRENCH Tongues, and WRITING and ARITHMETICK in their different Branches. As it is his Intention to do Justice to every Youth who may be intrusted to his Care, he has confined himself to the Number of twenty five. His Terms may be known by applying to him at Mr. Maupin's.

N.B. The LADIES will be waited upon at their own Houses.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) May 27, 1773, p. 2.

WHEREAS it has been reported by some ill disposed person or persons, and that in the most virulent and sarcastic terms, which is commonly the case of malevolents, with a determined resolution it should reach the ears of every one, and was consequently propagated by some or other of the vicious race of mortals, who delight in nothing better than backbiting their neighbours, that I the subscriber hereof have been guilty of using too much familiarity amongst my scholars, and thereby rendered them disobedient, so that it could not possibly be expected they would profit much in coming to me: In vindication of that notorious falsity, and for the clearer proof to that species of unenlightened being, or beings, I do entreat him, or them, to repair to my school room, at Mr. Robert Jackson's whensoever it shall suit, and should he or they be disposed to believe his, or their own eyes, I can flatter myself to be capable of shewing them as well disciplined a school as any in the city of Williamsburg; and in order to prevent any the like disturbances for the future amongst my benevolent and kind wellwishers, or friends, who informed me of this unjust



Entertaining books allowing children to "play themselves into learning" as advocated by John Locke stressed behavior appropriate to gender and status. (86-5602-CN)

charge, he or they shall receive as severe a reprimand as can be offered by his or their humble servant.

B. LE PETIT

Virginia Gazette (Rind) May 12, 1774, p.3.

JOHN WALKER

LATELY arriv'd in Williamsburg from London and who for ten years past has been engag'd in the Education of Youth, undertakes to instruct young Gentlemen in Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, the most material Branches of Classical Learning, and ancient and modern Geography and History; but, as the noblest End of Erudition and Human Attainments, he will exert his principal Endeavours to improve their Morals, in Proportion to their Progress in learning, that no Parent may repent his Choice in trusting him with the Education of his Children.

Mrs. Walker, likewise, teaches young Ladies all Kinds of Needle Work; makes Capuchins, Shades, Hats, and Bonnets; and will endeavour to give Satisfaction to those who shall honour her with their Custom.

The above-mentioned John Walker and his Wife, live at Mr. Cobb's new House, next to Mr. Coke[?]'s, near the Road going down to the Capitol Landing; where there is also to be sold Mens Shoes and Pumps, Turkey Coffee, Edging and Lace for Ladies Caps, and some Gold Rings.

Virginia Gazette (Hunter) Nov 17, 1752, p. 2.

FRANCIS RUSSWORM

BEGS Leave to acquaint the young Gentlemen in and about Williamsburg that he shall open School on Monday the 3rd of June, at Mr. Singleton's House, to teach the VIOLIN, GERMAN and COMMON FLUTES. His terms may be known by inquiring at the Post Office, and where those Gentlemen who intend becoming Scholars will please to subscribe their Names.

He will wait upon young Ladies at their own Homes, to teach them to dance a Minuet after the newest and most fashionable Method.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) May 16, 1771, p. 3.

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS, &c. to be SOLD at the POST OFFICE in Williamsburg. . .
 Instructions for the violin and flute, . . . a great variety of other musick by the best



A musical education was important for gentry boys and girls to have the skills expected of their station and for middling children to learn appropriate behaviors. (81-2488-CN)

masters and blank music books. . .

Musick Ruling pens. Cremona and Steiner VIOLINS, with best screw bows. Silver Basses and best Roman Strings. German and Common flutes, of different sizes.
Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) Nov 29, 1770. p. 2.

PALACE STREET, July 2, 1777

MRS. NEILL is now in Williamsburg, where she purposes teaching the GUITAR at one Guinea Entrance, and one Guinea for eight Lessons. She will also instruct young Ladies in Reading, and Needle Work, in the Mornings, at 30s. per Quarter.

Virginia Gazette (Dixon & Hunter) July 4, 1777, p. 7.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[1 Nov. 1773] *We began School--The School consists of eight--Two of Mr Carters sons--One Nephew--And five Daughters--The eldest Son [Ben] is reading Salust; Gramatical Exercises, and latin Grammer--The second Son [Bob] is reading english Grammar Reading English: Writing, and Cyphering in Subtraction--The Nephew [Harry] is Reading and Writing as above; and Cyphering in Reduction--The eldest daughter [Priscilla] is Reading the Spectator; Writing; & beginning to Cypher--The second [Ann or 'Nancy'] is reading next out of the Spelling-Book, and begining to write--The next [Fanny] is reading in the Spelling-Book--The fourth [Betty] is Spelling in the beginning of the Spelling-Book--And the last [Harriot] is beginning her letters-*

[15 Dec. 1773]. . . *In the morning so soon as it is light a Boy knocks at my Door to make a fire; after the Fire is kindled, I rise which now in the winter is commonly by Seven, or a little after, By the time I am drest the Children commonly enter the School-Room, which is under the Room I sleep in; I hear them round one lesson, when the Bell rings for eight o-Clock (for Mr Carter has a large good Bell of upwards of 60 Lb. which may be heard some miles, & this is always rung at meal Times;) the Children then go out; and at half after eight the Bell rings for Breakfast, we then repair to the Dining-Room; after Breakfast, which is generally about half after nine, we go into School, and sit til twelve, when the Bell rings, & they go out for noon; the dinner-Bell rings commonly about half after two, often at three, but never before two.--After dinner is over, which in common, when we have no Company, is about half after three we go into School, & sit til the Bell rings at five, when they separate til the next morning; I have to myself in the Evening, a neat Chamber, a large Fire, Books, & Candle & my Liberty, either to continue in the school room, in my own Room or to sit over at the great House with Mr & Mrs Carter-- We go into Supper commonly about half after eight or at nine & I usually go to Bed between ten and Eleven.*

[17 December, 1773] *I dismissed the children this morning til' monday on account of Mr Christian's Dance, which, as it goes through his Scholars in Rotation, happens to be here to Day.*

[11 January, 1774] *This morning I put Ben to construe some Greek, he has yet no Testament, I gave him therefore Esops Fables in Greek, and Latin. I also took out of the Library, and gave him to read Gordon, upon Geography. Ben seem'd scared with his Greek Lesson, he swore, & wished for Homer that he might kick Him, as he had been told*

Homer invented Greek.

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957. pp. 20, 21, 32, and 54.

2. Education for Males

[Memoirs written later in life of a man who lived with his grandfather, Benjamin Waller, and studied under George Wythe in the 1780s]

I was born on the 17th of December 1774, in the City of Williamsburg, & in the house of my mother's father, . . . [Benjamin Waller House]. My mother (who then resided in the County of Brunswick) like all other women, prefer'd being with her mother, at the time of the birth of her first child, and therefore came to Williamsburg to prepare for this event, which soon afterwards took place.

So soon as I was able to bear the journey, I was carried to my father's house in Brunswick, and remained there until the death of my mother in May 1777—When this occur'd, I was carried home by my maternal grandmother, to be taken care of by her; and my sister was taken for the same purpose, by some of my father's relations... Soon after our establishment in Williamsburg, having completed my fourth year, I was put to school, to an old woman by the name of Hatton, who resided near my grandfathers house [possibly Sarah Hallam]—Under her instruction I first acquired the rudiments of English language, which I learned how to spell and even to read a little. . .

. . . [1780] under his direction [young 18-year old from New York named John Wickham], and that of Mr. Fanning [in Greenville County] himself, I continued my English studies, until the latter end of the year 1781 — By that time I had learned to read pretty well, and being then seven years of age, I was placed under the tuition of the Rev. Arthur Emmerson, to begin the study of the Latin rudiments. . .

I have often heard him [George Wythe] say that he was indebted to his mother entirely for his early education. She was an extraordinary woman in some respects, and having added to her other acquirements a knowledge of the Latin language — she was the sole instructress of her son in this also — He was very studious and industrious, and as he grew up, so much improved upon the good foundation his mother had laid, that he made himself in time one of the best Latin scholars in America. . .

In the autumn of 1786 I was placed under the guidance of Mr. Wythe — I lived with my father, but attended Mr. Wythe daily — I was the youngest boy he had ever undertaken to instruct, and had no companion in my studies with him at that time — His mode of instruction was singular; and as every thing connected with the life and opinions of this great and good man must be interesting, I will here describe it.

I attended him every morning very early, and always found him waiting for me in his study by sunrise — When I enter'd the room he immediately took from his well stored library some Greek author to which any accidental circumstance first directed his attention. This was open'd at random, and I was bid to recite the first passage which caught his eye. Altho' utterly unprepared for such a task, I was never permitted to have the assistance of a Lexicon or a grammar, but whenever I was at a loss he gave me the meaning of the word, or the structure of the sentence which had puzzled me, taking occasion to remark

to me the particular structure of the language, the peculiarity of its syntax, or the diversities of its dialects -- Whenever in the course of our reading any reference was made to the ancient manners customs, laws superstitions or history of the Greeks, he asked me to explain the allusion and when I failed to do so satisfactorily (as was often the case) he immediately gave a full clear and complete account of the subject to which reference was so made. Having done so, I was bidden to remind him of it the next day, . . . And thus the difficulties I met with on one day, generally produced the subject of the lesson of the next -- This exercise continued until breakfast time, when I left him and returned home . . .

I returned again about noon, and always found him in his study as before. We then took some Latin author, as before, and continued our Latin studies, in the manner I have already described as to the Greek, until about two O'Clock when I again went home -- In the afternoon I came back about four O'Clock, when we amused ourselves until dark with working Algebraic equations or demonstrating Mathematical problems -- Our text books in both cases were in the French language, to which resort was had that I might perfect myself in his language also while I was advancing in the studies whose subjects were so communicated. These evening occupations were occasionally varied, by employing me in reading to him detached parts of the best English authors, either in verse or prose; and sometimes the periodical publications of the day -- And whenever these last were the subjects of our employment, my reading was often interrupted by some anecdote suggested by the matter read, referring to minor events in the history of the Country or the character of those who had formerly occupied a distinguished situation in it. . .

. . . The subjects of our studies were also often times beyond the powers of comprehension of one so young as I then was: (for I was only twelve years of age) and therefore did not excite my attention sufficiently -- And the irregular course of our reading, was not well calculated to enable me to acquire much useful knowledge of the language, altho' it gave me some instruction as to the subjects treated by the authors read. -- By the help of a very retentive memory however I acquired a great deal and some very useful knowledge during this period of my life, . . .

In this mode I have just described passed away the first year I studied with Mr. Wythe. In the autumn of the next (1787) my father having purchased Kingsmill, and being about to remove there, and Mr. Wythe having lost his wife about this time, he proposed to my father that I should board with him -- This proposition was most readily assented to by my father, and upon his removal from Williamsburg I became an inmate of Mr. Wythes house.

My course of study was the same as before, but having now the free use of his library at all times, and knowing generally what would be the subjects of our exercises the succeeding day, I was enabled to prepare myself for them better than I had done before . . . the benefit I derived from uninterrupted intercourse with my venerable tutor, and from his instructive conversation, made my progress and improvement much more rapid than it had ever been.

I now became a great favorite of my much respected master . . . About this time Mr. Wythe imported a very complete Electrical Machine together with a fine Air Pump, and sundry other parts of a philosophical experiments, and ascertaining the causes of the

effects produced. Several other young gentlemen were also taken by him as boarders, from whose society I likewise derived some information. So that this year passed away with me more profitably than even the preceding. . . .

"Littleton Waller Tazewell's Sketch of his own Family. . . 1823: Transcribed and Edited." Lynda Rees Heaton, M.A. Thesis, 1967, pp. 124-126, 152, 159-164.

Mr. PURDIE,

AS there is no Inconvenience which seems to be more universally complained of in this Country than the Want of proper Education for our Youth, certainly no Improvement or Regulation ought more immediately to demand our Attention; for, as Education forms the Minds of Men, it is a Duty incumbent on every Person, who either wishes well to his Country or Family, to contribute every Thing in his Power which can add to the Instruction of his Children, because on their Well-doing will depend the Happiness and Success of the succeeding Generation. It is confessed, on all Hands, that we have not either a sufficient Number, or proper Kinds, of Seminaries for the Education of Youth. We have no publick Schools, nor any Thing which can justly bear the Title of a Seminary, except the College of William and Mary; and even that, upon its first Institution, was so injudiciously established as scarce, in any Degree, to answer the Intention of its Founders. The Plan upon which the Charter was granted appears to have been so very contracted and defective, owing perhaps to the Smallness of the Funds appropriated at that Time for its Maintenance, that it becomes the Duty of the present Age to rectify every Inconvenience which our Ancestors may have laboured under, either from the Want of sufficient Funds or Information. The Wealth and Populousness of this Country have increased so prodigiously, since the Foundation of the College, that I think a Neglect of such general Benefits as proper Seminaries, amply endowed, becomes highly criminal especially when it is so obvious that our Circumstances will fully enable us to make every Improvement, which, upon a full and candid Examination, may be found requisite. The Charter of the present College, being, as I said before granted upon too contracted a Plan, it must of Course become necessary to apply for a new one, upon a more liberal and enlarged Bottom. I could wish to have it converted entirely into a University, upon exactly the same Principles as Oxford and Cambridge, where the Youth should be admitted after they had obtained a classical Education elsewhere. Fellowships, Professorships, and Scholarships, might be erected for young Gentlemen from a publick Grammar School, which would be comfortable Retreats for Men of Science, where they might pursue their Studies with Ease and Independence. The Fellows would act as private Tutors to young Gentlemen, upon their Entrance into the University, for very moderate Compensations; which, with the Revenues arising from the College, would afford them a comfortable Support, until they should think proper to remove to other Employments in Life. Those Vacancies might readily be supplied, by the most able of the Scholars, and the Number of such Scholars filled up from the publick Grammar School which I would recommend the Establishment of in some principal Town, as Fredericksburg, upon nearly the same Plan as Eton or Westminster, where Youth might be commodiously boarded and provided for, and when properly qualified sent to the University; and Persons of the smallest Prospects and Fortunes, only should be admitted on the Foundation of this School. I should hope that the

supposed Expense might not alarm, or prevent the Legislative Body from adopting some Scheme of this Kind. I myself was educated in publick, and think I can form a tolerable Conjecture as to the Disbursements immediately necessary on this Occasion; and, from the Calculation I have made, I believe I am not mistaken when I assert that 5000£ per Annum will fully answer every Purpose. For, in the Scheme I have projected, I do not suppose any Persons are to be educated at the publick Expense but such as, by the Narrowness of their Fortunes, are absolutely unable to maintain themselves. Nor can, I think, any reasonable Objection be made; because, from what I have been told, by many Gentlemen who have an Opportunity of being well acquainted with the Revenues of the present College, I am induced to believe they will be nearly adequate to the Purposes proposed: For that Table [refers to the Foundation scholars, maintained at the expense of the college] which, I am informed, is now so burthensome, would be applied to the Support of the Members on the Foundation; and the young Gentlemen, whose Parents should approve of those Places of Education, would be maintained in the same Manner as Youth are maintained in the Seminaries in England. Thus, for the trifling Sum of 5000£ per Annum (for trifling it certainly is in Comparison either with the Wealth or Extent of this Country: we should have it in our Power to educate our Children to Advantage: We should avoid the certain Expense of foreign Education, and by frequently seeing them be able to judge what Employments in Life might be best adapted to their respective Dispositions: Our Youth, by living at the University, would be under decent and manly Restrictions; and residing in our Metropolis, would become gradually introduced into Life; and, instead of roving about in Idleness and Dissipation, would find their Residence in the University honourable, where they would be considered as young Men, and treated with a Respect and Distinction unknown in the present College. In short, the Advantages arising from a Plan of this Sort are so numerous, and obvious, that it is unnecessary to urge it any farther. I have, Mr. PURDIE, through the Channel of your Paper, delivered my Thoughts on this Subject, in Hopes that the Legislative Body, and Visitors of William and Mary College, will cooperate in their Endeavours to make such Establishments as in their Wisdom they shall think will most effectually promote that great publick Blessing, THE INSTRUCTION OF OUR YOUTH. B. R.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) May 12, 1774, p. 2.

[Example of a student's purchases at the printing office]

William Hunter Inft. [infant, meaning underage] per self

1	Comon Prayer Book, mo. Gilt	7/6
1	Young man's Companion	5/9
1	Clarissa &c. In Miniature	5/9
1	Rules for round Hand Coperplate	2.6
3	Alphabets do.	3.0
1/4	C/ [25] best Dutch quills	2.6
1	blank Copy Book	3.9
		£1.10.9

Virginia Gazette Daybook, 1764-1766 [also called Joseph Royle's Ledger], University of Virginia Library, microfilm and photostat Colonial Williamsburg Library.

WILLIAMSBURG, August 31, 1769

UPON being acquainted that a SCHOOL-MASTER, to teach READING, WRITING, and ARITHMETICK, was much wanted in this city, and that a proper person for that charge would meet with good encouragement, I was induced to make a trial, and accordingly opened school, about six weeks ago, at the Playhouse (the only tolerable convenient place I could procure at that time) but hitherto few scholars have offered. I have thought it necessary, therefore, to take this method of addressing the publick, requesting that such as may be disposed to encourage my undertaking would be kind enough to acquaint me by the General Court, that I may be enabled to form some judgment what I am to expect, which will very much oblige,

Their humble servant,

JOSEPH M'AUSLANE.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) Sept 7, 1769, p. 3.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

After having dismissed the School I went over to Mr Carters Study—We conversed on many things, & at length on the College of William & Mary at Williamsburg. He informed me that it is in such confusion at present, & so badly directed, that he cannot send his Children with propriety there for Improvement & useful Education—That he has known the Professors to play all Night at Cards in publick Houses in the City, and has often seen them drunken in the Street!

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg : University Press of Virginia, 1957. p. 64-65.

[Written late in life (1794-1797), the Reverend Devereaux Jarratt recalled more humble beginnings than the facts bear out. His father was a middling landowner who owned several slaves.]

I was born in New Kent, a county in Virginia, about 25 miles below Richmond, on January 6th, 1732/33, O.S. I was the youngest child of Robert Jarratt and Sarah his wife. My grand-father was an English-man, born I believe, in the city of London. . . . My grand-mother, as I was told, was a native of Ireland. . . . They were poor people, but industrious, and rather rough in their manners. They acquired a pretty good tract of land, of near 1200 acres, but they had no slaves. . . . My father was brought up to the trade of a carpenter, at which he wrought till the very day he died. He was a mild, inoffensive man, and much respected among his neighbors. My mother was the daughter of Joseph Bradley, of Charles City. None of my ancestors, on either side, were either rich or great, but had the character of honesty and industry, . . . This was also the habit, in which my parents were. They always had plenty of plain food and raiment, wholesome and good, suitable to their humble station, and the times in which they lived. We made no use of tea or coffee for breakfast, or at any other time; nor did I know a single family that made any use of them. Meat, bread, and milk was the ordinary food of all my acquaintance. . . . We were accustomed to look upon, what were called gentle folks, as beings of a superior order. For my part, I was quite shy of them, and kept off a humble distance. A periwig, in those days,

was a distinguishing badge of gentle folk – and when I saw a man riding the road, near our house, with a wig on, it would so alarm my fears, . . . And that I might appear something more than common, in a strange place, and be counted somebody, I got me an old wig, which, perhaps being cast off by the master, had become the property of his slave, and from the slave it was conveyed to me. When my year expired, at Moon's, I thought it advisable to move my quarters, and get a school at another place. . . . I went now to board with a gentleman, whose name was Cannon. He was a man of great possessions, in land, slaves, &c., &c. As I had been always very shy of gentlefolk, and had never been accustomed to the company and conversation of the rich, you may imagine, how awkwardly and with what confusion I entered his house. . . . It was on a Sunday, P.M. when I first came to the house – an entire stranger, both to the gentleman and his lady. The interview, on my part, was the more awkward, as I knew not how to introduce myself to strangers, and what style was proper for accosting persons of their dignity. However I made bold to enter the door, and was viewed, in some measure, as a phenomenon. The gentleman took me, (if I rightly remember) for the son of a very poor man in the neighborhood, but the lady, having some hint, I suppose, from the children, rectified the mistake, and cried out, it is the schoolmaster. At the conclusion of that year necessity obliged me to change my place of abode. So I looked out for a school some where else. Moon wished to employ me again, and I went there. [While] I again boarded with Moon, I wished to better acquainted with the meaning of the scriptures. I was told of a very large book, belonging to a gentleman, about five or six miles distant across the river, which explained all the New Testament. I resolved to get the reading of that book, if possible. . . . I asked the loan of it, which was readily granted. . . .

Devereux Jarratt, The Life of the Reverend Devereux Jarratt (Originally published in Baltimore, 1806; reprint. New York, Arno Press), 1969. pp. 12-14, 29-32, and 37-40.

[Memoir of John Page of Rosewell written at the end of his life in 1808]

I was early taught to read and write, by the care and attention of my grandmother, one of the most sensible, and best informed women I ever knew. . . . My Grandmother excited in my mind an inquisitiveness, which, whenever it was proper, she gratified, and, very soon I became so fond of reading, that I read not only all the little amusing and instructing books which she put into my hands, but many which I took out of my father's and grandfather's collection, which was no contemptible library.

But in the year 1752, when I was nine years old, my father put me into a grammar school, at the glebe house of our parish, where the Rev'd Mr. Wm Yates, had undertaken the tuition of twelve scholars. . . . at the end of my year, Robinson, Cooke, and Fox, went to College, and my father and Mr. Willis procured a most excellent tutor for their sons, instead of sending them there. I had been totally interrupted in my delightful reading of Histories, and Novels, for twelve months tied down to get by heart and insipid and unintelligible book, called Lilly's Grammar, one sentence in which my master never explained. But happily, my new tutor Mr. Wm. Price, at Mr. Willis's, soon enabled me to see that it was a complete Grammar, and an excellent Key to the Latin Language, This faithful and ingenious young man, who was about 20 years of age, . . . was happily of a most communicative disposition, and possessed the happiest talents of explaining what he

taught, and rendering it an agreeable, and most desirable object was beloved and strictly attended to by me. . . .

After I had lost my tutor Mr. Price, my father entered me in the Grammar School at William and Mary College, when I was 13 years of age, instead of sending me to England, as he had promised my mother he would, before I should arrive at that age. But fortunately for me, several Virginians, about this time, had returned from that place (where we were told learning alone existed) so inconceivably illiterate, and also corrupted and vicious, that he swore no son of his should ever go there, in quest of an education.

Virginia Historical Register, Vol III (1850), pp. 144-46.

LANCASTER, October 15, 1763

AS the gentleman who teaches the grammar-school in this county has concluded to discontinue that employment next Christmas, I take this method of giving timely notice to the gentlemen who have their children or wards under his tuition, and to others who may be disposed to have their youth instructed in all, or in any one of the branches of education specified, that I design to continue it, at the same place, from the first of the new year.

The Latin and Greek languages, and Hebrew (if required) will be taught, agreeable to the most approved modern methods.

Instructions upon English grammar will be given, in leisure hours, to the Latinists, which they will soon apprehend to be a pleasant, and very advantageous, amusement.

The rudiments of geometry and surveying, plain trigonometry, logick, ontology, ethicks, rhetorick, geography, and the use of the globes, will be taught at reasonable prices.

I hope to introduce with success declamations and select pieces of dramattick compositions, for the improvement of my pupils in pronunciation, accent, emphasis, and gesture.

I expect a well qualified assistant from Pennsylvania; and gentlemen may depend on having their children tutored with great care, and much I hope to their satisfaction, as my scholars shall be carefully proportioned to the number of their instructors.

And I can assure them that they need not fear the didiscontinuance of my school, which I am persuaded must not a little contribute to their encouragement.

JAMES WADDEL

Virginia Gazette, (Hunter), Nov 4, 1763, p. 4.

May 31, 1786

ON the 19th June, the expiration of the Whitsuntide recess, the WILLIAMSBURG GRAMMAR SCHOOL will be opened on the following plan: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-Keeping, and Surveying, will be taught by Mr. Foster, a Gentleman just arrived from England, for those particular branches. The French, by Mr. Thiullier, a native of France - The Classics, by Mr. Maury and his Usher just arrived from England - Exclusive of the General Exercises of the School, those who board in the Capitol, are regularly assembled every evening, as soon as it is dark, and either with the Principal or Usher, read English History till bed-time, when roll is called, the gates locked, and all egress prevented. As the school is also well provided with a Steward, and Mr. Maury, with his family, fixed on the

square, he can assure those Gentlemen who may intrust him with their sons that their situation in the Capitol shall be comfortable and agreeable.

Mr. Maury having made these extensive arrangements to accommodate the Public; having also ventured part of his fortune on the repairs of such parts of the building as are immediately wanted, and with the aid of the Generous Friends of Science, hoping, in the course of the summer, to compleat the whole; having also for the satisfaction of the Public, subjected his School to the particular inspection and patronage of the President and Professors of the University, together with the Literary Characters of the Common-hall, flatters himself he shall not want the confidence of his fellow citizens, and that he shall in some measure, at least, obviate the necessity of sending their sons out of the state for their education.

Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser, James Hays, ed., cited in Mary Goodwin, "The Capitol: Second Building, 1747-1832," (1934), Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Report #207, p. 82.

[Shetland Island resident and indentured servant who served as a tutor for the William Daingerfield family at Belvidera from 1774-1776]

[21 June 1774] This morning entered to school Philip & Dorothea Edge's Children of Mr. Benjamin Edge Planter. . .

[23 June] . . . This day Mr. Samuel Edge Planter came to me and begged me to take a son of his to scholl who was both deaff and dum, and I consented to try what I cou'd do with him.

[Harrower letter to his wife, 6 December, 1774] I have as yet only ten Scollars One of which is both Deaff and Dumb and his Father pays me ten shilling per Quarter for him he has been now five Mos. with [me] and I have brought him tolerably well and [he] understands it so far, that he can write mostly for any thing he wants and understands the value of every figure, and can work single addition a little. He is aboutt fourteen years of age. . . The Colls Childreen comes on pretty well. The Eldest is now reading verry distinctly in the Psalter according to the Church of England and the other two boys ready to enter into it.

Harrower, John. *The Journal of John Harrower: An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia*. Edited by Edward M. Riley. New York, 1963. pp. 47, 72-73.

[Excerpt from 1728 Statutes of the College of William and Mary]

. . . In this Grammar School let the Latin and Greek Tongues be well taught. As for Rudiments and Grammars, and Classick Authors of each Tongue, let them teach the same Books which by Law or Custom are used in the Schools of England. Nevertheless, we allow the School-master the Liberty, if he has any Observations on the Latin or Greek Grammars, or any of the Authors that are taught in his School, that with the Approbation of the President, he may dictate them to the Scholars. Let the Master take Special Care, that if the Author is never so well approved on other Accounts, he teach no such Part of him to his Scholars, as insinuates any thing against Religion and good Morals.

Special Care likewise must be taken of their Morals, that none of the Scholars presume to tell a Lie, or curse or swear, or talk or do any Thing obscene, or quarrel and fight, or play at Cards or Dice, or set in to Drinking, or do any Thing else that is contrary to

good Manners. And that all such Faults may be so much the more easily detected, the Master shall chuse some of the most trusty Scholars for public Observators, to give him an Account of all such Transgressions, and according to the Degrees of Heinousness of the Crime, let the Discipline be used without Respect of Persons.

Edgar W. Knight, Documentary History of Education in the South, Vol.1, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1949, p. 511.

[Letter of Colonel Nathaniel Burwell, Arlington, June 13, 1718, concerning his younger brother, Lewis]

I'm very much concern'd for ye occasion of your sending & more to See how insensible Lewis is of his own Ignorance, for he can neither read as he aught to do, nor give one letter a true shape when he writes nor spell one line of English & is altogether ignorant of Arithmetick so that he'l be noways capable of ye management of his own affairs & unfit for any Gentleman's conversation, & therefore a Scandalous person & a Shame to his Relations, not having one single qualification to recommend him; if he would but apply himself heartily one year, to write well, learn ye Mathematics & Consequently arithmetick of Mr. Jones, & to Translate Latin into English of Mr. Ingles to learn him to spell well, I would then take him home & imploy him till he comes of Age in my Office & Plantation Affairs that he might the better be capable to manage his own, & to my knowledge this will be no disservice to him, & a greater than any other method he'l fall into through his own inclination; for my part, tis no advantage to me whether he be a Blockhead or a man of parts, were he not my Brother, but when I have to do with him, to schoole he shall go, & if he don't go till I can go over, he then Shall be forced to go whether he will or not & be made an example off (while I stand by) before ye face of ye whole College; as for ye pretence of Liveing in ye College, ye last meeting has taken such care as will effectually provide better eating for ye Boys, so that need not Scare him, & therefore he had better go by fare means than fowl, for go he shall, & Send him forthwith.

William and Mary Quarterly. ser. 1, vol.7, p. 43-44.

[Letters from Richard Ambler of Yorktown to his sons, to Edward and John, studying in Leeds, England; also letter their Aunt Martha Jacquelin]

[to Edward and John, studying in Leeds, England]

Dear Boys, 28 April 1748

. . . Pray Dear boys make it your studdy to give your Parents the satisfaction of hearing of your good behavior, and Dilligence in learning and too all your friends the Pleasure of thinking you may one Day be a credit to your country. . . Your affectionate Aunt, Martha Jacquelin

Neddy and Johnny, 20 May 1749

I wrote to your Uncle and Aunt Shaw [brother-in-law and sister of Richard Ambler, living in England and keeping a watchful eye over their nephews] and desired them to enlarge [your allowance], being encouraged thereunto by your acquainting me that you apply apart of it towards the hire of good and profitable Books, and especially History, which I much approve, as it will enlarge your knowledge and make you acquainted with Men and Things

which happen'd in Ages long since pass'd; In hunting after knowledge and Learning I shall not grudge your Expence, nor would I debar you from a moderate Expence on Eating and drinking sometimes such things as are not to be found amongst the Provisions of Your House but by no means give way to too great an indulgence of your appetites, this will cloud and darken your natural Faculties, and pervert the End and aim of sending you where you are, which was to improve and brighten them.

. . . it may not be amis to tell you that I do not mean to confine you to any particular kind or branch of Learning but am willing to be at the expence of your attaining a degree of all or any branch of learning which suits your genious or inclination, but Latin, French, Writing and Accounts especially the latter, must by no means be omitted, as it is likely it may fall to one or both your lots to be concern'd in Trade and Commerce but that will be left to your own choice.

*. . . you must give this letter more than one reading and remember it is wrote by Loving Father— Richard Ambler
Neddy, 31 Oct 1751*

. . . because you will spend the spring and summer months in Visiting the several parts of England I before mentioned to You, where I would have you make your observations on what is remarkable, but always by mindfull to keep good Company, such will be able to assist you in making prudent observations, let not the business of Husbandry be below your notice when you happen to fall into conversation with skillfull Farmers. . .

Your Loving Father, Richard Ambler

Neddy, 28 Feb 1752

You was well advised to spend the Winter months at London and take the Spring and Summer Seasons for you travels to such Dutys and other Towns as are most remarkable for their Trade or Manufactures; but these travels must be confined to Great Britain only, the circumstances of my affairs will not permit me to be at the Expence of a French Journey, otherwise I might have indulged your curiosity. Your Loving Father, Richard Ambler

Virginia Magazine of History. Vol. 69, pp. 14-17, 22-24.

Education was a very serious matter in the Tucker household, a fact established by St. George's repeated warnings to his children: "if you now neglect your studies you will have reason to repent all the days of your future life." St. George first attempted to teach his young children by bringing them "entertaining or improving Book[s]" from his travels. . . . However, as the children grew older, their parents sought to provide them with a more formal education, a task made difficult by the paucity of schools and tutors in the area.

To educate the older boys, St. George and Frances selected a private school run by Walker Maury in Orange County and later in Williamsburg. During their first two years at the school, Richard, Theodorick, and John all won their teachers' approval, studying in particular the classics and history. However, the boys left the school the following year because of a growing animosity between Maury and Theodorick, probably a result of both Theodorick's temper and Maury's inability to command the respect of his students. . . . After their departure from Maury's school the brothers enrolled . . . in Princeton, New Jersey. . . . under the tutelage of one Dr. Witherspoon, a man "more like a father. . . than

a master," the boys all "acquited [themselves]. . . with credit."

The younger children received their education from tutor John Coalter, and, after Coalter's departure, from son Henry and from John Bracken's grammar school in Williamsburg. Like their stepbrothers, the Tucker children studied French, Greek, and Latin, geography, algebra, and natural philosophy. They also read many books of ancient and modern history, including "Rollins Ancient History" and "Voltaires History of Louis XIV," in French. In addition, the children's social education included training in music and fencing.

Linda Clark Wentworth, "Childrearing in the Early Chesapeake: The Tucker Family and the Rise of Republican Parenthood," Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984. pp. 60-61.

John Randolph [later "of Roanoke"] who was then studying at Walker Maury's school in Williamsburg, 20 June 1786, to his mother, Francis Bland Randolph Tucker, who was the wife of St. George Tucker, living at Matoax near Petersburg].

Dear Mamma

June 20, 1786

You see I have not forgot the injunction laid on me of writing to you by every opportunity. I have not written to Papa because Colonel Innes told me he was gone to Norfolk. Cousin Beverley Cousin Patty and Cousin Lucy are all in town but I have not seen them yet. I have left off Latin and devoted myself entirely to greek & French until the boys have finished virgil & the long expected time will come when I shall begin Horace. Mr. Maury had made the steward usher & says he finds him as well acquainted with Latin & Greek as he is himself, he is beloved by the whole school. But we dont like the Englishman at all. He is perpetually making a disturbance tho' he has nothing to do with us only on a writing day. He takes our paper to make our copy books and takes half of our paper and quills. We have just had a violent quarrel the subject of which was whether I should burn a candle in my room or not although the candle was my own in which (although I gained my point after he had gone to Mr. Maury) the candle burned almost out and I have but the snuff to write by. Give my love to all the family and be assured I remain your most affectionate son,

John Randolph

*Pray send me by the first opportunity my Greek grammar and fables, the fables are in the old room closet, & I would be much obliged to you for some shoes & money as I have but one pair of shoes and no money at all, having spent all in bearing my expenses down—
—Tuesday Night. 11 o'clock—*

I have just seen uncle Bannister's Stephen by whom this letter is carried although no opportunity offered when I wrote it.

Virginia Magazine of History. Vol.42, p. 47-48.

[Will dated 10 September 1762 of Charles Carter of Cleve - 1707-1764]

Whereas, my sons, John and Landon, are now in England for the benefit of their education and it being necessary to prevent all doubts that may arise relative to them, It is my will and meaning that they shall be continued at school to learn the languages, Mathematicks, Phylosophy, dancing and fencing till they are well accomplished & at proper age to be bound to some reputable, sober, discreet practising attorney till they arrive at the age of twenty-one years and nine months. . . [and then] immediately imbarck and return to

America; and I do earnestly desire their guardians, as much as in their power lies, to prevent extravagance by limiting their pocket expences. . .

Whereas, the extravagance of the present days and the flattering hopes of Great fortunes may be a temptation to run into unnecessary expences in living, It is my positive will and desire that my daughters be maintained with great frugality and taught to dance; . . so as not to prevent the raising their fortunes and supporting their brothers in England, as before directed. . .

Virginia Magazine of History. Vol.31, p. 39-69.

[William Nelson of Yorktown to his agent in London, John Norton, 27 February 1768]

. . . I am extremely obliged by your kind offers of Civility & Friendship, if I s'd send my Son Hugh to England: and the more so as I can rely upon the Sincerity of these Professions; but I have not Thoughts at present of sending him & he no great Inclination to such a Voyage indeed the Temptations to Expence & Dissipation of Money & Time are too great for our Estates here; especially as the Improvements of our youth are Seldom answerable to Such great Expenses as they often incur. . .

John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia, Edited by Frances Norton Mason. Augustus Kelly Publishers. New York: 1968. p. 39.

3. Education for Females

Wealthier girls and boys also received gender-specific training geared toward adult responsibilities, although their educations tended to be more academic. As the daughter of a white planter of middling rank, a girl might be lucky enough to attend a small school of four or five pupils or receive some schooling from simple texts such as Richard Allestree's *Whole Duty of Man*. Her brother, meanwhile, would be more likely to have some type of formal schooling before gaining practical training in a trade. In extremely wealthy households, girls would be taught to read and write by special tutors, perhaps the same ones hired to teach mathematics and languages to their brothers. At a certain point, however, while the girl continued her lessons at home, her brother would be sent away, perhaps to England, for further learning in advanced mathematics, Latin, Greek, and law or, increasingly by mid-century to Virginia's own College of William and Mary.

This pattern of education and training for elite children in which the best schooling was reserved for boys impressed upon their sisters early in life a sense of intellectual inferiority that became increasingly noticeable as the siblings grew older. When ten-year-old Elizabeth Pratt wrote to her brother William in England, she was already sensible to the differences in their abilities wrought by the training he had received:

I find you have got the Start of me in Learning very much, for you write better already than I expect to do as long as I live and you are got as far as the Rule of three in Arethmatick, but I can't cast up a Sum in Adition cleverly, but I am Striving to do better every day, I can perform a great many dances and am now Learning the Sibell but I cannot speak a word

of French.

Pratt's disclosures of her intellectual weaknesses and math anxiety -- early evidence of its existence among women in colonial America -- revealed how differences in children's educations shaped their gender identities and influenced their relationships. Confronted with her brother's writing skills and knowledge of mathematics, Pratt became complimentary and deferential, taking pride in her dancing, an accomplishment that she had undoubtedly been encouraged to pursue.

. . . Daughters of wealthy planters enjoyed significant advantages over other girls, mastering genteel subjects such as singing, French, and dancing, for example, but would have learned many of the same basic domestic skills. Elite girls were more likely to learn fancy sewing and culinary arts involving exotic ingredients like "Almonds, reasons and Orenge," but they still needed to know the fundamentals of sewing, cooking, caring for the ill, and raising children. In contrast to a small planter's daughter or orphan, who probably learned housewifery through an apprenticeship, an elite girl also might consult a cookbook or advice manual to develop these skills.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1996, pp. 296-297.

Compared to their sons, the Tuckers experienced far less difficulty raising their daughter Fanny who proved to be submissive and tractable. It is not surprising that Fanny differed from her sometimes mischievous or troublesome brothers because her upbringing differed from theirs in several key respects. For example, while her brothers were encouraged to become brave patriots, St. George wrote that he would "not reproach [Fanny for]...a little Cowardice" because he believed "in [her]...sex it is natural--and sometimes even amiable." Fanny's education also differed from that of her brothers; it was shorter and had a distinctly female focus. Fanny was encouraged to learn to read so that she would be prepared when a "Billet doux should come to her from some little swain." Sewing also constituted a part of Fanny's education for her father expected her to learn how to make his shirts. Finally the Tucker's daughter received lessons in deportment and in music, both for singing and playing the spinet. In short, although the Tuckers loved their daughter as much as their sons, her upbringing differed from that of her brothers because it was designed to prepare her to be a "charming" wife and good republican mother, educated enough to properly raise future citizens.

Linda Clark Wentworth, "Childrearing in the Early Chesapeake: The Tucker Family and the Rise of Republican Parenthood," Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984. pp. 65-66.

[Helen (Calvert) Maxwell Read (b. Norfolk, 1750, d. Norfolk 1833) dictated her life story to her son William Maxwell in the early nineteenth century. Daughter and wife of prominent Norfolk residents who was in the last stage of pregnancy when she and her children fled Norfolk just before Dunmore invaded the city at the beginning of the

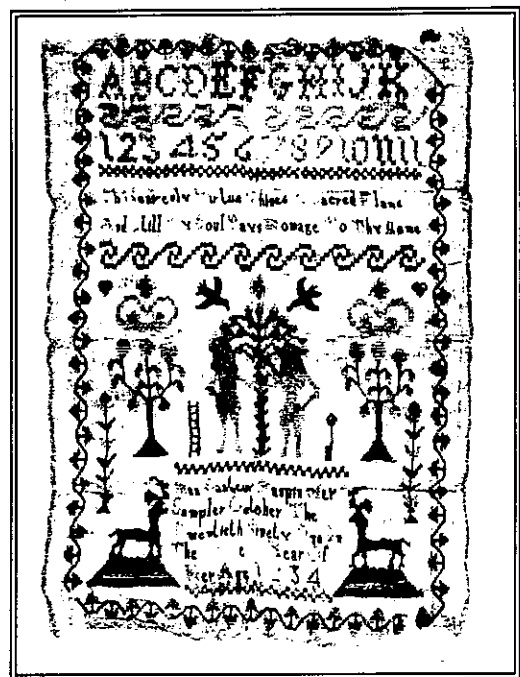
Revolution.]

. . . I was put to school to a poor old dame by the name of Mrs. Drudge, and, to be sure, she did drudge to teach me my letters -- spelling and reading after a fashion. . . . She taught me, good soul, to read the Bible and the stories in it pleased me greatly...After I had learned out here, I was sent to a Mrs. Johnson -- a very large fat woman, . . . She taught me needle-work, and marking on the sampler. . . .my father, who thought me a very fine smart girl (for, I was always his favorite,) wished to send me to a fashionable boarding school that there was then in Williamsburg, but my mother would not consent, saying, she could not part with me, . . . Shortly afterwards, Donald Campbell, imported a school master from Scotland, by the name of Buchan, who opened a select school, and I was sent to him to learn the higher branches of English, French, or Spanish or any outlandish language, for in that day it was thought that one tongue was enough for a girl. Here, perhaps, I might have learned something, but I was in my teens, and too fond of talking and doing nothing to get my lessons, and my teacher used to humour me and spoil me. So, my education was very imperfect, and I have always regretted that my opportunities for learning were so few. . . . At the same time, my good mother taught me some useful things out of school. She was always for setting me to read the Bible, which I always loved better than any other book. She took me, too, to church along with her every Sunday. . . . As I grew on my mother taught me something of the mysteries of housewifery -- in which she was very expert -- how to make pies, puddings, jellies and all sorts of niceties, in which, I was an apt scholar . . . I enjoyed, too, the conversation of all the company who used to come to my father's house, and which was the best the town afforded -- tales of war -- tales of the sea -- and the gossiping stories of the day, which I could tell again with a lively relish.

Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, Vol. 1, Part 1 (1895), p. 60, and Vol. 2, Part 1 (1897), pp. 24-26.

[Egocentric self portrait (written when she was 32) of the eldest child of John Parke Custis and his wife Eleanor]

My father in law [step father] willed to give us every advantage, & procured an Instructor to teach us Music, & other branches of Education-- the first day he gave me the dedication of the Spectator to read & I heard Dr S tell him "that was an extraordinary child & would if a Boy, make a Brilliant figure" -- I told them to teach me what they pleased, & observed to them I thought it hard they would not teach me Greek & Latin because I was a girl--they laughed & said women ought not to know those things, & mending, writing, Arithmetic, & Music was all I could be permitted to acquire, I thought of this



There were various skills necessary for a woman to run a household; and sewing was something that was done each day. This Williamsburg sampler is an important example of the skill that a young woman might have. (C81-68-1981-161)

often--with deep regret & began to despise those acquirements which were considered inferior to the others. . . . Patty & I were kept very strictly, when released from Tracy [the tutor] we were obliged to do a certain portion of needlework, & often compelled to practice Lessons of Music. . . .we had one pleasure of going two days every week to the dancing school.

Virginia Magazine of History. Vol. 53, p. 97-98.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them. To her sister Isabelle van Havre, 20 January 1807]]

A mother who will take the trouble to win the confidence of and be a friend to her daughter can better mold her character and manners than any school mistress who treats all her young charges the same, even though each has a different disposition.

Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. p.157.

The subscriber begs leave to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen, that on friday next, at Mr. Blovet Pasteur's, in this city, she intends opening a DANCING SCHOOL, and hopes to be favoured with the instruction of their daughters in that genteel accomplishment. As she is resolved to spare no pains with her scholars, she does not doubt of being able to give entire satisfaction. Her days for teaching are fridays and saturdays, every week, and her price is 20s. at entrance, and 4£ a year.

Sarah Hallam.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie) August 18, 1775. p. 3.

E. ARMSTON (or perhaps better known by the Name of GARDNER) continues the School at Point Pleasant, Norfolk Borough, where is a large and convenient House proper to accomodate young Ladies as Boarders; at which School is taught Petit Point in Flowers, Fruit, Landscapes, and Sculpture, Nuns Work, Embroidery in Silk, Gold, Silver, Pearls, or embossed, Shading of all Kinds, in the various Works in Vogue, Dresden Point work, Lace Ditto, catgut in different Modes, flourishing Muslin, after the newest Taste, and most elegant Pattern, Waxwork in Figure, Fruit, or Flowers, Shell Ditto, or grotesque, Painting in Water Colours and Mezzotinto; also the Art of taking of Foilage, with several other Embellishments necessary for the Amusement of Persons of Fortune who have Taste. Specimens of the Subscriber's Work may be seen at her House, as also of her Scholars; having taught several Years in Norfolk, and else where, to general Satisfaction. She flatters herself that those Gentlemen and Ladies who have hitherto employed her will grant her their further Indulgence, as no Endeavours shall be wanting to complete what is above mentioned, with a strict Attention to the Behaviour of those Ladies Entrusted to her Care.

Reading will be her peculiar Care; Writing and Arithmetick will be taught by a Master properly qualified; and if desired, will engage Proficients in Musick and Dancing.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) February 20, 1772. p. 3.

[Eliza Ambler Carrington (1765-1847) to her sister Ann Ambler Fisher, c.1807]

Our poor Mother being too infirm to engage much in the care of her children it almost entirely devolved on My Father; and when my sister M [?] and myself were barely 5 & 6 years old he went through the arduous task of teaching us, and in every particular supplying the place of a Mother, notwithstanding he held an office [Collector of the Kings Customs at York in Virginia] that afforded little leisure for such employment; the moment he left his chamber in the morning which was at an early hour, we were called; and through out the day every hour from business was devoted to us... The preceptor, a large Volume differing from any other of the kind I have ever seen, was imported by my father and was really a valuable work, comprizing lessons of various sorts, interspersed with pleasant stories, and some well selected poetry –thus did our dear Father devote himself to us, and pursue every means in his power to give us instruction at a time when girls in our Country were simply taught to read and write at 25/- and a Load of Wood pr Year, –a boarding school was no where in Virginia to be found; –Such attentions as we experienced were without a parallel-, it was thought however to have too much of severity; for the Rod at that time was an implement never to be dispensed with, and our dear Father used it most conscientiously; by many he was considered a most rigid disciplinarian but I have since discovered that his superior knowledge of human nature led him to pursue the right course, and in my own subsequent experience in the Education of children, I have found that the present prevailing opinion that Youth may be reared and matured by indulgence is altogether erroneous.

Eliza Jaquelin Ambler Papers, original and transcripts Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library.

MRS. NEILL, who for a considerable Time past, has lived in Colonel Lewis's Family, Gloucester County) purposes to open a Boarding School in Williamsburg for the Reception of young Ladies, on the same plan of the English Schools, provided a sufficient Number of Scholars engage, to enable her for such an Undertaking. She will instruct them in Reading, Tambour and other Kinds of Needle Work, find them Board and Lodging, Washing, &c. for one Guinea Entrance and thirty Pounds a year. The best Masters will attend to teach Dancing and Writing. She will also teach the Guittar. Those who choose to learn any of those Accomplishments to pay for each separately –As Nothing tends more to the Improvement of a Country than proper Schools for the Education of both Sexes, she humbly hopes her Scheme will meet with Encouragement, and the Approbation of the ladies and Gentlemen of this State; and that those who choose to send their Children will please to let her know as soon as possible, that she may provide accordingly for their reception–Direct for her at Col. Lewis's, Senior, in Gloucester, or at Mess. Dixon & Hunter's in Williamsburg.

Virginia Gazette (Dixon) December 20, 1776, p. 4.

[Maria Carter of Sabine Hall (daughter of Landon Carter) to her cousin, Maria Carter of Cleve, 25 March 1756]

You have realy imposed a Task upon me which I can by no means perform viz: that of

writing a Merry & Comical Letter: how shou'd [!] my dear that am ever Confined either at School or with my Grandmama know how the World goes on? Now I will give you the History of one Day the Repetition of which without variations carries me through the Three-hundred and sixty five Days, which you know compleats the year. Well then first begin, I am awakened out of a sound Sleep with some croaking voice either Patty's, Milly's, or some other of our Domestic with Miss Polly Miss Polly get up, tis time to rise, Mr Price is down Stairs, & tho' I hear them I lie quite snugg till my Grandmama uses her Voice, then up I get, huddle on my cloaths & down to Book, then to breakfast, then to School again, & may be I have an Hour to my self before Dinner, then the Same Story over agin till twilight, & then a small portion of time before I go to rest, . . .

Virginia Magazine of History. Vol.15, p. 432.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[13 September, 1774] It is curious to see the Girls imitating what they see in the great House; sometimes tying a String to a Chair & then run buzzing back to imitate the Girls spinning; then getting Rags & washing them without water— Very often they are knitting with Straws, small round stockings, Garters &c — Sometimes they get sticks & splinter one end of them f[o]r Brushes, or as they call them here Clamps, & spitting on part of the floor, they scrubb away with great vigor — & often at a small game with Peach-stones which they call checks —

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Ed. by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957, p.189.

[Wants Rutherford to take Miss Penelope Johnston, daughter of Governor Gabriel Johnston of North Carolina, under his care]

. . . and if possible place her at Mr. Dunwiddie's[sic] in Williamsburg and if you cannot place her at the Governor's I desire that you'll place her in some family of good reputation where she may have the advantages of receiving an education suitable to her Birth and Fortune. I should not chuse to have her at any place than Williamsburg as I apprehend she will have the advantages of the best company and education there, you are likewise desired to supply her with all necessities Suitable to her rank in a plain but neat and fashionable manner."

William Catcard to Hon. Justice Rutherford, 1756. Privately owned letter quoted in Mary Stephenson, "Child-life in Virginia," (1949), p. 20.

WANTED

AN elderly woman, that will undertake the management of a nursery of three or four children. It is expected she will be capable of teaching them to read and sew. Such a one, that can be well recommended, will meet with encouragement by applying to the Printer hereof.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) September 24, 1767. p. 1.

[Betsy Braxton (b.1759) visited her aunt Ann Blair in Williamsburg who wrote to Betsy's mother, Mary Braxton, 21 August 1769, about her activities]

Betsy is at work for you, I suppose she will tell you tomorrow is Dancing day, for it is in her thoughts by Day & her dreams by Night. Mr. Fearson was surprized to find she knew so much of the Minuet step, and could not help asking if Miss had never been taught, so you find she is likely to make some progress that way Mr. Wray by reason of Business has but latly taken her in hand, tho he assures me a little practice is all she want's: her Reading I hear her twice a day, and when I go out she is consign'd over to my Sisr: Blair;
Blair, Bannister, Braxton, Homer, and Whiting Papers, 1765-1890, Orig: College of William and Mary; transcript and Colonial Williamsburg Library.

[Thomas Jefferson to his daughter, Martha Jefferson, Annapolis, 28 Nov 1783]

My dear Patsy. . . The acquirements which I hope you will make under the tutors I have provided for you will render you more worthy of my love; and if they can not increase it, they will prevent its diminution. Consider the good lady who has taken you under her roof, who has undertaken to see that you perform all your exercises, and to admonish you in all those wanderings from what is right or what is clever, to which your inexperience would expose you: consider her, I say, as your mother, as the only person to whom, since the loss with which heaven has pleased to afflict you, you can now look up; and that her displeasure or disapprobation, on any occasion, will be an immense misfortune, which should you be so unhappy as to incur by any unguarded act, think no concession to much to regain her good-will. With respect to the distribution of your time, the following is what I should approve:

From 8 to 10, practice music.

From 10 to 1, dance one day and draw another.

From 1 to 2, draw on the day you dance, and write a letter the next day.

From 3 to 4, read French.

From 4 to 5, exercise yourself in music.

From 5 to bed-time, read English, write, etc.

Communicate this plan to Mrs. Hopkinson, and if she approves of it, pursue it. As long as Mrs. Trist remains in Philadelphia, cultivate her affection. She has been a valuable friend to you, and her good sense and good heart make her valued by all who know her, and by nobody on earth more than me. I expect you will write me by every post. Inform me what books you read, what tunes you learn, and inclose me your best copy of every lesson in drawing. Write also one letter a week either to your Aunt Eppes, your Aunt Skipwith, your Aunt Carr, or the little lady from whom I now inclose a letter, and always put the letter you so write under cover to me. Take care that you never spell a word wrong. Always before you write a word, consider how it is spelt, and if you do not remember it, turn to a dictionary. It produces great praise to a lady to spell well. I have placed my happiness on seeing you good and accomplished; and no distress which this world can now bring on me would equal that of your disappointing my hopes. If you love me, then strive to be good under every situation and to all living creatures, and to acquire those accomplishments which I have put in your power, and which will go far towards ensuring you the warmest

love of your affectionate father, Th. Jefferson.

P.S. –Keep my letters and read them at times, that you may always have present in your mind those things which will endear you to me.

Julian Boyd, ed., Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 6, p.359-360.

4. Apprenticeships

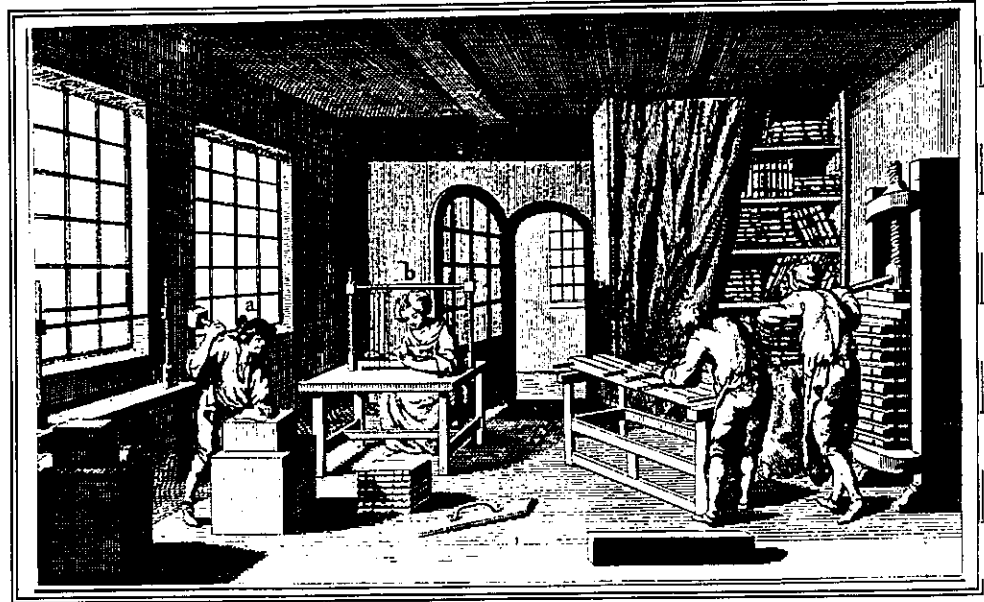
Throughout the century, in all parts of the colonies, fathers who died before their sons were old enough to be educated directed the executors of their wills that their sons be put out "at a suitable age. . . to Trades or business *in agreement with their desires* [emphasis added]," . . . Although in the European tradition apprenticeship was expected to last seven years or until maturity, jobs were abundant in much of the New World, and such agreements frequently ran only four years, cut even shorter by agreement or default if opportunity beckoned.

A much more significant difference between the Old World and New World concept of apprentice training was imbedded in the language of eighteenth-century American indentures and wills. Over and over again, along with stipulations concerning complete induction into "the art and mystery" of masonry, or hatmaking, or silversmithing, and the eventual . . . completion of the apprenticeship, went the requirement that provision be made for "sufficient schooling" . . . The assumption that even common boys headed for lives as "mere Mechanicks" needed book learning as part of their educational preparations was audacious, demanding a virtual revolution in the whole notion of schooling --who should have it, what they should learn, and how it would serve society as a whole.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers, New York: 1993, p.124.

From the time they were little, white girls of all backgrounds in eighteenth-century Virginia learned gender-specific tasks. If they were orphaned, poor, or part of a large family, young girls might be apprenticed to learn to read, sew, spin, and perform other basic skills of housewifery. Their brothers, meanwhile, would probably learn a more specialized trade like rope or barrel making, and, in addition, be taught to cipher, a skill no apprenticed girl in the colony is recorded as being taught. Orphans John Oulds and Jane Studs, for example, were bound to the same master in 1688. Whereas John's indenture specified that he be taught reading, writing, and the trade of a tailor, Jane's mentioned only that she learn "household work."

With increasing frequency during the first half of the eighteenth century, girls' apprenticeships referred to specific female tasks such as sewing, carding, knitting, and spinning under the general rubrics "womanly exercises," "household work," or "qualifications proper for the female sex." This use of vague, gendered language to describe the work to be performed by white girls was due in part to white parents'



Apprenticeship contracts included an educational component assuring the development of a literate public. (54-812)

desire to protect children from manual agricultural labor by providing them with other skills. Often the indentures of both white boys and girls specified that a child should not be forced to work in the ground. For white boys, however, this trend occurred in a context of increasing specialization and diversification of skills, the result of rising opportunities for craft work in towns like Williamsburg, Yorktown, Urbanna, and Norfolk. For white girls, the language describing domestic labor implicitly ranked it above agricultural work but did not accord it the same status or recognition as male skills.

Training in "womanly exercises" was a marker not simply of gender but of race and condition. Only a tiny minority of enslaved women performed domestic labor for their masters during the first half of the eighteenth century, although that proportion gradually increased to one-third by century's end. Wealthy planters typically sought white women to work as nurses and cooks, diverting significant numbers of young slave women to domestic tasks only in the final quarter of the century. For white women, however, the eighteenth century brought a growing emphasis on household production and increased opportunities to escape field work. White women's ability to define themselves more exclusively as domestic laborers was due in no small part to the use of African women for agricultural labor and their growing association with it. . . free Afro-Virginian mothers recognized the close fit between freedom and domestic labor and tried to arrange indentures for daughters to learn housewifery. Such training helped free black girls gain access to white women's privileges, an important step in distinguishing themselves from slave women.

At the age of eighteen, at which point white girls were deemed marriageable, an apprenticed girl would be released with some new clothing, some supplies, and perhaps even a gift of livestock. Her brother would be held in service until twenty-one, at which

point he too would be considered marriageable, having learned the skills necessary to make a living.

Brown, Kathleen M., Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1996, pp. 295-296.

THE MANUFACTURING SOCIETY in Williamsburg are in Want of a Person to superintend the Works, purchase materials, &c. and to keep the necessary Accounts.... As to make Sail-Cloth is one of their Objects, the Society will give good Encouragement to Spinners and Weavers acquainted with that Branch.—Ready Money will be given for Hemp and Flax, either fully prepared for spinning, or from the Break of Swingle.

As soon as the Works are erected, the Society propose taking a Number of Boys and Girls, as Apprentices to spinning, weaving, &c.

GREAT wages will be given by the subscriber to journeymen GUNSMITHS, BLACKSMITHS, AND NAILORS, that are good workmen. None others need apply. Six or eight boys are wanting, as APPRENTICES.

JAMES ANDERSON

Virginia Gazette (Purdie) October 3, 1777, p. 2.

[Six-year Apprenticeship agreement between John Whitoe Spurlock, 18-year old mulatto, and John Richardson, York Town, August 21, 1753.]

The said John Richardson doth bind and oblige himself his Heirs &c to teach or cause to be taught his said Apprentice in the Arts and Mystery of Carpenter and Joiner in the best manner he can and to read and write and likewise to provide for his said Apprentice Meat Drink Washing and Lodging and Aparell fitting for such an Apprentice during the term of his said Apprenticeship [After 1805, Virginia artisans were no longer required to teach their black apprentices to read and write.]

York County Deeds and Bonds Book 5, pp. 558-559.

5. Education for Blacks

Would you believe it that he has begun to teach Jamey, his servant, to write?

Wm. Munford to John Coalter (speaking of Geo. Wythe), July 22, 1791.

[Dennis attended the Bray School in 1769 when the Robert Carter family lived in Williamsburg]

Dennis the Lad who waits at Table, I took into the School to day at his Fathers request, He can spell words of one syllable pretty readily. He is to come as he finds oppertunity[sic]

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, 1957. p.182-183.

[Extracts from the records for the Bray School, funded by a British society called the "Associates of the late Dr. Bray," a charity school for black children that operated in Williamsburg from 1760 until the death of its mistress, Mrs Anne Wager, in 1774].

I am desired by a Society who call themselves The Associates of the Late Dr. Bray (the Objects of whose Attention are the Conversion of the Negroes in the British Plantations, founding Parochial Libraries & other good Purposes) to acquaint You that they lately agreed to open a School at Williamsburgh in Virginia for the Instruction of Negro Children in the Principles of the Christian Religion. They earnestly request that You, Mr. Hunter, Postmaster & the Minister of the Parish will be so kind as to assist them in the Prosecution of this pious Undertaking, & that You will with all convenient Speed open a School for this purpose: & that You will with all convenient Speed open a School for this purpose: & As 'tis probable that Some of Each Sex may be sent for Instruction, The Associates are therefore of opinion that a Mistress will be preferable to a Master, as She may teach the Girls to Sew knit &c. as well as all to read & Say their Catechism. They think 30 Children or thereabout will Sufficiently employ one person, & therefore wou'd at present confine their School to about that Number. . .

[first shipment of books to open school in Williamsburg]

*50 Childs first Book
40 English Instructor
25 Catechism broke &c
10 Easy Method of instructing Youth
3 Indian instructed
2 Preliminary Essays
5 Bacons 4 Sermons
5 Bacons 2 Sermons to Negroes
10 Christians Guide
3 Church Catechism with text of Scrip.
12 friendly Admonitions
70 Sermons before Trustees & Associates*

Rev. John Waring [London] to Rev. Thomas Dawson [Williamsburg], 29 February 1760.

A catalogue of Books in a Box [sent from London 1 June 1761]

5 Bibles, 25 Testaments, 25 Psalters, 10 Christian Guide, 10 English Instructor, 10 Burkitts Help & Guide, 40 Childs first Book, 10 Indian Instructed, 2 Scriptural Catechism, 5 Easy Method.

Those for the Use of the School

20 Common Prayers to be given to the Children when qualified to use them at Church.

A List of Negro Children at the School [30 September 1762] established by the Associates of the late Reverend Doctor Bray in the City of Williamsburg, Mrs. Anne Wager, School Mistress.

Names of the Children	their Ages as nearly as can be judged of	Owners Names
1 John	8 years	Mrs. Davenport
2 Anne	6	Ditto
3 Dick	3	Mr. George Davenport
4 London	7	Mrs. Campbell
5 Aggy	6	Ditto
6 Shropshire	6	Ditto
7 Aberdeen	5	Mr. Alexr. Craig
8 Mary	7	Mr. Thomas Everard
9 Harry	5	Ditto
10 George	8	Mr. Gilmer
11 Bristol	7	ditto
12 Mary Anne	7	a free Negro
13 Aggy	7	Peyton Randolph Esqr.
14 Roger	7	Ditto
15 Mary	8	Mr. Thomas Hornsby
16 Rippon	3	Mr. Anthony Hay
17 Robert	6	John Randolph Esqr.
18 Lucy	5	Ditto
19 Elizabeth	10	Mrs. Dawson
20 George	6	Dr. James Carter
21 Locust	8	Mrs. Armistead
22 Sarah	7	Mrs. Page
23 Hannah	7	Ro: C: Nicholas
24 Mary Jones	[]	a free Negro
25 John	7	John Blair Esqr.
26 Jane	9	Ditto
27 Doll	7	Ditto
28 Elisha Jones	[]	free
29 John	3	Mr. Hugh Orr
30 Phoebe	3	Mr. Wm. Trebell

...

Regulations

With Respect to the Owners . . .

As it will [be] needless & by no Means answer the Design of the Institution for the Children to be put to School & taken away in a short Time before they have received any real Benefit from it, Every Owner, before a Negro Child is admitted into the School, must consent that such Child shall continue there for the Space of three Years at least, if the School should be so long continued.

A decent Appearance of the Scholars, especially when they to go Church, being very

likely to make a favorable Impression, All Owners of Children sent to this School must take Care that they be properly cloathed & kept in a cleanly Manner; & if it should be agreeable, the Trustees would propose that the Children should wear one uniform Dress, by Which they might be distinguished with very little additional Expencc. . . .

Rules to be observed by the Tutoress or Mistress. . .

She shall attend the School at seven O Clock in the Winter half Year & at six in the Summer half Year in the Morning & keep her Scholars diligently to their Business during the Hours of schooling, suffering none to be absent at any Time, but when they are sick or have some other reasonable Excuse.

2. She shall teach her Scholars the true Spelling of Words, make them mind their Stops & endeavour to bring them to pronounce & read distinctly.

3. She shall make it her principal Care to teach them to read the Bible, to instruct them in the Principles of the Christian Religion according to the Doctrine of the Church of England, shall explain the Church Catechism to them by some good Exposition, which, together with the Catechism, they shall publicly repeat in Church, or elsewhere, so often as the Trustees shall require & shall be frequently examined in School as to their Improvements of every Sort.

4. She shall teach them those Doctrines & Principles of Religion, which are in their Nature most useful in the Course of private Life, especially such as concern Faith & good Manners.

5. She shall conduct them from her School House, where they are all to be first assembled, in a decent & orderly Manner to Church, so often as divine Service is there performed & before it begins, & instruct & oblige them to behave in a proper Manner, kneeling or standing as the Rubrick directs, & to join in the public Service with & regularly to repeat after the Minister in all Places where the People are so directed & in such a Manner as not to disturb the rest of the Congregation. She shall take Care that the Scholars, so soon as they are able to use them, do carry their Bibles & Prayer Books to Church with them, & that they may be prevented from spending the Lord's Day profanely or idly, she shall give her Scholars some Task out of the most useful Parts of scripture, to be learnt on each Lord's Day, according to their Capacities, & shall require a strict Performance of it every Monday Morning.

6. She shall use proper Prayers in her School every Morning & Evening & teach the Scholars to do the same at Home, devoutly on their Knees, & also teach them to say Grace before & after their Victuals, explaining to them the Design & Meaning of it.

7. She shall take particular Care of the Manners & Behavior of her Scholars & by all proper Methods discourage Idleness & suppress the Beginnings of Vice, such as lying, cursing, swearing, profaning the Lord's Day, obscene Discourse, stealing &c., putting them often in Mind & obliging them to get by Heart such Parts of the Holy Scriptures, where these Things are forbid & where Christians are commanded to be faithful & obedient to their Masters, to be diligent in their Business, & quiet & peaceable to all Men.

8. She shall teach her female Scholars knitting sewing & such other Things as may be useful to their Owners & she shall be particularly watchful that her Scholars, between the School Hours, do not commit any Irregularities, nor fall into any indecent Diversions.

Lastly. She shall take Care that her Scholars keep themselves clean & neat in their Cloaths & that they in all Things set a good Example to other Negroes.

...
I have tried to enforce some of the Rules, which you were pleased to approve, but find they are not well relish'd; however I will persevere.

Robert Carter Nicholas to [Rev. John Waring] 13 September 1765.

...
The Owners of Negroes as soon as they are old enough to do little Offices about their Houses, either take them away entirely from the School, or keep them from it at Times, so that they only attend, when there is no Employment for them at Home. . . .

Robert Carter Nicholas to Rev. John Waring 27 December 1765.

List of Negro Children

A List of Negro Children who are at the Charity School in Williamsburg November 1765

Mrs. Campbell's young & Mary	2
Mrs. Davenport's William	1
Mr. Hay's Jerry	1
Doctor Carter's Nanny	1
Mr. Blair's John, Dolly, Elizabeth, Catherine, Fanny, Isaac & Johanna	7
Mrs. Burwell's Joseph & Davy	2
Mrs. Prestis's Molly	1
Colo. Johnson's Squire	1
Colo. Chiswell's Edmund & Johnny	2
Mr. Charlton's Nancy & Davy	2
Mrs. Grymes's Phyllis	1
Mrs. Orr's Pat & Jack, James & Sal	4
Mr. Thompson's Charles	1
Mr. Brown's Elizabeth	1
Mr. Thompson's Betty	1
Matt. Ashby's Harry & John	2
Mrs. Vobe's Sal	1
Mr. Waters's Sylvia	1
Mr. Randolph's Roger & Sam	2
	in all 34

...
[reviewing the past] . . . soon after Mr. Hunter's Death I had the Number increased to 30 & obliged the Mistress that there might be no partiality shewn to white Scholars, of which she then had about a dozen, to discharge them all . . .

Negroes now at School [February 1769]

Mrs. Prisca. Dawson's Grace	1
-----------------------------	---

Mr. R.C.Nicholas's Sarah	1
Mr. President Blair's Catherine, Nancy Johanna & Clara Bee	4
Mr. Hay's Jerry, Joseph, Dick	3
Mrs. Chiswell's Jack	1
Mrs. Campbell's Mary, Sally, Sukey	3
Mrs. Speaker's Sam	1
Mrs. Vobe's Jack	1
John & Mary Ashby..free	2
Mrs. Ayscough's Sally	1
The College. Adam, Fanny	2
The Commissary's Charlotte	1
Mrs. Blaikley's Jenny, Jack	2
Hon. Robert Carter's Dennis	1
Mr. Hornsby's Nancy, Judy, Ratchel	3
Mr. Cocke's Mourning	1
Mr. Davenport's Matt, Henry	2

Robert Carter Nicholas to Rev. John Waring 16 February 1769.

...
I have to advise you of the Death of Mrs. Wager, the Mistress of the Negro School at Williamsburg. I could wish to have revived the Charity upon such Terms as would be agreeable to you & the rest of the worthy Associates of Dr. Bray, but seeing no Prospect of it at present, I have discontinued the School, 'till I can receive your farther Directions .

...
 Robert Carter Nicholas, Virginia, to the Rev. John Waring, 17 November 1774, in Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777, ed. by John C. Van Horne. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985, pp.. 144-146, 158, 188, 190-191, 236, 240-242, 276-278, 324.

6. Influence of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau

In 1690 [John] Locke wrote Some Thoughts Concerning Education, which was based on his theories of human psychology. While his goal of turning out adults of good character was not particularly revolutionary, his concept of human nature and his methods of bringing out the best in children were decidedly novel. He suggested that parents did not have to worry so much about getting an early start: maturation would occur naturally. "Never trouble your self about those faults in them, which you know age will cure." Babies will eventually assume human form, walk upright, talk, and even reason. More radically, Locke regarded the desire to play, laugh, run around, and ask questions as natural attributes of childhood and good signs of potential intelligence to be encouraged, always

with the proviso that they be steered in rational and productive ways.

The notion that "kids will be kids" was further transformed from an accepted inevitability to an ideal state of affairs by the romantic movement of the late eighteenth century. According to this worldview, expressed most importantly by the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his "educational romance" *Emile* (1762), nature was neither evil, as evangelical religion proposed, nor neutral, as the Enlightenment scientists countered. It was, in fact, a positive good--the true creation of God that was only debased and degraded by the accouterments of civilization. Therefore, the best and most noble people were the "savages" who lived in harmony with nature and without all of the corrupt institutions of modern European culture. Standing the values of both religion and reason on their heads, romanticists argued that it was those who remained unsophisticated, uneducated, and lacking in the social graces who exhibited the real hallmarks of purity and divinity.

Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans*. Harper Perennial, New York: 1993. pp. 106-107.

[Eliza Lucas Pinckney, wife of a wealthy South Carolina lawyer and planter Charles Pinckney, Charleston, to Mrs. Bartlett, London, 20 May 1745]

Since Mr. P[inckney]'s last to Mr. B[artlett] Heaven has blest us with a son, and a fine boy it is! . . . Shall I give you the trouble my dear Madam to buy him the new toy (a description of wch I inclose) to teach him according to Mr. Lock's method (wch I have carefully studied) to play himself into learning. Mr. Pinckney himself has been contriving a sett of toys to teach him his letters by the time he can speak, you perceive we begin by times for he is not yet four months old.

[The next year Eliza Pinckney wrote to her sister Polly, at school in England:]

Your little nephew not yet two and twenty months old prattles very intelligibly, he gives his duty to you and thanks for the toys and desires me to tell his aunt Polly if she don't take care and a great deal of pains in her learning, he will soon be the best scholar, for he can tell all his letters in any book without hesitation and begins to spell before he is two years old.

FABLES in VERSE,
For the Improvement of the
Y O U N G and the O L D;
A B R A H A M ^Æ S O P, Esq.
To which are added,
FABLES in VERSE and PROSE;
W I T H T H E
Conversation of BIRDS and BEASTS,
At their several
MEETINGS, ROUTS, and ASSEMBLIES;
BY
W O G L O G *the great* G I A N T.
Illustrated with a Variety of curious CUTS,
By the best MASTERS.
And with an Account of the LIVES of the
A U T H O R S,
By their *Old Friend* Mr. NEWBERY.

The Truth I hope you won't dispute,
When told you by a brother Brute.
Letter from Leo the great Lion.

The SIXTH EDITION.

L O N D O N:
Printed for the Booksellers of all Nations, and sold at
the *Bible and Sun*, No. 65, in *St. Paul's Church-*
Yard. 1768. [Price 6d. bound.]

John Locke approved of Aesop's stories because they stressed appropriate behavior in an entertaining way - especially if illustrated. These appear on Williamsburg accounts. (86-5598)

Harriott Harry Ravenel, Eliza Pinckney. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York: 1896. p. 113.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them. - Written to her brother Charles J Stier, 5 May 1808 and 1 April 1809]

... *But are you not a little romantic, dear Friend, in your ideas on the education of children? You would like to carry out Rousseau's plan, but I hope that you would have the foresight to steal a mate for each one of your children to be educated in the same way as their future companions. Else after all your trouble, they might be the most unhappy of mortals all their life because of their greater degree of perfection! Believe me, these private educations which have been followed out with so much care and method often miss their purpose.*

... *I am entirely of your opinion as to the bringing up of children. Chance doubtless has much influence over their inclinations, and a clear-sighted and watchful mother can be most useful to them in keeping her eye on all their actions, and without antagonizing them she can imperceptibly instruct them how to think and act rightly. Observing and studying their inclinations, she may choose the career likely to make them most happy, for one lad brought up to be a lawyer might have been a second Linnaeus, while another following the plow murmurs to himself dreamily the verse he read in the last almanac.*

I am much obliged to you for your offer to introduce George to your world when he shall have reached the suitable age. I think several colleges north of Philadelphia are excellent, among others, Princeton, Cambridge, etc. But I greatly regret the lack of young girls' schools. This is beginning to worry me so much. Caroline is now nine years old, and I know of no good school to which I could send her. I do not like the young girls' manners here.

Edited by Callcott, Margaret Law. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992, pp. 185-186, 203.

[The following quotes taken from John Locke, Some Thoughts on Education can be used when explaining influences on childrearing. The pages are noted after each cite.]

I have therefore thought, that if Play-things were fitted to this purpose, as they are usually to none, Contrivances might be made to teach Children to read, whilst they thought they were only Playing. . . [an acquaintance] who by pasting on the six Vowels (for in our Language Y is one) on the six sides of a Die, and the remaining eighteen Consonants on the sides of three other Dice; has made this a Play for his Children, that he shall win, who at one cast throws most Words on these four Dice; whereby his eldest Son, yet in Coats [petticoats], has play'd himself into Spelling with great eagerness, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it. (pp. 209-210).

... *When by these gentle ways he begins to be able to read, some easy pleasant Book suited to his Capacity, should be put into his Hands, wherein the entertainment, that he finds, might draw him on, and reward his Pains in Reading, and you not such as should fill*

his head with perfectly useless trumpery, or lay the principles of Vice and Folly. To this purpose, I think, Aesop's Fables the best, which being Stories apt to delight and entertain a Child, may yet afford useful Reflections to a grown Man. . .

If his Aesop has Pictures in it, it will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the increase of Knowledge with it. (pp. 211-212).

Narrow Breasts, short and stinking Breath, ill Lungs, and Crookedness, are the Natural and almost constant Effects of hard Bodice, and Cloths that pinch. That way of making slender Wastes and fine Shapes, serves but the more effectually to spoil them. Nor can there indeed but be Disproportion in the Parts, when the Nourishment prepared in the several Offices of the Body, cannot be distributed as Nature designs. . . (pp. 90-94).

As for his Diet, it ought to be very plain and simple; and if I might advise, Flesh should be forborn as long as he is in Coats [petticoats] or at least till he is two or three Years old. But whatever Advantage this may be to his present and future Health and Strength, I fear it will hardly be consented to by Parents, misled by the Custom of eating too much Flesh themselves; who will be apt to think their Children, as they do themselves, in danger to be Starved, if they have not Flesh at least twice a Day. This I am sure, Children would breed their Teeth with much less Danger, be freer from Diseases whilst they were little, and lay the Foundation of an Healthy and strong Constitution much surer, if they were not cram'd so much as they are by fond Mothers and foolish Servants, and were kept wholly from Flesh, the first three or four Years of their Lives. . .

As to his Meals, I should think it best, that as much as it can be conveniently avoided, they should not be kept constantly to an Hour. For when Custom has fixed his Eating to certain stated Periods, his Stomach will expect Victuals at the usual Hour, and grow peevish if he passes it; . . . (pp. 91-94).

The great Mistake I have observed in People's breeding their Children has been, that this has not been taken Care enough of in its due Season; That the Mind has not been made obedient to Discipline, and pliant to Reason, when at first it was most tender, most easy to be bowed. Parents, being wisely ordain'd by Nature to love their Children, are very apt, if Reason watch not that natural Affection very warily, are apt, I say, to let it run into Fondness. They love their little ones, and 'tis their Duty: But they often, with them, cherish their Faults too. . .

. . . He that is not used to submit his Will to the Reason of others, when he is Young, will scarce hearken or submit to his own Reason, when he is of an Age to make use of it. And what a kind of a Man such as one is like to prove, is easie to fore-see. . .

On the other side, if the Mind be curbed, and humbled too much in Children; if their Spirits be abased and broken much, by too strict an hand over them, they lose all their Vigor and Industry, and are in a worse State than the former. For extravagant young Fellows, that have Liveliness and Spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make Able and Great Men: But dejected Minds, timorous and tame, and low Spirits, are hardly ever raised, and very seldom attain to any thing. To avoid the Danger, that is on either hand, is the great Art; and he that has found a way, how to keep up a Child's spirit, easy, active and free; and yet, at the same time, to restrain him from many things he has a Mind to, and

to draw him to things that are uneasy to him; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming Contradictions, has, in my Opinion, got the true Secret of Education.

That the Difference to be found in Manners and Abilities of Men, is owing more to their Education than to any thing else; we have Reason to conclude, that great Care is to be had of the forming Children's Minds, and giving them that seasoning early, which shall influence their Lives always after. For when they do well or ill, the Praise or Blame will be laid there: And when any thing is done outwardly, the common Saying will pass upon them, That it is suitable to their Breeding.

The usual lazy and short way by Chastisement, and the Rod, which is the only Instrument of Government that Tutors generally know, or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in Education. . .

For what other Motive, but of sensual Pleasure and Pain, does a Child act by, who drudges at his Book against his Inclination, or abstains from eating unwholsome Fruit, that he takes Pleasure in, only out of Fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater Corporal Pleasure, or avoids the greater Corporal Pain. And what it is, to govern his Actions, and direct his Conduct by such Motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that Principle in him, which it is our Business to root out and destroy? And therefore I cannot think any Correction useful to a Child, where the Shame of Suffering for having done Amis, does not work more upon him, than the Pain.

Frequent Beating or Chiding is therefore carefully to be avoided. Because this sort of Correction never produces any Good, farther than it serves to raise Shame and Abhorrence of the Miscarriage that brought it on them. And if the greatest part of the Trouble be not the Sense that they have done amiss, and the Apprehension that they have drawn on themselves the just Displeasure of their best Friends, the Pain of Whipping will work but an imperfect Cure . . .

For all their innocent Folly, Playing, and childish Actions, are to be felt perfectly free and unrestrained, as far as they can consist with the Respect due to those that are present; and that with the greatest Allowance. If these Faults of their Age, rather than of the Children themselves, were, as they should be, left only to Time and Imitation, and riper Years to cure, Children would escape a great deal of mis-applied and useless Correction. . . (pp. 103,105,112 -113, 118, 148,149,155-157).

But pray remember, Children are not to be taught by Rules, which will be always slipping out of their Memories. What you think necessary for them to do, settle in them by an indispensable Practice, as often as the Occasion returns; and if it be possible, make Occasions. This will beget Habits in them, which being once established, operate of themselves easily and naturally, without the Assistance of the Memory. (p. 121).

None of the Things they are to learn should ever be made a Burthen to them, or imposed on them as a Task. Whatever is so proposed presently becomes irksome: The Mind takes an Aversion to it, though before it were a Thing of Delight or Indifferency. . .

As a Consequence of this, they should seldom be put about doing even those Things you have got an Indication in them to, but when they have a Mind and Disposition to it. . . For

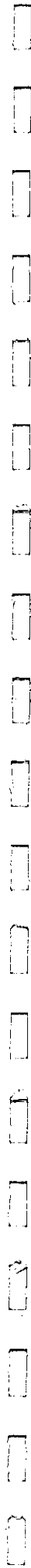
a Child will learn three times as much when he is in tune, as he will with double the Time and Pains, when he goes awkwardly, or is drag'd unwillingly to it.

. . . Learning anything, they should be taught, might be made as much a Recreation to their Play, as their Play is to their Learning. (pp. 134-135.)

Curiosity in Children . . . is but an appetite after Knowledge; and therefore ought to be encouraged in them, not only as a good sign, but as the great Instrument Nature has provided, to remove that Ignorance they were born with. . . Not to check or discountenance any Enquiries he shall make, nor suffer them to be laugh'd at; but to Answer all his Questions, and explain the Matters, he desires to know. . . (pp. 182-183).

To conclude this Part, which concerns a Young Gentleman's Studies, his Tutor should remember, that his Business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raise in him a love and esteem of Knowledge; and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himself, when he has a Mind to it. (p. 249).

John Locke. Some Thoughts on Education. Edited by John W. And Jean S. Yolton, Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1989. pp. cited above.



Religion and the Family

1. Religious Practice

[James Gordon and his brother John were staunch Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who came from County Down in Ireland in 1738. They lived in the Northern Neck and were instrumental in the growth of Presbyterianism there]

[February 15, 1759] Last night a coal of fire rolled on the dining-room floor & burned a great hole in the plank. God's goodness great to us, whose mercy endureth forever.

[February 27, 1759] went with my wife to the school. My wife treated the scholars to pancakes & syder, it being Shrove Tuesday, & prevailed on Mr. Criswell to give them play.

[August 26, 1759] Sunday. At home with my wife & family, where I have much more comfort than going to Church to hear the ministers ridiculing the Dissenters.

[September 23, 1759] The comfortable sacrament of the Lord's Supper was this day administered by Mr. Todd — 53 communicants — none from Hanover. Religion seems to increase among us, for wh. we have great reason to adore the great God.

[December 6, 1759] This day Mr. Criswell broke up his school for Christmas.

[December 31, 1759] Very agreeably ended the old year, for which & all other mercies I adore & praise the Divine goodness, for He is good & His mercy endureth forever.

[May 26, 1760] Went to meeting to-day — a pretty large company of the common people & negroes, but very few gentlemen. The gentlemen that even incline to come are afraid of being laughed at. Mr. Minis (one of the Parsons) endeavors to make it a scandalous thing.

[June 25, 1760] Poor little Betty very unwell. How uncertain are our comforts in this life! Wherefore we sh'd endeavor to have our minds fixed on comforts that are above, which are certain & fade not away. The frailty of human nature is very great. What must become of us without a Saviour so well acquainted with our natures. Would we be always directed by Him, then would we find comfort indeed. The Lord be our Comforter in all distress.

Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va., in *William and Mary College Quarterly*. Vol. II (1st Series) pp. 101,108,109, 112, and 199-201.

2. Religious Education

Although the Tucker's were not a religious family—St. George's faith was closer to deism—St. George and Frances were extremely concerned about their children's morals. The family seldom read the bible, but the children were sent to church regularly and often reminded to attend to "the moral virtues," which their parents believed were "all nearly allied to each other" and which "must all be cherished, or . . . all be impaired." The children were forbidden to swear, and there was even concern about whether the boys should be allowed to act in a school play where money was to be collected.

This parental concern for the children's morals only increased as the children grew older

and became exposed to greater temptations in the world around them. In particular, St. George feared that oldest son Richard would be corrupted while he was attending school in town. "In such a place as Williamsburg, at his Age," St. George worried, "it is hard--trusting a Boy to his own head." When problems arose involving the boys' morals, St. George often depended on Frances to use her maternal influence on the children. After discovering a deception of Richard's, St. George told Frances: "I have rebuked him, . . . but I wish you to write him very seriously on the subject."

Linda Clark Wentworth, "Childrearing in the Early Chesapeake: The Tucker Family and the Rise of Republican Parenthood," Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984. p. 64.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]
[April 25, 1763] Went with my wife to meeting to hear the young people say their catechism. Mr. Waddell have us good exhortations & advice how to bring up our children, & how comfortable religious knowledge is.

Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va., William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st series Vol. XII, p. 4.

[Final entry in a journal of a trip to Baltimore in 1770 by Mary Ambler, widow of Edward Ambler of Jamestown, where she and her children, Jack and Sally, were inoculated for smallpox.]

From Mr Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women. This Paragraph is transcribed for the use of the Copist & She begs her Daugr to observe it well all her Life--If to Your natual softness You join that christian meekness, which I now preach; both together will not fail, with the assistance of proper reflection and friendly advice, to accomplish you in the best and truest kind of breeding. You will not be in danger of putting yourselves forward in company, of contradicting bluntly, of asserting positively, of debating obstinately, of affecting a superiority to any present, of engrossing the discourse, of listening to yourselves with apparent satisfaction, of neglecting what is advanced by others, or of interrupting them without necessity.

"Diary of M. Ambler, 1770." Virginia Magazine of History. Vol. 45, p. 170.

[Written late in life (1794-1797), the Reverend Devereaux Jarratt recalled more humble beginnings than the facts bear out. His father was a middling land and slave owner.]

Their [my parents] highest ambition was to teach their children to read, write & understand the fundamental rules of arithmetic. I remember also, they taught us short prayers, and made us very perfect in repeating the Church Catechism. They wished us all to be brought up in some honest calling, that we might earn our bread, by the sweat of our brow, as they did.

. . . At 8 or 9 years old, I was sent to an English school in the neighborhood: and I continued to go to one teacher and other, as opportunity served, (though not without great interruptions) till I was 12 or 13. In this time I learned to read in the Bible (though but indifferently) and to write a sorry scrawl, and acquired some knowledge of Arithmetic, with this small fund, I left school; & my mother dying about this time, no further care was

bestowed on my education.

The Life of Reverend Devereaux Jarratt. Arno Press, New York: 1969. pp. 15-16 and 19-20.

Lately Published, (being very proper for a New-Year's Gift to Children,) The Church Catechism Explain'd, by Way of Question and Answer... Collected by John Lewis, Minister of Margate, in Kent. Printed, and Sold by William Parks, Price stitched 10d. bound 15d.
Virginia Gazette (Parks) February 16, 1738/39, p. 4.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them.]

As of three days ago I have a tutor for my children-he is an Englishman between 50 and 55 years old. This is a great relief to me. You ask me how I teach [the children] catechism. George and Caroline go over it with me regularly every Sunday, and afterwards I also have them read a chapter in either the New or the Old Testament. At present I am only teaching them one prayer, which I hear them repeat correctly every day-it is the Lord's Prayer. This is all that their age permits me to do up to now, since I think it is very important not to force too much discussion of religion on children before they are able to understand. A word too much on this subject can do a lot of harm. . .

Callcott, Margaret Law, ed. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. pp.. 219-220. Rosalie Calvert to her sister, Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, 5 June 1810.

3. Religion and Women

Anglican women lacked institutional roles in the Virginia church. Only men could be ordained, preach, or administer the sacraments. Only men could serve on the vestries which handled parish business, hiring ministers, erecting buildings, and collecting money. The all-male vestries and their church wardens also handled the social aspects of the parish, presenting morals offenders to the county courts, arranging for the care of orphans, the poor, the sick, and the elderly. . . .

Despite the lack of formal channels in the Virginia church, women were active lay participants, especially where church and family roles intersected. The roles women took in the religious sphere suggest that the practice of religion and development of popular piety were already in the hands of women. Hence the development in the nineteenth century of women's religious organizations was a more public manifestation of practices well established in the church in the eighteenth century. . . .

The church in general taught resignation to God's will, especially when a person faced the death of a loved one, or his or her own death. . . . While it is possible to argue that this message was intended to keep subordinates, such as women, in their assigned places, it seems to be a powerful force restraining eighteenth-century males from expressing their emotions. William Byrd II, for example, interpreted such resignation to

mean that he should not openly mourn the death of his first born. His wife Lucy was unable to follow his example. . . .

Women were expected to be pious, attend church, teach their children, and help their husbands. They did participate in these traditional ways, using them to their fullest extent, shaping religious life in the process. Women were interested in the church, commenting in their letters on ministers and church attendance. Women in general were less willing to hide their emotions, despite doctrines of resignation, and they were thus able to express their religious feelings more freely. The Byrd family correspondence, for example, shows women in the family made a freer use of religious expressions than male correspondents. It was the women of the Rose family who openly mourned the death of his eldest daughter, Mary. . . . Robert Rose wore mourning for only five days following the death of his daughter Mary. He spent the first two days with his mother-in-law who had been caring for the daughter. The mother-in-law died within the month. . . .

Women carried the burden for religious practice within the family. The three great family occasions of the church, baptism, marriage, and funerals were all home occasions in Virginia. These occasions were transferred from the institutional church where women had little influence to the female sphere of the home where women oversaw all of the preparations. Most Virginians were buried at their homes. . . .

Within family worship, women were sometimes leaders. In many homes grace was said at meals by an honored guest, or the senior person at the table, possibly a woman. Literate women read sermons out loud to families in the evening. Thus women led forms of family worship or religious education, but carefully avoided taking an independent role. They read the works of others rather than their own. . . .

While women had greater influence over home religion than parish worship, they took seriously their duty to attend church. Women normally outnumbered men at Sunday services; thus the pattern of a male hierarchy and female constituency was already established. Robert Rose found it worth noting in his diary the one inclement winter day that "not one Woman" (and few men) attended service. Fithian's journal suggests Ann Carter attended church much more frequently than Robert Carter did. Maria Taylor Byrd continued to attend church after she had given up all other travel because of age. While such examples are suggestive of women's participation, attendance figures by sex simply do not exist, nor can we determine church membership as it is possible to do for New England churches. There are records, however, of adult slaves who joined the church, and these reveal a strong sex differential. Women made up the majority of adult blacks who joined the Anglican church. For example, out of 36 black baptisms in the Christ Church, Middlesex Parish Register between 1694 and 1736, three-quarters were female. Records left by the Reverend John Garzia of Northfarnham Parish from 1724-1732 provide a larger data base for analysis. Women were 53% of the 354 blacks listed. When these figures are adjusted for the imbalanced sex ratio between black men and women, women were 1.8 times more likely to join the church than black men. . . .

First, women felt free to enter religious discussions, and to disagree with men. Although Ann Carter was careful not to challenge directly her husband Robert, she made her differing views known. The tempestuous marriage of William and Lucy Parke Byrd led

to direct confrontations, which so irritated Byrd he skipped his nightly prayers following their quarrels. Secondly, Virginians considered women competent in such discussions. Fithian was impressed by the breadth of Ann Carter's knowledge of other religions, commenting, "indeed she converses with great propriety on these things & discovers her very extensive Knowledge." . . .

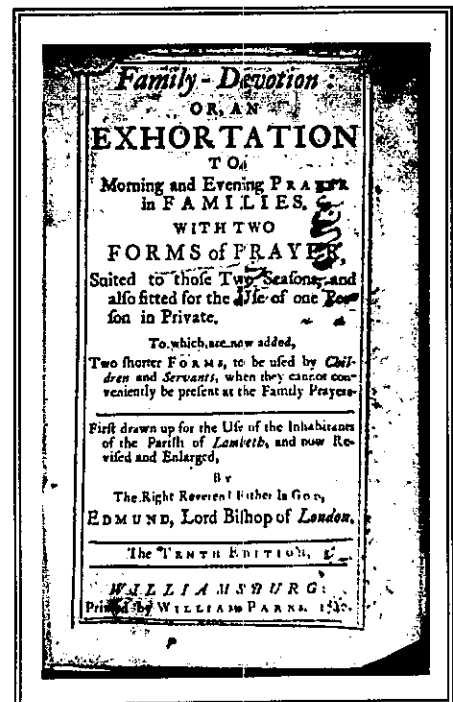
One area of activity which was different in the eighteenth century from the nineteenth was woman's role as helpmeet. Eighteenth-century Virginians considered the family an economic unit and granted the women status as contributors to the family income. While the nineteenth-century woman continued to contribute to a family in many of the same economic ways, especially on farms and the frontier, ideology had separated the home from work. Thus nineteenth-century women were not perceived as having economic functions but rather as operating in areas of morals, affection, religion, and aesthetics. Being a helpmeet provided some opportunities for participation in religion for women. Since society perceived both husband and wife as jointly engaged in the family's business, a female assumed an absent family male's roles, including those of community and religious leadership. . . .

Thus women used their position within the family to influence membership in the formal institutional church, but their own pattern of participation in the eighteenth-century Virginia Anglican church remained informal and non-institutional. Women had a separate sphere and spent much of their time in a community of other women, but that community did not create formal religious structures. Rather the informality of the family provided women with a chance to teach and preach to catechize and convert. While the formal institutions of eighteenth century society recognized women only as surrogates for their absent husbands or as subordinate to them, in the give and take of every day life women were respected for their religious opinions and provided the core for religious life in the colony.

Gunderson, Joan R. "The Non-Institutional Church: The Religious Role of Women in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. 51 (1982), pp. 347-357.

[Excerpt from the biography of Lucy Grymes Nelson (b.1743), a granddaughter of Sir John Randolph and later the wife of Thomas Nelson of Yorktown, by Susanna Nelson Page in 1835.]

. . . my Beloved Mother made her Entree into this world very unexpectedly, and I have heard her say, she was said to be so small that at her birth she might have been put in a quart Pot. Of her Childhood I know very little, except that she went to school to the Revd. Mr. William Yates, the minister of I believe, Gloster or Middlesex. . . She had quite a liberal education, for the times. She was a most uncommon Arithmetician, very fond of reading, and learned to play on the Harpsichord, (that being the fashionable



Prayer books such as this one printed in Williamsburg were popular for family worship (50-1436)

key'd Instrument of those days) of Mr. Pelham, who since my recollection was the Organist to the church in Wmsburg. She learned Dancing also. . . .

She had 11 living children, and 2 sons born dead, 6 living sons and 5 daughters all of whom married and had children. She brought up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, they were brought into her chamber every morning whilst she was dressing, and said their prayers and a short Catechism, such as (who made you) who redeemed you &c, and then read the Psalms for the day and the Collect Epistle and Gospel, thro' the week, for the succeeding sunday, and the writer of this does not remember when these exercises began with her. []e was dressed her children and servants were sent out of the room, and she was locked up as was the term thro' the house, for her being at her Prayers, where she continued nearly an hour every day. I suppose I need hardly say she read her Bible daily. Being once asked if she prayed a great deal for her sons she replied "yes my dear that I did" and she continued to do so as long as she lived. She was very remarkable in her attention to the Holy Sabbath, for she never permitted a piece of work or any thing that belonged to weekly business to lay about the house on the sabbath day, and she never in her life read or permitted one of her children to read any other book on the Lords day, than a Holy Book. . . .

She was a remarkably active woman, what was called a good manager, looked after her servants who might almost in her latter days be said to idolise her, attended to all her household cluties, during the week, but when the Sabbath day came, she never looked at or spoke of any thing that had any refference to weekly business, and she used to say, she never went into her kitchen [on the Sabba]th day in h[er] life]. She was very fond of hymns being sung to her, and she always joined in the singing, she had been a very fine singer in her youthful days, and in her last illness repeated verses of several hymns.

Dr. Augustine Smith Papers, 1779-1843, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library.

[Excerpt from a Letter of the Rev. Peter Fountain to His Brothers, March 2, 1756]

My Sister came to reside with us in the beginning of last October, but we had no long enjoyment of her company, for she departed this life the last day of December, after a five days' illness, which though very sharp, she bore with a truly Christian patience and resignation to the Divine will, spending her last breath in prayers for all her relations and acquaintances, and in blessing me and my little family, one by one, as we stood in tears around her. . . . During the little time she was with us, she did me and my family much good by her pious exhortations, and she instructed my little ones in commendable works they were unacquainted with before, which she was able to teach them. . . .

Ann Maury, Memoirs of a Huguenot Family. George Putnam and Co. New York: 1853, p. 346.

[Excerpt from Edmund Randolph's tribute to his recently deceased wife, Betsy, daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas]

Up to the commencement of the revolution, the church of England was the established religion, in which we had been educated with strictness if not bigotry. From the strength of parental example, her attendance on public worship was unremitted, ex[cept] when insuperable obstacles occurred; [] administration of the sacrament was never without a

justifying cause pa[ssed] by; in her closset prayer was un[i] addressed to the throne of mercy; and the questioning of sacred truths she never permitted to herself, nor heard without abhorrence from others. When we were united I was a deist; made so by my confidence in some, whom I revered and by the labours of two of my preceptors who tho' of the Ministry, poisoned me with books of infidelity. I cannot answer for myself that I should have been brought to examine the genuineness of holy writ if I had not observed the consolatory influence which it brought upon the life of my dearest Betsey. But I recollect well it was not long before I adopted a principle which I have never relinquished, that a woman in the present state of our society without religion is a monster. While my opinions were unsettled Mr. Wythe and Mr. Jefferson came to my house on a Sun[day] evening to play with me at chess. She did not appear in the room; and her repr[oo]f, oach?) which from its mildness was like the manna of heaven has operated perpetually as an injunction from above. For several years since I detected the vanity of sublunary things I knew that the great good of man consisted in christianity alone, I have often hinted a wish, that we had instituted a course of family prayer for the benefit of our children, on whose minds while most pliant the habit might be fixed. But I know not how, the plan was not enforced until during her last illness she and I frequently joined in prayer. She always thanked me after it was finished; and it grieved me to think that she should suppose, that this enlivening inducement was necessary to excite me to this duty. It was injustice however to her sweetness of manner to attribute this sting, inflicted on my conscience to design. No: bear in mind my dear children that her effort was to pour oil into my wounds, not to irritate them. I must have been a brute not to have been bound in soul to her and her alone.

Randolph, Edmund. MS Letter to his children, Alderman Library deposit, MS #4263, 23 March 1810.

4. Slave Religion

... Many blacks and whites shared similar religious experiences and reactions. The Virginia minister Thomas Rankin was forced to interrupt his sermon again and again on July 7, 1776, to beg his parishioners to compose themselves, but to no avail: "Crying mightily to God" they fell to the floor, some on their knees, some on their faces. "Hundreds of Negroes were among them," Rankin wrote, "with the tears streaming down their black cheeks." In these numerous encounters there was ample opportunity for white and black to influence and learn from each other. . .

Religious services were not confined to formal meetings, open or secret but were often informal and spontaneous.

... Some slaves simply refused to be uncritical recipients of a religion defined and controlled by white intermediaries and interpreters. No matter how respectfully and attentively they listened, no matter how well they might sing the traditional hymns, it was their own preachers and their own songs that stirred them the most...Of course there were many white preachers who were able to reach the slaves they preached to and who affected them in important ways. But even the most talented and devoted among them faced certain grave obstacles resulting from tension between their desire to spread the Gospel and their need to use Christianity as a form of social control. . . .

In 1790 John Leland of Virginia noted that in their religious services the slaves "seem in general to put more confidence in their own colour, than they do in whites; when they attempt to preach, they seldom fail of being very zealous; their language is broken, but they understand each other, and the whites gain their ideas."

Levine, Lawrence. Black Culture and Black Consciousness. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 1979. pp. 22, 42-44, and 47.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738] [July 15, 1759] *I read a sermon to the negroes.*

"Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va.," in William and Mary College Quarterly. Vol. II (1st series) p. 107.

1761 The poor Slaves are now commonly engaged in learning to read; some of them can read the Bible, others can only spell; and some are just learning their letters.—But there is a general alteration among them for the better. The sacred hours of the Sabbath, that used to be spent in frolicking, dancing, and other profane courses, are now employed in attending upon public ordinances, in learning to read at home, or in praying together, and singing the praises of GOD and the Lamb.

Samuel Davies, Letters From the Rev. Samuel Davies, Shewing the State of Religion in Virginia, Particularly Among the Negroes. 3d. ed. (London: 1761), p. 15. in Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 184.

RUN away from the Subscriber, in February 1770, . . . a likely Negro Fellow named ADAM, by trade a Cooper and sawer. . . He pretends to be a Newlight, can read and write a little, and had when taken up a forged pass. . . .

John Fox.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) July 18, 1771, in Lathan A. Windley, comp., Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Vol.1: Virginia and North Carolina. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983, pp. 97-98.

. . . Runaway, about the 15th of December last . . . Hannah . . . She pretends much to the religion the Negroes of late have practised, and may probably endeavour to pass for a free woman, as I understand she intended when she went away, by the Negroes in the neighbourhood. She is supposed to have made for Carolina. . . .

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 26, 1767 in Lathan A. Windley, comp., Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Vol. 1: Virginia and North Carolina. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983, pp. 50-51.

June 22, 1774

RUN away from the Subscriber, a Mulatto Man named GILBERT, five Feet five or six Inches high, by Trade a Shoemaker, has had the Smallpox very bad, the Top of his head Shaved, and he combs it back like a Woman; he carried off a good many Clothes, so that I cannot describe his Dress. The same night he absented there went an Eastern Shore

Vessell down the River, which I expect he got on Board of. It is probable he will change his Name to Gilbert Morris, pass for a Freeman, and if possible will try to get out of the Colony. He is a Baptist, and I expect will show a little of it in Company. Any Person that will bring said slave to me, near Port Royal shall have 50 s. Reward, besides what the Law allows; and I hereby forewarn all Masters of Vessels from carrying him off, at their Peril.

John Evans, Senior.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), July 21, 1774, in Lathan A. Windley, comp., Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Vol. 1: Virginia and North Carolina. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983, pp. 151-152.

[From answers to the Bishop of London's Queries, 1724, by Rev. George Robertson, Bristol Parish, Upper James River, Virginia]

I have several times exhorted their(slaves) Masters to send such of them as could speak English to Church to be catechised, but they would not. Some masters instruct their Slaves at home and so bring them to baptism, but not many such.

William Stevens Perry, ed. Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church. Vol. 1, Virginia. AMS Press, New York: 1969, reprint of 1870 edition. p. 267.

March 3, 1777

RUN away . . . a negro man slave named SAM. . . he is a carpenter by trade, and is a good cooper. He can read print, pretends to a deal of religion, has been a good fiddler, and is acquainted with many parts of Virginia. . . .

William Green.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie), May 9, 1777, in Lathan A. Windley, comp., Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Vol. 1: Virginia and North Carolina. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983, pp. 259-260.

4. Christenings & Baptisms and the Role of God Parents

Parents arranged christenings and baptisms-usually within a few weeks after birth-to bring kin and friends together in celebration of parenthood. These ceremonies, held in private homes in most cases, were often quite festive affairs with dinner and dancing. Relatively small groups of perhaps a dozen or so kin and close friends usually attended. William Byrd went to the christening of the Reverend Charles Anderson's son in 1709 where, according to Byrd, everyone dined and danced well into the evening. Anderson, Byrd noted, "was beyond measure pleased with the blessing God had sent him." Philip Fithian, plantation tutor for Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, reported in 1773 that christenings were "one of the chief times for Diversion here."

Smith, Daniel B. Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Cornell University Press, Ithaca: 1980. p. 33.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[Jan 7, 1764] I can't say but I may have caught Cold at Mr. Beverley's though all imaginable care was taken to the contrary, but it is no season for me to go abroad in and yet the occasion was great the Standing for my daughter's [Maria's] son Wm [at his christening]

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1987). Vol 1, p. 249.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738] 1763 Sept. 13: . . . This day our son Nathaniel was baptized by Mr. Waddel. No company but Mr. Chicester & Nancy, Molly Chichr., with Mr. Carter & their girls. Oh may the Lord grant hat he be a Nathaniel, indeed, the gift of God, & his name written in the Book of Life. Journal of Col James Gordon. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st series, Vol. 12, p. 9.

[Copied from the family Bible of Dr. George Gilmer]

Mary Peachy Walker, daughter of Thomas and Susan Walker, of King and Queen, was married by the Rev. Mr. Jn^o. Skaife, at his house, her Stepfather, to George Gilmer, May 13th, 1732.

March 6th, 1737-8. A son born, christened the 20th by the Rev. Mr. Hith, by the name of Peachy Ridgway, Maj. Nicholas and William Prentis Godfathers, and Miss Robertson Godmother - now Mrs. Lidderdale.

Jan. 19th, 1742-3. A son born, christened the 20th inst. by Mr. Thomas Dawson, George. Walter King (and Jms. Harmer by proxy) Godfathers, Miss Elizabeth Pratt, Godmother - afterwards Mrs. King.

October 1, 1745. Mary Peachy Gilmer, the mother of the above dear children, after a severe but short fit of sickness, departed this life to the great loss of her said children, but more immediately to her Husband, who had experienced her Christian life and fondness for him.

Dec. 11th, 1745. George Gilmer was married to Miss Harrison Blair, at her Brother's, the Hon. Jn^o. Blair, by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Dawson, Rector of Bratoro [sic. Bruton], in Williamsburg.

April 26th, 1748. Mrs. Gilmer brought to bed of a son, between six and seven in the morning. 27th. Was christened by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Dawson, by the name of John. The Hon. Jn^o. Blair and Mr. John Blair, Godfathers, and Mrs. Blair, Godmother. - God preserve him.

May 22^d, 1753. Mrs. Gilmer delivered of a Boy, about five o'clock in the morning; apprehending danger, had him christened in the afternoon, by the name of William, my Father's name. Armstead Burwell and John Holt, Mayor, Godfathers; Miss Sally Blair, Godmother. The poor babe died the 30th, and was

buried the 31st, by the Commissary, in a grave so close to by dear former wife, that his coffin touched hers.

Nov. 2^d, 1755. *Mrs. Gilmer, after a severe and long painful illness, departed this life, Sunday evening, between 8 and 9.*

Dr. George Gilmer departed this life, Jan. 15th, 1757.

Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia . . ., (George Rockingham Gilmer), D. Appleton & Co., NY, 1855, p. 12.

5. Funerals and Mourning Practices:

[This clergyman, first, rector of the Jamestown Church, and then professor at the College of William and Mary, returned to England in 1721.]

. . . it is customary to bury in gardens or orchards, where whole families lye interred together, in a spot generally handsomly enclosed, planted with evergreens, and the graves kept decently; Hence . . . arises the occasion of preaching funeral sermons in houses, where at funerals are assembled a great congregation of neighbours and friends . . . In houses also there is occasion, from humour, custom sometimes, from necessity most frequently, to baptize children and church women. . . . In houses also they most commonly marry, without regard to the time of day or season of the year.

Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. By Richard L. Morton. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1956, p. 97.

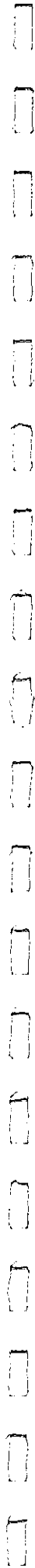
[Diary jottings of widowed plantation mistress Martha Bland Blodget who lived near Petersburg]

June 1796 A funeral being in the neighbourhood, gave all my negroes leave to go, which emptied the plantation of all but children, old people & sick.

Marion Tinling, ed. "Cawsons, Virginia, in 1795-1796" Excerpts from the Diary of Martha Blodget, William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, Vol. 3, p. 288.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]
[June 14, 1761] Our pleasant hours are very few in this life. O Lord, prepare us for the next, where true pleasures are only found.

"Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va.," in William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st ser., Vol. XI, p. 220.



C. Work and Family

The early-nineteenth-century spread of a new conception of the family as a private and protected place was closely tied to a broad process of social and economic change that transformed the economic functions of the family. This economic process is usually termed "industrialization," but in fact, changes in the family's economic roles were already under way several decades before the significant growth of factories. This process would eventually deprive married women of earlier "productive" roles and transform them into housewives, prolong the length of childhood and produce a new stage of youth called "adolescence," and create the demographic transition through which families began to reduce their birthrates.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more than 90 percent of the population lived on farms, and most farm households were largely self-sufficient. . . .

Inside the home, the husband, the wife, and their older children were all expected to play important productive roles. Typically a father and his elder sons took charge of the fields, while a wife and her daughters took care of dairy cows, the poultry, and spinning, knitting, weaving, and fabricating clothing. The wives of urban craftsmen might also manage the shop, keep accounts, and supervise apprentices. Because production was integrated with familial activity, servants, apprentices, and paid laborers usually lived in their master's house. . . .

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, . . . a growing number of farm families began to specialize in the production of grain or cotton and use the cash proceeds they obtained from the sale of crops to buy necessities. Especially in the Northeast, fewer families produced their own food, cut their own clothing, or made their own candles and soap. . . . Economic specialization began to extinguish the domestic industries that had employed large numbers of married women and children. At the same time, an increasing number of apprentices and paid laborers moved out of rooms in their masters' homes into boardinghouses in working-class neighborhoods.

By the middle of the nineteenth-century, the older pattern in which husbands, wives, and children worked together as participants in a common economic enterprise had been replaced by a new domestic division of labor. The middle-class husband was expected to be the breadwinner for the family. Instead of participating in domestic industries, the middle-class wife was expected to devote herself full-time to keeping the house and raising children. Psychologically the daily lives of men and women became more separate and specialized. For a growing number of men, the place of work shifted away from the farm or household to counting houses, mills, factories, shops and offices, where work was defined by wages and a clearly demarcated working day. Women's work, in contrast, was unpaid, unsupervised, and task-oriented. It took place in a segregated sphere of domesticity, which became dissociated from the masculine, more literally productive world of income-earning work. As a result, work and family life came to be viewed as two distinct and separate endeavors. . . .

During the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, roles within the family

were sharply redefined to meet the radically altered requirements of the workplace. The model husband and father was solely responsible for earning the family's livelihood; he was expected to earn the income that supported the family and to provide for his wife and children after his death. The ideal wife and mother devoted her life exclusively to domestic tasks; she was expected to run an efficient household, provide a cultured atmosphere within the home, rear moral sons and daughters, display social grace on public occasions, and offer her husband emotional support. And children, particularly in urban, middle-class homes, were expected to be dutiful dependents who were to devote their childhood and adolescence to learning the skills necessary for the demands of adulthood.

Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life. The Free Press, New York: 1988, pp. 49-53.

1. Work and Gender

... Nothing in the change from dynastic House or domestic household to nuclear family automatically implied any change in the patriarchal nature of relationships within the home. While marriage was in itself a voluntary contract, once consummated, its terms required the subordination of the wife. Her property was his, her obedience his to command; if she worked for wages, they, like those of the children, belonged to him. In many places, she, like an apprentice, was legally subject to "reasonable correction," that is, corporal punishment. The introduction of romance as a proper consideration in choosing a partner for life did, however, change to some extent the expectation of equal behaviour within the basically unequal relationship. A husband was asked to do more than support his wife economically: he was also asked to protect and cherish her, and to remain sober and faithful. He was even expected to take her opinions and interest into account when forming his decisions. By the end of the century, as divorce became possible, although difficult, in most states, abusive husbands were sometimes called upon to justify their actions.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans. Harper Collins Publishers: New York: 1993. Pages 77-78.

A wife was therefore able to manage both her household and her children and at the same time to learn her husband's craft. When he died, she could carry on the business without missing a beat. Almost all of the women who engaged in unusual occupations appear to have taken this route. Diana Morgan of Richmond was a wireworker and stonecutter, specializing in making the screens and grindstones used in milling grain. Mary Cocke and Sarah Scott, both of Amelia, were millers. Catherine Park ran a tanyard, while in Norfolk, Mary Wilson advertised expert shoemaking. Mary Lindsay was the proprietor of the Henrico County jail.

Suzanne Lebsack, "A Share of Honour", *Virginia Women 1600-1945*. W. M. Brown & Son, Richmond: 1984. p. 51.

2. Work and Status

. . . The desire to remove unrelated household members from the bosom of the family came early in the Chesapeake, among the small planters of Maryland and Virginia, and had to do with feelings about race and class more than it did with wage labor. In fact, the workers they so assiduously excluded right from the start of the eighteenth century were not wage workers at all, but bound servants, black or white, who were legally attached to their households—either forever, in the case of black slaves, or for a long term of years, as in the case of white convict labor.

Wolf, Stephanie Grauman. *As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans*. Harper Collins Publishers: New York: 1993. Page 40.

Over the span of 170 years, a great transformation had taken place in the tidewater Chesapeake. In 1660 it consisted of immigrant outposts with a labor system based on white indentured servitude, organized primarily around the production and marketing of tobacco to exchange for European goods. In 1820 tobacco was still a primary crop in many areas, although black slaves, not white servants, produced the bulk of it, and it helped to pay for continued imports. However, internal economic development—promoted, in part, by the introduction of new export crops—had

created a much larger variety of occupations, especially for whites. Accompanying this economic diversity was a rising standard of consumption for whites that was beginning to affect even families quite low on the economic scale. These gains, of course, did not reach a major portion of the population, the slaves, with one exception: male slaves benefited, to some degree, from the increased variety of tasks available.

Many questions about the causes and effects of these changes await further investigation. Who benefited, who suffered, and how from by-employments and new occupations: For example, were opportunities for white women to spin, knit, or weave for piecework wages improving, or depressing the condition of the very poor? Did the prospects of such employment encourage marriage and household formation without ensuring a sufficiency based on the produce of land? Alternatively, was the standard of living in poor households raised through the additional income? If inventories are correctly informing us, then, before the Revolution, improvement was probably the rule, but, over a longer run, the question is still unsettled. Similarly, we need much more information on how new employments and their social consequences relate to other social and economic



The work of the male and female slaves made possible changes in the life styles of the master's families. (78-DW-2842 Top)

processes: filling up of the land, productivity changes, inheritance practices, urbanization (or its absence), migration out, and shifts in the fortunes of the export sector of the economy. Only as we learn more about all these processes and how they relate to one another will we understand better the meaning of changing work roles and their effects on economic opportunity and social relations across all social groups.

Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650-1820," in Work and Labor in Early America, ed. by Stephen Innes. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1988, pp. 183-184.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]

February 2, 1761: Mr. Hunt came soon after breakfast & Capt. Thornton, Capt. Foushee & his wife, Col. Tayloe & Armistead Churchill after dinner, so that we had our house full.

February 3, 1761: So much company I can't do any business.

February 4, 1761: All the company went away after dinner.

March 29, 1761: Went to meeting with my wife & family & company – viz. my brother, Mr. Wormley, his wife & daughter, Mr. Boyd, his wife & daughter, & Capt. Coperthwaite. All came back, & Mr. Hunt & Dr. Robertson & his wife. (A large company!)

March 30, 1761: Our company all went away.

April 1, 1761: Armistead Churchill & his wife, Richd. Span & his wife & child came here.

April 3, 1761: Our company still with us, with the addition of Mr. Wormley, his wife & daughter, which is rather troublesome at this time.

April 4, 1761: It blowed so hard that our Company could not get over the river.

April 5, 1761: Our company all went off, tho' we insisted upon their staying till tomorrow. My wife went with them to Northd. meeting, where we had a fine sermon from Mr. Hunt.

April 18, 1761: Got clear of all our company, then went with my wife to see poor Mr. Chichester.

May 11, 1761: No company, which is surprising.

July 24, 1761: Fast day – went to meeting – when we returned found my brother at our house, & in the eveg. Mr. C. & Nancy came & Mrs. Hunt & Dr. Robertson & his wife, so that our house was pretty full.

"Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va.," in William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st series, Vol. XI, pp. 218-221.

[Widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond Country plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

Thursday, March 22, 1770: . . . There is a curiosity in this Creature. She worked none last year [pretending to be with Child and this she was full 11 months before she was brought to bed. She has now the same pretence and thinks to pursue the same course but as I have full warning of her deceit, if I live, I will break her of that trick. I had two before of this turn. Wilmot of the fork whenever she was with Child

always pretended to be too heavy to work and it cost me 12 months before I broke her. Criss of Mangorike fell into the same scheme and really carried it to a great length for at least she could not be dragged out. However by carrying a horse with traces the Lady took to her feet, run away and when caught by a severe whipping has been a good slave ever since only a cursed thief in making her Children milk my Cows in the night.

Saturday, April 14: She pretends to be big with Child and perhaps may be so.

Jack P. Greene, ed., Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond: 1987, Vol. I, pp. 272 and 389.

3. Play

[Journal of a young English loyalist who came to America to seek his fortune]

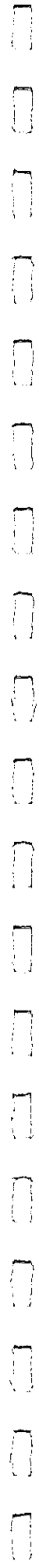
July 7th, 1774: Took my passage on board a small schooner bound to Alexandria. . . . Calm in the evening, the Captn. and I went ashore, to what they call a reaping frolic. This is a Harvest Feast. The people very merry, Dancing without either Shoes or Stockings and the Girls without stays, but I cannot partake of the diversion.

July 26th, 1774: At Anchor with a contrary wind. About noon a Pilot Boat came along side to invite the Captn. to a Barbecue. I went with him and have been highly diverted. These Barbecues are Hogs, roasted whole. This was under a large Tree. A great number of young people met together with a Fiddle and Banjo played by two Negroes, with Plenty of Toddy, which both Men and Women seem to be very fond of. I believe they have danced and drunk till there are few sober people amongst them. I am sorry I was not able to join them.[Cresswell ill at this time] Got on Board late.

Macveagh, Lincoln. The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell 1774-1777, second edition, The Dial Press, New York: 1928, pp. 25-26, 30.



Difficult, drudge work made up much of life for colonial Virginians and play was an important component for both blacks and whites. (78-DW-2785)



1. The Medical Story Including Medicinal Practices and Folk Beliefs

African slaves were at no time as totally dependent upon whites as some scholars have imagined. Indeed in some areas—colonial South Carolina is a perfect example— the Africans were more familiar with the environment than were the Englishmen. It was to the blacks that the Europeans looked for advice and counsel with regard to the cultivation of rice, indigo, and cotton, the use of such indigenous plants as gourds and the palmetto, knowledge of the medical properties of wild plants, herbs, and roots which either duplicated or resembled those the slaves had been familiar with in Africa.

On many plantations white doctors were employed to cure sick slaves, and on many more masters and mistresses kept stock of medicines and were themselves skilled users of folk remedies—an area which Indians, whites, and blacks all shared certain practices and all learned from one another. While slaves acknowledged the medical care extended to them by their masters -- "Our white folks was good as they knowed how to be when us got sick," Callie Elder testified--there is evidence that in doctoring as in preaching slaves frequently distrusted the whites and preferred their own doctors and remedies.

... In the late eighteenth century William Dawson wrote to ask his fellow Virginian planter Robert Carter if he would send "Brother Tom," his black coachman, to treat a sick slave child on Dawson's plantation, explaining: "The black people at this place hath more faith in him as a doctor than any white doctor . . ."

A number of slave practitioners won considerable renown for their skill. In 1729 the governor of Virginia traded an elderly slave "who has performed many wonderful cures of diseases" his freedom in return for the secrets of his medicine, "A concoction of roots and barks"; the South Carolina slave Caesar's cures for poison and rattlesnake bite were so well thought of that in 1750 the legislature awarded him his freedom and ordered his prescriptions published, and more than half a century later they were still in active use as far away as upstate New York. . . . Instances like these are worth noting as evidence of the frequent efficacy of slave medicine and of the fact that there was no invariable gulf between black and white medical practices.

[With] . . . disease being a spiritual as well as a physical problem, it was not always necessary to ingest medicine; it was sometimes better to wear them. Thus the ubiquitous bag of asafetida, a gum resin obtained from the roots of certain plants, hung from the neck of children to ward off almost any conceivable ailment. . . . a tarred rope around the waist would cure rheumatism; . . . the most agonizing toothache would disappear if three deep incisions were made in the northern side of a tree at sundown and blood from the infected tooth was transferred to the tree . . .

Some slaves spoke of having learned their medical lore directly from their African forebears. Rosa Grant was taught by her African-born grandmother, Ryna O'Neal, that a "misery" in the arm could be cured by splitting a black chicken open and applying it to the painful area. . . . Africa contributed more than specific cures; it contributed a general outlook. In matters of health as in all the affairs of life it was crucial to remember Man's

place in the universe and not tempt or taunt the spirits into afflicting one.

. . . Mingling the skills and attitudes they brought with them from Africa with those of the Europeans and Indians, . . . slaves built up a vast store of remedies and treatments which may not have always cured diseases or saved lives but which doubtless gave them a necessary and salutary sense of competence, control, and active participation in at least one area of their lives.

Levine, Lawrence. Black Culture and Black Consciousness. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 1979. pp. 61-66.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[31 December 1773.] At dinner we were conversing on the seasons of the Year & giving our different opinions of which of the Seasons we each thought most agreeable: Mrs Carter chose the Months of October, November & December, her reasons were, that we are always most sensible of pleasure when it succeeds Axiety & Pain; therefore because these months immediately follow those in which there is usually Thunder & Lightning & intense Heat, She thinks them most pleasant: The Colonel agreed with her as to the Months but gave a different Reason; He supposes that in these Months the Air is more uniform and settled than at any other so long time in the year. I preferr'd May, June, and July, because our Bodies at that Season are generally sprightly, vigorous and healthy, and the worldly around us is beautiful & growing to necessary perfection. Miss Prissy & Miss Nancy were on my side.

Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed., Colonial Williamsburg Inc., Williamsburg, VA., 1957, p. 44.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]

[October 27, 1760] My wife had a tooth taken out yesterday, & her gums has bled almost ever since & could not be stopped till this night, she put a cobweb & spirits of turpentine to it. . . .

[October 29, 1760] Jamey better, I believe, by taking bitters with bark, camomile flowers & snake-root. . . .

[November 26, 1762] I can't get rid of the slow fever. Took a dose of Bateman's Drops, but it did me little service.

[November 28, 1762] Can't recover my health.

[November 29, 1762] Began to take Bark again.

[November 30, 1762] I find the Bark a more powerful medicine than any other in Intermitting Fever.

"Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va.", William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st series, Vol.11, p. 204 and 235.

[13 December 1757] It is necessary that man should be acquainted with affliction and 'tis certainly nothing short of it to be confined a whole year in tending one's sick Children. Mine are now never well. Indeed I may believe there are many reasons for it besides the

Constitution of the air which has been very bad. I have none but negroes to tend my children nor can I get anyone and they use their own children to such loads of Gross food that they are not Judges when a child not so used to be exposed to different weathers and not so inured to exercise Comes to eat. They let them press their appetites as their own children did and thus they are constantly sick. Judy Carter [his daughter], who has been as well for many weeks as ever child was, by being suffered after her dinner to some of her sister's barley broth yesterday took in such a load as could not be contained in her stomach and this day was seized with a natural vomiting. . . . the Child mended, grew cheerfull and had an appetite to eat which I sparingly indulged but she lost all her bloom off her face this morning.

[27 March 1758] I saw my daughter Sukey yesterday. She has been exactly a fortnight under a Constant fever but said every day to intermit because when the period of the ague and the hot fit is off she becomes cheerfull. Dr. Flood could not be got to her and my fears will not let me practice on her as her case is of so Chronick a kind.

22 April 1758] Joe's recovery has been very slow till now. His case was first of the most bilious kind of intermittent then inflammatory attended with a Severe cough and pain in his right side. He was for his ague and fever vomited and discharged much bile. He was too low as I thought to admit of bleeding for his pain. I therefore blistered him and help him under a long use of the rattlesnake root. His cough abated by frequent expectoration and a natural purging came on which I have found if watched to be a favourable crisis of the disorder, but he was so much reduced and so relaxed at last I was obliged to have recourse to bitters, chiefly Centaury.

Winney his wife whose case is fully described before makes very little shew of recovery. She gained a little strength but I believe through aversion to medication she concealed her want of appetite and eat frequently without any inclination. She had also a purging but it stopped too soon of its own accord. Dr. Flood who was called into her had direction upon any Symptom of sickness at Stomach or want of appetite to exhibit a dose of Ipecacuana but these She concealed and grew very nervously affected. Being with child there was danger of using warm nervines.

[4 March 1776] Betty it seems has a pain now and then in her shoulder; her's is in the Shoulder which some years ago a chariot ran over. I have ordered a strengthening plaister.

Selden is again set off and to Gilberne's. It seems Betty will not take a Vomit. I will give her up, if she does not. She has been her own doctor and now I have taken her in hand she will not do as I direct, though I have in all Probability saved her. But indeed she has too much encouragement from within doors to be thus obstinate; ignorant people say she is too weak, but everybody of sense knows that a vomit always strengthens a loaded stomach and her cough, her spits, and her heaving now and then indicated a bilious load. She may go on. I would save her; but she will not let me.

Jack P. Greene, ed., *The Diary of Colonial Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778*, The Virginia Historical Society, Richmond: 1987, Vol. 1, pp. 194, 211, 219, Vol. 2, p. 994.

[Published books describing folk medicine cures were common and popular. One of the most popular was written by John Wesley. He noted that his concern was for the common people and it was his purpose to give them "a plain and easy way of curing most diseases"; "to set down cheap, safe and easy medicines; easy to be known, easy to be procured, and easy to be applied by the plain, unlettered men." In uncommon or persistent cases, he advised "every man without delay to apply to a Physician that fears God."]
John Wesley, Primitive Physic, 1747 first printing, also 1776 (London, R. Hawes.) p. 5.]

To Cure Baldness

Rub the part morning and evening, with onions, till it is red, and rub it afterwards with honey. Or, wash it with a decoction of boxwood. Or, electrify it daily.

Warts

Rub them daily with a radish.

Or, water in which sal ammoniac is dissolved.

Or, with juice of marigold flowers: it will hardly fail.

Or, apply bruised purslain as a poultice, changing it twice a day.

It cures in seven or eight days.

John Wesley, Primitive Physic, 1747 first printing, also 1776 (London, R. Hawes.) p. 33 and 93.

[Appendix III of Harold B. Gill's Apothecary in Colonial Virginia (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), included Dr. John de Sequeyra's account of diseases common in Virginia between 1745 and 1781. Included here are his accounts for 1763, 1773, and 1774]

[1763] *We have had this Winter some slow Fevers, as also a Fever attended with a Pain on the side (tho' not truly pleusitic) it required purging & a Blister on the affected Part, & seldom any bleeding.*

There was, as I am informed, a contagious Fever in Charles City & on the other side of the River, of which many People died. I suppose it was the same Fever that had reigned in Gloucester & other parts of the Country in the year 1759.

The Fevers with a slight inflammation on the Breast continued in the Spring: We had a few intermittents.

In these mixed Fevers, bleeding was now necessary, then a Vomit & afterwards a gentle purge & cordials.

Children were taken this Summer with Remittent Fevers accompanied with Worms; purging often was of Service, & in the intermediate days, a Cordial mixture with Wild Valerian Root.



Medicinal treatment relied on treating symptoms and the understanding of the cause of disease was in its infancy (C84-323 62-221,11)

Sometimes they had a troublesome purging with this Fever, in which case a mixture with a small quantity of Ipecacoanha & confection of Alkermes was used with success.

The Hooping-Cough is still Epidemic, as also some few Fluxes.

In the Fall the intermittents were very troublesome; we had also a few Remittent Fevers.

The Hooping-Cough still continues.

The Mumps are Epidemic; it is necessary to bleed first; afterwards two or three gentle Purges.

[1773] This Winter produced some inflammatory Complaints of the Breast; as also the same Peripneumonia Notha biliosa as the precedent winter; but it was more epidemic & more dangerous; many people died of it, specially Negroes.

In the Spring a very Malignant Fever among the Negroes of Colo Harrison broke out & killed a great many of his slaves. [supposed to have been occasion'd by eating Putrid Fish the Colo having caught prodigious quantities of Shad, which were distributed among his slaves with but little allowance of Salt. J.M.G. (John Minson Galt)].

The Summer brought on the Measles, & became very epidemic; they generally were of a good kind; tho' some were very bad with a purging — As the hot weather advanced, they became very bad, & were attended with a Flux generally after the Measles had passed the Crisis, & some several days after it; many people died specially children.

Grown People had also purgings & Fluxes without having the Measles, & were very bad with it.

Intermittent Fevers appeared so soon as the Month of June, which is very uncommon — about the middle of August appeared some remittent bilious Fevers; these required several vomits & purges, & a mixture made up with Sal Polychrest & vitriolated Tarter between the Evacuations; the Bark didn't succeed in these Fevers; there were also intermittents of all sorts specially quotidians, with these the Bark was of service but not in the beginning & before they were sufficiently evacuated. These Disorders continued in the Fall, as also Quartans — Some Patients with the Remittent Fevers sweated much all over the Body, but without any relief; they were rather worse by it; & I advised them to prevent them as much as possible by keeping on their cloths & laying upon the bed, when they were tired with seating up; as also by keeping the Room cool, & pursued the method of Cure as above.

[1774] The Winter produced some Colds, & Bilious Peripneumonies; After the Inflammation was removed gentle Purges were of Service; but when attended with Expectorations, the purges were left, & drinking plentifully of pectoral Decoctions was of service. In the Spring a few intermittent Fevers & Colds, but were easily cured.

In the beginning of summer an Eruption all over the Body attacked several People; bleeding, a gentle Purge, & afterwards a few Doses of nitre proved of benefit. The Measles still continue in this Town & several parts of the Country. -Several young Children have died of a Purging, which is now & then accompanied with Cough. In the latter End of July & in August a Remittent Fever with great Yellownes in the skin & Eyes — some had the Jaundice with very little or no Fever — It was accompanied with great sickness on the Stomach & vomiting; this latter symptom was very troublesome till the Bile flow'd

downwards. Vomits were of no great service, gentle Purges with vitriolated tartar answer'd better.

The Fall brought on many intermitting Fevers, which required great evacuations of the Bile, before the Bark was administered.

The Apothecary in Colonial Virginia, Harold G. Bill, Jr., University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville: 1972, pp. 105-106, 111-113.

2. Accidents and Illness of Infants and Children

[Observations of Francis Taylor, a late eighteenth-century bachelor planter from Orange County]

1789 Jan. 15 . . . a Negro child belonging to Hub'd Taylor died last night of the Whooping Cough.

Jan 16 Hear that another of H. Taylor's negro children died last night of the whooping cough.

Mar. 6 C. Taylor had been to the overseers & cut a toe of a child of Rachels off which had got hurt last week.

Mar. 8 Some negro children very sick and took physick

...
1791 May 31 R. Taylor. . . said his youngest child has very sore eyes & was going to C. Taylor's.

...
1792 Jan.30 R. Taylor . . . at C. Taylors for something for his children, who have the Whooping Cough.

Feb. 2 Mrs. James came here last night to Eliza's house, where my father's Sary had come to lie in – Sary delivered of a Boy this morning – Mrs. James came to the house and breakfasted & then was sent home.

...
1797 Mar. 19 I sent for C. Taylor to see Sary's child—He. . . . directed Castor Oil . . . wch I understood operated well.

Mar 21 Sary's child continues sick. . .

Mar 24 Sary's child died.

Blanton, Wyndham B. *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century*. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1931, Appendix III.

[October 16, 1797]. . . one of the little negroes reciev'd a terrible wound from the fall of a horse, the child was very ill – Aunt Hill sent for Doctr. Williamsbon but he did not come. William K. Bottorff and Roy C. Flannagan eds., "The Diary of Frances Baylor Hill of "Hillsborough" King and Queen County Virginia (1797)" in *Early American Literature Newsletter* 2 (Winter 1967), p. 44.

[James Gordon and his brother John were staunch Presbyterians who came from County Down in Ireland in 1738. James lived in a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738 in the Northern Neck and was instrumental in the growth of Presbyterianism there]

12 June 1759 . . . Betty ill with measles, Molly is likewise taken . . .

16 June Nancy, Molly & Betty have the measles, & about 10 of the negroes . . .

23 June Sent to Dr. Flood. Poor Molly's mouth is very ill; but Scipio returned with medicine for her. Near 20 of our people (negroes) down with the measles.

...
6 July . . . All our family have had the measles now—about 30. I thank God they seem in a recovering way

...
14 Aug . . . Jamey very ill with the whooping cough & we are afraid of Molly & Betty getting it.

...
12 Oct My dear little Betty very ill & several of our family are now sick. The great God who made us must know what is best for us, Therefore we should endeavor to submit to His will in all things.

29 June 1763 Thos. Tapley came to let me know that Jamey was taken with a fit, so I rode to the School-house immediately to see him. But blessed by God, he was much recovered. . . .

"Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va.", William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st series, Vol. 11, pp. 105-107, 110, Vol. 12, p. 7.

[Letters to family and friends in England from successful Williamsburg apothecary, a University of Edinburgh graduate, whose house (core of the St. George Tucker House) fronted on Palace Street in the 1750s]

Your friendly letter with regard to my dear boy gave me great satisfaction. . . . I have sent a bag of our fine Gloster Hickory nuts for Georgy. A little citron for his holiday teething. I desire Sukey may partake with him. I take the liberty also of troubling her also with a guinea for him, to be delivered in sixpences or shillings as she sees proper.

Brock Manuscript Notebook, Huntington Library, microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Library, p. 158. George Gilmer to Capt. John Tate, December 29, 1752.

[In early January 1709/10, wealthy planter William Byrd II had to contend with a pregnant wife who was often ill before she miscarried in mid-February, a young son fretful with teething, a young daughter who was in on the 13th, and fear that the distemper that sickened ten slaves at a neighbor's plantation might spread to his slaves]

[3 Jan 1710] News was brought that the distemper was at Captain Stith's where he had ten negroes sick of it. . . . My wife was very sick. . . . My son [Parke, Sept. 1709- June 1710] began to breed teeth which disordered him. . . .

[4 January] . . . Mrs. Ware sent her daughter over to live with my wife. . . .

[5 January] . . . My wife was very much indisposed in her head. . . .

[13 January] . . . My daughter [Evelyn 1707-1737] was not well & took a purge which did not work much. My wife was severe to her because she was fretful.

Louis B. Wright and Marian Tirling, eds., The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712. Richmond: p.125-126, and 129.

[Landon Carter, widower son of Robert "King" Carter who lived at Richmond County plantation Sabine Hall with his son Robert Wormeley Carter and his family]

[April 9, 1758] My daughter Sukey went to Mr. Hamilton's [planter in Richmond County, good friend of Carter's] the 9th or 10th of March and was taken with an ague and fever the 11th or 12th which never left her till the 24th or 25th; . . . [she is now sick again] Her maid Winney was taken ill there and not hearing of it she fell into a Continual fever which held her 6 days. I fetched her home last night and gave her some weak decoction Rattle snake. . . although she was big with child I ordered her 25 grains ipecacuanha this morning. . .

[April 17] . . . Last night little Sarah, Winney's child dyed. She was taken a fortnight past with a fever and ague, then very common in the family. . . But she has ever been a lean, meagre, sickly child now near 7 year old... Winney a great deal better although affected with the death of her child.

[April 25] This morning Mr. Gilbert Hamilton (at whose house my dear little Susannah has been ever since her last illness) sent me an account of her death Certainly approaching... and dying very hard under the Severe agonys of her disorder, Yet does she preserve her usual Patience to such a degree that he never saw such an Example before. . . [he continues saying he had hoped she would be a comfort to him when he was old]

[July 30, 1766] [after describing his treatment for his daughter's vomiting] It is difficult for a father to practice on his child but as I cannot get the doctor I have ventured the best I can and flatter myself it has pleased God to suffer the method to be prudent and successful.

[Sept 11-12, 1771] This is a strange ague and fever Season; they have advanced upon us all on a Sudden, although we have not been without them this whole year, I may say. The whole neighbourhood are almost every day sending to me. I serve them all. Many of my negroe children have been se[i]z'd with it as well as the grown people. . .

[next day] These little children with their worms very bad yet...

[Jan 27, 1772] [his grandson Landon] will not take anything to cure him: anything that he fancies Physick he will not take for father, mother, nor for me. This has these fools brought to their son by taking him both of them from me who was only going to give him a gentle correction when a child.

Greene, Jack P., ed. *The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1965, Vol. 1, pp.. 214, 218, 221, 323, Vol. 2, p. 627.

[Wealthy planters could afford to call on the services of local physicians when their children became ill or were hurt accidentally]

March 17th Little George got a severe Fall at his Uncle [Beale] & cut his upper lip most in two; I employed Dr. Thompson to him; gave him 20/.

Daybook of Robert Wormeley Carter of Sabine Hall. *Virginia Magazine of History*. Vol 68, p. 307.

[Egocentric self portrait (written when she was 32) of the eldest child of John Parke Custis and his wife Eleanor]

When [my father] arrived at that age [of nineteen] & my Mother not sixteen, they were united. . . eighteen months had elapsed since their union when my Parents were

blessed with a daughter who was the first pledge of Love such as few can feel—but while her fond Parents gazed upon her each day with new delight, she was attacked by a violent illness, & Died—to releave my Mothers distress, was her husband's unremitting care. . . My Mothers situation required her return to her fathers house—where twelve months after the Birth of their first child your friend came to supply her loss... I had the small pox. I was attack'd by the Hooping cough which almost killed me—but I was not destined to die...sixteen monthes after my birth my Sister Peter succeeded and at the same distance of time Mrs. Lewis [another sister] came to gladden the hearts of her friends—my Mother had twins, two girls who died in three weeks, & soon after my Brother was born.

. . . I will mention one event which I have never forgotten, going with the other children into a House where the Negroes picked cotton, I took a cotton seed & put it up my nose—that night I suffered great pain but my father reproving me for complaining I stifled my groans, & lay in much misery till morning— he call'd me to him, & after many efforts got out the seed— then saying with sternness—you have kept me awake all night & distress'd both your Parents by doing this now I will punish you, to prevent your thus acting again—he then laid me across his knee & whipped me severely, when he put me down, my proud heart swelled with anger I did not mind the pain he inflicted, but he had disgraced me before the other children for a circumstance which only injured me— had he spoken one kind word, I should have been subdued—but I thought he was unjust I felt he had degraded me— I resolved not to incur humiliation again, & do not recollect his correcting me after this time—

"Eliza Parke Custis, Self-Portrait, 1808" Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. 53, pp. 91-94.

Gentlemen, Accidents of peoples falling into the water are so frequent, especially in Places of Trade, from Ships, Wharfs, &c. and many who were known to have lain but a very short Time in the Water have been found irrecoverable by any Application hitherto practiced, I should therefore be glad you would publish the following Case in your Gazette.

I am, Gentlemen, your most humble Servant,

ALEXANDER GORDON

NORFOLK, November 19, 1771

Some Time ago I was called to a Negro Child, about two Years old, and about a Quarter of a Mile distant from my Shop. The messenger told me the Child was drowned, by falling, with its head downwards, into an Iron Pot, full of Water; and in fact I found the Child in all Appearance dead, the Body being cold, with a total Extinction of every Sign of Life, but it was not certainly known how long the Child had been in the Water.

With some Difficulty I introduced the Handle of a Spoon between the child's Jaws; and happening to have a Vial with Spirits of Hartshorn and Lavender in my Pocket, I mixed it with about as much warm Water. Of this Mixture I poured a Spoonful into the Child's Mouth; and after repeating it, at short Intervals, two or three Times, I had the Pleasure to observe an Effort to breathe, and soon after the Pulsations of the Wrists became perceptible.

By turning the Handle of the Spoon edgewise, the Child's Mouth was forced more open, by which Means I was able with my Fingers to take Hold of some very tough Phlegm,

which I presume the Efforts, however feeble, the Organs of Respiration were making, stimulated into Action by the Spirits of Hartshorn, had pushed up into the Mouth.

By continuing the Spirits, only a little more and more diluted with water, as the Parts recovered their Sensibility, with now and then the Assistance of the Fingers, a very large Quantity of congealed Phlegm was discharged, and next Morning the Child was perfectly well.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) December 12, 1771, p. 3.

Boston . . .

Thursday last a child about 4 years old was run over by a horse, and killed upon the spot.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) 27 July 1769, p. 2.

In the hurricane which happened a few days ago, a house near the lower church in Charles City was blown down, by which accident a child about seven weeks old was killed, its mother dreadfully wounded, and another of her children so terribly hurt, that its life is despaired of. Several horses, cows, and other cattle, are also destroyed.

Virginia Gazette (Pinckney) Sept 14, 1775, p. 2.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[2 September 1774] Extreme hot to day--Yesterday a Negro Child about six years old sickened as to appearance with the Ague & Fever, & to Day about eleven in the morning it expired! It is remarkable that the Mother has now lost seven successively, none of which have arrived to be ten years old!

Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed., Colonial Williamsburg Inc., Williamsburg, VA., 1957, p.182

[John Locke noted health issues in his childrearing and education suggestions]

And thus I have done with what concerns the Body and Health, which reduces it self to these few and easily observable Rules. Plenty of open Air, Exercise and Sleep; Plain Diet, no Wine or Strong Drink, and very little or no Physick; not too Warm and straight Clothing, especially the Head and Feet kept cold, and the Feet often used to cold Water, and exposed to Wet.

John Locke, Some Thoughts Concerning Education, ed. By John W. And Jean S. Yolton. Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1989, p. 102.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them]

I share deeply your worry about your Charles. You seem in your letter to have little hope and perhaps by the time you receive this, it will only bring back sorrows which time had somewhat healed. Yet the hope of possibly being of service makes me risk reopening the wound. In my family I have had little experience since George and Caroline are never sick

and my poor Louise's condition is beyond the reach of medical help, but in the past year I have seen two miraculous cures of negro children who were at death's door from nothing more than worms and who were cured by the use of "Carolina Pinkroot." I recall having seen you give it to your children. . . I mention this herb to you because it probably is not commonly used in Antwerp, but it has a very high reputation here. My husband is almost as concerned as I, dear Sister, about your child. You know that [Charles] was his favorite...I do so hope that he has recovered, but if our prayers have been futile, even though these blows are hard to bear, the high opinion I have of your courage and piety assure me that you will endure it with resignation. At such times, only religion provides us any real comfort.

There is great similarity in our situations, dear Friend, and perhaps mine is worse since I have not the slightest hope for my poor Louise. . . . My only consolation is that she does not suffer. She has a nurse who gives her very good care and is as attached to her as if she were her own. . . .

My little Eugenie is as strong and robust as a little savage, mischievous, and always in motion. Of all my children, she is the one who has given the least trouble and the most joy. She never looks at anyone without smiling and is loved by all. I would have liked, this time, a longer interval of repose, but I find myself once again "in an increasing way."

Callcott, Margaret Law. *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. pp. 175-176. Rosalie Calvert to her sister Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, 10 December 1807.

3. Accidents and Illness of Adults

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them]

I feel like I'm in prison here since your departure, and even more so since the unhappy occurrence that I can't stop crying about. [Rosalie had receive a letter on August 17th telling of the death of her mother on April 22nd.] *I don't enjoy anything. My friends, my husband, all try to distract me and in company I try to be cheerful, but it's forced.*

It is only eight days since I went out for the first time after having been confined to my room for seven weeks and to my bed for four weeks, because, dear Father, I have once more had an inflammatory bilious disease- more severe than last year's. You will understand [how grave it was] when I tell you that in ten days I was bled seven times, took an enormous amount of medicine of all kinds, and had five vesications all at the same time- one on my chest, two on my arms, and two on my legs. I received the Holy Sacrament, gave instructions for the education of my daughters- in short, I did not believe it possible to recover. However, it pleased God to spare me once again and I am beginning to regain a little strength, although very slowly.

Callcott, Margaret Law. *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. pp. 100, and 273. 28 September 1804 to her sister, Isabelle

van Havre and Rosalie Calvert, Riversdale 22 October 1814 to her father, H. J. Stier.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[25 February 1774] Mrs Carter better – The Day pleasant – There is a report that the Jail-Fever, or Yellow or putrid Fever, is at one Mr. Atwel's on potowmack, in this County; that it was brought in a Ship which came lately with convict Servants; that two have already died, one this morning: & that many of Mr Atwells Slaves are infected!

Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, Hunter Dickinson Parish, ed., Colonial Williamsburg Inc., Williamsburg, VA., 1957, p. 68.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]

[September 18, 1759] Took a purge in hopes it will carry off my ring worms, which torment me so much.

[September 16, 1760] Took a vomit to-day, but it did not work well. Very unwell.

[September 17, 1760] Had a severe ague, which held me about three hours, then fever. Rested very ill.

[September 18, 1760] Took bitters all day. But little or no rest at night.

[September 20, 1760] Began to take the Bark, as my disorder is so severe. Took nine doses to-day, which I hope will prevent my disorder's returning.

"Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va.," in William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st. Ser. Vol. 11, pp. 108, and 202 -203.

[Accidents like this one, could delay or halt the progress of work at hand]

[April 22, 1785] My Servant William (one of the Chain Carriers) fell, and broke the pan of his knee wch. put a stop to my surveying; & with much difficulty I was able to get him to Abingdon, being obliged to get a sled to carry him on, as he could neither Walk, stand, or ride;

The Diaries of George Washington, Vol IV (1784-June 1786). Edited by Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twoiling. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978, p. 125.

[Some slaves were truly skilled in healing; however others only pretended to be]

September 2, 1788

RUN-AWAY from the subscriber, on the 2d of September, a likely negro man slave, named ROMEO, about twenty-four years old, five feet six inches high, and well proportioned; . . . is fond of prescribing and administering to sick negroes, by which he acquired the nickname of Doctor among them, a name perhaps he may attempt to pass by; he reads, writes, and knows something of figures, and for some time before his departure had exercised his talents in giving passes and certificates of freedom to run-away slaves; but made his escape a few days before the detection. . . . He is acquainted in most parts of this state, takes care of a horse and waits tolerable well, but in respect to other work he is both awkward and lazy. . . .

Austin Brockenbrough.

Virginia Independent Chronicle (Davis), March 4, 1789, in Lathan A. Windley, comp., Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Vol. 1: Virginia and North Carolina. Westport,

CT: Greenwood Press, 1983, p. 404.

[Historian, Cathy Hellier's September 1987 interpreter article, "Williamsburg at Mid-century: A Population Profile," states that this account of the smallpox is "generally supposed to have been compiled by Dr. John de Sequerya. See also William Maxwell's reprint of the list in the Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. 63, pp. 269-274. Using the York County Project files, Cathy Hellier identified the first names that appear in brackets on the list]

A True State of the Small Pox Feby 22, 1747/8

Famylys	Recover'd	Dead	Sick	Not Yet Taken	
Sir Wm. Gooch, Bart	32	-	-		
Honble Jno Blair	50	4	-	-	<i>Mr. Blair: 3 Chldren & a fellow with a large abcess broke in his Liver & a stricture with great decay in the left lobe of his Lungs to ye Mediast [inum] Diaphragm chest & ascending vesicles of the Thorax.</i>
Dr. Dawson [William]	17	-	-	-	
The Coledge [College]	38	3	-	-	<i>a woman of 80 an Infant & Mr. Bryan.</i>
Mr. Dudley Diggs	7	-	-	-	
Wray [James]	31	4			
Dr. Amson [John]	9	1			<i>His Coachman in the confluent kind & very bad habit.</i>
Mrs. Holloway [Elizabeth, widow of John]	10	2	-	-	<i>A White Ser^r with the purples, & a child.</i>

Famyls	Recover'd	Dead	Sick	Not Yet Taken	
Mr. Bird [James]	8	-	-	-	
Lindsay [Andrew]	3	-	-	-	
Mrs. Tyce	1	1	-	-	<i>an elderly Crazy Woman.</i>
Alex: Reed	2	-	-	-	
Mr. Atkins [Thomas]	2	-	-	-	
Ann Stevens	2	-	-	-	
McKoy	-	-	-	2	
Windsor	2	1	-	-	<i>a very old man, bad habit & poor nursing</i>
Hornsby [Thomas]	14	1	-	-	<i>an Infant</i>
Tarpley [Elizabeth]	14	1	-	-	<i>a Negro boy</i>
Chas Jones	3	1	-	-	<i>an old Woman</i>
Mrs. Blakely [Katherine]	6	-	-	-	
Mr. Crease [Thomas]	2	-	-	-	
Clark [John]	4	-	-	-	
Wheatly [John]	5	-	-	-	
Geddy [Anne]	10	2	-	-	<i>old Negro Man & Woman</i>
Hubbard [William]	6	-	-	-	
Page [John]	-	-	-	3	
Wells [George]	4	-	-	-	
Taylor [John]	14	2	-	-	<i>An old man & an Infant</i>

Famylys	Recover'd	Dead	Sick	Not Yet Taken	
Lane [John]	5	-	-	-	
Parks [William]	13	1	-	-	Mr. Parks Store keeper by a severe putrid fever following; increased by cold
Steel [Mary]	4	-	1	-	
Orr [Hugh]	4	-	-	-	
Pattison [Ann] (for self)					
Mr. Waller [Benjamin]	16	-	-	-	
Prentis [William]	18	1	-	-	his Dr [daughter] Molly on ye Small Pox scabbing carried off suddenly before the Dr could get down.
Finney [Alexander]	3	1	-	-	An old Wench of Burdets
Weatherburn [Henry]	7	1	-	-	An Infant born Xmas Day.
Scrivener [Joseph]	3	-	-	-	
Vobe [Thomas]	2	-	-	-	
Cosby [Mark]	14	1	-	-	his Wife
Rice	3	-	-	-	
Bennett [Thomas]	1	-	-	-	
Penman [Thomas]	3	-	-	-	
Jas. Shields [James]	3	1	-	-	Negro fellow

Famyls	Recover'd	Dead	Sick	Not Yet Taken	
Stott [John]	3	-	-	-	
Webb [Frances]	9	-	-	-	
Palmer [John]	5	2	-	-	2 Negroes
Dr. McKenzie [Kenneth]	7	-	-	-	
Dering [William]	5	-	-	-	
Davis [James]	3	2	-	-	his Wife thro: carelessness choak'd with Flegm & Child
Gilmer [George]	13	1	-	-	his Dr [daughter] with a pleurisie
Jackson	2	-	-	-	
Attorney [Peyton Randolph]	19	4	-	1	
Colo. Brent [Brun]	2	-	-	-	
Mrs. Forey [Elizabeth Force?]	4	-	-	-	
Davenport [Joseph]	16	-	-	-	
Charleton [George]	3	1	-	-	an apprentice Boy
Anderson [Andrew]	14	-	-	-	
Coke [John]	19	-	-	-	
Jno. Holt	11	1	-	-	a Negro with the confluent kind
Cock [Joseph]	7	1	-	-	an apprentice
Wyatt [William]	7	2	-	-	a Child & one of ye Prisoners
Pegram [Sarah]	3	1	-	-	her Husband

Familylys	Recover'd	Dead	Sick	Not Yet Taken	
Selkirk	-	-	-	1	
Bradford	3	1	-	-	her Child
Dickenson [Thomas]	6	-	-	-	
King [Walter]	5	-	-	-	
Carter [John H.]	3	-	-	-	
Fleming	1	-	-	-	
Hay [Peter]	7	-	-	-	
Gilliam [Joseph]	1	-	-	1	
Stevenson [Robert]	10	3	-	1	his Wife in Child bed & Child
Nimmo [William]	5	-	-	-	
Custis [John]					not yet taken
Phillips	3	-	-	-	
Dickson [Obedience]	11	1	-	-	Young man of the Secretarys Office
Colo Jones [Thomas]	19	1	-	-	his son Gatesby
Eliz: Leprea	9	-	-	-	
Turner	18	1	-	-	an old Man
Armstd Burwl [Armistead Burwell]	14	-	-	-	
Oates [James]	3	-	-	-	
Cripp [Martha]	3	2	-	-	
Dun [William]	2	-	-	-	

Famyls	Recover'd	Dead	Sick	Not Yet Taken	
Moody [Matthew]	2	-	-	5	
Nichols [Nicholas, Abraham?]	-	-	8	-	
Lavie [James]	-	-	-	1	

Virginia Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Box 1 (1606-1772), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

4. Death of Infants and Children

[George Washington on step-daughter's death]

June 1773

18. *Every one but Miss Reed & Miss Nelly Calvert went away after Breakfast. In the Afternoon my Bror. Jno. his wife, Daughter Jane & young Child came here.*
19. *At home all day. About five oclock poor Patcy Custis Died Suddenly.*
20. *Colo Fairfax & Lady as also Mr, Masses dind here - Patcy Custis being buried - the first went away. Mr. Massey stayd.*

Jackson, Donald, ed., The Diaries of George Washington University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville: 1978, pp. 187-188.

To Burwell Bassett

Mount Vernon, June 20, 1773

Dear Sir: It is an easier matter to concieve, than to describe the distress of the Family; especially that of the unhappy Parent of our Dear Patsy Custis, when I inform you that yesterclay removed the Sweet Innocent Girl Entered into a more happy and peaceful abode than any she has met with in the afflicted Path she has hitherto trod.

She rose from Dinner about four o'clock in better health and spirits than she appeared to have been in for some time; soon after she was seized with one of her usual Fits, and expired in it, in less than two minutes without uttering a word, a groan, or scarce a sigh. This sudden, and unexpected blow, I scarce need add has almost reduced my poor Wife to the lowest ebb of misery; which is encreas'd by the absence of her son, (whom I have just fixed at the College in New York from whence I returned the 8th Inst) and want of balmy consolation of her Relations; which leads me more than ever to wish she could see them, and that I was Master of Arguments powerful enough to prevail upon Mrs. Dandridge to make this place her entire and absolute home. I should think as she lives a lonesome life (Betsey being married) it might suit her well, and be agreeable, both to herself and my Wife, to me most assuredly it would.

I do not purpose to add more at present, the end of my writing being only to inform

you of this unhappy change.

Our Sincere Affections are offered to Mrs. Bassett, Mrs. Dandridge, and all other Friends, and I am very sincerely,

Fitzpatrick, John C., ed., The Writings of George Washington. Washington: 1931 Vol. 3, p. 138. George Washington, Mount Vernon, 20 June 1773, to Burwell Bassett, Martha's brother.

[Norfolk residents, James Parker and his wife, to a fellow business friend who had returned to Scotland]

[20 October 1769] We have been unfortunate enough to loose our last little boy (James) he appeared to be a fine Hearty child, but was taken with a fever at 2 months old of which he died in a few days, his mother has not yet got over the loss, I was in a fair way of having a pretty large famillie once, of which I think I should have been very fond but the poor Indian is all remaining out of five & him I must part with next summer, or have him bred a blockhead.

[10 November 1769] how shall I describe what I have felt lately for the loss of my Dear little boy, as lovely a child as could possibly be of two months old. I recieved your kind letter congratulating me on his birth the day he died. I am afraid I repine more at the loss than one ought to do but I have been so unfortunate with my Dear little ones that I believe nothing but time that wears of every affliction in some measure can mitigate mine I am so affected I scarcely know what I write.

Charles Steuart Papers, Original: National Library of Scotland, microfilm Colonial Williamsburg Library. James Parker, Norfolk, 20 October, to Charles Steuart and Margaret Parker to Charles Steuart, 10 November 1769.

[Letters to family and friends in England from successful Williamsburg apothecary, a University of Edinburgh graduate, whose house (core of the St. George Tucker House) fronted on Palace Street in the 1750s]

[August 1, 1753] Your tender regard for my boy merits my best esteem. I am sorry his thoughts stray to Virginia before his time. I hope he will improve it to a better advantage where he is and please all his kind friends there as well as his dear Parents here. Mrs Gilmer joins in kind compliments to yourself and Sukey on your last girl. I hope you will mind to get as many boys. Poor Harry has lost me another boy christened Billy, which has affected her very much. She still keeps very low. What another boy will do to divert her I cannot tell-only I am trying at it. Jack grows a lovely boy. He goes to school [at Mr Wyatt's]. . . . I am afraid the variety of fine girls at his school will give him different ideas.

Brock Manuscript Notebook, pp. 158-159, George Gilmer, 1 August 1753, to Capt. [John] Tate.

[Newly graduated from Princeton, this young Presbyterian came to Virginia in October 1773 and spent a year as tutor for the Robert Carter family at Nomini Hall]

[4 September 1774] I read Prays, by the desire of the Parents, at the Grave over the deceased Child Priscilla. Nancy, Fanny, Betsy, Ben, Bob, Harry, & Myself, & about forty or fifty Negroes were present. Neither the Father nor the Mother of the Child went out; imitating the examples they see in others, & stay from an affectation of overflowing Grief.

Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed., Colonial Williamsburg Inc., Williamsburg: 1957, p. 184.

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them]

[10 June 1804] *We are all well here. Caroline and George are still in Philadelphia. My little Julie is growing and becomes more interesting every day. She is very like the little angel I had the sorrow of losing last summer. I often think the Good Lord sent her to console me for that loss which I felt so deeply. No day passes, indeed no hour, that I don't think of her.*

[1 April 1809] *Now let us put our business affairs aside-I must tell you a little about myself. We have lost our poor little Louise. I have described her condition to you; for some time she grew weaker and weaker and on the 23rd of March it pleased God to call her to Him. It is a terrible thing to lose a child, but I am trying to bear it as best I can, submitting to God's will and bearing in mind that she is happier now than she could be here.*

[23 November 1813] *It is several months since I have written to you or had a letter from you. Since my 1st letter I have suffered more than I can express. I lost my youngest child, the delightful and lovable little Louise. Two of the other children have been very ill. I myself was at death's door and escaped only by a miracle, or rather by the grace of God who restored me to life when I thought I had only a few hours left in this world. Our neighborhood was stricken by an extremely malignant bilious disease which began its ravages in June and continued until November. All of our negroes were attacked at about the same time. We lost several, in addition to three of our house servants, among them an excellent children's nurse who can never be replaced. My little one was stricken towards the middle of July. Having no faith in the young doctor in Bladensburg, I employed one from Georgetown in whom, unhappily, I placed a degree of confidence that he did not deserve. He charged enormous fees for each visit and even so, was rarely willing to come out. My little angel died on the 18th of August-it was a blow, dear Father, from which I shall never recover. Two days later Eugenie fell ill. The doctors kept telling us that the fever was not contagious, but being convinced otherwise, I decided to go to Washington with my children where Eugenie recovered in a fortnight. When I left Riversdale, I thought I should never see it again since I felt that I had already gotten the poison, and two days later I fell ill, as did Charles. Henry was sent to Mrs. Peter's and escaped all danger.*

Charles and I were sufficiently recovered after a month and returned here in October. Caroline and George, fortunately were in Philadelphia, and my husband's good constitution protected him from the danger to which he was constantly exposed. Since we employed a doctor from Washington who could only come out every two or three days, [my husband] was obliged to go and see the sick negroes and had to bleed them nearly every day, often six to eight of them each morning-for that was the principal treatment.

Callcott, Margaret Law, ed. Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. pp. 201, 258-259, and 267.

[Diary of an Irish Presbyterian who settled on a large Lancaster County plantation in 1738]
[July 28, 1762] *Our poor little Sally has been very unwell for several days....we do not expect her recovery.*

[July 31, 1762] *Our poor little child Sally very ill, so that my wife went to Dr. Flood for medicine & directions for her, but of no service, as the child is so ill.*

[August 1, 1762] *About 9 o'clock our dear child left us. Oh, happy change! May we all be prepared for such, & may this awaken us to set our affections on things above!*

[August 2, 1762] *Our dear little Sally was this evening about 5 o'clock put into her grave, without the Church ceremony read over her, which I believed seemed to some very strange.*

"Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Va.," in William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st series, Vol. 11, p. 232.

October 1787 Negroe Peter a Servt of Col: F.L. Lee is now here, Peter on Saturday last was sent out for two barrels of Nails, and on his return home the horses in the Tumbler took fright near my Garden overset the Carriage and Peter was thrown out. He thinks that some of his Ribs are broken — I have felt his body but I acknowledge that I have not skill to discern in such a case.

Robert Carter Letter Book, Volume VIII (1787-1789), p. 23, Mss. Div. Duke University Library.

5. Death of Adults

[Rosalie Stier's family left Belgium and settled in Maryland where she married wealthy planter George Calvert. After the rest of her family returned to Europe in 1803, she corresponded with them]

The awful certainty that I will never again see the best mother ever is almost more that I can bear. . . . But now all I can remember is that I was a daughter before I was a wife and mother."

Callcott, Margaret Law. Editor, Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1992. p. 22. Rosalie Calvert, Riversdale, August 29, 1804, to her sister Isabelle van Havre.

[The loss of a son or daughter, whether as a child or as an adult, could have a devastating effect on parents]

. . . I have had many severe misfortunes but none equal to the great loss I met about 12 months past in the unexpected death of my Darling Son in the 22nd year of his age. If it had been the will of the Almighty to have spared him his poor mother & myself would have been blessed in the decline of Life, in having as dutiful a Son, & his Brothers would have reaped great advantage from his Advice & Instruction. I have the Happiness to tell you he was admired by his Relations when living & lamented by every one who knew him & is confessed to have been virtuous learned & Brave by those he was most intimate with. I endeavor to get over the Loss with all the resolution I am master of. Hoping he is much

happier than any he has left to strive against the Calamity of this world. . . . I am my dear Courtney your very much Obliged & affectionate Brother George Walker.

Mason, Frances N., editor, John Norton and Sons: Merchants of London and Virginia. Augustus M. Kelley, New York:, 1968. pp. 418-19. George Walker, Brunswick, 14 February 1779, to his sister Mrs. Courtney Waller Norton, London.

LAST saturday died at York, in the 97th year of her age, Mrs. Anne Gibbons, who has left behind her children, grand children, great grand children, and great great grandchildren.
Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) 25 August 1768, p. 3.

On Monday the 20th of November, Mrs. JUDITH GRIFFIN, daughter of Carter Burwell, Esq; was snatched away by a sudden and violent illness. She was the most affectionate and dutiful wife that ever blessed the marriage state, as pious and devout a spirit as ever was received into Christianity and performed every social call and duty in life with the greatest pleasure and sweetness; the best of women and the best of wives.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) 30 November 1769, p. 2.

Last Sunday morning died Mrs. Margaret Hornsby, the spouse of Mr. Thomas Hornsby, of this City, merchant. Her illness was short; but her life (not in the number of years, but in the discharge of every moral and religious duty) may truly said to have been long. To the most exemplary piety she joined the most extensive charity, wherever she found an object deserving it. Her death is sincerely regretted by all who had the happiness of her acquaintance, and her loss will be severely felt by the poor. Her remains were accompanied by all the principle inhabitants of this city.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) 1 March 1770, p. 3.

We hear from York, of another unfortunate Accident: A poor unhappy Woman of that Town, known by the Name of Drunken Frank, who too often disguis'd herself in Liquor, about a Fortnight ago, was so far overcome that way, that she lost her Life by it: 'Tis suppos'd she set fire to her cloaths by Accident, and was not able to help herself; for she was found lying in the Chimney Corner in her House, with her Cloaths burnt off her Back, and her Arms, Breast, and Body so miserably burnt, that she died last Thursday, a most melancholly Object. We hope this dreadful Example may be a Means to deter others too much addicted to excessive Drinking, from pursuing that pernicious Practice.

Virginia Gazette (Parks) 27 October 1738, p. 4.

On Friday the 5th instant, departed this life at the house of David Meade, Esq; in Nansemond, Miss ELIZABETH PRENTIS, in the 18th year of her age. She was the daughter of the late Mr. William Prentis, merchant of this city. Providence, whose blessings are sparingly, but wisely distributed, lent her to the world as a pattern for imitation. At a time of life when few pay more attention to religion than by conforming to its fashion, she

well knew and practised its principles. Her chearfulness, her humanity and benevolence, were the effusions of a heart panting to acquire happiness in herself, by imparting happiness to others. The pious care of her amiable parents had formed her for every pleasing social intercourse of life; and whilst she held in its utmost purity the mind and pleasing conduct of a virgin, she possessed a superiority of soul which would have adorned or dignified either sex, or any station. Thus formed to please on earth; thus fitted for a better place; Death (too formidable alas to many) to her seemed only as a necessary conductor to her proper residence: The bosom of her Father, and her God.

EPITAPH.

*If love for worth of ev'ry kind,
Which all can wish; which few can find,
E'er claim'd the tribute of a tear:
(Here lies a maid whom virtue warm'd,
With ev'ry pleasing grace adorn'd)
Stop traveller, and drop it here.*

Virginia Gazette (Rind) 11 October 1770, p. 3.

Colonel RICHARD JOHNSON, of Newcastle, a Gentleman of a benevolent and humane Disposition, mild and obliging in his Deportment, honest, just, and generous in his Transactions, a kind Husband and tender Father, a sincere Friend, and a sensible Companion, which endeared him to all his Acquaintances; he lived beloved, and died sincerely regretted.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 10 Oct. 1771, p. 3.

ON the 14th Instant died at Blandford, on Appamattox, in the fifty first Year of his Age Mr. SAMUEL GORDON, a Gentleman who carried on the mercantile Business in that Place, for many Years, with great Reputation, and by which he acquired an easy Fortune. For Hospitality, and Benevolence of Disposition, he has left few Equals; and, having no Children, his Charity to the Poor and Fatherless was unbounded. A Man possessing such Virtues could not fail to have many Friends; by whom, and all his Acquaintances, he is deeply regretted.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 25 April 1771, p. 3.

WILLIAMSBURG, November 12

LAST Monday died Mrs. SARAH PITT, Spouse to Doctor George Pitt, of this City, who bore a tedious Illness with much Christian Patience and Resignation, and was a Lady of a very amiable Character.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) 12 November 1772, p. 2.

[This student at the College of William and Mary was the sister of Helen Calvert Maxwell Read (see excerpts from her memoirs under "War")]

On Monday last died suddenly Mr. MAXIMILIAN CALVERT, eldest son to Maximilian Calvert, Esquire, of Norfolk. In Defiance of bodily Infirmities, he throughout showed a strong Resolution to improve his Mind by studying every Branch of useful Learning, and was eager to snatch at every Opportunity of informing himself in any Thing that related to Science, Morality, or Religion. His Parents can witness, that he was a most dutiful Son; his Relations that he was a most loving Kinsman; his Schoolfellows, that he was a most agreeable Companion; and the disturbed Writer of this rough Sketch of his Character, that he was the most tractable of Youths. To say no more, he had, at the Age of seventeen, the Manliness, the Benevolence, the Prudence, the Piety, that would have adorned the old Man of seventy.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 28 January 1773, p. 2.

ON the 4th instant died, of that painful and lingering disorder a cancer, Mr. ANTHONY HAY, master of the Raleigh tavern in this city. He underwent several severe operations, in his lip and face, for the disorder, at home; and at length went (unhappily too late) to Prince Edward, where he was some time under the care of Mrs. Woodson, famous for the cures she has made. His death is a heavy loss to his large family, to whom he was a tender husband and kind parent; and he is regretted by his acquaintances, as being a good citizen and honest man.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 13 December 1770, p. 2.

[Tombstone Inscriptions]

In Memory of Mrs. Christiana Campbell, late of Williamsburgh, Relict of Doctor Ebenezer Campbell, formerly of Petersburg, who departed this life 25th March, 1792, in the 70th year of her age. She was humane, generous, and kind, an affectionate and indulgent parent, Warm in her attachments, Sincere in her professions, An enemy to oppression, A friend to the distressed, The means whose relief she generously exercised and promoted. She lived respectably beyond the usual period of Mortality, Till life's taper gradually declined and died universally beloved as universally lamanted.

Dora C. Jett, Sketches of Major Folk and Where they Sleep. The Old Masonic Burying Ground, Fredricksburg, Virginia. Richmond: 1928, pp. 24-25.

Here lies,
in hopes of a joyful
Resurrections, all that was
mortal of JOHN GREENHOW,
late of this City, Merchant.
He was born in STAUNTON
near KENDAL in Westmoreland,
Great Britain, November the 12th
1724, & died the 29th August 1787,
after a very short Illness.
On his left side, lies ELIZABETH,

*the Daughter of JOHN TYLER
his second Wife,
who was born in JAMES CITY
the 30th. Jany. 1744, and died
of the Small Pox on July the 23rd, 1781,
which she endured with the greatest
Christian Fortitude & Resignation.*

Tombstone Inscription Bruton Parish Churchyard.

6. Death of Women in Childbirth

[11 Sept. 1797]
Monday.

Sister Polly rather better in the morning. Mr Hill went to Dunkirk, about 12 she began to grow worse, Aunt Hill sent for Mr Hill and Doctor Williamson, they did not come till evening & found her a great deal worse than they expect'd the Doct began to give her the bark in a high fever, she grew so much worse that they sent for Doctor Roberts he came after dark, went in to see her & said she was not in any danger and approv'd of what Williamson had given her. they set up with her all night & gave her bark. (Tuesday) she was sometimes better & then worse the whole day kept changing. Mrs Gwathmey Cousin Hillyard & Mr Hillyard came to see her, the Docts gave her bark & Laudanum which confus'd her head very much. Mrs Tigner came to set up with her the Neighbours were very good some of them came every night. (Wednesday) Sister Polly was very ill all day Aunt Temple, Aunt Hill, & several of the Neighbours came to see her and ! Oh the distress we were all in, expecting every minute to be her last, just in that condition she continued all night I set up the whole night and never clos'd my eyes. (Thursday) a little better in the morning. but Oh how soon the pleasing hope vanish'd into despair of her ever getting well, she continu'd extremely ill all day, toward the evening she seemed to be a little better, but in the night she grew worse again and Poor Dear creature kept growing worse & worse untill about 5 oclock which was the hour of her departure. no mortal can describe the distressing scean that follow'd after every thing being done by two very eminent



Parental death meant that many families were blended families, although marriage was lasting 20-25 years on average by the middle of the eighteenth century. (65 DW-3824)

Doctors & haveing had the best nursing to see her expire--! O how great the loss to her Dear & Affectionate Husband, as well as her tender relations, there were a great many of us to witness the affecting scene that presents its self to our view.-- (September 15). Woodberry we all staid here untill the evening then my poor Dear Sister was carri'd over to Aunt Hills the rest of us staid all night. (September 16) Mr Hill, Aunts, Cousins, Mama, I myself went over to Aunt Hills, there a great many relations & other people met to see our Affectionate Sister Buri'd, her Dear little Babe was also christen'd, Call'd Molly Brooke, Cousin Hillyard, Cousin Aggy & myself, Mr Hillyard, Mr John Hill & Broth William stood for it. (September 17) Papa, Mama, Sisters, & Brother went home left me to bring the baby down when she was old enough.

Frances Baylor Hill- Bottorff, William K. And Flannagan, Roy C. Eds. "The Diary of Frances Baylor Hill of "Hillsborough" King and Queen County of Virginia (1797), Early American Literature Newsletter, Volume II, No. 3, Winter 1967.

*Here sleeps in Jesus united to Him
by Faith and the Graces of a christian
life, all that was Mortal of Mrs. Ann Burges
once the tender and affectionate Wife
of the Rev. Henry John Burges,
of the Isle of Wight. She died 25th
December 1771 in giving Birth to an
Infant Daughter who rests in her Arms
She here waits the transporting Moment
when the Trump of God shall call her
Forth to Glory, Honour & Immortality.
Oh DEATH where is thy Sting?
Oh GRAVE where is they Victory?*

[Tombstone Inscription, Bruton Parish Churchyard.]

1. The Poor

Plantation owners typically assumed responsibility for slaves who became aged and decrepit, thereby reducing the number of persons who potentially might require public assistance; but the ranks of Virginia's free white poor, homeless, and unemployed continued to grow. In 1661 the Virginia government relegated to parish churches the task of caring for the indigent . . . The elderly, the orphaned, the vagrant, and the infirm were to be given shelter by local householders, who would be reimbursed from parish levies for the cost of providing food, lodging, and medical care. The able-bodied poor (men, women, and children, alike) were expected to earn their keep and commonly were bound out as servants. . . .

The text of the 1723 act reflects the Virginia Burgesses' determination to force poor but able-bodied persons to support themselves and to fulfill their tax obligations, a colonial version of "work-fare." The 1723 legislation was renewed in nearly identical form four years later. Four categories of paupers were described, each of which was treated separately. Vagabonds were bound out as servants in their home parishes whereas sick or disabled sailors, . . . became the legal and financial responsibility of the men who had deserted. Neglected children, whose parents were unable to support them . . . could be bound out as servants, in the same way orphans were to be provided care. So-called "lewd women," who gave birth to bastard children, would be fined 500 pounds of tobacco . . . Failure of these unwed mothers to pay the fine would result in their receiving twenty-five lashes.

. . . in May 1755, the rector and wardens of Bruton Parish Church in the capital city of Williamsburg petitioned the House of Burgesses for permission to operate "a Workhouse, where the Poor might be more cheaply maintained and usefully employed," . . . They attributed the "great Number of Idle persons that resort to the city of Williamsburg [and] who lurk about the Town" to an influx of indigent people during Public Times, when the legislature was in session. Vagrants then lingered on until they could fulfill the residency requirements that made them wards of Bruton Parish. . . .

The 1755 act for maintaining the poor literally added a social stigma to the colony's indigent, for every poorhouse inmate was obliged to display upon his person a colorful



Poor Laws, based on English precedent, were enacted to preserve the public peace. The Poorhouse in Williamsburg provided work for the indigent and was supported by the parish vestry. (C86-155, 62-221,2)

badge that identified him as a pauper in the care of the parish. These badges were to be worn conspicuously upon the right sleeve of the pauper's clothing, near the shoulder, "in an open and visible manner." The badges were made of blue, red or green cloth, as dictated by the vestry, and were imprinted with the name of the parish to which the poor person belonged. Anyone neglecting or refusing to wear his badge could receive up to five lashes and have his food allowance withheld. . . .

The poorhouse of Bruton Parish, whose vestry's initiative had led to the passage of the 1755 act, was located to the north of Williamsburg, near an inland port known as Capital Landing . . . The maps of two French cartographers, Desandrouin [1781] and St. Simone [1781] label the site of Bruton Parish's poorhouse, revealing that it was a complex composed of four or five buildings.

In 1978 archaeologists from the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology performed limited tests at the Bruton Parish poorhouse site, locating intact subsurface features. . . .

That poorhouses, in general, proved to be an ineffectual and uneconomical means of providing care for the indigent is well documented in the historical record. The cost of maintaining the poor of Bruton Parish was, of need, subsidized by the sale of three church-owned lots in the city of Williamsburg in 1762 and several other lots in 1765. The Bruton Parish poorhouse also was sustained in part by private donations, as evidenced by Lord Botetourt's having in 1770 contributed the sum of sixty pounds sterling toward its upkeep. Martha W. McCartney. "Virginia's Workhouses for the Poor: Care for 'Divers Idle and Disorderly Persons'" North American Archaeologist, Vol. 8 (4), 1987. pp. 288, 290-294, and 298.

2. Women and the Law

Documents from the colonial period contain a number of terms that described an individual's legal status by age. Underage, minor (or minority), and infant (or infancy) in England and Virginia described free persons who were under the age of twenty-one. Conversely, of age, of full age, and majority (or occasionally major) referred to free persons who had reached their twenty-first birthday and thus had come out of minority. Legally, ages of slaves of both sexes were important only for tax purposes: At sixteen years old the law required that they be added to their owners' list of tithables. Consequently the following discussion applies only to the free population of Virginia.

At first glance then, the interesting and important question of when free women in eighteenth-century Virginia came of age has a straightforward answer! In both England and Virginia during the colonial period all persons whether male or female were regarded as underage, or legal infants, until they reached twenty-one years of age. To quote William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, "the power of a father, I say over the persons of his children ceases at the age of twenty-one." Two handbooks published locally for Virginia justices of the peace confirm this rule for the colony. George Webb's The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace published in Williamsburg in 1736 notes the following, "At Common Law, every Person under the Age of One and Twenty Years is an Infant." Richard Starke's work under the same title published in Williamsburg

in 1774 contains a similar statement, "BY an Infant, or Minor, is meant any One who is under the Age of twenty one Years."

Feeling a bit giddy? Come on back down to earth! Straightforward answers are rarely what they seem. A multiplicity of circumstances--sometimes expressed in law, often not very clearly or consistently--served to blur the line between minority and legal adulthood. Moreover, marriage and inheritance laws, common practice and criminal law must be taken into account. As if to acknowledge this fluidity, following directly on the statement quoted above, Blackstone added:

or that point which the law has established (as some must necessarily be established) when the empire of the father, or other guardian, gives place to the empire of reason.

Thus while Virginia law limited minors' rights and enacted measures for their protection (especially orphans), it also permitted persons much younger than twenty-one to make certain decisions for themselves. Minors could not marry without consent of parents or guardian, but at ten years old they could bind themselves apprentices by their own consent and agreement, at fourteen choose a guardian, and at seventeen have the "produce of their owne labours" (if orphaned and not bound apprentices). Virginia lawmakers also invested minors in their late teens with certain important "adult" prerogatives. A 1727 Virginia law clarifying distribution of estates expanded minors' legal capabilities by granting them a measure of control over their estates and making no distinction between boys and girls:

any infant, above the age of eighteen years, by his or her last will and testament in writing, may dispose and bequeath the absolute right, property, and interest, of any slave or slaves where of he or she shall be possessed.

The act did not specifically mention land or personal property, but Starke noted that though the common law had not established precisely at what age an individual could will personal estate, it was generally allowed at eighteen years. Stark also stated that at seventeen an infant (minor) could legally take administration or prove a will.

The wording of many wills indicates that testators were aware that the law allowed eighteen-year-old minors to hold personal estate. Moreover, people in every day life recognized that their daughters might decide to marry before they were twenty-one years old and they appear to have equated marriage during minority with reaching majority of a kind. Consequently, especially before about 1760, it was not too unusual for testators to specify that bequests be delivered to their daughters or granddaughters at marriage or age eighteen (or some other late teen year), whichever came first.

Marriage remained an important benchmark for inheritance by women throughout the colonial period, but in York County wills of the 1760s and '70s the alternative had become "reaches her majority" or "comes of age" meaning twenty-one. Lawson Burfoot of Bruton Parish in 1765 stated that his children's slaves were not to be divided until his

daughter Sarah "comes of age or marries." Many like Frederick Bryan stipulated age twenty-one unless marriage came first: His daughter Frances Bryan inherited "£500 current money to be paid her at day of her marriage or arrival to the age of 21 years." James Crandall left his daughter Elizabeth £50, half when she turned 21, the other half at her mother's death. After the testator's death a legacy passed directly to the feme sole at the appointed age, but unencumbered land or personal property of a feme covert (married woman) was as much her husband's as her own because she could not convey property, make a valid contract, sue or be sued, execute a deed, or make a will without her husband's consent or participation.

Testators usually specified age twenty-one or majority for their male legatees, too. John Wynne left his grandson Thomas Wynne 150 acres of land when he "shall arrive at the age of 21 years." Likewise William Nelson's will stated that should either of his sons Nathaniel or William die "before he comes of age" the survivor was to have his share. Keep in mind, though, that the law allowed eighteen-year-old boys to take possession of their estates if the situation warranted it and there is the occasional reference to boys in their late teens taking on considerable responsibility. For instance in 1777 Messrs. Pasteur and Galt, apothecaries in Williamsburg, authorized their apprentice, eighteen year-old William Pelham, to "settle and collect their Partnership, and private accounts" and to discharge any debts of their own. (Remember, though, legally Pelham would not be eligible to serve in public office until he turned twenty-one.)

Finally, Virginia law did not exempt legal infants from culpability in criminal matters. Webb minced no words when he said that anyone under twenty-one was an infant "but this holds only in Civil Causes, for in Criminal Matters the Law regards the Age of Discretion, which is 14 Years." There are numerous exceptions to even that rule, however. . .

The long and short of it is, I can find nothing to substantiate the claim that free unmarried women in colonial Virginia legally reached their majority at eighteen and men at twenty-one. If there were exceptions to the "rule of twenty-one," they applied to both sexes alike.

Memo to Elaine Dawson from Linda Rowe, Subject: When Did Eighteenth-Century Virginia Women Reach Legal Majority? August 19, 1993.

3. Marriage and the Law

Under the common law, women and men gained certain rights and responsibilities after marriage. No longer acting simply as individuals, together they constituted a special kind of legal partnership, one in which the woman's role was secondary to the man's. Restrictions limited a married woman's ability to act at law. At marriage, her husband gained the right and responsibility for prosecuting suits in her name as well as his own. She could not institute a suit without him. In suits involving only the rights of the husband, the wife did not join. Such was the uneven nature of unity of person, which limited the activities of the wife while broadening those of the husband.

After marriage, women acting alone could not execute valid contracts. Nor could they convey the property they brought to their marriages or earned with their husbands.

They also lost the power to act as executors or administrators of estates and as legal guardians. With their husbands, however, *femes covertes* could do all of those things. Coverture notwithstanding, women who contracted, conveyed, and administered jointly rather than alone did so with the sanction of the law. Men, in contrast, did not need the consent of their wives in executing most contracts and conveyances, and never needed to join in actions as executors, administrators, and guardians. Men also possessed the legal right to devise their estates, whereas women could do so only with the express consent of their husbands. Even then, their right extended only to personal property.

Women who purchased or inherited land, or received it in a deed of gift, exercised the same powers they held over dower lands. Husbands could not alienate their wives' realty unless the women agreed. This rule evolved because of the differing provisions governing property owned by childless women and mothers. Under the common law, a woman without children held absolute rights to her own estate. Although her husband managed it during the marriage, at his death it did not become a part of his general estate. Instead, it remained in the possession of the widow, who in addition received a one-third share of her husband's real property as dower. Similarly, if the woman died first her husband did not inherit her estate. It returned to her own family. These provisions changed once a couple had a child. The husband became "tenant by the curtesy," the lifetime manager of his wife's estates. His new position resulted from the guardianship rights he exercised over their children. Only when he died would they inherit their mother's lands. Heiresses, then, had special rights and responsibilities over property. The law recognized their need to protect their own estates, safeguarding them in the only way it recognized as valid, by demanding evidence of their consent to all conveyances.

... Another Virginia case, *Harvey and Wife v. Pecks* (1810), concerned the same issues. In their attempt to overturn a sale of property made in 1745, the heirs of Lydia Peck claimed that she had been a victim of fraud and coercion. They noted that Lydia never signed the deed of conveyance executed by her husband, nor did any public record attest to her private examination. As their attorney argued, such evidence constituted adequate proof of coercion, for Lydia "must be presumed to have been under the coercion of her husband, without direct evidence to the contrary." The court agreed, noting that Lydia Peck "never relinquished her right" to the land in question.

Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1986, pp. 14-16, and 21.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I Alexander Purdie do make this to be my last will & testament in manner & form following to wit:

I give & devise to my nephew John Clackton one mourning ring of the value of £15 sterl.

I give & bequeath to my wife, Peachy the following negro slaves to her & her heirs forever to wit: Jack, Booker, Billy, Alice & her child, Billy.

I give & devise to my exrs. herein afternamed all the rest & residue of my estate both

real & personal to be sold by them or the survivor of them for the purposes herein aftermentioned either for ready money or on credit as they shall think fit & do hereby authorise my sd exrs. or the survivor of them to convey the same to the purchasers thereof & their heirs.

I give & bequeath to my sd wife Peachey & to her heirs one fourth part of all the money which may arise from the sales of my estate afsd except that part of the same which shall arise from the sales of the slaves.

I do hereby appoint my friends John Minson Galt & Robert Anderson exrs of this my will & also guardians to my children James, Hugh, & Alexander & to each of my sd exrs. I give & bequeath one mourning ring of the value of £15 sterl. each

I give & bequeath to my sons James, Hugh & Alexander all the rest & residue of the money arising by the sales of my estate to be equally divided between them & their respective parts to be paid them when they shall arrive at the age of 21 years & in case any of them shall die before they arrive at that age then his or their part to go to the survivor or the survivors jointly.

It is my desire that my wife & children remain in my dwelling house during the term of six months at the expence of my estate & that the servants or a sufficient number of them be kept there during that term to attend my sd children but in case my sd exrs. shall think proper to dispose of my sd children otherwise during that term they are to have power so to do & in that case they may proceed to the sale of the slaves as is before directed but my sd wife shall have the use of the dwelling outhouses & lotts during the sd term clear of any rent.

I direct that all my sons be bound out to trades at the discretion of their sd guardians the sd James immediately & the others whenever they shall be of a proper age & duly qualified & in the mean time I direct that they shall be educated & maintained at the expence of my estate & also that my sd exrs. give with every of them whatever apprentice fee they shall think proper.

I further direct that after discharging my debts & the legacies to my sd wife nephew & exrs. all the rest of the money arising by the sales of my sd estate be put to interest for the use of my sd sons to be paid them in manner before mentioned.

It is my will that the legacies & devises to my sd wife herein before mentioned shall go in lieu of dower.

IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand & affixed my seal this 12th day of April 1779.

Signed sealed published & declared by the testator and & for his last will & testament in presence of us

Thomas Russell
Joseph Hay
John May

April the 12th 1779 it is my further will & desire that all my ready money & outstanding debts be divided in the same manner & the rest of my personal estate that is to say one

fourth part thereof be allotted to my sd wife & one fourth part to every of my sd children under the same limitations as before is mentioned.

A. Purdie

York County Wills and Inventories 22, p. 419-420. Recorded 19 April 1779.

An Assignment of Elizabeth Prentis' Dower in the Lands and Slaves of her late Husband John Prentis decd was returned and is as follows. "Agreeable to an Order of York County Court bearing date the 18th day of December 1775 We the Subscribers have laid off and assigned unto Elizabeth Prentis her Dower in the Lands and Slaves of her late Husband John Prentis decd as follows, The two Rooms below Stairs at the East end of the dwelling House wherein the deceased lived in the City of Williamsburgh also the Cellars under them with the Use of the great passage and passage from the Cellars to the Cellar door with all the ground from the back door of the dwelling House Eastward to the partition of Kitchen and Washhouse including the Washhouse and the other Houses thereon also the ground to the East from the back door of the Washhouse to the end of the Lot with the Shed of the large Stable at the North West corner of said Lot also half an acre of ground adjoining Mr. Phillips's also one third part of a tract of Land in James City County and one third part of another Tract in the County of Surry Also the following Slaves Bob Frank Alex and Molly. And we do hereby Certifie that Daniel Prentis hath agreed with the Committe mentioned in the order of Court to rent that part of the Dower assigned to the said Elizabeth of the Houses and ground in the City of Williamsburgh for the time she continues in a State of Lunacy and to pay the said Committe annually the sum of twenty five pounds Current money the Rent commencing from the 15th day of January last. Also that Joseph Prentis hath agreed with the said Committe to Rent all the other Lands assigned to the said Elizabeth for the same time and to pay annually to the Committee the sum of ten pounds Current money the rent commencing the 15th day of January last Given under our hands this twelfth day of December one thousand seven hundred and seventy six.

York County Records, Orders and Bonds 4 (1774-1784): 181, recorded 16 December 1776.

4. Orphans and Children

[Legislation on orphan's estates in Virginia, 1705]

And be it further enacted, That every county court shall take good security of all guardians, for the estates of the orphans committed to their charge, and that they shall yearly inquire into such securities; and if any of them become defective or insufficient, shall cause new security to be given: and if it shall appear that the said estates are likely to be imbezzelled, or that the orphans are not taken care of, and educated according to their estates; then the said court shall have power to remove the said orphans (not being of age to choose their guardians) and their estates, and to place them under the care of such other persons, as to them shall seem most proper; always taking good security for the said orphans estates, that when the same shall become payable to the said orphans, they shall be paid without

making any abatement or allowance (other than of the profits of the said estates) for diet, cloathing, or any other matter whatsoever: And if the estate of any orphan be of so small a value, that no person will maintain him for the profits thereof, then such orphan shall, by direction of the court, be bound apprentice to some handicraft trade, or mariner, until he shall attain to the age of one and twenty years. And the master of every such orphan shall be obliged to teach him to read and write: And, at the expiration of his servitude, to pay and allow him in like manner as is appointed for servants, by indenture or custom. And if it shall appear, that any such apprentice be ill used by his master, or that he fails to teach him his trade, the court shall have power to remove him, and to bind him to such other person as to them shall seem most proper.

[Legislation on bastard children, 1769]

IV. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That every such bastard child shall be bound apprentice by the churchwardens of the parish, for the time being, wherein such child shall be born, every male until he shall attain the age of twenty-one years, and every female until she shall attain the age of eighteen years, and no longer; and the master or mistress of every such apprentice shall find and provide for him or her diet, cloaths, lodging, and accommodations fit and necessary, and shall teach, or cause him or her to be taught to read and write, and at the expiration of his or her apprenticeship, shall pay every such apprentice the like allowance as is by law appointed for servants, by indenture or custom, and on refusal, shall be compellable thereto in like manner. And if, upon complaint made to the county court, it shall appear that any such apprentice is ill used, or not taught the trade or profession to which he or she may be bound, it shall be lawful for such court to remove and bind him or her to such other person or persons as they shall think fit.

William W. Hening. *Statutes at Large . . . Laws of Virginia*. Philadelphia: Thomas Desilver, 1823. Vol. 3, p. 375 and Vol. 8, p. 376.

4. Slave Law

Even when the physical basis for a nuclear family among slaves -- the presence of a husband, wife, and their children -- existed, as it did for a significant minority, this type of family did not function as it did for free people, whether blacks in pre-colonial Africa or whites in the American South. Slave family life, in particular, differed radically from those of local whites of every ethnicity or class. There were both institutional and customary bases for these differences. Virginia law, for example, did not recognize, promote, or protect the nuclear slave family of slave patriarchy. In fact, the only legal guideline for slave families did much to undermine these concepts -- it determined that black children should take the status of their mothers, and in so doing, the law inadvertently defined slave families as matrilineal and matrifocal. Custom seemed to follow the direction of the law: neither white nor black society demanded that slave men provide the sole or most significant means of financial support for the wives and children. And since "husbands" had no legal claim to their families, they could not legitimately command their economic resources or offer them protection from abuse or exploitation.

Brenda E. Stevenson. Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 1996, p.161.

... illicit unions between free black women and enslaved or white men, in which mothers became the only legally recognized parent, encouraged family life to center on the mother. As a consequence of a labor system that skillfully combined racial and sexual subordination, free women thus became the key to their children's freedom...

The importance of the mother-child bond for free black people also resulted from the overlap between legal definitions of illegitimacy and free status. After the 1691 law prohibited interracial marriages, the children produced by those illicit unions were automatically classified as illegitimate. During the two decades following the passage of this law, the free population's natural increase consisted in large part of illegitimate births, a familial context in which, legally speaking, maternal ties were considerably more important than paternal ties. The occasional use of maternal surnames by free people of color may reflect the conditions under which an early generation attained its freedom.

Kathleen M. Brown. Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill: 1996, p. 229.



BIOGRAPHIES
OF
WILLIAMSBURG
FAMILIES

GREAT AGGY (b.1753 - d. after1780) She was a mother and an enslaved person who belonged to Peyton Randolph of Williamsburg. She was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on 1 July 1753. Her son Henry was baptized fifteen years later at Bruton Parish on 14 August 1768. Great Aggy was listed as one of Peyton Randolph's 27 Williamsburg slaves in the probate inventory of his estate after his death in 1776 where she was valued at £ 60.¹ In his will, dated August 1774, Peyton left Great Aggy and her children to his wife Elizabeth Randolph.

When Lord Dunmore issued his Proclamation in November of 1775, which offered freedom to slaves who were willing to leave their patriot masters and fight for the British, Great Aggy and her son Henry, along with six other Randolph slaves, left the recently widowed Elizabeth (Betty) Randolph and joined Dunmore as a family. Dunmore's offer provided a destination for enslaved women and their children to consider which was probably perceived as safer than just running away. He also promised them their freedom, but it would have been a great risk for a mother and child to leave a community they knew for the unknown.

For reasons not known Great Aggy and Henry returned to Williamsburg by the time that Elizabeth Randolph wrote her will in June 1780. She bequeathed Great Aggy and her son Henry to her niece Elizabeth Rickman.² The Randolph household slaves would have been separated from one another at this time as the slaves were bequeathed to different masters and mistresses. Elizabeth Rickman's husband, William Rickman, was the chief physician for the Continental Hospital and the family lived near Williamsburg in 1780. After the end of the Revolution, however, the Rickmans returned to their home in Weyanoke Parish, Charles City County. If Great Aggy made the move to Charles City County she would have left the slave community that she had known for most of her life for the second time.

Issues important in interpreting Aggy can be found in the Resource Notebook:

See Sections: Slaves Born in the Colonies (IV., B); Kinship and Families (IV., C); Gender Roles (IV., D); Interracial Relations (IV., F); Impact of Death on Masters (IV., M); Black Marriage and Married Life (VI., A, 5); Raising Black Children (VI., C, 2); Slave Law (VII., E, 4)

Endnotes:

1 . See Peyton Randolph's Will and Probate Inventory, York County Wills and Inventories, York County, Virginia, 1775.

2 . See Elizabeth Randolph's Will, York County Wills and Inventories, York County, Virginia.

MATTHEW ASHBY (b. by 1727 d. 1771) Ashby was a free mulatto who purchased his enslaved wife and two children and petitioned for their freedom. Matthew was the son of Mary Ashby, a "white woman servant and brother of John Ashby (mulatto)."¹ As a child of a biracial marriage, he would have been bound out by law until he was thirty-one years of age.

Ashby was not literate.² He worked in and around Williamsburg as a carter and carpenter.³ Ashby also served as a messenger carrying diplomatic papers for Governor Botetourt to the western regions of Virginia suggesting that he was highly trusted.⁴

Matthew Ashby bought his enslaved "wife" Ann and their two living children, John and Mary, from Samuel Spurr for £150 in 1769. He then successfully petitioned the Council in 1769 that "he may be permitted to set her and his Children free" claiming that "she has been a faithful and diligent Wife ever since marriage, and praying that he may be permitted to set her and his Children free." The Council "were of the opinion, that the said Ann, John, and Mary were deserving of their freedom, and it was order'd that the said Matthew Ashby have leave to manumit and set them free."⁵

In the same autumn of 1769 a runaway slave ad for Sam in the Virginia Gazette "forewarns all persons" that Sam "pretends to lay claim to freedom, and is now harbored at one Matthew Ashby's."⁶

Matthew and Ann Ashby's two children, John and Mary, were baptized at Bruton Parish Church 24 Oct 176[5] before they were manumitted in 1769.⁷ As the slaves of Samuel Spurr, John was listed as attending the Bray School in 1765 and 1769 while Mary was listed as attending in 1769.⁸

By April 12, 1771, less than two years after freeing his wife and children, Matthew Ashby died. In 1771 Ashby's will requested that "my good friend John Blair," former President of the Governor's Council, be his executor and see to the "maintenance & support of my loving wife Ann Ashby & for her education and maintenance of my two children".⁹ Blair refused the executorship perhaps because of his advancing age.¹⁰ Ashby's estate was inventoried at a value of £80.18.06 and listed four horses and four cows, some furniture, and equipment for doing laundry and making candles. A teaboard, and silver watch, and a "parcel of old Books were also listed."¹¹

Ashby's widow Anne was not a femme sole long for she had married George Jones, a free black, by January 30, 1772. The Virginia Gazette on that date advertised that George Jones because "my Wife Anne and myself cannot agree in the

Management of our Affairs" . . . [Jones] forewarns all Persons from giving her Credit on my Account, as I will not pay any of her Contractions after the Date hereof. The Debtors to the Estate of Matthew Ashby, deceased, are desired to make speedy Payment, that I may be enable to pay the Creditors, who are desired to bring in their Accounts against the said Estate."¹²

The fate of Anne Ashby and her two children are unknown except we know that they were free rather than enslaved persons because of the influence and actions of Matthew Ashby three years earlier in 1769.

Issues important in interpreting Matthew Ashby can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Slaves Born in the Colonies (IV., B); Kinship and Families (IV., C); Interracial Relations (IV., F); Black Marriage and Married Life (IV., A); Free Blacks (IV.,J); Raising Black Children (VI., C, 1); Behavior and Discipline (VI., C, 3); Apprenticeships (VII., A, 3); Education for Blacks (VII., A, 3); Slave Religion (VII., B, 4); Work Gender Roles (VII., c, 1); Death of Infants and Children (VII., D, 4); Slave Law (VII., E, 4)

Endnotes:

- 1 . York County Records
- 2 . Matthew Ashby made his mark on his will 15 Apr. 1771, York County Wills and Inventories, 1771.
- 3 . See Probate Inventory of Matthew Ashby's Estate, 17 June 1771, York County Wills and Inventories.
- 4 . McGaan, Diane, "Offical Letters of Norborne Baron de Botetourt," The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- 5 . Virginia Gazette, 27 Nov. 1769
- 6 . The Virginia Gazette, 27 Nov. 1769
- 7 . Bruton Parish Church Register, 24 Oct 176[5], Williamsburg, Virginia.
- 8 . Records on the Bray School.
- 9 . Virginia Gazette, January 10, 1772
- 10 . York County Wills and Inventories, 15 Apr 1771
- 11 . York County Wills and Inventories, 17 June 1771.
- 12 . Virginia Gazette, 30 January 1772.

KATHERINE BLAIKLEY (b.1695 - d. October 24, 1771) Blaikley was a wife, widow, mother, and midwife. Her parents were William and Martha Kaidgree. In 1742 Katherine Blaikley acted as the Executor of John Kaidgree's (a brother?) estate of considerable property in improved land in Brunswick County.

Katherine Kaidgree had married William Blaikley by February 1733/4 and they had one living daughter, Mary. In June of 1736 Katherine Blaikley at the age of 38 was widowed and made the executor of her husband's estate which included a house and lot in Williamsburg, 50 acres of land in Powhattan County, land in Brunswick County and "horses, negroes, goods & chattels."¹ Katherine Blaikley never remarried and remained a widow for thirty-five years until her death in 1771.

As early as August of 1743 Katherine Blaikley was apparently practicing her skills as a midwife as the York County Court had the estate of Lewis Davis pay Mrs. Blaikley £0.10.0 for "bringing Hannah to Bed."²

On February 22, 1747/8 the Williamsburg Smallpox List listed six members of Katherine Blaikley's household as having had the small pox and recovered indicating that there were probably as many as four slaves in the household. The Bruton Parish Church Register listed three slaves owned by Katherine Blaikley as being baptized; 1748 "Negro girl Lucy," 1765 "John Beck son of her slave Sall," and Anthony Gabril son of Sally." In 1767 Katherine Blaikley was listed as owning slaves attending the Bray School.

In August of 1769 Katherine Blaikley advertised in the Virginia Gazette that she had lost a red morocco pocket book which contained "about seven or eight pounds in paper money, receipts, and memorandums" that could have only belonged to a literate woman who kept some accounts.³

The Virginia Gazette on October 24, 1771 announced that "Mrs. Catherine Blaikley, of this City, in the seventy sixth Year of her Age; and imminent Midwife, an who, in the Course of he Practice, brought upwards of Three Thousand Children into the World."⁴ Another issue of the Gazette mentioned that Katherine Blaikley was the mother of Mary Blaikley Stith.⁵ Considering that she delivered so many children black and white of rich, middling, and poor in and around Williamsburg she had a powerful influence on the health and well being of family life for many. She would have entered households often in a time of crisis, and she undoubtedly knew this community intimately and well. Midwives frequently also provided medical care not directly associated with childbirth.

Apparently she was living on the south side of the Duke of Gloucester Street

near Bruton Parish Church and next to the Blair property at the time of her death.

Issues important in interpreting Catherine Blaikley can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Male and Female Roles (II., C); Interracial Relations (IV., F); The New American Family (V., A); The Nurturing Family (V., B); Childhood Assumes; New Importance (V., C); The Black Family Story (V., E); White Marriage and Married Life (VI., A, 4); Pregnancy for Whites (VI., B, 1); Pregnancy for Blacks (VI., B, 2); Childbirth in White Families (VI., B, 3); Childbirth in Black Families (VI., B, 4); Midwives (VI., B, 5); Nursing White Children (VI., B, 6); Nursing Black Children (VI., B, 7); Birth Intervals, Birth Control, and Abortion (VI., B, 8); Premarital Pregnancy; Death of Spouse (VI., D, 5); Religion and Women (VII., B, 3); Medicinal Practices and Folk Beliefs (VII., D, 1); Death of Mothers in Childbirth (VII., D, 6); Women and the Law (VII., E, 2)

Endnotes:

- 1 . York County Records.
- 2 . York County Court Order Book, 15 August 1743.
- 3 . Virginia Gazette, August 8, 1769.
- 4 . Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), October 24, 1771.
- 5 . Virginia Gazette, October 25, 1771.

JOHN BLAIR (1687 - 1771), deputy auditor, four times president of the Governor's Council, and merchant. Although Blair family origins and naming patterns greatly complicate the story, this John Blair was certainly the son of the Dr. Archibald Blair who immigrated from Edinburgh to Virginia and it is unclear which of Archibald's three wives was the subject's mother. This John Blair was also the nephew of Rev. James Blair, founder of the College of William and Mary and Commissary. Rev. Blair left the bulk of his estate to his favored nephew John, a nice way to start off in life.

The subject married his cousin Mary Munro, the daughter of John and Christian Blair Munro. John and Mary Blair had at least a dozen children, five of whom died by the age of three:

Christian Blair (1727 - 1784), married Armistead Burwell.

Mary Blair (c. 1728 - 1730), buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

James Blair (1730 - 1740), buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

John Blair (1731 - 1800), who was also a lawyer and his father's successor as Deputy Auditor. He married Jean Blair¹ (1736 - 1792) of Edinburgh. John Blair served as the last clerk of the colonial council and became a member of the first Council of State for the new Commonwealth, of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and an associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Mary Blair (1734 - 1799), who first married George Braxton II, then Councilor Robert Burwell, and thirdly Robert Prescott.

Sarah Archer Blair (1735 - 1736), buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

Sarah Blair (c. 1737 - 1799), who married Wilson Miles Cary.

Ann Blair (1738 - 1741), buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

James (1741 - 1772), who studied medicine in Scotland, returned to Virginia, and married Catherine ("Kitty") Eustace of New York and left no descendants.

Archibald Blair (1743 - 1744), buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

Ann Blair (1746 - 1813), who married John Banister, a member of the Continental Congress and the builder of Battersea near Petersburg.

Elizabeth Blair (c. 1748 - d. unknown), who in 1769 married British naval officer, Samuel Thompson.²

With their excellent and seemingly endless connections, the Blair clan built up a thriving commercial house (the Blair-Prentis-Cary partnership) and also controlled several important colonial offices for decades.

John Blair's somewhat cryptic and very brief diary for 1751³ and letters of his daughter Ann (later Banister)⁴ give us insights into the social and domestic lives of these prominent Williamsburg residents.

Issues important in interpreting John Blair can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: The Patriarchal Ideal (2. A); The Patriarchal Reality (2. B)

Endnotes:

1. Formerly believed to be Jean Balfour, but mistakenly; see Daphne Gentry and Brent Tarter, "The Blair Family of Colonial Williamsburg," Magazine of Virginia Genealogy, vol. 32 (1994), pp. 109, no. 26.

2. Ibid., pp. 103-112.

3. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 7, pp. 133-153; and ibid., vol. 8, pp. 1-17.

4. Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, and Whiting Papers, 1765-1890, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

BRISTOL (b. unknown - d. unknown) Bristol was born in Africa and imported to Virginia as an enslaved person.

Bristol was severed from his own family and community in Africa, enslaved by Africans slavers, and then sold to British traders at a port - probably on the West Coast of Africa. Alienated from his own people and enslaved he would have been forced to endure the trauma of the Middle Passage. Upon arrival in Virginia he was available for purchase as chattel property. Governor Francis Faquier purchased Bristol soon after he arrived in Virginia.

Bristol was described as a "new" slave when he was baptized in early 1767 indicating that he had recently arrived from Africa.¹ In 1768 Faquier died leaving most unusual instructions for the disposal of his slaves in his will. He requested that his family, servants, and slaves should gather together to hear the will read aloud so that "everything may be explained to them . . ." He then directed that each of his slave families should be sold together and not separated. In addition each slave should have the opportunity of selecting his own future master with the practical inducement that the slave would be offered to that "chosen" master at a 25% reduction of his market value.² Bristol was valued at £ 55 in the probate inventory of Faquier's estate. He apparently chose Thomas Everard as his future master since the records show that Everard bought Bristol for the reduced price of £ 41 by September 1768.

There are no indications in the record that Bristol had formed a family either when he was enslaved by Faquier or Everard. Unlike most slaves living in Williamsburg in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Bristol, being an African, had no blood family networks of his own. Many of Everard's slave children were baptized at Bruton Parish, but the Register only identified the master and mother of the children. Both Faquier and Everard owned a number of slaves giving Bristol the opportunity to be a part of a large extended family. The density of the African-American community in Williamsburg, with nearly 1,000 blacks within a half square mile, also gave him an opportunity to have had a "wife" and children close by and to form relations with other enslaved persons and free blacks.

Upon arrival in Faquier's household at the Palace he would have been considered outlandish not knowing the language and ways of black and white Virginians. Bristol, however must have quickly been acculturated since Everard used Bristol as his personal manservant. As Everard's manservant Bristol would have waited on his master, run errands for him, and probably accompanied him on business in Williamsburg and to Yorktown for the York County Court sessions. Apparently Bristol knew how to read making him more valuable to Everard, but there is no evidence that he could write. Everard's household slaves included an elderly groom,

two young men who waited on table and performed other chores, a cook, laundress, and housemaid making it a complicated household. Everard hired Bristol out to Lord Botetourt several times between January 1769 and May 1770.

Issues important in interpreting Bristol can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Slaves from Africa (IV., A); Separations (IV., H); Impact of the Death of Masters of Slaves (IV., I); Education for Blacks (VII., A, 6); Slave Law (VII., E, 4)

Endnotes:

- 1 . Bruton Parish Church Register.
- 2 . York County Court Records Project, Book 21; Wills and Inventories, 397-403.

LYDIA BROADNAX (b. by 1742 - d. after 25 September 1820) Lydia was an enslaved person until 1787 when she was manumitted by her master, George Wythe.

It is not known if Lydia Broadnax ever married or had children of her own¹ Exactly when Lydia joined George Wythe's household as a slave is also not know. She appears as a member of George Wythe's household in the Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists of 1783, 1784, and 1786 where she is referred to as "Lydia."² In addition Galt and Barraurd's day book indicates that she received medical treatment in 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1788.³

George Wythe manumitted Lydia on 20 August 1787 two days after the death of Mrs. Wythe. From 1723 until 1782 "No negro, mullato, or indian slaves, shall be set free, upon any pretense whatsoever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council."⁴ In 1782 the General Assembly lifted restrictions on the manumission of slaves. The manumission stated that "Lydia" was to be freed and was "more than forty five Years old."⁵ The manumission law of 1782 required that "all slaves so set free . . . above the age of forty-five years . . . shall be respectively be supported and maintained by the person so liberating them" making Wythe responsible for her financial well being.⁶ Wythe also freed his slaves Ben, Charles, and Polly.

It is probable that Lydia remained in Wythe's household after her manumission as she received medical treatment under his account in 1788. Ben also received medical treatment under Wythe's account in 1788, making it probable that Ben and Lydia were the two adult slaves that remained in Wythe's household, as indicated by the tax lists for 1789 through 1791. Since Wythe's will and the testimony surrounding his death give clear evidence that Lydia and Ben remained with Wythe in Richmond, it is possible that they were husband and wife.

Accounts of the circumstances surrounding Wythe's death in 1803 make it clear that Lydia was Wythe's cook at that time. She had probably been his cook from at least 1787, when it appears that he had wither emancipated (as in Lydia's case) or had conveyed by gift the remainder of his adult female slaves to members of the Talliferro family after the death of his wife.⁷

It is highly probably that Lydia moved to Richmond with George Wythe in 1791 as a paid servant in his household. In 1797, however, Lydia was listed as having paid taxes on property in Richmond.⁸ From 1799 through 1801 Lydia Broadnax was listed as having collected sixteen dollars in "Yearly rent" from a tenant named William Francis. References to her collecting rents in 1806 and 1810⁹ in addition to census of 1810 where her household was listed with six "freed" people and two slaves again

suggesting that she was keeping a boarding house. In 1820 she collected their dollars in rents and was listed with three persons in her household which would have included herself.¹⁰ Lydia Broadnax was one of the 1,235 "free negroes," and one of 5,622 African Americans living in Richmond circa 1820.

George Wythe died in June of 1806 from possible arsenic poisoning by his grand nephew George Wythe Sweeny. Sweeny was tried for the crime and found not guilty. Lydia, who may have had evidence, could not testify against him as "No negro or mulatto shall be a witness, except in pleas of the commonwealth against negroes or mulattoes . . ."¹¹ In George Wythe's will of 20 April 1803, he provides that the rent of a house and the interest of his stocks "support my freed woman, Lydia Broadnax, and freed man, Benjamin, and freed boy, Michael Brown, during the lives of the two former, and after their deaths, in trust to the use of the said Michael Brown."

Lydia Broadnax's will, written on 25 September 1820, when she must have been about 85 years old, designated a plot for her own burial on her Richmond property and left her "house and a half acre of ground . . . household furniture, and whatever ready money, and other goods I may die entitled, or possessed of, to Philip Wythe and Benjamin Wythe, free boys of color, grandsons of my sister Letty Robertson, deceased."¹²

Issues important in interpreting Lydia Broadnax can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Slaves born in the Colonies (IV., B) Black and White Interactions (IV., E); Education for Blacks, (VII., A. 5)

Endnotes:

1. Lou Powers and Linda Row, "Lydia Broadnax at the Wythe House and Free Blacks in Williamsburg," September 14, 1993. "We do not believe that Lydia Broadnax was the mother of Michael Brown—regardless of who his father was. Our first doubt arises from the various last names. If Lydia was Michael's mother, why wasn't he called Michael Broadnax? (No last name was attached to Lydia while she lived in Williamsburg Broadnax appears only in the Richmond years.)

Secondly, when Lydia was freed in 1787, there is not mention of a child, although other documents Wythe wrote at this time show a real concern for keeping black families together. Lydia's manumission specifies that she was over 45 years old, so she was born in 1742 or earlier.

Michael was neither listed in Williamsburg tax records nor with Wythe's other slaves in the Bruton Parish Register. If Michael was born to Lydia after the move to Richmond, she was no longer a slave and he would have been born free; yet Wythe's will calls him "my freed boy," clearly implying he had been enslaved. Granted, we have not located the record of his manumission.

Wythe's will, written in 1803, calls Michael "my freed boy." so he's probably under age 16, born at the very earliest in 1787 when we know for certain that Lydia was more than 45 years old—an perhaps much older—probably too old for an eighteenth-century black woman to have a child. The legacy left to Michael in Wythe's will is no grounds for thinking the former owner was providing for his offspring. Childless people often freed their slaves and left them inheritances.

2. Perhaps she appended her surname of Broadnax after her manumission.

3. Galt Family Papers, College of William and Mary, W.W. microfilm #1071.

4. Hening's Statutes, 1723.

5. York County Records, Deed Book 6 (1771-1791), 351.

6. Henings Statutes, 1782.

7. Wythe was taxed for three adult slaves in 1788, which the medical records for that year show to have been Lydia, Ben, and Charles. Charles was manumitted in 1788, and apparently did not remain in the household, as Wythe was taxed for only two adults in 1789.

8. Richmond City Personal Property Taxes, 1797, no numbered pages, microfilm, LVA.

9. Richmond City Personal Property Taxes, 1797, no numbered pages, microfilm, LVA.

10. U. S. Census Schedules, Richmond City, 1810, 359, microfilm, LVA.

11. Hening's Statutes, Vol. XII, 182.

12. Richmond City Hustings Wills, 1827, Book 4, 361, microfilm, LVA.

FRANCES CARTER (1738 - 1787), gentry wife and mother. Frances was the youngest daughter of Benjamin and Ann Tasker, rich and prominent citizens of Annapolis. In April 1754, when she was sixteen, Frances married Robert Carter III (usually designated "Robert Carter of Nomini Hall") who was ten years her senior. During their 33-year marriage she bore 17 children, 12 of whom survived infancy.¹ Here is a list of their names, birth dates, and death dates:

Benjamin (1757 - 1779)

Robert Bladen (1759 - d. unknown), died in London.

Priscilla (1760 - d. unknown), born at Nomini Hall.

Anne ("Nancy") Tasker (1762 - after 1796), born January 17, 1762, in Williamsburg. Her first husband was a Mr. Peek (first name unknown), and in 1796 she married Hugh Quinlan.

Rebecca (b. and d. November 16, 1762), buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.
Frances b. May 25, 1764 in Williamsburg.

Betty Landon, b. October 25, 1765 in Williamsburg.

Mary (1767-1771) b. in Williamsburg and buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

Harriet Lucy, b. July 8, 1768, in Williamsburg.

Amelia Churchill (1769-1770), born in Williamsburg and buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

Rebecca Dulaney (1770-1771), born in Williamsburg and buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

John Tasker, b. 1772 in Williamsburg. He married Louisa Lee, the daughter of George Fairfax Lee.

Sarah Fairfax, b. 1773 at Nomini Hall.

Judith, b. September 17, 1775, at Nomini Hall, and lived only ten days.

George, b. 1777.

Sophia, b. 1778.

Julia, b. 1783.²

In 1761, three years after Carter was appointed to the Virginia Council, the family moved to Williamsburg. Living literally next door to the governor on Palace Green, the Carters became close friends with the Fauquiers and in 1762 asked Mrs. Fauquier to serve as Nancy's godmother.

Eleven years later, in 1772, the Carters left Williamsburg and returned to Nomini Hall in Westmoreland County. The next year Philip Vickers Fithian began tutoring the older children. His diary is a marvelous source of information about their family life, social engagements, and attitudes about nearly everything from religion and politics to the discipline of children and the study of music.³

Fithian was very impressed with Mrs. Carter—perhaps he even had a crush on her. He described her as looking younger than her 35 years and "as always, cheerful, chatty, & agreeable."⁴ When he had got to know Mrs. Carter better, Fithian wrote a more detailed account: "Mrs. Carter is prudent, . . . never without Something pleasant, a remarkable Economist, perfectly acquainted (in my Opinion) with the good-management of Children, intirely free from all foolish and unnecessary fondness [for children], and is also well acquainted (for She has always been used) with the formality and Ceremony which we find commonly in high Life."⁵

He quoted her on the pleasures of life at Nomini Hall: "to live in the Country, and take no pleasure at all in Groves, Fields, or Meadow; nor in Cattle, Horses, & domestic Poultry, would be," according to Mrs. Carter, "a manner of life too tedious to endure."⁶ Fithian could hardly overstate his high opinion of her as a manager: "Neatness variety & Plenty are reigning Characters in our worthy oconomist Mrs. Carter."⁷ Besides managing a very extensive household and her arduous family duties, Mrs. Carter was also very well read and an able conversationalist.⁸

Despite her well informed mind, Mrs. Carter was somewhat superstitious and harbored several distinct, almost disabling fears; for instance, she believed she would die of breast cancer and she was "uncommonly affraid both of wind and Thunder." Overall, Fithian was extremely satisfied with his employer. He summed her with the words, "I am more & more every day pleased with the manner, Temper, Oconomy, & whole management of this good Lady."⁹

Issues important in interpreting Frances Carter can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: The Patriarchal Ideal (II, A); The Patriarchal Reality (II, B); The Nurturing Family (V, B); Infant Death (VII, D. 2); Childrearing VI, C)

Endnotes:

1. Shomer S. Zwelling, "Robert Carter's Journey: From Colonial Patriarch to New Nation Mystic," American Quarterly, vol. 38 (1986), pp. 613-636.

2. The list appears in Robert Carter's biographical chronology, written between 1785 and 1788, and printed in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 6 (1898-1899), pp. 88-90.

3. Zwelling, *passim*.

4. Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1943), pp. 54, 52.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 88, 166, and *passim*.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 105, 162, 187, 189, 192, 240.

DENNIS (b. 1761 - d. unknown), slave belonging to Robert Carter of Nomini Hall. Dennis had lived with the Carters in Williamsburg where he was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on August 30, 1761.¹ In 1769 he was listed as attending the Bray School.² By 1773 and 1774, when Fithian's diary tells us some specifics about his life after the Carter family moved back to Nomini Hall, Dennis was working as a waiter. Even though he was only twelve years old, Dennis was apparently skilled at providing service to genteel diners and could be trusted with silver, china, and other precious goods.

Fithian wrote of the very bad injury Dennis sustained on January 7, 1774:

This afternoon Dennis, a Boy of about twelve Years old, one of the Waiters at Table, as he was standing in the front Door which is vastly huge & heavy; the Door flew up, and drew off the Skin and Flesh from his middle Finger caught between, took off the first Joint, and left the Bone of the greater part of the Rest of the Finger naked.³

Such accidents were commonplace. A week later Fithian, on January 14, 1774, mentions that he gave Dennis half a bit for waiting on table.

On August 7, 1774 Fithian once more refers to Dennis:

. . . Dennis came into our Room to bring us a Bowl of Punch; Grubb shut the Door, and accused him of having been caught with Bett, the Dairy Girl, in the Stable last Saturday Night--Dennis seemed in great distress, he denied the Fact tho with Great steadiness--Nelson our Boy came in with a candle--Dennis here, says Grubb to Nelson, has been accusing you, Sir, of several crimes; he says you gave him half a Bitt last Saturday night, to stand at the Stable Door while he with Bett--Nelson star'd--Grubb opened a huge Molls Atlas that lay in the Room; & read off their Case and indictment--The Boys seem'd crazy--⁴

On September 2, 1774 Fithian writes that "Dennis the Lad who waits at Table, I took into the School today at his Father's request. He can spell words of one syllable pretty readily. He is to come as he finds opportunity."⁵ Fithian left Nomini Hall to return home to Princeton on October 20, 1774, and he gave Dennis another half Bit for waiting on table.⁶

Issues important in interpreting Dennis can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Slaves Born in the Colonies (IV., B,); Kinship and Families (IV., C); Interracial Relations (IV., F); Education for Blacks (VII., A, 6); Accidents and Illness of Children (VII., D, 2)

Endnotes:

- 1 . Dennis, "Negro child belonging to Hon. Robert Carter," was baptized on August 30, 1761, in Bruton Parish; Bruton Parish Register (birth).
- 2 . Robert Carter Nicholas to Rev. John Waring, 16 February 1769.
- 3 . Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, p. 51.
- 4 . Ibid., p. 157.
- 5 . Ibid., pp. 182-183.
- 6 . Ibid., p. 208

EVE (b. ? - d.?) she was a mother of several children and an enslaved person who belonged to Peyton Randolph of Williamsburg. Eve first appeared in the records when her son George was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on 6 July 1766. After the death of Peyton Randolph in 1775, Eve was valued at £100 in the probate inventory. She was one of twenty-seven slaves that belonged to the Randolph's Williamsburg household in 1775. There were only three men and Eve who were so highly valued in the household suggesting that she was of prime age and probably highly skilled.¹

In his will Randolph bequeathed "Eve and her children" to his wife Betty Randolph.² One month after the death of Randolph, Lord Dunmore, on 7 Nov. 1775, issued his Proclamation which "promises freedom to any slaves who desert rebellious masters and who serve in the king's forces."³ On 5 Jan. 1776 Randolph's probate inventory listed eight slaves from the estate, including Eve, as "gone to the enemy."⁴ Apparently by force or choice, Eve had returned to the widow Betty Randolph by October 1780 when Betty gave "Eve and her son George" to her niece in her will of that date.⁵ On July 1782 in a codicil to her will, however, Betty Randolph stated that "Eve's bad behavior laid me under the necessity of selling her."⁶ We do not know who bought Eve and her children or what happened to them as individuals or as a family.

Issues important in interpreting Eve can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Slaves Born in the Colonies (IV, B); Kinship and Families (IV, C); Slave Discipline (IV, E); Separations (IV, J); Impact of Death of Masters (IV, I); War Forces Further Change (V, E); The Black Family Story (V, E); Pregnancy for Blacks (VI, B, 2); Childbirth in Black Families (VI., B, 4); Birth Intervals, Birth Control, and Abortion (VI., B, 8); Raising Black Children (VI., C, 2); Education for Blacks (VII., A, 6); Slave Law (VII., E, 4).

Endnote:

1. Probate Inventory of Peyton Randolph, York County Wills and Inventories, York County Records, Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, Williamsburg, Virginia,

2. Peyton Randolph's Will, York County Wills and Inventories, Colonial Williamsburg's Research Department, Williamsburg, Virginia.

3. See Dunmore's Proclamation, Becoming Americans "Choosing Revolution" Resource Book

4. Peyton Randolph's Probate Inventory, York County Wills and Inventories, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

5. Betty Randolph's Will, York County Wills and Inventories, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

6. Codicil to Betty Randolph's Will, York County Wills and Inventories, The Colonial Williamsburg Research, Williamsburg, Virginia.

THOMAS EVERARD (b. 1719 - d. 1781) Everard was clerk of Elizabeth and York County Courts and married into a one of York County's prosperous families and was the widowed father of two daughters.

Thomas Everard was born in England the son of William Everard, who was identified in the Children's Register¹ as "Citizen and Skinner." He was baptized on 10 August 1719. When still a child he and his brother John Everard, who was baptized 7 May 1721, were orphaned. The records indicate that Thomas in 1730 and John in 1731 were admitted from St. Paul's (Parish) Shadwell to the charity school of Christ Hospital, which is located near Buckingham Palace, in London. There they were educated to assume positions as apprentices for merchants.

The Children's Register on January 10, 1734 records that "Thomas Everard this day is taken and Discharged from the Charges of this Hospital, for ever by Edward Everard his Uncle and by Edwd Athawes merchant living in 3 King Court Lambert Street the boy being to serve Matthew Kemp of Williamsburg in Virginia merchant with whom he is to serve 7 years."² His brother John was apprenticed to the London merchant Laurence Poultney Hill in 1736. At the age of fourteen or fifteen Thomas Everard left all of his family in England and sailed to Virginia to begin his apprenticeship under Matthew Kemp who was a Williamsburg merchant and clerk of the General Court.

After completing his apprenticeship to be a county clerk Everard at twenty-three was appointed clerk of Elizabeth City County where he served from 1742 to 1745. In 1745 he was made clerk of the York County Court where he served 26 years until the end of his life in 1781. York County Court's jurisdiction included not only the rural parts of the county, but half of the capital city of Williamsburg and the important port of Yorktown. He also served as deputy clerk of the General Court.

In 1746 at age twenty seven Everard married Diana Robinson of Charles Parish in York County who was born in 1726. She was the daughter of the wealthy York County family of Anthony and Diana (Tabb) Robinson who had eight living children in 1746.

Thomas and Diana Everard had two daughters Frances (Fanny) Everard who was born in 1747 and Martha (Patsy) Everard who was born in 1754. A six year birth interval between her two daughters suggests that she may have been in ill health in the early years of her marriage, miscarried, or had one or more children who died at birth or as young infants.³ The family lived in a comfortable house on Palace Green next to the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg.

During his lifetime Thomas Everard acquired much property in land and slaves even though he did not have the advantage of inheriting property from his own family in England. In addition to owning his house and lot in Williamsburg, he had 600 acres with nine tithables in James City County and 1,130 acres with ten slaves in Brunswick County. During his lifetime in Virginia Everard obtained slaves by direct purchase and through his wife's dower and inheritance from the Robinson family. During the time he lived in Williamsburg there are some twenty-eight slaves including children mentioned in the record as having belonged to Thomas Everard. Bruton Parish Church records indicate that nineteen enslaved adults and children who belonged to Everard were baptized. In 1762 the records show that Harry, five years old, and Mary, seven years old attended, the Bray School.

Diana Everard died sometime after May 1758, but perhaps not until the early 1760s.⁴ Thomas never remarried and lived as a widower for about twenty years. If Diana had died in 1760, Frances would have been about thirteen and Martha about six. Because Everard's position as clerk of the York County and deputy clerk of the General Court would have required him to be away from home much of the time, he might have hired a housekeeper to care for his daughters and manage his household.⁵ Because Diana Everard had a number of siblings, it is very likely that Frances and Martha spent considerable amounts of time at the homes of one or more of their aunts or uncles or even lived with them for extended periods of time. Everard owned a number of slaves who may have helped with the care of his daughters, but it is unlikely that they were the girls' sole caregivers.

In 1765 Frances, at eighteen years of age, married James Horrocks who had been born in Great Britain, and was President of the College of William and Mary, Rector of Bruton Parish Church, and later Commissary of the Bishop of London as well as a member of the Governor's Council. They had no children. In June of 1771 James and Frances Horrocks went to England and Portugal where James Horrocks died in Oporto in March of 1772. Frances did not return to Virginia until October of 1772. Upon her return she probably lived at her father's home with her unmarried sister Martha. There is evidence that she had experienced poor health since 1770. Frances died in December of 1773.

It is likely that Martha lived at home with her father during her sister's illness and after her death.⁶ The date of Martha's marriage is not known, but it may have occurred several years after Dr. Issac Hall graduated for Edinburgh University and returned to Virginia in late 1772. Martha and her husband lived in Petersburg and raised two children, Everard Hall and Diana Robinson Hall named for Martha's parents.

Issues important in interpreting Thomas Everard can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: The Patriarchal Ideal (II, A); The Patriarchal Reality (II, B);

Male and Female Roles (II, C); Slaves from Africa (IV., A); Slaves Born in the Colonies (IV, B); Impact of the Death of Masters on Slaves (IV., I); White Marriage and Married Life (VI. A, 4); Raising White Children (VI. C, 1); Raising Black Children (VI, C, 2); Death of Spouse (VI. D, 4); Education for Males (VII. A, 2); Apprenticeships (VII. A, 3); Education for Females (VII., A, 3); Education for Blacks (VII. A, 5); Funerals and Mourning Practices (VII., B, 6); Death of Adults (VII., D, 5); Orphans and Children (VII., E, 3)

Endnotes:

1 . Mss 12818/8. f. 100. Guildhall Library, London. See files of H. B. Gill, CWF.

2 . Ibid.

3 . None of the Everard family's births are recorded in the Bruton Parish Register nor has any record of any of the Everards being buried in Bruton Parish churchyard survived.

4 . Diana Robinson Everard was mentioned in her mother's will of May 1758, but the part of the page describing the bequest is torn. Unfortunately few copies of the Virginia Gazette survive from the 1750s and early 1760s where her obituary probably would have been printed.

5 . It would not have been uncommon for a well-to-do widower like Thomas Everard to have hired a white housekeeper, who may have lived in or out, to manage the household.

6 . Thomas Everard orders a number of items associated with women from John Norton in the late 1760s and early 1770s.

ANNE GEDDY'S (b. unknown - d. by 1787) Anne was a wife, mother, and widow who lived much of her life in Williamsburg.

It is uncertain where Anne Geddy was born. Nothing is known about her family or education. By 1730 she had married James Geddy who had immigrated from Scotland at an unknown date, but was known to be in Williamsburg by 1733.¹ James Geddy, Sr. had purchased the land "near the Church" by 1738 where he established his shop and where his family lived.

There were at least eight children born to James and Anne Geddy. There are no birth dates known for the seven older children. There were four boys and four girls in the family; David, William, James, Jr., John, Elizabeth, Mary, Anne, and Sarah.²

Before the birth of her last child Sarah on 8 January 1744/5,³ Anne Geddy was a widow. James Geddy, Sr. died in July or August of 1744 leaving her pregnant and a widow with seven young orphaned children to raise and educate. He bequeathed all of his real and personal property to his wife whom he appointed "sole Extriix and heiress" of his estate. He gave her the freedom to dispose of his estate "as she thinks proper" while he named and left all of his seven children five shillings.⁴ The will conveyed both Williamsburg lots 161 and 162 to his widow. She probably continued to live on lot 161 and rented lot 162 until she sold it in 1750.

In the settlement of the estate on 4 May 1745 it was "ordered that the Receiver General pay to . . . the sum of Twenty one Pounds eight Shillings and four Pence to the Widdow Geddy due to the Estate of her late Husband for cleaning seven hundred Public Arms at the Magazine."⁵ Five years later, on 17 November 1750, it was recorded that Anne Geddy sold the half acre lot 162, which adjoined Lot 161 where the Geddy family lived and worked, to James Taylor a Williamsburg tailor. The two lots had been purchased by James Geddy in 1738. Taylor paid "the Sum of One Hundred and Thirty Pounds Current Money of Virginia for the property."⁶

Anne Geddy's sons David and William advertized in 1751 that they would carry on the gunsmith, cutler, and founder's trade at their shop "near the Church."⁷ William continued working as a gunsmith and owned land in James City County on which five or six tithable lived.⁸ James, Jr. and John both became silversmiths. James bought lot 161 from his mother in 1760 where he operated his business and lived with his family until he sold his property in 1778 and moved to Petersburg, Virginia. James Geddy, Jr. and his wife Elizabeth had five children. John moved to Halifax, North Carolina by 1767. Nothing more is known about Anne's four daughters. Anne Geddy died by 1787. Her estate was taxed for 80 acres of land in James City County in 1787.⁹

Issues important in interpreting Anne Geddy can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Female Roles (II, C); White Marriage and Married Life (VI, A, 4); Raising White Children (VI. C, 1); Roles of Grandparents (VI., D, 1); Death of Spouse (VI. D, 5); Education for Males (VII. A, 2); Apprenticeships (VII. A, 3); Education for Females (VII. A, 4); Religion and Women (VII. B, 3); Women and the Law (VII. E, 2); Orphans and Children (VII. E, 4)

Endnotes:

- 1 . Times Dispatch, Richmond, December 22, 1907; YCR OWI (18), (68).
- 2 . With the exception of Sarah all of the children were named in their father's will (YCR, WI (19) 307).
- 3 . Bruton Parish Birth Register.
- 4 . York County Wills and Inventories.
- 5 . Executive Journals of the Council of Virginia, Wilmer L. Hall, ed. (Richmond, 1945), V, 174.
- 6 . York County Deeds, 5, pp. 402-404.
- 7 . Virginia Gazette, 8 Aug 1751, 51:32.
- 8 . James City County Sheriff's Tax Book, 1768-69.
- 9 . James City County Land Tax, 1787.

JAMES GEDDY, JR. (b. 1731 either in Virginia or Scotland - d. 15 May 1807 in Petersburg, Virginia) Geddy was a husband, father, and master of slaves as well as a prosperous silversmith.

Geddy's parents were James and Anne Geddy who were married by 1730. It is not known when James Geddy migrated from Scotland, but the earliest date that he can be located in Williamsburg is 1733. There were seven children in the family; two older brothers, David and William, and four sisters, Elizabeth, Mary, Anne, and Sarah. James Geddy, Sr. was a smith and founder in Williamsburg. He probably operated his shop on the Geddy property "near the Church" where the family was living by 1738.

James Geddy, Sr. died in 1744 leaving his wife Anne a widow and seven young children orphaned. James Geddy, Jr. would have been about thirteen years old when his father died. Whether the young James received any formal education is unknown, but he had to know how to read and write and must have possessed some mathematical skills to run his business and be a skilled silversmith. He had access to his father's small library and apparently enjoyed music.

James may have received some training in smithing from his father before his death in 1744. David and William Geddy advertized in 1751 that they would carry on the gunsmith, cutler, and founder trade after their father's death in the same shop. James may have worked under Samuel Galt's direction who also operated a silversmith shop on the Geddy property in the 1750s. Geddy reached his majority in 1752, but there is no evidence of his having his own shop until 1760 when he bought lot 161 from his mother. He had rented property from the Hawkins family from 1753 to 1759 where he apparently lived.

Geddy married Elizabeth Waddill early in the mid-1750s.¹ Elizabeth may have been the daughter of William Waddill an engraver who was a long time associate of James Geddy. They had five children; Anne (Nancy), William Waddell, Mary, James, and Elizabeth. Until 1777 the family lived on the Geddy property where James, William, and David operated their businesses. While still in Williamsburg Anne married Mr. John Brown, who was a clerk in the Secretary's office, in 1772 and moved with her husband to Richmond.

In both 1774 and 1777 James Geddy was listed with nine tithables in Bruton Parish. Although his sons were probably too young to be counted as tithable at this time, the number would have included any apprentices or journeymen as well as slaves living in his household. We know that Geddy purchased Nanny and her son George from the estate of Governor Fauquier in 1768 and that in October 1770 he advertised "a likely Negro Wench about eighteen years old, with a child, a Boy" for sale.²

While James Geddy was in Williamsburg he was active in the public life of the community before the Revolution serving as a member of Common Council (1767) and the Committee of Safety (1775) along with other prominent citizens.

In 1777, after the capital had been moved to Richmond, James Geddy moved his family to Petersburg where he operated a silversmith shop until 1806. There in Petersburg he served as a vestryman, common councilman, and alderman. With the exception of Anne, who had earlier married and moved to Richmond, Geddy's other children settled in the Petersburg area: William became a silversmith and married Elizabeth Prentis in 1796; Mary married William Prentis, a printer and prominent citizen of Petersburg, in 1789; James, also a silversmith, married Euphan Armistead in 1789; and Elizabeth married John Taliaferro by 1803.

It is probable that Elizabeth Waddill Geddy died in Dinwiddie County sometime after December 1778 when they sold Williamsburg lot 161 to Robert Jackson.³ After her death, James married another woman, also named Elizabeth, in 1782. The second wife in her obituary was described as "Mrs. Elizabeth Geddy who departed this life December the 7th 1799 in the 65th Year of her age . . . so worthy a Partner upwards of 17 years."⁴ After the death of his second wife, James Geddy married Jane Bradley 10 July 1804.⁵ James Geddy died in Petersburg in 1807 having "attained the 76th year of his age."⁶

Issues important in interpreting James Geddy, Jr. can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: The Patriarchal Reality (II, A); Slave Discipline (IV, E); The New American Family (V. A); The Nurturing Family (V. B); Childhood Assumes New Importance (V. C); War Forces Further Change (V. E); Education for Males (VII, A, 2); Apprenticeships (VII., A, 3); Education for Females (VII., A, 3); Work and Status (VII., C, 2)

Endnotes:

1. Their daughter Anne was married in 1772 making it probable that they had married in the early to mid 1750s.

2. PD 40c70:31

3. York County Records, Deeds 1777-1791, 48.

4. Tombstone at Blandford Church, Dinwiddie County.

5. Petersburg Hustings Court, Deed Book 3, 180-181, 202, Petersburg Marriage Register, 445.

6. Petersburg Intelligencer, May 15, 1807.

ELIZABETH HAY (1729/30 - 1788), housewife, mother, and stepmother. The daughter of Joseph, Sr., and Margaret Davenport, Elizabeth and her twin were born on March 5, 1729/30.¹ The extensive Davenport family was very well connected in Williamsburg. Elizabeth's father had been the town's first clerk. Her brother Joseph, Jr., became rector of Charles Parish. Brothers Matthew and George were attorneys and clerks. Elizabeth's twin sister Martha married the printer Augustine Davis in 1778, and another sister Peachy first married printer Alexander Purdie, then merchant William Holt, and last E[lias?] Wills. Sister Judith, wife of merchant John Greenhow, died in 1765. Little is known about another sister Sarah or about Peachy's twin Johan [or John] Shank.

Elizabeth married cabinetmaker Anthony Hay about 1758 after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Penman Hay. Hay's children Barbara and Thomas from first marriage were only about six and four, respectively, at the time of their mother's death. Elizabeth Hay, "late Elizabeth Davenport," had a son Joseph in 1758.² Their other sons George and Anthony were born in 1765 and 1767.³ Charles, Betsy, Nancy, and Sarah were also born to Elizabeth and Anthony Hay.⁴ In 1767 Hay gave up his cabinetmaking business and began the operation of the Raleigh Tavern.⁵

Anthony Hay died in 1770.⁶ By the terms of his will, Hay's property was to be sold to cover debts and the proceeds given to his widow Elizabeth to maintain and educate their children. (Thomas, the oldest and the subject's stepson, had already been well provided for by his grandfather Thomas Penman.) The widow, left with three young children and two stepchildren, renounced her husband's will.⁷ This indicates that Elizabeth got some very canny legal advice, probably from her brother Matthew Davenport, who was also one of Anthony Hay's executors. The appraisal of Hay's estate totaled £1778.11.10½.⁸ The executors sold the Raleigh and twenty acres to James Barrett Southall⁹--see below. The widow was highest bidder at the sale of their residence and the cabinet shop on the two Nicholson Street lots.¹⁰ Williamsburg tax records indicate that Elizabeth Hay kept that property until her death in 1787.¹¹ Son George went on to become a prominent lawyer who prosecuted Aaron in his trial and his second wife was a daughter of James Monroe; Charles become a lawyer in Petersburg, and Sarah married Henry Nicholson of Williamsburg and had four children.¹²

Issues important in interpreting Elizabeth Hay can e found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: The Patriarchal Ideal; The Patriarchal Reality; British vs. American Families; Remarriage; Death of Mother; Childrearing--White Children and Orphans; Death of Adults; Law and Family--Women; Courtship and Marriage--Remarriage

Endnotes:

1. Davenport family tree written in book once owned by Joseph Davenport, Jr. (Elizabeth Hay's brother); printed in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 5 (1896), p. 271.

2. Bruton Parish Register (births) [July 29, 17[58].

3. Ibid., December 16, 1765 and November 26, 1767.

4. Tyler's Quarterly, Vol. VIII., pp. 277-278. Taken from a statement of Laura Lee a granddaughter of Elizabeth and Anthony Hay.

5. Virginia Gazette, ed. Purdie and Dixon, January 8, 1767.

6. York County Wills and Inventories 21 529-530. Hay's will was dated January 20, 1770, and probated a year and a day later.

7. York County Judgments and Orders 2(1770-72): 228; also Wills and Inventories 22: 24-25.

8. York County Wills and Inventories 22: 19-24.

9. York County Deeds 8: 222-225.

10. York County Deeds 8: 229-231, dated January 18, 1772, and recorded June 15, 1772.

11. Williamsburg Land Tax Records, 1782-1788. In 1788 the taxes were charged to "Elizabeth Hay's Estate."

12. Ibid.: pp. 277-278.

FRANCES (FANNY) EVERARD HORROCKS (b. 1747 - d. December of 1773) Frances was the daughter of Thomas and Diana Everard and the wife of James Horrocks.

Frances was the eldest daughter of Thomas and Diana Robinson Everard. Her father had been born in England in 1719 where he was orphaned and educated at Christ Hospital in London. When he was fourteen or fifteen years old Thomas left his family in England when he was apprenticed to Matthew Hemp, a Williamsburg merchant and clerk of the General Court. After his successful apprenticeship he became the clerk of Elizabeth County Court for two years and from 1745 until his death in 1781 he held the important position of clerk of the York County Court. During his lifetime he acquired considerable property in land and slaves. Her mother, Diana Robinson Everard, was a member of a large and prosperous York County family. Frances had only one sister Martha (Patsy) Everard who was born in 1754 and six years younger. The family lived in a comfortable house on Palace Green and there were a number of household slaves to support the household.

When Frances was about thirteen years old and her sister Martha about six years old, her mother died leaving her husband a widower and two motherless daughters.¹ Her father never remarried and lived as a widower for about twenty years. Because Everard's position as clerk of the York County and deputy clerk of the General Court would have required him to be away from home much of the time, he might have hired a housekeeper to care for his daughters and manage his household.² Because Diana Everard had a number of siblings, it is very likely that Frances and Martha spent considerable amounts of time at the homes of one or more of their aunts or uncles or even lived with them for extended periods of time. Everard owned a number of slaves who may have helped with the care of his daughters, but it is unlikely that they were the girls' sole caregivers.

In 1765 Frances, at eighteen years of age, married James Horrocks who had been born in Great Britain, and was President of the College of William and Mary, Rector of Bruton Parish Church, and later Commissary of the Bishop of London and a member of the Governor's Council. He was a man of considerable influence in Virginia. They had no children.

As early as July of 1770 it is known that Frances was not well. She and her sister Martha visited Little England near Hampton in hopes that the sea air would revive Frances' health. In June of 1771 James and Frances Horrocks went to England and Portugal where James Horrocks died in Oporto in March of 1772. It must have been most difficult for Frances to become a widow alone while in Europe at the age of twenty five. She returned to England for several months and came home to Virginia in October of 1772.

Letters her father wrote to England suggest that she lived at his house with her sister who probably still lived at home. In February 1773 Everard wrote London Merchant John Norton that Frances was "much mended the winter is very fine so that she rides out almost every day" but by August he wrote that "her health has reduced her greatly."³ Frances died four months later in December of 1773.

Issues important in interpreting Fanny can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Male and Female Roles (II. C); Courtship (VI. A, 1); Marriage Advice (VI. A, 2); Weddings (VI., A, 3); Death of Spouse (VI. D, 5); Education for Females (VII. A, 4); Religious Practice (VII. B, 1); Religion and Women (VII. B, 3); Medicinal Practices and Folk Beliefs (VII. D, 1); Women and the Law (VII., E, 2)

Endnotes:

- 1 . It is not certain when Diana Robinson Everard died. She was mentioned in her mother's will of May 1758, but the part of the page describing the bequest is torn. Unfortunately few copies of the Virginia Gazette survive from the 1750s and early 1760s where her obituary probably would have been printed.
- 2 . It would not have been uncommon for a well-to-do widower like Thomas Everard to have hired a white housekeeper, who may have lived in or out, to manage the household.
- 3 . Frances Norton Mason, ed., John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia (Richmond, 1937).

JUDITH (c. 1740 - d. unknown), slave woman--possibly a house servant--in the Prentis family, local merchants and lawyers. By the terms of William Prentis's will in 1765, Judith and her three children Effy, Molly, and Jimmy (he had been baptized in 1763)¹ were bequeathed to William's daughter Elizabeth Prentis. The four of them were appraised at £112.² Early in 1766 Judith's son Pompey was born, and late in 1768 she bore a daughter named Nancy Lewis.³

Elizabeth Prentis died as a teenager in October 1770, leaving Judith and her four children to John Prentis, her brother. John died in 1773, and Judith with her younger children Tom and Lewis was bequeathed to his brother Joseph.⁴ In January 1776 much of the estate of John Prentis was sold at auction, including "several valuable Slaves, chiefly House Servants, among wich [sic] is a very good Cook."⁵ Probably Judith was among those house servants. Who purchased her is not known. Prentis's executors indicated that the sale of slaves brought in £313.⁶

Because these members of the Prentis family died in rapid succession, it is heartbreakingly easy to see that the slave family was torn apart again and again as owners left legacies and as their executors divided up estates to provide for widows and orphans.

Issues important in interpreting Judith can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Law and Family--Women, Orphans and Children, and Slave Law; Work and Family; Childrearing--Black Children; Birth and Infancy--Pregnancy and Childbirth, Black; Black Family--Impact of Master's Death on Slaves

Endnotes:

1. Bruton Parish Register (birth), [3] July 176[3].

2. York County Wills and Inventories 21: 241-245, dated 19 August 1765; appraisal dated 21 October 1765 in Wills and Inventories 21: 252-263.

3. Bruton Parish Register (births), 9 February 1766 and 6 November 1768.

4. York County Wills and Inventories 22: 313-321, recorded on 18 December 1775.

5. Virginia Gazette, ed. Dixon and Hunter, 23 December 1775.

6. York County Wills and Inventories 22: 389-390, recorded 15 June 15 1778.

NANNY (b.? - d. ?) She was an enslaved person who belonged to Governor Francis Fauquier and after to James Geddy. She was the mother of at least one child, but because she was a slave she was denied the rights and protection of a legal marriage.

Nanny was one of eighteen slaves who lived at the Governor's Palace during the tenure of Francis Fauquier. In early 1767 her young daughter, Sukey was baptized at Bruton Parish Church. It is likely that Fauquier's death in March of 1768 made Fanny and the other slaves at the Palace anxious about their futures. Uncertainty was always a part of a slave's life because a master could sell or bequeath slaves to individuals who lived in other parts of Virginia or in other colonies. Sales and legacies often disrupted the family and friendship ties that slaves formed with one another.

Governor Fauquier disliked being a slave owner and he felt an obligation to provide for his slaves after his death. The governor asked his executors to read his will to his slaves and to make sure that they understood its contents. He wanted them to "have the liberty to choose their own Master and that the Women and their Children shall not be parted." Fauquier also specified that his slaves were to have six months to choose their new master.¹

Appraisers valued Nanny and Sukey together at £ 65. Nanny selected James Geddy as her new master and Geddy agreed to buy her and her daughter from Fauquier's estate. However, Sukey died soon after the sale. Nanny lived and worked at the Geddy House until 1777 when James Geddy decided to move his family to Dinwiddie County. It is known that Nanny was alive until at least 1784.

Issues important in interpreting Nanny can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Kinship and Families (IV, C); Interracial Relations (IV., F); Separations (IV., J); Impact of the Death of Masters of Slaves (IV., M); The Black Family Story (V., E); Black Marriage and Married Life (VI., A, 5); Pregnancy for Blacks (VI., B, 4); Nursing Black Children (VI., B, 7); Raising Black Children (VI., C, 2); Education for Blacks (VII., A, 6); Slave Religion (VII., B, 4); Funerals and Mourning Practices (VII., B, 6)

Endnotes:

1 . See Francis Fauquier's Will.

ANNE NICHOLAS (b.1735 - d. 1786) She was a member of the wealthy Cary family, the wife of the powerful Robert Carter Nicholas, the mother of ten children, and the mistress of slaves.

Anne was the daughter of Wilson Cary and Sarah Pate Cary of Warwick, County, Virginia where she probably grew up and was educated. She had four siblings; Sally born in 1730, Mary born in 1733, Wilson-Miles born in 1734, and Elizabeth born in 1738.¹ She was described as "small in person, very energetic in character," and it appears that she was better educated than most young Virginia women. Her older sister Sally, who later married George William Fairfax of Belvoir, was entertained by her sister's letters and often read them to her British friends as "I can't deny myself the pleasure of hearing the Gentlemen express surprise, and say did an American, and a Lady write this. I never saw a better stile . . . Pen'd."²

Anne Cary and Robert Carter Nicholas of Shirley Plantation and Williamsburg were married in 1751 when she was sixteen or seventeen years old. Undoubtedly Anne Cary brought a handsome dowry to the marriage and during their married life she inherited more property. As a femme covert her husband would have managed all of her financial affairs.

They established their home in Williamsburg where the family lived from 1751 until 1777. Within 23 years they had ten children, four girls and six boys; Sarah (1752-1787), Elizabeth (1753-1810), George (1754-1799), John (1756-1820), Mary (1759-1795), Wilson Cary (1761-1820), Judith (1765-"died young"), Lewis (1766-1840), Robert (1768-"died young"), and Philip Norborne (1775-1849).

In addition to the challenges of pregnancy, childbirth, nursing, and caring for older children, Anne Cary Nicholas would have been responsible for the management of a complicated household and the supervision of a number of their slaves.³

Her husband, Robert Carter Nicholas, was a practicing attorney and one of the leading public servants in the institutions of the city, county, and colony which would have committed her to greater number of private and public responsibilities. During their married life together in Williamsburg, Nicholas was a practicing attorney and held many governmental positions simultaneously; he was member of Williamsburg Common Council and Mayor, vestryman for Bruton Parish, gentleman justice for James City County, burgess from York County and later James City County, and a member of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary.

In 1766 Nicholas was appointed Treasurer of the Colony of Virginia in the midst of the John Robinson scandal which nearly wrecked the financial stability of the colony

and implicated many members of Virginia's gentry. He held that most important position until 1776. Considered a conservative in matters of church and state he aligned himself with the Blair and Nelson families in opposition to the Randolphs.

Among his duties Nicholas was chairman for the Committee on Religion for the House of Burgesses. In June of 1773 Williamsburg was embroiled in the controversial appointment of the Reverend Samuel Henley as rector of Bruton Parish Church and the considerations of the allegations brought by Robert Carter Nicholas against him asserting that Henley was "an avowed enemy of the forms of the Church of England . . . and that he maintained heterodox opinions derogating the divinity of the Savior." The vestry was meeting in the bell tower of Bruton Parish Church and Mrs. Anne Cary Nicholas appeared as a witness at that meeting where Henley was denied the appointment.⁴

During the Revolution in 1777 the Nicholas family moved to Hanover County. Before their move two of their daughters were married; in 1772 Sally married John Hatley Norton, son and agent of John Norton the London agent, after overcoming Norton's opposition of his son marrying in Virginia,⁵ and in 1776 Elizabeth married Edmund Randolph, an old school mate, unifying two families that often took opposing positions in Virginia politics.

Robert Carter Nicholas died in 1780 while the family was living in Hanover County. Anne Cary Nicholas had returned to Williamsburg in 1783 and she died there in 1786. When Anne died in 1786 eight of her children survived her.

Issues important to interpreting Anne Nicholas can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Male and Female Roles (II., C); The New American Family (V., A); The Nurturing Family (V., B); Childhood Assumes New Importance (V., C); Courtship (VI., A, 1); Weddings (VI., A, 3); Pregnancy for Whites (VI., B, 1); Childbirth in White Families (VI., B, 3); Nursing White Children (VI., B, 7); Birth Intervals, Birth Control, and Abortion (VI., B, 6); Education for Females (VII., A, 4); The Importance of John Locke (VII., A, 5); Religious Practice (VII., B, 1); Religion and Women (VII, B, 3); Christenings, Baptisms, and Godparents (VII., B, 5); Funerals and Mourning Practices (VII., B, 6); Accidents and Illness of Infants and Children (VII., D, 2); Death of Infants and Children (VII., D, 4); Death of Adults (VII., D, 5); Women and the law (VII., E, 2)

Endnotes:

1 . Fairfax Harrison, The Virginia Carys, an Essay in Genealogy. New York: Devinne Press, 1919, p.107.

2 . Description of Anne Cary Nicholas in Wilson Miles Cary Mss., UVA; Sally Fairfax to [Anne Cary Nicholas], September 4, 1775, Public Records office, Colonial Office, C.O. 5/40, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: 1770-1782, intercepted Letters to and from American Colonists (copy on microfilm,

Virginia Colonial Records Project, UVA).

3 . A number of the Nicholas slaves were baptized at Bruton parish Church and one slave attended the Bray School.

4 . Rhys Isaac. The Transformation of Virginia. pp. 209-211.

5 . Frances Norton Mason, ed., John Norton & Sons Merchants of London, Being the papers from Their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795. Richmond: Deitz Press, 1937.

MRS. OAKLY (b. unknown - d. unknown), hired white nurse in family of Robert and Frances Carter in Williamsburg. Fithian's diary is the only source of information about her. In 1774 Mrs. Oakly may have been living in Hobbes Hole (now Tappahannock), for Fithian recorded her arrival at Nomini Hall from that town. As their former nurse, Mrs. Oakly was loved and respected by the Carter family.¹ Fithian tells us that Mrs. Oakly had a child out of wedlock and married afterward. In genteel eighteenth-century terminology, she "blundered by mere accident, when she was young, out of the road in which Virgins commonly travel, & felt the difficulties of being a Mother, several years before She enjoyed the Pleasures of being a wife."² Mrs. Oakly may have been widowed by the time she was employed by the Carters in Williamsburg.

Issues important in interpreting Mrs. Oakly can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Childhood Assumes New Importance; The New American Family; Childrearing, White Children; Premarital Pregnancy and Bastardy

Endnotes:

1. Fithian, p. 173, for 5 July 1774.

2. Ibid., p. 176, dated 8 July 1774.

PETER PELHAM (1721-1805?), organist, music teacher, clerk, and gaoler. Born in London, Pelham immigrated to Boston with his father in about 1726. There he studied music and became organist at Trinity Church. Pelham was the stepbrother of the artist John Singleton Copley through his father's marriage to Copley's widowed mother. Peter Pelham and Ann Creese were married in Boston in 1746. They lived in several American cities before settling in Williamsburg. From correspondence and the family Bible, we know that they lived in Boston, 1747-48; in Hampton, Virginia, 1750-52; in Suffolk, 1754; and in Williamsburg by the mid-1750's.¹

In 1755 Pelham set up the new organ at Bruton Parish Church and was "unanimously appointed and chosen organist."² A member of the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons, Pelham played the organ at the funeral of fellow Mason and Virginia Gazette publisher William Rind in 1773.³ Pelham gave lessons on the spinet and harpsichord and served as music director when The Beggar's Opera was first performed in town.⁴

Peter and Ann Creese Pelham had 14 children in 25 years:

- Peter (b.1747-d. unknown)
- Charles (1748-1829)
- Thomas (1750-d. same month)
- Ann (1752-1756)
- Sarah (1754-1834)
- Lucy (1757-1758)
- Ann (1758-d. within a month)
- William (1759-1827)
- Lucy (1761-1764)
- John (1763-prob.1827)
- Elizabeth (1765-1805)
- Mary (1767-1768)
- Henry (1768-1850s)
- Parthenia (1772-1798)

While this is certainly a very large family, note that six of the fourteen children died by age four or younger; also, given such a large difference in their ages, most of the older offspring were probably out of their parents' home by the time the last few arrived.⁵ Peter and Ann Pelham chose an interesting selection and repetition of names for their offspring. The oldest son was named for his father and great-grandfather. Their first daughter carried her mother's name, Anne. The Pelhams used the name Lucy twice, first for the infant who died in 1758 and again three years later for another short-lived daughter.

Like many artists then and now, Pelham's musical gifts did not always generate enough income to maintain his large family. He supplemented his income by serving as clerk to committees of the House of Burgesses as well as to governors Fauquier and Botetourt⁶ and as Public Gaoler from 1771 to 1779.⁷ Until he left Williamsburg for Richmond in 1802, "the modern Orpheus--the inimitable Pelham" continued as organist and gave weekly concerts.⁸ Pelham, although he had been associated with royal governors and had held colonial offices, made a smooth transition to private citizen and patriot.

Issues important in interpreting Peter Pelham can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Health and Family--Death of Infants, Death of Children; Birth Intervals

Endnotes:

1. Most of the Pelham family data, especially birth dates, comes from Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739-1776 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1914).

2. John C. McCabe, "Sketches of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, Virginia," American Ecclesiastical History, January 1856, p. 615.

3. Virginia Gazette, ed. Purdie and Dixon, August 26, 1773.

4. Ibid., May 26, 1768.

5. Cathleene B. Hellier, character biography of Peter Pelham, Department of Historical Research, CWF.

6. Ibid., April 19, 1770; ibid., ed. Rind, April 19, 1770.

7. Journal of the House of Burgesses, vol. 12, p. 130.

8. Quotation from "Journal of Alexander Macaulay," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 11 (1902-1903), p. 186; this traveler's account dates from 1783. Pelham continued as organist at Bruton until about 1802, Benjamin Crowninshield to Dr. B. Lynde Oliver, 30 May 1804, William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd ser., vol. 11 (1930), p. 265.

BENJAMIN POWELL (b. by 1732 - d. by 1791) Powell was a carpenter and builder, planter, husband, father, master of slaves, and a public servant.

Powell was probably born and grew up in Warwick County, Virginia. The identity of parents is not known, but it is likely that he was the son of Seymore Powell (born c. 1667 and died after 1745) and Anne Jackson Powell. If Benjamin was the son of Seymore Powell, his possible brothers and sisters were; Seymore, Thomas, Edward, William, George Jackson, and Sarah. If Benjamin was indeed the son of Seymour and Anne Jackson Powell, he would have been a part of an extensive kin network in Williamsburg and York County of responsible middling planters who married well for several generations.

Powell was literate, but probably not literary. In deeds and apprenticeship contracts, Powell was identified as a wheelwright, carpenter, and carpenter/joiner. After 1774 Powell is not listed by occupation or the title of gentlemen identifies him suggesting a real change in his perceived status.¹

Benjamin Powell probably married Annabelle by at least 1752. Little is known about her background, but it is probable that she was also born in Warwick County. She signed several deeds with her mark rather than her signature. Their daughter Hannah's birth was recorded in 1753 in the Bruton Parish Register. Ann (called Nancy) was born c. 1754.

When the family first moved to Williamsburg in about 1753, they probably lived on lot 30 that Powell bought from Benjamin Waller in the track of land east of the city. Between 1757 and 1763 he bought lots 31 and 32. From 1763 to 1778-1782 he purchased lots 19 and 43 and added onto the existing brick building where the family lived.

While living in Williamsburg Powell undertook a number of public building projects which included: repairing the public goal in 1765 for £38.18.8; building the steeple at Bruton Parish Church for £ 410 in 1769; repairing the Capitol in 1769 for £ 79.11.11; enlarging the Palace for £ 654.10 in 1771; building the Public Hospital for the Insane in 1771 for £ 1070; working on the soldiers' barracks in 1776 for £ 590.2.10; and building a hospital at the Vineyard in 1778 for £605.

In addition to his business as a builder and contractor in Williamsburg, Powell held land in James City County and York County with a sizeable labor force employed at the three sites. He undoubtedly supplemented his income with the production of agricultural commodities on those lands. In 1772 Powell shipped eight hogsheads of tobacco to John Norton and Sons in London.² In 1768 Benjamin Powell's fourteen

tithes in James City County. Approximately 85% of the households of 1768 in James City County had fewer tithes than the number Powell claimed. In 1769 his 1012 acres in James City County made Powell one of the largest land owners in the county; 90% owned less.

Benjamin Powell was also active as a public servant for Williamsburg and York County. In the 1750s he was a petit juror and in the 1760s a grand juror for York County. He became a member of Williamsburg's Common Council in 1767 and the Doorkeeper of the Capitol in 1770. During the Revolution in 1774 and 1775 Powell became a member of Williamsburg's Committee of Safety where he served with Williamsburg's most distinguished men. He served as Marshall of the Admiralty Court from 1776 to 1787. From November 1778 until after January 1783 he served as a Justice of the Peace for York County.

In 1782 Powell became a widower when Annabelle his wife of some thirty years died in the 50th year of her life. Annabelle had lived to see both of her daughters married.

Powell's economic and political rise in Williamsburg undoubtedly helped both of his daughters to marry well. His daughter Hannah married William Drew, Esq., clerk of Berkeley County (now in West Virginia), in November 1776. Before his death in 1785, Drew served as the Clerk of the Virginia Senate from 1780 to 1785. After her husband's death Hannah Drew returned to Williamsburg with her son Benjamin Drew and lived in a house her father leased from William Bland.³ Hannah Drew's name appears on the 1793, but not the 1794 or later Williamsburg personal property tax lists.

His younger daughter Ann (called Nancy) married John Burwell in December 1771. He was the son of Armistead Burwell merchant and Christian Blair Burwell and the grandson of Councillor John Blair which connected him with the powerful Burwell and Blair families. John Burwell died in 1788. An 1803 deed of her son mentions that Nancy Burwell was deceased.

At approximately the same time his wife died Powell moved to his lands adjacent to the Palace Farm in York County where his will later stated "he lived on his York County Plantation."⁴ Powell's position as one of the area's largest land and slave owners characterized his later years as well. Although Powell had sold all but 150 acres of his land in James City County, he had acquired 697 acres of land in York County by 1786. His holdings were twice the size of the mean average freehold of 316 acres and his 697 acres placed him in the top 10% of York County freeholders. Half the freeholders owned 200 acres or less.

Powell later married Frances Tabb Rowsay in either 1788 or 1789. Frances Rowsay's three children were all under age when her husband William wrote his will in

July 1786 therefore it is likely that one or more of the children were still underage and living with their mother at the time of her marriage to Powell. Frances died in 1724,

Benjamin Powell died between November 19, 1790 and January 17, 1791 on his plantation in York County.

Issues important in interpreting Benjamin Powell can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: The Patriarchal Ideal (I., A); The Patriarchal Reality (I., B); Male and Female Roles (I., C); Slave Discipline (IV., E); Interracial Relations (IV., F); The New American Family (V., A); The Nurturing Family (V., C); Marriage Advice (VI., A, 2); Weddings (VI., A, 3); White Marriage and Married Life (VI., A, 4); Remarriage (VI., A, 9); Raising White Children (VI., C, 1); Raising Black Children (VI., C, 2); Apprenticeships (VII., A, 3); Education for Female (VII., A, 4); Work and Status (VII., C, 2).

Endnotes:

- 1 . York County Records, Deed (8)439; 540; Deed Book 6, 118.
- 2 . J. Norton and Sons Papers, folder 53, item dated 27 January 1772.
- 3 . York County Records, WI (23)222.
- 4 . York County Records Deeds (80, 439-442; WI(23), 222.

PEACHY DAVENPORT PURDIE was born in Williamsburg in 1737 and died in Richmond in 1811; Peachy was a member of the large and influential Davenport family of Williamsburg and married Alexander Purdie a Williamsburg printer.

Peachy's parents were Joseph and Margaret Davenport. Her father Joseph had been first town clerk of Williamsburg. Her father and brothers Joseph and Matthew had been educated at the College of William and Mary and her family was influential in the town. She was a twin of her brother Johann Shank and they were the second set of twins born to Joseph and Margaret. There were a total of ten children in the family ; Elizabeth (became the wife of Anthony Hay of the Raleigh Tavern), Martha (married Augustine Davis), Joseph (rector of Charles Parish), Matthew (town clerk and writing master at William and Mary), George (attorney), Judith (wife of John Greenhow), James, Peachy, Johann Shank, and Sara.

In 1767, while still a single woman, Peachy bought lot 271 on Nicholson Street. On 31 December 1772, when the well connected and property owning Peachy Davenport was 35 years old, she married Alexander Purdie (he was 29) who was then the patriot printer and a merchant in Williamsburg.¹ Purdie owned property in Williamsburg and had been in business with John Dixon since 1766 at least and since 1764 had been associated with Royle as his journeyman printer and foreman. Rind's Gazette described Peachy Davenport as "a Lady amiable in her person, and of accomplished understanding."² Purdie's first wife Mary had died at age 27 in March leaving four young sons (James, Hugh, Alexander, and William).³ There are no records that indicate that Peachy Davenport had any children of her own during her lifetime, but her husband had three living sons James, Hugh, and Alexander at the time her wrote his will on 12 April 1779. They therefore would have been underage during the seven years of their married life and undoubtedly lived with them.⁴ Together they maintained a respectable upper middling household.⁵

Purdie died April 16, 1779, after "a tedious and painful illness."⁶ In his will Alexander Purdie left his widow "the following negro slaves to her & her heirs forever to wit: Jack, Booker, Billy, Alice & her child, Billy."⁷ All of the rest of the personal property was to be sold and the residue was to be divided among his heirs. He bequeathed "to my sd wife Peachy & her heirs one fourth part of all the money which may arise from the sales of my estate afsd except that part of the same which shall arise from the sales of the slaves." He appointed guardians for his sons and directed that "all my sons be bound out to trades at the discretion of their sd guardians the sd James immediately & the others whenever they shall be of a proper age & duly qualified & in the mean time I direct that they shall be educated & maintained at the expense of my estate & also that my sd exrs. give with every of them whatever apprentice fee they shall think proper."⁸ The rest of the money from the estate should be divided equally among them when

they reached 21 years. He continues in his will to state that "It is my desire that my wife & children remain in my dwelling house during the term of six months at the expense of my estate."⁹ Peachy's sister Martha and her husband Augustine Davis operated the printing office of his brother-in-law Alexander Purdie after Purdie's death in 1779.

Peachy's second husband was William Holt, a merchant, ship owner, and planter. The earliest we know of the marriage is 1791, when Holt died, so perhaps they hadn't been married long. William Holt owned both rural and urban property in York County, James City County, and Kentucky and after 1774 he seems to move back and forth between Williamsburg and his rural property. Holt died in 1791, and Peachy renounced his will because it seemed to her advantage to claim a widow's third rather than what he specifically bequeathed to her.

Within a couple of years Peachy was married yet again. Her third husband was E[lias?] Wills. Little is known of their life together, although certainly Peachy--perhaps after she was widowed this third time--moved to Richmond by 1809 and died there in 1811.

Issues important in interpreting Peachy can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Male and Female Roles (II., B); White Marriage and Married Life (VI., A, 4); Remarriage (VI., A, 9); Death of Spouse (VI., D, 5); Apprenticeships (VII., A, 3); Death of Adults (VII., D, 5); Women and the Law (VII., E, 2)

Endnotes:

- 1 . Peachy's niece, Elizabeth Davenport married her first cousin William Hunter, Jr. who was a loyalist printer in town.
- 2 . Virginia Gazette, ed. Rind.
- 3 . W. A. R. Goodwin, Historical Sketch of Bruton Church, p. 96.
- 4 . York County Records, Wills and Inventories, 12 April 1779.
- 5 . In 1776 Purdie paid for 15 tithables and 2 riding chairs; York County Orders and Bonds 4 (1774-1784): 127. The advertisement for the sale of his estate mentioned several luxury items, including 130 ounces of silver, "a neat Italian riding chair and harness, and nine slaves, amongst them a carpenter, gardener, and cook"; Virginia Gazette, May 8, 1779. At his death his estate was appraised at £11,705. 14., 0; York County Wills and Inventories 22: 437-442.

6 . Virginia Gazette, ed. Dixon and Hunter, April 16, 1779.

7 . ibid.

8 . York County Inventories and Wills, Alexander Purdie, 12 April 1779.

9 . ibid.

ELIZABETH RANDOLPH (ca. 1723 - February 17, 1783) was the daughter of Col. Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley Plantation and the wife of Peyton Randolph, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, of Williamsburg. The Randolphs did not have any children of their own, but they were influential in the lives of their extended family of many nieces and nephews.

Her father was a gentleman justice and a member of the House of Burgesses, and Betty's mother was Anne Carter Harrison, a granddaughter of Robert "King" Carter. Elizabeth had six brothers and three sisters. Her father and sister Hannah died in 1745 in an accident recorded in the Maryland Gazette, August 16 1745; "Last Friday Evening (July 23, 1745) a most terrible Accident happened in Charles City County (Va.); when a violent Thundergust arose, and the Lightning struck the House of Col. Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley, which kill'd him and his two youngest daughters.¹ He lived some Minutes; but tho' a Vein was opened by Dr. Monger (who happened to be on the Spot, and was knock'd down by Lightning, but received little Damage), it proved in vain, and he expired without speaking a word."² This trauma must have had a powerful influence on her life.

Some eight months later when Elizabeth was 22 years old in March of 1745/46 she married Peyton Randolph of Williamsburg who then held the important position of Attorney General of Virginia. Betty and Peyton had no children on their own, but they were both members of large and powerful Virginia families. Peyton's father had been Sir John Randolph. His mother, Lady Susannah Randolph, lived with them in their Nicholson Street house for about ten years before her death.

Evidence indicates that Elizabeth was literate. She would have been challenged to run a complicated household in which she would have managed much of the work of 27 domestic slaves on the Williamsburg property.

Mrs. Randolph was a leading member of the gentry society in Williamsburg. John Blair in 1751 wrote in his Diary that "Mrs Bride, Mrs. Grimes, Mrs. Burwell, Mrs. Atto. &c., visited Mrs. Blair who could not go to church" and that "The Govr, his lady and Mrs. Dinwiddie, Mr. Attorney and his lady, the Councilr and his lady dined and supped with us this day."

In 1766 her husband, Peyton Randolph was elected Speaker of the House of Burgesses increasing her responsibilities as his wife and hostess. As the Revolution approached Peyton Randolph's participation in the Virginia Conventions in Richmond and the Continental Congresses in Philadelphia put greater social and political demands on both of their lives. In August of 1775 she travelled with her husband to Philadelphia for the meeting of the Second Continental Congress where Randolph was again elected president.

Peyton Randolph died in Philadelphia on October 22, 1775 just as the revolutionary crisis was escalating in all of the colonies. Betty Randolph was in Philadelphia for some time after his death leaving the household of slaves without a master or mistress. At this time Dunmore issued his Proclamation offering freedom to slaves if they left their patriot masters; eight of the 27 Randolph slaves from the Williamsburg household took up the offer and were "gone to the enemy." Perhaps the uncertainty of the future for them now that Peyton Randolph was dead added to the decision of the eight who left.

Peyton Randolph's will left "my beloved wife my dwelling house, lots & the outhouses thereto belonging in the city of Williamsburg, with the furniture of the same, & also my chariot & horses & all her wearing apparel rings & jewels, all which estates real & personal I give to her heirs, exrs, & adrs. I give to my sd wife also Little Aggy & her children Lucy & her children to her & her heirs forever."³ She was made an executor of his will.

As a widow of the Speaker of the House of Burgesses and a resident of Williamsburg, she undoubtedly knew of the passage of the Virginia Resolves of 15 May 1776 and the adoption of the Virginia Declaration of Rights and the Virginia Constitution. She did not escape the consequences of the war itself in and around Williamsburg. As St. George Tucker wrote in a letter to his wife "The small pox, which the hellish polling of these infamous wretches (the British troops) has spread in every place thro' which they have passed has obtained a Crisis through the place so that there is scarcely a person to be found well enough to nurse those who are most afflicted by it. Your old friend Aunt Betty, is in that situation. A child of Sir Peyton Skipwiths who is with her was deserted by it's nurse and the good old Lady was left without a human being to assist her in any respect for some Days."⁴ In the same year of 1781 she loaned her home to French commander Comte de Rochambeau to use as his headquarters in the planning of the upcoming Battle at Yorktown.

Elizabeth Randolph died on 17 February 1783. According to her will the personal property was given to Peyton's Edmund Randolph "nephew of my dear departed Husband" and to members of her own extended family. Her will stipulated that Edmund Randolph receive "the Family Picture," silver, and household goods; her nephew Harrison Randolph, silver and household goods; "her niece Elizabeth Randolph who lives with me" her silver, "all my wearing Cloths my miniature Picture of my dear Husband, watch and Treasury bond; her nice Lucy Burwell "the set of Chelsea Tea China, as a token she is not forgot;" nephew Peyton Randolph "the silver coffee pot for the same reason;" her nephew Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley silver and Little Aggy and her two children, and household goods; and her nephew Carter Harrison of Berkeley "a Mulatto Boy named Wat." To her other four nieces and nephews she left slaves. Nine hundred pounds were to be divided ; Elizabeth Harrison was to receive five hundred pounds, and one hundred pounds went to her nieces Ann Harrison("daughter of my brother Charles Harrison, Sarah Harrison, Ann Harrison, and Betty Randolph Harrison.")

She also stipulated that "I desire forty Pounds may be divided among servants that shall attend me in my illness as they shall deserve" and One hundred and thirty pounds which I designed should be laid out in a monument to the memory of my dear and blessed husband."⁵

Ideas important in interpreting Betty Randolph's story can be found in the Family Resource Notebook: Male and Female Roles (II., C); War Forces Further Change (V., D); White Marriage and Married Life (VI., A, 4); Childless Marriage (VI., A, 8); Death of Spouse (VI., D, 5); Religion and Women (VII., B, 3)

Endnotes:

1. It is interesting that Lucy, one of the daughters who supposedly died, lived a long life, mostly in England. She married twice, had an illegitimate child by another man, went into business as a milliner, advertized in the Virginia Gazette that she would do business for Virginia ladies, and stayed in England at the time of the Revolution.
2. The Maryland Gazette, August 16, 1745.
3. Peyton Randolph's Will, York County Wills and Inventories, York County Records, Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, Williamsburg, Virginia
4. St. George Tucker's Correspondence, July 1781.
5. Elizabeth Randolph's Will, York County Wills and Inventories, York County Records, Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, Williamsburg, Virginia.

EDMUND RANDOLPH (b.1753 - d. 1813) Randolph was a member of the powerful Randolph family and married into the influential Nicholas family.

Edmund Randolph's parents were Ariana Jennings Randolph, daughter of the Attorney General of Maryland, and John Randolph, son of Sir John Randolph and younger brother of Peyton Randolph. Randolph attended the Grammar School and the School of Philosophy at the College of William and Mary where he was elected a "student ship" for excellent scholarship. He studied law and in 1774 his cousin, Thomas Jefferson, retired from the practice of law and turned his clients over to Randolph. Edmund at age twenty-one was elected to the House of Burgesses in May of 1774 while Virginia was still of colony of Great Britain.

In 1775 Edmund Randolph's father, John, declared himself a loyalist and returned to England with the other members of Edmund's family in 1775. The only evidence of the tension that existed between Edmund and his father as the colonies moved to war with Great Britain was a letter from Benjamin Harrison to General George Washington written 21 July 1775. In it Harrison reported that Edmund was in Philadelphia seeking support for his effort to become an aide to Washington. Harrison noted that Edmund made his decision to join the army at Boston without consulting anyone and that he did so because he feared "his father's conduct may lessen him in the esteem of his country men." By joining the rebel army Edmund felt his loyalty to the colonist's cause would not be questioned. His father's reaction, to Edmund's drastic act is summed up in a line from a letter he wrote his son in August 1775: "For God's Sake, return to your Family & indeed to yourself."

At about the same time Edmund was appointed Muster Master General of the Continental Army of the Southern District by the Continental Congress, and then became Aide-de-camp to General Washington, and Judge of Admiralty. In 1776 he was elected to represent Williamsburg in the Fifth Virginia Convention where he was appointed to the committee charged with drafting the Virginia Declaration of Rights and Virginia's Constitution.

In 1776 he also married Elizabeth Nicholas, daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas and Ann Cary Nicholas. It was an unlikely marriage as the Nicholas and Randolph families had long had their political and religious differences. Edmund and Elizabeth had known each other since they had been in school together. They had at least six children.

The Convention elected Randolph Attorney General of the Commonwealth in 1776, a position which he held until 1786. In addition to being Attorney General, he served as the Clerk of the House of Delegates from 1778-1779 and was a delegate to

the Continental Congress in 1779 and from 1781 to 1786. He was also mayor of Williamsburg, a member of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, and Justice of the Peace for James City County at times during this period. In 1786 to 1788 he was elected Governor of Virginia during which time he also served as a Delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and was a Delegate to the Virginia Ratification Convention in 1788.

From 1789 to 1794 Edmund Randolph served as the first Attorney General of the United States. During President Washington's second term, Edmund Randolph served as the Secretary of State.

In a letter written to his children on 23 March 1810, Edmund, who would have been 57 years old and a widower, wrote of his marriage to their mother Elizabeth ("my dearest Betsy") and of her strong religious convictions. He argued that "her attendance on public worship was unremitted, . . . in her closet prayer was addressed to the throne of mercy, and the questioning of sacred truths she never permitted to herself, nor heard without abhorrence from others." Randolph describes himself as a deist when they married. In the letter he wished "we had instituted a course of family prayer for the benefit of our children . . . But I know not how, the plan was not enforced until during her last illness she and I frequently joined in prayer. She always thanked me after it was finished; and it grieved me to think that she should suppose that this enlivening inducement was necessary to excite me to this duty."¹ He continues to praise her for her sense of economy, her admonition to sell their slaves, and hospitality.

Issues important in interpreting Edmund Randolph can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: The Patriarchal Ideal (II., A); The Patriarchal Reality (II., B); The New American Family (V., A); The Nurturing Family (V., B); War Forces Further Change (V., E); White Marriage and Married Life (VI., A, 4); Raising White Children (VI., c, 1); Death of A Spouse (VI., D, 5); Religious Practice (VII., B, 2); Religion and Women (VII., B, 3); Death of Adults (VII., D, 5)

Endnotes:

1 . Edmund Randolph, MS Letter to His Children, Alderman Library DEPOSIT , MS #4263, 23 March 1810.

JOHN RAWLINSON (b. by 1725 - 1780), free African American shoemaker. The son of Elizabeth Rawlinson and an unknown father,¹ John Rawlinson was a successful Williamsburg tradesman. Rawlinson was called a "mulatto" in one document, but his mother was not white (she was tithable as white women were not).² His surname is variously spelled Rollison, Rolleson, and Rawlinson in contemporary records.)

John Rawlinson had two families, one within marriage and the other illegitimate. By his wife Elizabeth (maiden name unknown), he had a son named Hulett Rawlinson (b. 1759 - d. after 1804) and a daughter Elizabeth (b. by 1765 - d. 1785). The daughter married William Cole, Jr. An older daughter Mary Robinson Rawlinson is mentioned only in a baptismal record dated 1746, so presumably she died as a child.³ In 1768 the Bruton Parish Register informs us that Rawlinson was the father of Sarah by "Elizabeth Garrett his housekeeper."⁴ From Rawlinson's will we learn that he and Garrett had two other children, Samuel and Judith.⁵

John Rawlinson owned at least one slave and several improved lots in Williamsburg. His estate appraisement lists "1 old Negro Fellow [valued at] £10 . . . [and] 8 houses and Lotts [worth] £6000." The appraisement totals £11,063.10..0, an impressive figure even given wartime inflation.⁶ John Rawlinson and his son Hulett both took the oath of allegiance in August 1777.⁷

Issues important in interpreting John Rawlinson can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Section: Premarital Pregnancy and Bastardy

Endnotes:

1. York County Judgments and Orders 1: 141 (grand jury presentment for not listing his wife and mother); also York County Wills and Inventories 20: 197 (Elizabeth Rawlinson's will).
2. York County Judgments and Orders 1: 141.
3. Bruton Parish Register (birth), July 10, 1746.
4. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1768.
5. York County Wills and Inventories 22: 501.
6. *Ibid.*, 23: 49. The appraisement includes the honorific "Mr." with Rawlinson's name, certainly unusual for a free black in the eighteenth century.
7. Clerk's list (not individuals' actual signatures) of those who took the oath of allegiance, York County Loose Papers, B-16-2-3, Library of Virginia, Richmond. John and Hulett's surname is spelled "Rollison" on

the list. A facsimile of this document is currently on display at the Yorktown Victory Center.

CLEMENTINA RIND (1740 - 1774), newspaper editor, public printer, wife and mother. Clementina Rind edited the Virginia Gazette from 1773 to 1774. She also ran the public printing business one year, acting as publisher for the House of Burgesses, the first woman in the colony to operate such an enterprise. Widowed at the age of 33, Clementina was left with five young children.

Clementina Rind came to Williamsburg from Annapolis, Maryland, with her husband William in 1766. The Rinds had been invited by some of the younger and more liberal burgesses to establish a rival newspaper in Williamsburg.¹ When William died in August 1773,² Clementina assumed the editorship.³ The result was a paper that closely followed her personal tastes and relayed news in a decidedly feminine manner.

Clementina Rind died on September 25, 1774.⁴ The Rind orphans experienced some benevolent treatment as well as some negligence--Maria in particular seems to have borne the brunt of the latter. Two of the boys, William and John, were educated for several years at the expense of the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons.⁵ William became a newspaper editor in Richmond and Georgetown.⁶ Another son James practiced law in Richmond.⁷ Charles disappeared from the record; he may have died quite young.

The Rinds' only daughter Maria did not fare nearly so well as her brothers. She was bound out to an unknown family for three years after her mother's death. In 1777 Sarah Norton, wife of John Hatley Norton and daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas, took an interest in the poor girl. Mrs. Norton prevailed on Frances Randolph (who married St. George Tucker the next year) to take Maria into her household. Mrs. Norton's letter reads in part, "the Poor Girl has ever since Her Mothers death Labour'd under many disadvantages, as well as from the total neglect of those who had charge of Her." She hoped that Frances's "kindness in rescuing Her from Her former unhappy circumstances will excite a desire to please You." Mrs. Norton went on to say that "She is not so well cloathed a coud be wish'd, the Masons voted Her a sum of Money, but it Has never been Collected."⁸ Maria lived with the Tuckers at Matoax and in Williamsburg, caring for the children and perhaps assisting with the housework as well. In 1791 Maria Rind married John Coalter, the family's tutor. She died in childbirth the next year.⁹

Issues important in interpreting Clementina Rind can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Death of Mother; Death of Mothers in Childbirth; Law and Family--The Poor; also Orphans and Children; Work Gender Roles; Education; Apprenticeships

Endnotes:

1. The first issue of William Rind's paper was published on Friday, May 16, 1766.
2. Virginia Gazette, ed. Purdie and Dixon, August 19, 1773; *ibid.*, ed. Rind, August 26, 1773.
3. Virginia Gazette, ed. Rind, September 2, 1773.
4. Virginia Gazette, ed. Pinckney, September 29, 1774.
5. Treasurer's Accounts, Williamsburg Masonic Lodge, printed in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 1, pp. 13-14.
6. Clarence Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, vol. 2, p. 1473.
7. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 8, p. 153.
8. Sarah Norton to Frances Randolph, June 27, 1777, Tucker-Coleman Papers, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
9. *Ibid.*, *passim.*; Mary H. Coleman, St. George Tucker, Citizen of No Mean City (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1938), p. 105.

JAMES BARRETT SOUTHALL (1726 - 1800 or 1801), Williamsburg tavern keeper and member of the Williamsburg Committee of Safety. Born in Charles City County, Southall had moved to Williamsburg and was running a tavern by at least 1757.¹ He rented the Wetherburn property in the 1760s, and in 1771 he purchased and began operating the Raleigh Tavern.²

Southall's prosperity grew with every decade; for example, his tithables increased from two in 1760 to between 11 and 12 in the early 1780's.³ The very fact that he could afford to buy (not just rent) the Raleigh indicates how much financial clout he wielded. In addition to this very valuable urban property, Southall also owned several tracts of land in rural York County.

Southall and his wife Frances (maiden name unknown) had nine children:

John (b. April 3, 1763 - d. unknown)⁴

James (b. September 26, 1764 - d. unknown)⁵

Phillip (b. February 21, 1766 - d. unknown)⁶

[William] (b. April 21, 1767 - d. unknown)⁷

Frances (b. March 7, 1770 - d. unknown)⁸ In June 1787, "the amiable and accomplished Miss Frances Southall" married William Daingerfield of Spotsylvania County.⁹

Elizabeth (b. December 2, 1771 - d. unknown)¹⁰ Early in 1789 she married Peter Randolph of Chatsworth.¹¹

Ann (b. December 7, 1773 - d. unknown). She married Thomas Mutter and with him had several children. They lived at the plantation called Indian Fields on the York River in York County.¹²

George (b. April 2, 1775 - d. after 1832). He never married and lived in Cumberland County.

Peyton (b. December 8, 1776 - d. October 18, 1812). he married Helen Maxwell Macaulay, the daughter of Alexander and Elizabeth Macaulay of Yorktown. His widow married Robert Anderson of Williamsburg in 1814.¹³

The affluence and social mobility of this middling family are apparent from the marriages of daughters Frances and Elizabeth Southall into the Randolph and Daingerfield families.

Issues important in interpreting James Barrett Southall can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: The Nurturing Family; The New American Family; Birth Intervals; Education, General; Education for Whites; Courtship and Marriage

Endnotes:

1. Southall first appeared in the York County records on November 15, 1751; York County Deeds and Bonds 5: 457-459.

2. Patricia A. Gibbs, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia," M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1968, p. 196; Virginia Gazette, ed. Rind, March 7, 1771. His deed for the Raleigh was recorded on June 15, 1772; York County Deeds 8: 222-225.

3. York County Judgments and Orders 3: 179; York County Orders and Bonds 4 (1774-1784): 101; Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists for 1783 and 1784.

4. Bruton Parish Register (births) April 3, 1763.

5. Ibid., 26 September 1764.

6. Ibid., February 21, 1766.

7. Ibid., April 21, 1767, but the son's name is torn; Robert Anderson Family Records give this date for the birth of William Southall.

8. Robert Anderson Family Records.

9. Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, June 28, 1787.

10. Robert Anderson Family Papers.

11. Virginia Gazette and Weekly, February 5, 1789.

12. Robert Anderson Family Records.

13. Ibid. Peyton Southall's widow's marriage to Robert Anderson explains the presence of the list of Southall's children in Anderson's papers.

HENRY TIMBERLAKE (c. 1725 - 1765), French and Indian War officer. A native of Hanover County, Timberlake served under Colonel William Byrd III and General Stanwix. He also charted the Holston and Tennessee river valleys. Timberlake came to Williamsburg several times as escort to Indian delegations. Early in 1762 Timberlake escorted several Cherokees to Williamsburg to meet with Governor Fauquier. Besides his military and cartographic expertise, he knew how to bring the Indians to the attention of the right "power brokers" in the colonial capital. He made sure his proteges had official meetings with Governor Fauquier, Colonel Washington, Reverend Horrocks of the College of William and Mary, and other important figures in the Virginia diplomatic hierarchy. Eventually he even got the Cherokees access to King George III himself!

Timberlake's memoirs, published in London the year of his death, include insights into Cherokee culture, rituals, and family life:

There is no kind of rites or ceremonies at marriage, courtship and all being . . . concluded in half an hour, without any other celebration, and it is as little binding as ceremonious; for though many last till death, especially when there are children, it is common for a person to change three or four times a-year.¹

When they [couples] part, the children go with, and are provided for, by the mother. As soon as a child is born, which is generally without help, it is dipped into cold water and washed, which is repeated every morning for two years afterward, by which the children acquire such strength, that no ricketty or deformed are found amongst them. When the woman recovers [from childbirth], which is at latest in three days, she carries it herself to the river to wash it; but though three days is the longest time of their illness, a great number or [sic] them are not so many hours; nay, I have known a woman delivered at the side of a river, wash her child, and come home with it in one hand, and a goard full of water in the other.²

Discussing Cherokee inheritance customs, Timberlake noted they were usually buried with most of their goods.

This custom was probably introduced to prevent avarice, and, by preventing hereditary acquisitions, make merit the sole means of acquiring power, honour, and riches . . . On this account the wives general have separate property, that no inconveniency may arise from death or separation.³

Timberlake accompanied three Cherokees to London in the summer of 1762 to meet King George III and went again in 1764 he returned with another Indian delegation. He married "or rather made a young lady a companion of my misfortunes"⁴ in England; his wife's name is not mentioned in the memoirs. Still in London and lacking funds, his obituary appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine: "Died, September 30, 1765, Lieut. Henry Timberlake of the 42nd Regiment. He came in with the Cherokee Indians, and attended them."⁵

Issues important in interpreting Henry Timberlake can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Native American Family; Childbirth, Indian; Funerals and Mourning Practices; Death--Indian

Endnotes:

1. Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake . . . 1756-1765 (London, 1765), p. 89.

2. Ibid., p. 90.

3. Ibid., pp. 91-92.

4. Ibid., p. 155.

5. Gentleman's Magazine (1765), XXXIV, p. 491.

ST. GEORGE TUCKER (1752-1827), jurist, law professor, man of letters, husband, and father. A native of Port Royal, Bermuda, Tucker came to Virginia in 1771 to enter the College of William and Mary. Afterward he studied with George Wythe, whom he succeeded as professor of law at the College in 1790. Known as the "American Blackstone" because of his annotated edition of the celebrated Commentaries, Tucker was a judge of the United States District Court at the time of his death in 1827.

In addition to his professional accomplishments, St. George Tucker was a poet and essayist, an amateur astronomer, and an inventor. His writings describe Christmas celebrations and wedding feasts, parody courtships, satirize the legal profession, honor or poke fun at his friends and neighbors, and depict the happy domestic life enjoyed by his large and rambunctious family.¹

St. George's first wife was Frances Bland Randolph (1752-1788). The widow of John Randolph, she had three sons at the time of her marriage to Tucker in 1778. Tucker's stepsons were Richard (1770-1796), Theodorick (1771-1792), and John (1773-1833) Randolph.

St. George and his "ever dear Fanny" had five children:

Ann Frances (1779-1813)
Henry St. George (1780-1848)
Tudor (1782-1795)
Nathaniel Beverley (1784-1851)
Henrietta Elizabeth (1787-1796)

At this time, the Tuckers' household also included John Coalter, the children's tutor, as well as the nurse Maria Rind, orphan of William and Clementina Rind--see above. The children's nickname for their nurse was "Mammy Dee."²

Frances Tucker died at Matoax, a Randolph family plantation near Petersburg, in 1788. St. George, the five young children, along with the nurse, tutor, and various house slaves all came to Williamsburg and moved into the much renovated house on Market Square.

Surviving papers of the Tucker family are numerous and clearly show their affection for one another. During the Revolution, for example, Fanny wrote to Saint, as she called him, "Your absence causes my principle pain for with you I cou'd encounter every hardship, but I must support myself without that comfort."³ Two weeks after Fanny died, St. George composed a poem that began "Dear object of my tenderest love/ For whom my tortured Bosom throes."⁴

As a widowed father, St. George showed his fun-loving streak as well as real concern and affection for his children and stepchildren. He wrote up the household rules in mock military style and called "Garrison Articles to be observed by the officers and privates stationed at Fort St. George in Wmsburg." These regulations included punctuality at meals, courtesy toward superior officers, "hair neatly combed, Faces & Hands washed." The rules ended with this good-humored warning: "Health and whole bones being Objects of the Government's particular Attention, whoever does anything to endanger either, will be considered as guilty of a high misdemeanor."⁵

In 1791 St. George remarried. His second wife was Lelia Skipwith Carter (1767-1827), the daughter of Sir Peyton Skipwith of Prestwoud and the widow of George Carter of Corotoman. Lelia had two children from her previous marriage: Charles (1786-1825) and Mary, called Polly, (1788-1863). Both came with her to Williamsburg, immediately forming a new, "blended" household with seven young children; the three Randolph stepsons, mercifully, visited only occasionally. While some of them--John Randolph and Beverley Tucker in particular--became rancorous later in life, there is clear evidence of devotion within this very complex family. One instance was young Fan's letter in 1799 that closed with, "Kiss Poll [Mary Carter] and tell her I love her dearly and hope to see her as blooming as when last she returned from [Sweet Springs]. Farewell my best and dearest Parents," meaning her father and stepmother.⁶

St. George and Lelia Tucker had three children of their own, but none survived:

St. George (1792-1795)

Julia Maria (1793--lived only a few days)

Martha Rutledge (1796--d. at birth).

Lelia and St. George were doting grandparents and especially fond of the children of young Fan and John Coalter. St. George addressed his grandchildren as "the little monkeys," dear "Toads," and "beloved brats."⁷ The Tuckers remained in Williamsburg until St. George's death in 1827 and Lelia's in 1837.

Issues important in interpreting St. George Tucker can be found in the Resource Notebook: See Sections: The Nurturing Family; Childhood Assumes New Importance; The New American Family; War and the New Nation Force Further Change; Childrearing--Discipline; Education and Family; Health and Family

Endnotes:

1. Michael Olmert, Official Guide to Colonial Williamsburg, 1985, rev. ed., 1995.

2. Tucker-Coleman Papers, passim.; cited in Coleman, St. George Tucker, p. 132 and elsewhere.

3. Frances Tucker to St. George Tucker, July 17, 1781; cited in Mary Haldane Begg Coleman, St. George Tucker. Citizen of No Mean City, p. 65.

4. February 20, 1788, cited in ibid., p. 93

5. Tucker-Coleman Papers, ca. 1790; cited in Coleman, St. George Tucker, p. 103.

6. Frances Randolph to St. George Tucker, August 11, 1799, Tucker-Coleman Papers; cited in Coleman, St. George Tucker, p. 131-132.

7. Tucker-Coleman Papers, *passim.*; cited in Coleman, St. George Tucker, p. 158.

ANNE WAGER (b. by 1732¹ - d. by 20 August 1774) She was a wife, mother, widow, teacher, and mistress of the Bray School in Williamsburg.

The identity of Anne Wager's parents and siblings are unknown and there is no evidence of her baptism. We know that she had to be literate, familiar with the catechism, and skilled in housewifery skills to have been a school mistress. Anne married William Wager who was possibly from James City County. They had two children. William was born by 1733. He later became a justice of the peace in Elizabeth City County at least as early as 1760 and a burgess from that county at least by 1756.² Mary was born before 1747 and later married a carpenter Matthew Watts Hatton.³

Anne's husband, William Wager, had probably died by 1748 and his wife Anne acted as the executor of his estate. The date of their marriage is unknown. There is no indication in the records of how much real or personal property was left in the estate.

It is apparent that Anne Wager supported herself and her family as a teacher after her husband's death. She was employed by Carter Burwell at Carter's Grove from 1748 and paid £20 for "Schooling my Children two years." The Burwell children she taught probably including Lucy, Elizabeth, Judith, and Alice. She may have remained at Carter's Grove until 1754. In the 1750s the York County Records also show that Anne Wager was also paid £ 18.4.6 by the estate of Edward Champion Travis and income from the estate of George Wills perhaps for teaching his children.

A letter was written by the Rev. John Waring in London to the Rev. Thomas Dawson, Commissary and Minister of Bruton Parish, dated 29 February 1760, on behalf of the "Associates of the Late Dr. Bray (the Object of whose Attention are the Conversion of the Negroes in the British Plantations . . .) to acquaint you that they lately agreed to open a School at Williamsburgh in Virginia for the Instruction of Negro Children in the Principles of the Christian Religion." The letter continued by directing that "You will with all convenient Speed open a School for this purpose: & As tis probable that Some of Each Sex may be sent for Instruction, The Associates are therefore of the opinion that a Mistress will be preferable to a Master, as She may teach the Girls to Sew knit, &c. as well as all to read & say their Catechism. They think 30 Children or thereabout will Sufficiently employ one person . . ." ⁴ In addition the letter listed the books such as primers, printed Anglican sermons, and religious tracts that would be sent to support education at the Bray School. The Bible, however, would have been the principle text of the school.

Mrs. Anne Wager was asked to be the school mistress for opening a School at Michelams last [29 September 1760].⁵ Robert Carter Nicholas was to oversee its

operations. Mrs. Wager continued to be the school mistress from September 1760 until her death in 1774. During that time she would have taught about 30 enslaved and free black children ranging in age from three to ten years of age. The classes were held in her own home from 6:00 A.M. in the summer and from 7:00 A.M. in the winter. Until 1766 the school met in a house rented from Dudley Digges, possibly at the corner of Henry and Ireland Streets; later the school moved into a house rented from John Blair possibly on Capitol Landing Road.

She was not only responsible for teaching them to read and write, but to read the Bible, to know the "Principles of the Christian Religion," and to explain the "Church Catechism." In addition she was to teach them how to dress and behave as model enslaved and free black children while discouraging "idleness & suppress the Beginnings of Vice" and to be "faithful and obedient to their Masters."⁶

Robert Carter Nicholas, in a letter to the Rev. John Waring dated 19 September 1765, stated that the "mistress is pretty much advanced in Years & I fear Labours of the School will shortly be too much for her."⁷ On 16 February 1769 Nicholas again wrote to Waring that "Mr. Hunter had fix'd the Mistress's Salary at £ 7 a Quarter, a Sum for 30 Scholars, much less than is paid for schooling in this City to other Mistresses; but, as Mrs. Wager had no House of her own, she was at first allow'd £8 current Money more to pay for the Rent of a House, which was too small for such a Number of children; however she continued in it as long as it was tenable; I was then obliged to rent the House, where she now resides, of President Blair, for twelve Pounds Current Money."⁸

Finally, on 17 November 1774 Carter wrote to Waring that "I have to advise you of the Death of Mrs. Wager, the Mistress of the Bray School at Williamsburg." He continued by saying that he has discontinued the School until "I can receive your further Instructions."⁹

Issues important in interpreting Ann Wager can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Interracial Relations (IV., F); The Black Family Story (V., E); Black Marriage and Family Life (VI., A, 5); Raising Black Children (VI., C, 2); Behavior and Discipline (VI., C, 3); Education in General (VII., A, 1); Education for Blacks (VII., A, 6); The Material Culture of Education (VII., A, &); Religious Practice (VII., B, 1); Religious Education (VII., B, 2); Slave Religion (VII., B, 4); The material Culture of Religion (VII., B, 7); Slave Law (VII., E, 4)

Endnotes:

1 . Birth date based on her daughter's supposed birth year of 1747.

- 2 . York County Records, 20 W (1) 171, 26W (10107-8, 3V427, BV257.
- 3 . York County Records.
- 4 . Bray School (Van Horne pp. 144-46)
- 5 .
- 6 . Van Horne, Regulations for the Bray School Regulations, pp.190-191.
- 7 . Letter from Robert Carter Nicholas to the Rev. John Waring, 19 September 1765.
- 8 . Letter from Robert Carter Nicholas to the Rev. John Waring.
- 9 . Letter from Robert Carter Nicholas to the Rev. John Waring, 17 November 1774.

ANN WETHERBURN (b. by 1717 - d. after 1769), tavern keeper, wife, mother, and stepmother. One of the three daughters of Jean [or John] and Ann Marot, Ann married three times. Her first husband was James Ingles, clerk of Isle of Wight County, who died in 1733.¹ Their daughter Judith was born about the time of her father's death; Elizabeth who was probably older died four years later.²

By 1739 Ann had married tavern keeper James Shields and borne a son also named James.³ Shields was a widower who had three daughters by his first wife Elizabeth, who had died in 1737. Ann and James Shields offspring were:

James, born 1739
Ann, born in 1742
Christiana, born in 1745.⁴

James Shields died in 1750. By his will, Ann inherited all his houses and lots until she died or remarried, at which time the property devolved to their son.⁵

She gave up this real estate within a year, when she married Henry Wetherburn in July 1751, only ten days after the death of his first wife, Mary Bowcock, widow of the late proprietor of the Raleigh Tavern.⁶ By his union with Ann Shields, Wetherburn came to control young James Shields's assets for nine years.⁷ The house Shields had operated as a tavern they rented to Daniel Fisher and afterwards to other tenants.⁸ Besides his stepson's town lots, Wetherburn was fortunate enough also to gain a wife with tavern keeping experience. Wetherburn's only known relative in Virginia was his nephew Edward Nicholson, who died in September 1762, only two years after his uncle's death.

When Ann married Wetherburn in 1751 her children were the following ages:

Judith Bray Ingles was about 17 years old in 1751. She may have already married, for her son Henry Armistead, called "Harry," was born about this time. This boy definitely lived with the Wetherburns in 1760.

James Shields, age 12
Ann Shields, 9 years old
Christiana, aged 6
Stepdaughter Elizabeth Shields married John Booker of Amelia County sometime before December 1751.

Her other stepdaughter, Hannah Shields, aged 14 to 16, may have lived with her stepmother.

Henry Wetherburn died late in 1760, leaving Ann a widow for the third time.

Wetherburn's property was left to her during her lifetime, and then went on to the son of his nephew Edward Nicholson.⁹

The last mention of Ann Wetherburn in local records dates from August 1769, and no specific reference to her death has come to hand. After her August 1769 court appearance, she may have died, moved away, or possibly married a fourth time.¹⁰

In 1770 (and perhaps since the 60's) James Barrett Southall--see above--rented Wetherburn's Tavern.

Issues important in interpreting Ann Wetherburn can be found in the Resource Notebook: See sections: Courtship and Marriage--Remarriage; Education for Whites; Work; Gender Roles; Death of Infants, Children, and Adults

Endnotes:

1. York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories 18, pp. 53-54, dated June 18, 1733.
2. Bruton Parish Register (Deaths) for 1737 (month and day are torn away).
3. Ibid. (Births), October 27, 1739.
4. Bruton Parish Register (Births), [October?] 31, 1742, and December 23, 1745.
5. York County Wills and Inventories 20, p. 195.
6. John Blair Diary, July 11, 1751.
7. York County Judgments and Orders 1, p. 461, dated August 19, 1751.
8. Emma L. Powers, "Landlords, Tenants, and Rental Property in Williamsburg and Yorktown, 1730-1780," unpublished research report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, December 1990, pp. 10-17.
9. York County Wills and Inventories 21, pp. 23-25, will written November 13, 17[60], and probated December 5, 1760.
10. Much of the biographical and genealogical data for the Shields and Wetherburns comes from Pat Gibbs's memoranda to the Tavern Interpretive Planning Committee during August 1983; see Research Query File, Foundation Library.

ELIZABETH WYTHER (c. 1739 - 1787), housewife. Elizabeth Taliaferro was the only daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Taliaferro of Powhatan Plantation in James City County. The date of Elizabeth's marriage to George Wythe is not known, so the persistent claim that she married when only 16 is unfounded. Richard Taliaferro was a talented builder--"undertaker" in the terminology of the time--who worked on repairs at the Governor's Palace about 1749."¹ He may also have designed the Wythe House on Palace Street, which he left to his daughter and son-in-law for their lifetime.² The Wythes had no children. Although childless, the Taliferro nieces and nephews lived nearby. Other young people that frequented the house included Thomas Jefferson and St. George Tucker who studied law under Mr. Wythe. Elizabeth was responsible for the daily operations of a complicated household as well as the supervision and health care of their slaves, many of whom were children. Mrs. Wythe accompanied her husband to Philadelphia in 1775 when he attended the Second Continental Congress. Elizabeth died on August 18, 1787, after a long struggle with an unspecified illness.

Issues important in interpreting Elizabeth Wythe can be found in the Resource Notebook. See Sections: Accidents and Illness-Adults; Childless Marriage

Endnotes:

1. Marcus Whiffen, The Public Buildings of Williamsburg (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1958), pp. 140-141.

2. Richard Taliaferro's will, dated February 3, 1775, and recorded August 9, 1779; printed in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 12 (1903), pp. 1214-125.