

# The Network

An Enslaving Virginia Publication

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The sixth issue of "The Network" contains answers to questions about material in the Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, questions raised during the Enslaving Virginia Training in January and February, and requests for additional information. Future issues of "The Network" will also feature answers to questions about the Enslaving Virginia Resource Book and matters raised during training classes.

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May 18, 1736—Governor Gooch Responds to the Lords Commissioners (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 121-122)

Governor Gooch addressed his response to Alured Popple, secretary for the Board of Trade and Plantations. The Board of Trade and Plantations consisted of seven members. They advised the Secretary of State (who was a member of the Privy Council) about colonial matters.

The Randolph House (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 396-405)

Peyton Randolph bequeathed his personal slave, Johnny, to Edmund Randolph in his will (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book pp. 621-622).

John Randolph did not take any of his slaves to England when he left Virginia in 1775. On August 25, 1775 Randolph conveyed his estate, real and personal, to three trustees—Peyton Randolph, John Blair, and James Cocke—who were authorized to sell the property in order to pay his debts. This document included the names of thirteen slaves: Dinah, Betty, Betsy (the daughter of Betty), Esther, Miles (the son of Esther), Amy, Kitty, Sally, Lucinda (the daughter of Sally), Molly, Scilla, Johnny, and Troy.<sup>1</sup>

Randolph left for England on September 8, 1775.<sup>2</sup> On October 14, 1775, the trustees informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* about the sale of John Randolph's estate during

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<sup>1</sup> The clerk of James City County recorded Randolph's deed of trust to Peyton Randolph, John Blair, and James Cocke on August 11, 1777. Southall Family Papers, 1807-1904, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary. See also *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 25 August 1775.

<sup>2</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 8 September 1775.

the next meeting of the merchants. The estate included “his late DWELLING-HOUSE within the said City, and of the LAND adjoining; of several very valuable Family Servants, and a variety of Furniture.” On November 8, 1775, John Blair and James Cocke, the surviving trustees, announced a change in the date of the sale when they noted that “The attorney general’s slaves and household furniture, which were advertised for sale at the next meeting of the merchants, will be sold the 25th day of this month.” The date for the sale changed one more time; on November 28, 1775 Blair and Cocke noted that Randolph’s estate would be sold on December 11th of that year.<sup>3</sup>

In July 1777 Blair and Cocke informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that they were anxious to settle the Attorney General’s affairs. They requested “all persons indebted for goods bought at the sale to make immediate payment, the bonds having been due some time; and such of the creditors as have not already done so are requested to give in their claims, without loss of time.”<sup>4</sup>

The Mary Stith House (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 409-410)

Mary Stith died between December 15, 1813, when she wrote her will, and March 25, 1815, when her executor, Robert Anderson, presented her last testament in court. The full text of her will follows.

In the name of God, Amen, I Mary Stith of the City of Williamsburg being weak in body but in perfect sense and memory, do make and ordain this writing as and for my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all wills by me heretofore made. There being a sufficiency of my estate for payment of all just debts due from me, it is my desire that there be no appraisalment of my property. It is my will and desire that all my just debts be paid. My estate which consists of my houses and lot in Williamsburg, and of two debts which are due to me, the one from Richard Randolph and the other from Robert Greenhow, I dispose of in manner and form following, to wit: 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,

<sup>3</sup>*Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, ed., 14 October 1775; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 10 November 1775; *Virginia Gazette*, Pinkney, ed., 30 November 1775.

<sup>4</sup>*Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 18 July 1777.

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 Gillett 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 Gillett 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. I give and bequeath Mary Randolph wife to David Meade Randolph my diamond locket that she now has in possession. I give and bequeath to Mrs. Tucker wife to St. George Tucker, my watch. I give to my good friend Robert Greenhow a ring of the value of six pounds. I give to my friend Miss Sally Anderson a gold watch of one hundred dollars value. I give to my Rt. Reverend friend John Bracken the sum of twenty pounds. It being necessary that some person should be empowered to perform the act of my burial, which I desire may be done agreeably to the common custom. I do hereby authorize such person or persons to call on my executor to discharge all debts contracted on that account. As I have outlived all those persons whose duty it would have been to perform this indispensable act, I hereby authorize and appoint my kind friends Sally Anderson and Rachel Anderson to perform that act: and for that purpose I give and bequeath to them the sum of one hundred pounds to be equally divided between the two. It is my desire to be buried in the Southeast corner of my garden, and in a mahogany coffin without any ornaments thereon. I give to William White the sum of Ten pounds. I give to my friend and neighbour Mr. Robert Anderson the sum of one hundred pounds, and I do moreover appoint my said friend Robert Anderson to be my sole executor. All the residue of my estate undisposed of I hereby give and bequeath to my relation Jenny Westwood daughter of William Westwood deceased, late of the town of Hampton, to be enjoyed by her and her heirs and assigns forever. In Witness whereof I the said Mary Stith have hereto set my hand and affixed my seal this 15th day of december 1813. Signed and sealed and by the said Mary Stith acknowledged to be her act and deed before us

George Jackson, W. Browne

**Source:** Robert Anderson Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

The Wigmaker (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 417-418)

There is no direct evidence that Richard and Edward Charlton were brothers. However, it is likely that these two men were relatives. Richard Charlton and his wife named two of their children after Edward and Jane Charlton (there is no evidence that Edward and Jane Charlton had children). Second, Edward and Jane Charlton conveyed Lot 22 to William Trebell in trust for the heirs of Richard Charlton in October 1779.<sup>5</sup> Richard Charlton died on September 27, 1779.

1799—Death of George Washington (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 511-512)

George Washington wrote his will on July 9, 1799. Washington's will was probated on January 20, 1800 in the Fairfax County Court.<sup>6</sup>

It is possible that Martha Washington did think that the slaves who lived at Mount Vernon would poison her after the death of George Washington. Mechal Sobel writes that "George Washington's last will and testament also promised his slaves freedom after his wife's death. This was certainly an aggressive act toward his wife. Indeed, she found that she could not live with the fear of their taking her life and decided to free them within one year of his death." Sobel notes that Abigail Adams visited Martha Washington in December 1800, a year after her husband's death. On December 21, 1800 Adams wrote a letter to her sister. Adams reported that Washington's estate

is now going into decay. Mrs. Washington with all her fortune finds it difficult to support her family, which consists of three hundred slaves. One hundred and fifty of them are now to be liberated, men with wives and young children who have never seen an acre beyond the farm are now about to quit it and go adrift into the world without horse, home, or friend. Mrs. Washington is distressed for them. At her own expense she has cloaked them all, and very many of them are already miserable at the thought of their lot. The aged she retains at their request; but she is distressed for the fate of others. She feels a parent and a wife. Many of these who are liberated have married with what are called the dower Negroes, so that they quit all their connections—yet what could she do in the state in which they were left by the General, to be free at her death? She did not feel as though her life was safe in their hands, many of whom would be told that it was their interest to get rid of her. She therefore was advised to set them all free at the close of the year.

<sup>5</sup> York County Deeds (6) 207-208, dated 13 March 1784 and recorded 17 May 1784.

<sup>6</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Last Will and Testament of George Washington and Schedule of his Property, to which is appended the Last Will and Testament of Martha Washington*, 5th ed., [Mount Vernon, Va.]: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1982.

Martha Washington freed the Washington slaves on January 1, 1801. According to the terms of Washington's will, his estate paid pensions to his former slaves until 1833. Martha Washington's dower slaves became the property of her grandchildren after her death on May 22, 1802.

**Sources:** Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 153, 287 n. 76; James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington: Anguish and Farewell (1793-1799)*, (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 446; Mary Thompson, *The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association*.

Biography of Matthew Ashby in *The Ashby Family Biography (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 603-605)*

Note: corrections in **bold** type

In the autumn of **1770** a runaway slave advertisement 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" suggesting that Ashby was in contact with the larger African-American community.<sup>7</sup>

Biography of John Hope (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 618-619)

Robin Kipps of the Galt Apothecary points out two mistakes in the biography of John Hope. First, at the end of the second paragraph on page 618, is the statement that Hope passed to Dr. Benjamin Catton Junior in 1749 and that he might have picked up the medical side of barbering from his new master. The problem is that the barber-surgeon guild of London separated in 1745. While there was a reference to a barber-surgeon in Williamsburg in the early eighteenth century, the staff of the Galt Apothecary Shop has not found any references to barber-surgeons in Williamsburg in the mid- to late-eighteenth century.

The second problem is that the biography states Hope might have learned about bleeding to restore the humors. While it is doubtful that Hope practiced the medical side of barbering, a professional doctor did not teach the theory of humors in the mid- to late-eighteenth century. By this time doctors used bleeding to treat inflammation and inflammatory fevers. Galen's theory of the humors was long gone as part of professional medicine.

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<sup>7</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 25 October 1770.

Additional Information about Thomas Jefferson's slave Jupiter, 1743-1800 (See biography of Thomas Jefferson in the Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 621-622)

One of the goals of the Getting Word Oral History Project at Monticello is to bring the African-Americans of Monticello and their descendants into clearer view. Cinder Stanton shares this information about one such person.

In 1743, two children were born at Shadwell, a newly opened plantation on Virginia's frontier. They may have played together as boys, and, as young men, they traveled the length and breadth of Virginia together and found wives on the same plantation near Williamsburg. For over fifty years their lives were bound together by law, for one man, Jupiter, was considered the property of the other, Thomas Jefferson.

Jupiter, whose last name may have been Evans, acted as Jefferson's personal servant and traveling attendant during the years of Jefferson's law study and practice. In 1774, when the Hemings family came to Monticello, Jupiter took up a new position as coachman, with responsibility for the fine horses in the Monticello stables. He also apprenticed to a local stone cutter, William Rice, with whom he worked to shape the cylindrical blocks of stone that form the columns of the Monticello entrance portico.

We recently learned of another monument of Jupiter's making. Hired by Rice, Jupiter worked for eighteen days on the oldest grave marker in the Charlottesville cemetery. The smoothly chiseled 3 by 6 foot gravestone dates from 1778.

Jupiter's wife Susan, or Suck, was a cook, and their son Philip was, like his father, a skillful handler of horses. In the War of 1812, Philip Evans accompanied Jefferson's son-in-law Thomas Mann Randolph to upstate New York. Left with the colonel's horses at Sackett's Harbor while the army proceeded down the St. Lawrence River, Evans made the 100-mile overland journey alone and safely delivered the horses to Randolph at the army's winter quarters across the river from the free soil of Canada.

Susan Scott, probably Jupiter's granddaughter, was taken to north Alabama in 1846 by Jefferson's great-grandson William Stuart Bankhead. Descendants of both families still live in the same community 150 years after leaving Virginia.

**Source:** Cinder Stanton, "A Clearer View," in *Getting Word: The Newsletter*, Volume #2 Issue #1, Spring 1998.

Biography of William Pasteur (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 626-627; see also *The Apothecary*, pp. 255-260)

William Pasteur's mother was Martha Harris, the second wife of Jean/John Pasteur. His wife was Elizabeth Stith, daughter of the Reverend William Stith. Elizabeth Pasteur's sister was Mary Stith.

Biography of George Wythe (Enslaving Virginia Resource Book, pp. 636-637)

Note: corrections in **bold type**

Wythe was admitted to the bar when he was twenty and practiced law with **Zachary Lewis** who was a prominent lawyer in Spotsylvania County. In 1747, he married Lewis' **daughter, Ann.**

Information about Slaves Who Worked as Gardeners

This section contains information about Lancaster who worked at the Palace during Francis Fauquier's tenure as Lieutenant Governor, the enslaved men who tended the Palace Gardens during Lord Botetourt's administration, and a gardener whom Thomas Jefferson hired to work when he was Governor of Virginia.

Lancaster

In 1768 Lancaster asked Christopher Ayscough to purchase him from the estate of Governor Francis Fauquier. The two men had worked together as gardeners at the Governor's Palace. Ayscough and his wife were two of Fauquier's white servants. Perhaps Lancaster and Ayscough developed a friendship based on the type of work that they performed at the Governor's Palace. Ann Ayscough received £ 250 for her "Fidelity & Attention" and her economy in managing the kitchen at the Palace from Fauquier.<sup>8</sup> Ayscough probably used part of his wife's legacy to purchase Lancaster, a slave woman named Lucy, and five other slaves. He also bought a house and lot on the James City County side of Williamsburg. In October 1768 he announced that he had opened a tavern that faced the south side of the Capitol.<sup>9</sup> Lancaster probably tended the garden on Ayscough's lot. It is possible that he served food and drink in addition to looking after the horses that belonged to his master's customers. Ayscough decided to leave the tavern keeping business in 1770. In September of that year he informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* of his decision and of the sale he planned to have at his house on the 27<sup>th</sup> of that month. Ayscough noted that he would sell "nine Negroes, one an exceeding good cook wench, and a fellow who is a fine gardener."<sup>10</sup> There is no information about the person who purchased Lancaster at Ayscough's sale.

<sup>8</sup> York County Wills and Inventories (21) 396-404, dated 26 March 1767 and recorded 21 March 1768.

<sup>9</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 6 October 1768.

<sup>10</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 20 September 1770.

### Enslaved Gardeners at the Palace During Lord Botetourt's Administration

Silas Blandford managed the people who worked in the third service area at the Palace—the stables, the coach house, the garden, the park, and lands. Like William Marshman and the cooks, Blandford supervised the labor of white servants, black slaves, and free persons of color. The permanent staff included Thomas Gale, a coachman and carter; James Simpson and James Wilson, the gardeners; a blacksmith named John Draper; Joshua Kendall, the carpenter; and a groom by the name of Samuel King. Draper, Kendall, and possibly Gale also worked as waiters when Marshman needed extra help in the Palace.<sup>11</sup>

Marshman's accounts indicate that James Simpson supervised the slaves whom the butler hired to work in the Palace Gardens, Park, and Lands. In March and April of 1769 Marshman noted that he paid at least four of the gardener's men—Bacchus, Will, Jack, and Tom—for work that they performed in the Palace. Marshman did not include the name of the slave who labored for him on two occasions. The butler needed additional assistance to get the Palace ready for spring or for the ball that Botetourt gave on May 19, 1769 to celebrate Queen Charlotte's birthday.

In addition to Bacchus, Will, Jack, and Tom, James Simpson (and later, James Wilson) oversaw the slaves who worked at the Palace for a few days, a few months, or a year. John Randolph's gardener worked at the Palace for two days in April of 1769. Mrs. Wray's July 1769 bill of £5.1.8 for men in the garden suggests that two of her enslaved men tended plants in Botetourt's garden for several months. It is likely that Abraham (hired from William Presson), Ben, Billy (hired from Sarah Crawley), Lewis (hired from Mary Tabb), and Nat (hired from Grissel Hay) labored under the direction of Simpson and Wilson. Billy and Nat probably returned to their owners' homes at the end of the day, since the widow Crawley lived near Williamsburg and Grissel Hay made her home in a dwelling on Market Square. William Presson and Mary Tabb were residents of Charles Parish and it is likely that Abraham and Lewis slept in the stables, the coach house, or an outbuilding. The contents of a "Small Room Adjoyning to Poultry House"—"1 Old Mattrass" and "2 Old Blankets"—suggests that the slave who watched over the livestock and poultry used this space for sleeping.<sup>12</sup> This enslaved laborer, like others who did not come into daily contact with whites who visited the Palace, probably wore clothing similar to that worn by slaves who tended crops on plantations.<sup>13</sup> These

<sup>11</sup> Hood, *The Governor's Palace*, pp. 250, 253.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>13</sup> The first store room at the Palace contained material at the time of Botetourt's inventory. A tailor might have used the "2 p[ie]ce[s] Oznabrigs" and the "37 yds Oznabrigs - 76 & ¼ do [ditto]" to make shirts or summer suits for the slaves who worked in the Palace Stables, Coach House, Garden, and Park. The material might have been used for slave bedding. The "8 ¼ yds brown Holland - 5 ½ yds printed Cotton - 1 Woman's Cotton Gown" in the store room might have been for Sally, the laundry maid. The "26 pr plain Negroes Shoes" were for the bond laborers who worked outside. Hood, *The Governor's Palace*, p. 290.



slaves also had fewer opportunities to earn tips than did the enslaved men and women who worked in the Palace.

James, a slave belonging to the estate of Carter Burwell, worked in the Palace Gardens during Botetourt's administration. William Nelson, Burwell's executor, also hired James to Governors Fauquier and Dunmore. James was a skilled gardener who had the privilege of tending some land on his own time. On October 12, 1769, Marshman paid him for fifty-eight pounds of hops at one shilling per pound. He received forty-four shillings from Botetourt's butler for forty-four pounds of hops on September 7, 1770. Nathaniel Burwell hired James to Carter Burwell in 1774 and 1775, and to Captain Thomas Lilly in 1776. James was at Carter's Grove from 1783 to 1786.<sup>14</sup>

#### Enslaved Gardeners at the Palace During Lord Dunmore's Administration

The claims that John Ferguson, the public gardener, submitted to the Committee of Safety indicate that slaves (both Dunmore's and those whom Ferguson hired) continued to work at the Palace in the first half of 1776. On February 16, 1776, the Convention ordered the Commissary of Provisions to deliver rations to Ferguson for himself and "the slaves employed in the Publick service." The gardener also received £7.15.8 to cover his expenses. On April 9, 1776, the members of the convention gave Ferguson a warrant "for £18.16.5 services and negro hire in the Palace Gardens." Two months later Ferguson presented his account of £16.8.4 "for negro hire and attendance, &c., in the Palace Garden as public Gardener."<sup>15</sup>

#### Enslaved Gardener Owned by Joseph Prentis

Thomas Jefferson hired a gardener from Joseph Prentis while he served as Governor of Virginia. On December 20, 1779, Jefferson noted that he "Pd. Mr. Prentis for hire of gardener £ 27-12."<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, Jefferson did not include the name of Prentis's enslaved gardener.

1831 to 1832 Session of the Virginia Legislature Prohibits White Men and Women From Teaching Slaves and Free Blacks to Read and to Write

In the wake of Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion, a number of Virginia legislators, under the

<sup>14</sup> Burwell Ledger (1773-1779), pp. 22, 48, 90 (transcript); James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1783 to 1786.

<sup>15</sup> *Calendar of State Papers*, 8:85, 159, 193.

<sup>16</sup> James A. Bear, Jr., and Lucia C. Stanton, eds., *Jefferson's Memorandum Books. Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826*, 2 vols., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), I:489.

leadership of Thomas J. Randolph, Thomas Jefferson's grandson, proposed plans for the emancipation of the state's slaves. The state's representatives ultimately rejected that option in favor of new restraints on slaves and free blacks. Free blacks were denied the right to trial by jury. Both free blacks and slaves were forbidden to preach or lead religious meetings. For the first time, the legislators decided to prohibit white men and women from teaching slaves and free blacks to read and to write. A white person who taught a free black could be fined up to \$50 and imprisoned for up to two months. The fine for teaching a slave to read or write was between \$10 and \$100.

Only four states—Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia—prohibited whites from teaching slaves to read in the last thirty years of slavery. Other states had similar measures that covered shorter periods of time or outlawed the instruction of a group of slaves, but not of individual slaves.

**Sources:** Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1877*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), p. 129; Alison Goodyear Freehling, *Drift Toward Dissolution: The Virginia Slavery Debate of 1831-1832*, (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).