

The Network

An Enslaving Virginia Publication

July 22, 1999

The eighth issue of "The Network" includes additional information about two free black women—Ann Ashby Jones and Judith Hope, the daughter of John Hope, also known as Barber Caesar. This issue also contains details about Edmund Randolph and the emancipation of slaves, and the enslaved laborers owned by Christiana Campbell.

* * * *

Entries in memoranda books kept by the Prentis family provide evidence that Ann Ashby Jones, the wife of Matthew Ashby and George Jones, and Nanny Jones the free black woman who appeared on the 1782 Williamsburg Census as the head of a household were the same person. These documents also indicate that this woman (known as Ann Ashby, Nanny Ashby, Ann Jones, and Nanny Jones during her life) supported herself and her children by taking in laundry and by working as a seamstress.

Henry Morse Dr. To Nany Ashby

1771

Apl. 15 1771	9 Mos Washg @ £ 10		7..10
	Makg & Markg 7 Shirts for Peter	1.1	
	Mendg 5 Shirts	.6.3	
	Making 2 pr. Sheets	.5	
	Makg 2 Pillow Cases	.2	
	Markg 8 pr. Stockgs	.2.8	
	M[arkg] 2 Handkrs	.4	
	Markg 4 pr Stockgs	1.4	
	Butts for 7 Shirts	<u>.7 ½</u>	<u>1.19.2</u>
			9.9.2
		Cr.	
1771	By Cash at Sund		5
May 18th			£ 4.9.2

NB. Paid Nanny Ashby five pound in full Satisfaction for the above Accot.

£ 5

on reverse: Accot.
Nanny Ashby for Washg
Settl 18. May 1771
£ 5 pd. At Sund.
 5 this Day
£ 10-0-0

* * * *

Recd 4 Augt: 1772 of Henry Morse three pounds in part for Washing, likewise two pounds six shillings recd the 16th May last

£ 2..6 the 16 May 1st	her
<u>3..</u> this day	Anne X Jones
<u>5..6</u>	Mark

* * * *

Dr. Nanny Jones

1773

Sepr. 10	To Cash self	£ ..10.--
	pd. for 29 lb Bacon	..14.6
Oct. 5	Cash	..10.--
Nov 25	Do	..5.--
1774		
Jany	Do	<u>1..--..--</u>
		£ 2..19..6
	Credit given in Store N 85 }	<u>6..--..6</u>
		<u>£ 9..--..--</u>

Cr.

By Acct. Washing from Jany 73	£	
to June 74		<u>£ 9..--..--</u>

Source: Robert Prentis Receipts, Memoranda, and Accounts Book, f. 57.

* * * *

Account Book of Accounts Receivable of the Prentis Store, 1778 included

Nanny Jones	01..15..09
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Source: Prentis Papers and Account Book, [p.] 85, Maryland Historical Society.

* * * *

Williamsburg Census, 1782

<u>Name</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Lots</u>
Nanny Jones free	0	3	0

* * * *

In 1819 and 1820, Judith Hope petitioned to be allowed to stay in Virginia and enjoy the freedom that her father, John Hope (also known as Barber Caesar) hoped to secure for her in his will. Judith Hope needed to gain permission to stay in Virginia because she gained her freedom after May 1, 1806 (see pp. 516, 618-619 in the Enslaving Virginia Resource Book). This section of "The Network" includes Hope's 1807 will and the two petitions that Judith Hope submitted to the City of Richmond. Her first petition, in 1819, was not successful. Judith Hope rephrased her request and gained permission to stay in Virginia in late 1820.

Will of Caesar Hope

In the name of God Amen, I Caesar Hope sometimes called Barber Caesar do hereby ordain and constitute the following to be my last will and testament. I devise to Edmund Randolph and his heirs the house and lot on which I live in the city of Richmond and all my real estate, in trust, that Tenar Hope who lives with me, as my wife, shall enjoy the same during her life, free from any impeachment or waste and after her death that my two youngest Children by her named Nelson and Judith, whom the said Edmund Randolph is to purchase, with what is now left them and set free, should hold the same equally to be divided between them and their heirs; and if either of them shal die before marriage, and before the age of twenty one yeas, the survivor of them is to take the whole thereof in fee simple. Item: I bequeath to my wife aforesaid in absolute property all my household and kitchen furniture and my moveable estate. The foregoing devise and legacy to my wife are to take effect whether I ever marry her in form or not. Item: I devise to my two said youngest children all the rest and residue of my personal estate subject to the use of my said wife for her life, but it shall be first applied to the purchase of their freedom. I appoint Edm: Randolph my executor who is to give no security. In testimony whereof I have signed and affixed my seal hereto this [blank] day of May 1807

his
Ceasar Hope
mark

Source: City of Richmond Hustings Court Wills No. 1 (1810-1816) 157-162, dated [blank] May 1807 and recorded 11 November 1811.

* * * *

Petition of Judith Hope, 21 December 1819

To the honble The Speaker and members of the house of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Petition of Judith Hope respectfully sheweth. - That her late father Caesar Hope who for many years pursued the business of a barber both in Williamsburg when that town was the seat of government and in Richmond after the government was removed, had by a long labor accumulated some small property both real and personal. That having two children in his old age who were in bondage, viz your petitioner and a brother since dead, the said Caesar Hope published his las[t] will in writing by which he directed the late Edmund Randolph Esqre, therein constituted his Executor, to purchase with a portion of his

Estate, both your petitioner and her brother, and to have them emancipated. The will of your Petitioner's father was made in the month of may 1807, but unfortunately for her, [~~the—~~ ~~crossed out~~] his kind intention [~~of her Father—crossed out~~] towards her, was frustrated by the passage of the act of assembly passed in January 1806, requiring that all slaves thereafter emancipated, should remove from the Commonwealth of Virginia within twelve months from the time of their emancipation, under the dreadful penalty of a forfeiture of their liberty in the event of a failure so to remove. Dear as freedom is to your Petitioner, and she thinks she does not undervalue it, she can hardly say with truth, that it is prized in her estimation “above all price”; for to go into eternal banishment from a kind mother, to sever every connexion and every habit and partiality of her life, does seem to her to be purchasing even this great [~~gift—~~ ~~crossed out~~] possession at a rate which as a female perhaps she may be pardoned for considering as too dear. The mother of your Petitioner who was made free [~~by her hand—~~ ~~crossed out~~] several years since has purchased her from her mistress, and is desirous to give her freedom if the permission of the Legislature can be obtained for her remaining in the land of her nativity among those by whom she is known, and to whom she is attached: and that she may do so she has ventured to supplicated the indulgence, the mercy of the General Assembly. She is aware that by a general provision in the act of the Legislature of the year 1816, slaves who have been emancipated, may under particular circumstances obtain permission to reside in this state, but the construction of that law which some persons and some tribunals have adopted, a construction which the language of that act will probably authorise, is such as to narrow the indulgence belived to have been dis[illeg]ed by the Legislature very far within their real intention; indeed is such, as almoste interely to [~~frustrate—crossed out~~] defeat it. The language of the Law is, that any slave emancipated for “extraordinary merit” may appeal to the court of the County or corporation for leave to remain: —that upon proof to them of the extraordinary merit of the applicant, they may grant permission; and again, “that the extraordinary merit for which he or she was emancipated, as well as his or her general good conduct shall at the time of granting such permission, be entered upon the record.” Upon these several provisions of the Law of 1816, particularly upon the last, many persons insist, that permission to remain in the state can never be granted, except upon the performance of some signal act, and that too of a public and general character, a good fortune which falls to the lot of very few whatever may be their condition in society; so that the longest life of humble ability and quiet good conduct, if it should excite in those who have been the objects of it, a wish to recompense it, is to be rewarded with banishment from all that can bind a sentient and rational creature to life. To avoid the effects of a construction of the Statute like that above given your Petitioner has prepared her application to your honorable body rather than to the County or Corporation Courts within whose jurisdiction she was born and has always resided. For altho she is not so fortunate as to plead as a title to favor the performance of any striking act of public benefit, she hopes she can exhibit and has herewith exhibited the most satisfactory proofs of a character and deportment to which none can justly object, and which those best acquainted with them have always approved. She therefore humbly prays that she may in virtue of a deed of emancipation [~~be permitted—crossed out~~] from her mother and by the indulgence of the honorable the Legislature be permitted to live and enjoy the blessings of freedom within the Commonwealth of Virginia. —

[on reverse]: Petition of

Judith Hope
Presented Decr.
21st. 1819. —

Decr. 24th. 1819
refd. to Cts. of J.

Reasonable [written over—Rejected]
Jany 17th 1819 [sic—1820]

Source: City of Richmond Legislative Petitions, 1819-1821, Library of Virginia.

* * * *

Petition of Judith Hope, 11 December 1820

To the honorable the Speakers and members of both Houses of the Legislature of Virginia, the Petition of Judith Hope respectfully sheweth. -

That she is the daughter of a man of color [~~by the—crossed out~~] named Caesar Hope who for many years followed the business of a barber both in the town of Williamsburg and City of Richmond, and who by a long course of perseverance and industry in his business collected a comfortable living. For the respectability of this old man in his humble station, your petitioner can with confidence appeal to the oldest and most distinguished inhabitants of both places just mentioned, to whom her father was well known. That the mother of your Petitioner at the time of her becoming the wife of the said Caesar Hope and for several years afterwards was a slave, [~~and—crossed out~~] but was subsequently purchased and emancipated by him, and to bestow the same advantages upon your petitioner and her brother, who were born in slavery, and the latter of whom is since dead, appears to have been a capital object of her fathers exertions. A copy of the testament and last will of the said Caesar Hope is herewith exhibited, by which will be seen the direction to the late Edmund Randolph Esqr, therein named the executor, to purchase and emancipate your Petitioner and her late brother. The benificent intentions of her father have as yet been totally disappointed, owing no doubt [~~to the igno—crossed out~~] in part to the ignorance inseparable from his situation, and partly to his inability at any period before his death to compass the means of effecting those intentions. The Act of Assembly of the year 1806 supervened requiring the removal from this commonwealth of all persons who should be emancipated after the 1st day of May next succeeding the date of that act under the penalty of an absolute forfeiture of freedom. Your Petitioner is not insensible to the blissings [~~sic~~] of liberty, but to be driven even for this great possession to a separation from every friend and natural connexion upon earth, to surrender every habit and association which years have fostered and matured, she regards as a condition [~~which—crossed out~~] for which [~~nothing short of—crossed out~~] even life or freedom can scarcely constitute an equivalent: and when she considers the multiple difficulties every where presented to the reception of persons in her situation, she can [~~regard—crossed out~~] view that freedom which is tendered to her subject to those difficulties as little better than a cruel mockery. In no respect whatever is the situation of your Petitioner ameliorated by the act of assembly of 18[] granting

the privilege of remaining in this state to such emancipated people of color who in the opinion of the County Courts shall have rendered some distinguished public service. She trusts that from the documents presented herewith, she will not be regarded as a vicious or even as an unprofitable member of the community, but to render distinguished services to the Republic, is what [she—crossed out] her hopes can hardly aspire to: this is a happiness which falls to the lot of very few, and is an occurrence which is witnessed perhaps at the intervals of centuries, so that a long life of humble usefulness would under the provisions of the statute just cited, place her in no degree whatever, nearer the attainment of her ardent wishes (to live and die in the land of her nativity,) than if her life had been worse than useless, and positively and highly detrimental. Under this view of your Petitioners situation she humbly prays that Tenar Hope her mother who [under—crossed out] in obedience to the will and with a portion of the effects of the late Caesar Hope has purchased your petitioner, may be permitted to manumit and make her free, exempt from the hard condition of perpetual exile; and that as a free woman your petitioner, may be permitted to remain within this commonwealth.

Judith Hope

[on reverse:] Petition of
Judith Hope
Decr. 11th 1820.
refd. to Cts. of J.

Reasonable 18th.
Decr. 1820.

Bill drawn 26th. Decr
1820.

Source: City of Richmond Legislative Petitions, 1819-1821, Library of Virginia.

* * * *

Edmund Randolph and the Emancipation of Slaves

John Hope did not state why he chose Edmund Randolph to secure the freedom of his two youngest children, Nelson and Judith. Perhaps Hope turned to Randolph because they had known each other for several years. It is likely that Hope knew that Randolph emancipated a mulatto man named Robert Cowley in 1785 and that he helped to gain the freedom of an enslaved man named David and a slave woman by the name of Mary in 1804. However, Hope might not have been aware that Randolph mentioned the possibility of emancipating his own slaves if he moved to Philadelphia in a 1789 letter to Bishop James Madison.

On December 21, 1785, Randolph freed Robert Cowley whom he purchased for £ 50 at an sale of Colonel Peter Randolph's estate before the door Serafina Formicola's tavern in

Richmond. Cowley was forty-five years old and Randolph promised to perform the duties required by law for a slave emancipated after the age of forty-five.

Source: Abstract of Henrico County Deed Book (7) 211, dated 21 December 1785 and recorded 2 January 1786.

* * * *

Know all men by these presents, whereas David a negro man whom I imported as a slave into this Commonwealth in the year 1792 where I then proposed to reside, and have continued to reside with my family ever since to this day and the said David during all that time, hath continued and hath been kept in Virginia in my service, as my slave, and whereas the said David hath made complaint to Alexander Quarrier esqr an alderman of the City of Richmond, for the purpose of instituting a suit against me for his freedom, and Edmund Randolph hath proposed to me, at the desire of the said David, to pay to me one hundred dollars, to settle the said dispute, by acknowledging the right of the said David to freedom, and I being willing to acknowledge the same for the money aforesaid; Now know ye that for the sum of one hundred dollars to me in hand paid by the said Edmund Randolph from the money of the said David, I do hereby declare the said David to be free to all intents and purposes, and moreover altho' this instrument acknowledging the said David's right to freedom is founded on a desire on my part to risque nothing at law, and upon the hundred dollars, as aforesaid, yet, to complete the business in the most extensive manner, I do by this instrument of writing under my hand and seal, which I request to be proved in any court & he the said David and myself, residing in the City of Richmond emancipate and sett free the said David who from this moment be entirely and fully discharged from servitude and shall enjoy full freedom. Given under my hand and seal this second day of June 1804

Andrew Trouin

Source: Henrico County Deed Book 7 (1803-1806) 80, dated 2 June 1804 and recorded 4 June 1804.

* * * *

Andrew Trouin of Richmond in consideration of fifty dollars to me in hand paid by Edmund Randolph out of the money of David a free man on account of Mary a negro woman and for similar reasons to those expressed in a writing of this date . . . free her.

Source: Henrico County Deed Book 7 (1803-1806) 81, dated 2 June 1804 and recorded 4 June 1804.

* * * *

E[dmund] R[andolph] to [James Madison], 19 May 1789

Indeed I have sometimes seriously thought of attempting something professional, should I be compelled to visit Philadelphia without being able to raise money from my estate. In that case, a new revolution would take place with me. For if I found that I could live there, I should emancipate my slaves, and thus end my days [where I—crossed out] without undergoing any anxiety about the injustice of holding them — But I really do not know why I have troubled you with this detail, unless I am imperceptibly led to unbosom myself to you with out reserve; being always

Yrs mo. sincerely & afftely
E. R.

Source: E[dmund] R[andolph] to [James Madison], 19 May 1789, Mss2R1532a5, Virginia Historical Society.

* * * *

Information About the Slaves Owned by Christiana Burdett Campbell

Christiana Burdett inherited slaves from her father, John Burdett, a tavern keeper who died between January and August of 1746. She received a man named Shropshire and Belle, her child, and any additional children born to Belle as a legacy from her father. The November 1746 inventory of Burdett's estate noted that Shropshire was worth £ 40 and that Belle and her two children were valued at £ 50. Under the terms of Burdett's will, Christiana could keep the slaves or sell them. If she decided to sell the slaves, the proceeds were to count as part of her legacy. Christiana kept the slaves and her man Shropshire was added to her list of tithes in September 1747.¹

Christiana Burdett married Ebenezer Campbell and moved to Blandford (near Petersburg) sometime before August 14, 1752 when the sale of his personal estate was announced in the *Virginia Gazette*. The widow Campbell decided to return to Williamsburg and to the tavern keeping business. Two purchases that Campbell made in 1755 indicate that she was running a tavern: "To 25 Bushels of Wheat @ 4/ £ 5" from Carter Burwell and "To 111 lb. Beef @ 3d. £ 1..7..9" from William Lightfoot.² Campbell had two slaves who were adults in the 1750s—Sarah and Shropshire. Sarah probably

¹ Burdett's will is the first evidence that he had slave men, women, and children who helped with the work at his tavern. In addition to the slaves whom he left to his daughter, Burdett bequeathed his slave man Torrington and a woman named Jenny and her future increase to his wife Mary. The August 1746 inventory of Burdett's estate noted that Torrington was valued at £ 40 and Jenny, an old woman, was valued at £ 15. Mary Burdett and Christiana Burdett could keep the slaves whom they inherited or sell them according to the terms of Burdett's will. If either one decided to sell the slaves, the proceeds were to count as part of her legacy. It appears that both women kept the slaves because the announcement of the September 19, 1746 sale of Burdett's personal estate did not include slaves. See York County Wills and Inventories (20) 37-38, dated 30 August 1745 and recorded 18 August 1746; *ibid.*, pp. 46-49, dated 27 August 1746 and recorded 17 November 1746; *Virginia Gazette*, 4 September 1746.

² Burwell Account Book, 1738-1755, f. 141, Burwell Papers, Rucker Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; William Lightfoot Account Book, 1740-1764, p. 130, Rockefeller Library.

helped prepare meals for Campbell's customers. Shropshire might have waited on men and looked after their horses.³

It is possible that Campbell's tavern was located on Lot 18 on Duke of Gloucester Street in 1755.⁴ George Washington first stayed at Campbell's establishment on February 3, 1757 when he paid her the sum of £ 1.15.0 for "expenses; slaves; servants." Washington either tipped slaves owned by Campbell or paid the board for his own slaves who stayed at the tavern. Washington's Ledger Books A and B contain accounts with Christiana Campbell for lodging, board, board and lodging, coffee, club, and board &c. from Campbell from February 3, 1757 to August 6, 1774. He also tipped Campbell's slaves on several occasions.⁵ Thomas Jefferson paid Campbell £ 0.5 for supper and club on July 15, 1771; £ 0.5 for entertainment on October 26, 1771; £ 0.6 for entertainment on May 14, 1772; £ 0.5 for "club at dinner" on May 7, 1773; and £ 0.6 for dinner on December 1, 1773. Jefferson also paid Campbell £ 0.10 "in full" on June 15, 1774; £ 0.1 for toddy on November 29, 1776; £ 0.13.6 on December 6, 1776; and £ 0.42 "in full" on December 20, 1777.⁶

Campbell sent six slave children to the Bray School during the 1760s. London (age nine), Aggy, (age six), and Shropshire (age six) attended lessons in September 1762. Young and Mary were students of Ann Wager in November 1765. In February 1769, Sally and Sukey joined Mary at the Bray School. Perhaps Campbell thought that the training that her slave children received from Ann Wager would prepare the girls to help with the domestic work at her tavern and the boys to wait on her customers. By the end of the 1760s, London, Aggy, and Shropshire were old enough to be valuable workers. It is known that Campbell hired a slave fellow from Lewis Burwell in 1767. This slave had an accident and Doctor George Pitt visited him to suture and dress his face in December of 1767.⁷

³ The vestry clerk for Bruton Parish noted that both Sarah and Shropshire were slaves who belonged to Mr. Burdett. It is clear that Burdett owned Shropshire at the time of his death in 1746. Sarah's baptism is the only extant information about this enslaved woman. London (baptized on October 7, 1753) might have been the son of Sarah or Belle.

⁴ It is known that the widow Campbell rented part of Lot 18 by November 18, 1760; see York County Deeds (6) 309-311, dated 18 November 1760 and recorded 19 January 1761.

⁵ George Washington Ledger A (1750-1772), f. 141, Library of Congress; microfilm M 89.2, Rockefeller Library.

⁶ 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:257, 263, 289, 339 (quote), 350, 375 (quote) 428, 455 (quote).

⁷ Burwell Family Additional Papers 4400-b., Box 1, folder: Miscellaneous Letters and Receipts, 1732-1800, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

It is likely that Campbell operated her business on Lot 18 until early 1769. In April of that year Freer Armston, a chandler and soap boiler from Norfolk, announced that he had opened a shop between “Mr. Carter’s great brick house, and Mrs. Rathell’s.”⁸ The advertisement did not mention Campbell as one of the people who was on Lot 18. This tavern keeper probably relocated her business, perhaps to Lot 58E. Campbell continued to operate her tavern and purchased hogs and wheat from Carter's Grove in 1769, 1770, and 1772.⁹

Campbell was at “the COFFEEHOUSE in the main street, next the Capitol” between 1769 and 1771.¹⁰ This building was on Lot 58E and adjoined the tavern that her father had kept. In October of that year Campbell informed the public that she had opened her “TAVERN in the House, behind the Capitol, lately occupied by Mrs. Vobe; where those Gentlemen who please to favour me with their Custom may depend upon genteel Accommodations, and the very best Entertainment.” She added that she would “reserve Rooms for the Gentlemen who formerly lodged” with her.¹¹ Campbell took advantage of the opportunity to buy the lots where her tavern was located. In January 1774 she received a deed for two lots on the east side of Eastern Street. Another indication of Campbell’s success is the fact that she employed a bar keeper named John Pringle. Most of Williamsburg’s tavern keepers did not have a bar keeper. It is possible that the widow hired another bar keeper after Pringle’s death in late 1774.

On November 2, 1774, two of Campbell’s customers, Simon Fraser and Bennett Brown, placed an advertisement in the Purdie and Dixon edition of the *Virginia Gazette*. They noted that Mrs. Campbell’s house had been broken into and that two trunks containing their clothes and garments belonging to one of their servants had been stolen. The justices for an oyer and terminer trial held at the York County Courthouse on November 15, 1774 decided that Ned, a slave who belonged to John Randolph, was guilty of the felony and burglary. The justices of the peace sentenced Ned to death and valued him at £ 80.¹²

Surviving evidence suggests that Campbell depended on the labor of a smaller number of slaves than did the keepers of the Raleigh Tavern.¹³ It is possible that the slaves who listed as Campbell’s tithes in the early 1780s were adults in the 1770s. If so, this tavern keeper had five adult females—Aggy, Betty, Molly, Nancy, and Nanny—to do

⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 27 April 1769.

⁹ Burwell Ledger 2, 1764-1776, f. 79, Burwell Papers, Rockefeller Library.

¹⁰ *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 16 May 1771.

¹¹ *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 3 October 1771.

¹² York County Order Book 4 (1774-1784) 60-61, 15 November 1774.

¹³ See section on the Raleigh Tavern in the *Enslaving Virginia Resource Book*.

the cooking, cleaning, and laundry. Campbell would have had two males, Joe and Shropshire, to wait on customers and to tend to the horses owned by the patrons of the tavern. The enslaved children might have done small jobs to help the adult slaves and the boys probably ran errands for their master and for her customers.

It is known that Campbell kept a tavern in 1776 when the Masons planned to have a ball at her establishment.¹⁴ However, Alexander Macaulay and his wife found that Campbell did not operate her business when they arrived in Williamsburg in February 1783. Macaulay noted

we found ourselves at Mrs. Campbells, we alighted & walked in; the House had a cold, poverty struck appearance; a large cold room on the left hand, no white person yet appeared; several negroes; "Pray does not Mrs. Campbell live here!" "Yes." "Will you be so good as inform her We shall be happy to see her;" presently she came in. But as I did not approve of waiting for her in the passage, I had by this time led Bettsey into the cold parlour. Our Landladys looks were not more inviting than her House. Figure to yourself a little old Woman, about four feet high; & equally thick, a little turn up Pug nose, a mouth screw'd up to one side; in short nothing in any part of her appearance in the least inviting; I wish'd we were out of the House, fairly out of the House; But we were in for it, and I was obliged to accost her, "A-Hem, Madam! Hem—Madam! I ought to make an apology for this liberty, being on way throw Williamsburg, Madam, & knowing you formerly kept a very genteel House, We could not resist the inclination we had to call and take a Family Dinner with you, Madam; We hope we will be no inconvenience. We are not nice, Madam; anything you have provided for yourself, Madam, will do; a few Oysters will not be amiss; my Wife, here she stands, is fond of Oysters cook'd any way; & in the meantime, Madam, will you be so good as order one of your Aids to make a little fire in this room;" By this time we had all the negro's in the House, about a dozen, around us. I thought I had made a Capital Speechification, & stopt to draw my breath & give her time to answer; with a very ill mannered tone, she replied, "I dont keep a house of entertainment, nor have not for some years;" Bettsey & I gap'd at one another; at last I recovered Spirits enough to say, "We have been misinform'd, Madam, I Beg pardon for this intrusion, impute it to ignorance only; But as we are fairly landed here" (for By this time Solomon had taken out his Horses) "suppose for this one time you relent, Madam; it will be charity, Madam, and charity covers a multitude of Sins, Madam; Angels sometimes travel in disguise to mark the Deeds of Mortals;" she look'd up at me with the same amiable simplicity, as much as to say, your face is not smooth enough, even for an angel in disguise; and again answered, "I have no entertainment."

Campbell's daughter, Molly, directed Macaulay and his wife to Mrs. Craig's tavern.¹⁵

¹⁴ Minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons, 3 December 1776.

¹⁵ *Journal of Alexander Macaulay in William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., XI(1902-1903):186-188.

The February 22, 1787 issue of the *Virginia Gazette & Weekly Advertiser* announced the sale of Campbell's house and lots. In November of the same year, Campbell's daughter, Mary Russell, wrote her sister Ebenezer Day about their mother's upcoming journey to visit the Days in Fredericksburg. She wrote:

She intends if she gets some money she is in expectation of receiving, to set out [illeg] week in the stage with her Maid Betty God grant she may have good weather & may bear her Journy well—What few things she has left her Neighbours will take care of, for her what Negroes she does not want will be hired out & when she returns if her house is sold there will be one rented for her.¹⁶

The lots did not sell and the widow Campbell lived in Williamsburg until sometime in 1791. She moved to Fredericksburg and died in that city on March 25, 1792. Campbell owned at least one slave, Nanny, at the time of her death. Nanny became the property of the widow's son-in-law, Benjamin Day. Five years later, Day freed Nanny "for her past good conduct." The deed of emancipation also included the following testimony:

We the subscribers, Inhabitants of Williamsburg do hereby certify that we are well acquainted with Nanny a negro woman slave belonging to Benj Day of Fredsbg that she is an industrious healthy woman whose age appears to be between forty and fifty years and from a desire in her master to liberate her, for her past good conduct, we have at his request, given this certificate to the court of spots co where the law requires the deed shall be executed.

Corbin Griffin, John Minson Galt, William Finnie, and William Russell signed the document in Williamsburg on September 6, 1797.¹⁷

¹⁶ Scott E. Richards Manuscripts #5541, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

¹⁷ Spotsylvania County Deed Book P (1797-1802) 50, dated 5 December 1797 and recorded 5 February 1798.