

The Network

February 18, 1999

The first issue of "The Network" includes answers to a request for additional information about Carter's Grove, the "Emancipation Chronology" from Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, and a summary of the population of Virginia and the United States in 1790.

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Carter's Grove

Lorena S. Walsh compiled the following information about the mansion outbuildings at Carter's Grove and enslaved carpenters and domestics at Carter's Grove

I. Mansion Outbuildings

My best summary of the available information is as follows.

1. Prior to the construction of the present mansion, Carter Burwell's domestic and agricultural complex was likely located on the ridge near the archaeology museum. CW archaeologists found the remains of two earthfast barns there, and around the same time other archaeologists identified sites of a possible dwelling house and the remains of "other domestic structures" nearby. This site may include structures dating to Robert "King" Carter's ownership of the property. The possible dwelling house has not been excavated, nor a thorough archaeological survey for other structures in this area undertaken.
2. Carter Burwell's first buildings. From late 1739 or early 1740 on, Burwell paid various carpenters and brick masons for unspecified "work" on the property. This included burning multiple kilns of bricks and some "work done about a Dairy" in 1743. Any other buildings being constructed before 1750 are not identified, but since they were brick it is reasonable to suppose these included outbuildings around the mansion.
3. 1970-72 excavations.
 - a. A frame building with a brick chimney at the corner of the entrance road, one of two structures in this area identified on Desandrouin's 1782 map. Occupants and function have not been identified.
 - b. 19th century dairy, with paving that may date to the 18th century.
 - c. unidentified 18th century building partly under the driveway.
 - d. a well adjacent to the kitchen.
 - e. a possible icehouse. This pit is thought to have been dismantled when the house was built, and this date seems to me too early for an icehouse.

f. a well adjacent to the slave quarter was located but not excavated

A map in Ivor Noël Hume's, *Digging for Carter's Grove*, gives the location of these structures.

4. Outbuildings listed on the 1798 James City County Continental tax assessment near the mansion:

- a. kitchen 38 x 20
- b. laundry 38 x 20
- c. dairy 12 x 16
- d. smokehouse 12 x 12
- e. store 30 x 20 (probably near the kitchen)
- f. old store 20 x 20
- g. quarter 24 x 20. This is possibly a new quarter post dating the present reconstructed complex. Presumably of wood, its location is unknown.

Elsewhere on the property were another dwelling house, presumably of wood, and 5 outhouses. This complex has not been located. It was likely occupied by a general manager or an overseer. There were four additional "houses" somewhere on the Carter's Grove tract; in the context of this tax list, houses could include any sort of substantial structure. These are not described, and their value is collapsed with the value of the land. No barns or stables were enumerated as being on the two acres surrounding the house. For speculations about the location of other farm buildings see Alan Simpson, Helen Byrd, and Mary Simpson, "The Discovery of Burwell's Mill, Carter's Grove Plantation," (Williamsburg, Va.), pp. 66-68, copy in CWF Library.

II. Enslaved Carpenters at Carter's Grove

Bedding and clothing issues for 1740-45 identify 5 men:

Old Dick 1742 and 1745

Boy Dick 1740

Jack 1743 and 1745

Sam 1742; he was also given some cash by Burwell in 1745

Sancho 1741, 1743, 1745

In 1745 and 1749 these carpenters built two tobacco houses for other planters. Sancho and Sam at least almost certainly worked on the mansion. Sam, there in 1742 and 1745, was later hired out by the day in 1764 and was present at least until the early 1780s. In 1752 Sancho worked for 31 days in Williamsburg carpenter John Wheatley's shop. Wheatley made the sashes for the house, so Sancho must have been doing some fine work.

Other slaves working on the house would have included Lot, a hired slave who came to Carter's Grove in 1744 and 1750 to make brick, and men owned or hired by Warwick County bricklayer Peter Sandefer and Williamsburg contractor James Skelton.

I think it questionable that the Sumpter who turned the banisters was a slave. Carter Burwell identified other workmen, including one who was part of Wheatley's operation and probably white, by only one name. The fact that a payment of over £3 was made directly to Sumpter suggests that whoever he was, he was a free man.

III. Domestics at Carter's Grove

The fullest accounting of domestics at Carter's Grove is for Carter Burwell's period. Eighteen people are identified as being "about the house" between 1740 and 1745. It is unlikely that all of these were working full time as domestics. The list includes:

Females:

Molly in the Kitchen 1740. Possibly the Old Molly present in 1776.

Nanny at Merchant's Hundred in 1740 and about the house in 1744. She was apparently young then and was still having children in the 1760s.

Betty at Merchant's Hundred in 1740 and about the house in 1742. She was hired out to Williamsburg Doctor George Pitt in 1764.

Judith at Merchant's Hundred in 1741. In the house in 1745. Baptized as an adult in 1751. Hired out to Benjamin Powell 1764-69.

Juba Sally at Merchant's Hundred in 1743. In the house in 1745. Probably the wife of Juba.

Patt at Merchant's Hundred in 1743. In the house 1745.

Jenny at Merchant's Hundred in 1743. About the house in 1744. Baptized as an adult 1750. Likely present later, but there are too many Jennys to make a link.

Wade's Hannah at the house in 1745. Likely hired or purchased from someone named Wade. Possibly the same woman hired out to Jane Moody in 1764-65 and to Gabriel Maupin in 1767-70.

Little Mary at the house in 1745. Probably a young girl.

Little Betty at the house in 1745. Probably a young girl.

Males:

Turnus at Merchant's Hundred in 1740, 42, and 43. About the house in 1744.

Cambridge at Merchant's Hundred in 1740 and 1742. About the house in 1744.

Tom at Merchant's Hundred in 1740. About the house in 1744. Present through at least 1749.

Cyrus at Merchant's Hundred in 1741. In the house in 1743 and 45.

Juba at Merchant's Hundred in 1741. In the house 1745.

Robin at Merchant's Hundred in 1742. In the house 1744.

Richmond at Merchant's Hundred in 1743. In the house 1745.

Boy Tom at Merchant's Hundred in 1743. About the house 1744.

I suspect many of these were part of the Gloucester group from Fairfield that Carter Burwell inherited from his father. Some were likely born in Virginia. However Cambridge, Cyrus, and Juba may, from their names, have been Africans.

In addition to these listed in the 1740s, James the gardener, hired to Fauquier, Botetourt, and Dunmore between 1765 and 1771 must have been working as a gardener at Carter's Grove in the 1750s.

Other slaves were listed as living at Merchant's Hundred between 1740 and 1745 but never listed as working in the house. Most of them were likely field hands except for the carter.

Hannah
Betty
Nanny in the quarter
Bristol's wife (unnamed)
Fanny and her children (apparently living apart from the others)
Glo[u]ster Betty
Belinda
Phillis (in 1749 she had at least 5 children, including a son Richmond and a daughter Patt,
suggesting kinship with these domestics)
an unnamed child
Stepney
Jonny
Bristol
Nero
Gaby
Jonny Sawney
new negro Jammy
Joe
George
Peter
Jack
Marcellus
Pompey
Tom Goose
Guy
Punch
Carter Jamey
York
Callabar
new negro Tom

Tom and Jammy were identified as recently arrived Africans. From their names it is likely that Bristol, Nero, Marcellus, Pompey, Punch, York, and Callabar were Africans as well.

Executor William Nelson hired out 13 slaves, primarily to Williamsburg residents in various years between 1764 and 1770. Most were probably domestics, although three men hired to

Benjamin Powell could have been carpenters. This group included: Judith, Betty, Hannah, Venus, Sukey, Jane, Lucy (a girl), Harry, Manuel, Joe, Billy, and James the gardener.

Other than an unnamed cook, few domestics are identified in Nathaniel Burwell's account books. There is no comparable clothing issue list to give an idea of the size of the domestic staff. In 1783 there were a total of 48 slaves living at Carter's Grove—23 adult men, 15 adult women, 6 girls, and 4 boys. Any division between field hands and domestics is not specified in the tax lists. However, a number of these are listed as getting shoes and suits of clothes made by the same shoemakers and tailors who were making clothing and shoes for the Burwell children. I assume these slaves were likely domestics who were better dressed than the field hands. Burwell also paid or lent or borrowed cash from many of these slaves between 1779 and 1786, further reinforcing a close association. These slaves included:

Males: Bristol (baptized 1751 as child), Baron, Harry (hired out in 1764 and 1769), Joe (hired out in 1764; he seems to have done a lot of traveling, so possibly a coachman or body servant who ran errands for Burwell), Kitt, Toney, Jimmy, Michael, and Cesar the barber (present from 1775 to 1806 except when hired to Catherine Campbell in 1782-83)

Females: Tenor [Tiner], Old Nanny, Betty, and Esther

Also, Betsey Cannaday was the cook at Carter Hall between 1794 and 1814. She was living at Carter's Grove in the 1780s and perhaps working in the kitchen.

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A Chronology of Emancipation, 1772-1888

The following chronology contains information that is not in the "Enslaving Virginia Chronology." We want to expand the chronology to include additional names of people and events that shaped the institution of slavery in the nineteenth century and African American life after the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865. Please submit a brief description of people and events to be added to the expanded "Enslaving Virginia Chronology" to Julie Richter (Bruton Heights School or jrichter@cwf.org). The expanded chronology will appear in a future issue of "The Network."

- 1772** Lord Chief Justice Mansfield Rules that Slavery Is Not Supported by English Law, Thus Laying the Legal Basis for the Freeing of England's 15,000 Slaves [See the Enslaving Virginia Resource Book for additional information on the Somerset Case].
- 1774** The English Society of Friends Votes the Expulsion of Any Member Engaged in the Slave Trade.

- 1775 Slavery Abolished in Madeira.
- 1776 The Societies of Friends in England and Pennsylvania Require Members to Free Their Slaves or Face Expulsion.
- 1777 The Vermont Constitution Prohibits Slavery.
- 1780 The Massachusetts Constitution Declares That All Men Are Free and Equal by Birth; a Judicial Decision in 1783 Interprets This Clause as Having the Force of Abolishing Slavery.

Pennsylvania Adopts a Policy of Gradual Emancipation, Freeing the Children of All Slaves Born after **November 1, 1780**, at Their Twenty-Eighth Birthday.

- 1784 Rhode Island and Connecticut Pass Gradual Emancipation Laws.
- 1787 Formation in England of the "Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade."
- 1794 The French National Convention Abolishes Slavery in All French Territories. This Law Is Repealed by Napoleon in **1802**.
- 1799 New York Passes a Gradual Emancipation Law.
- 1800 U. S. Citizens Barred from Exporting Slaves.
- 1804 Slavery Abolished in Haiti.
New Jersey Adopts a Plan of Gradual Emancipation.
- 1807 England and the U. S. Prohibit Engagement in the International Slave Trade.
- 1813 Gradual Emancipation Adopted in Argentina.
- 1814 Gradual Emancipation Begins in Columbia.
- 1820 England Begins Using Naval Power to Suppress the Slave Trade.
- 1823 Slavery Abolished in Chile.
- 1824 Slavery Abolished in Central America.
- 1829 Slavery Abolished in Mexico.
- 1831 Slavery Abolished in Bolivia.
- 1838 Slavery Abolished in All British Colonies.

- 1841 The Quintuple Treaty Is Signed under Which England, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria Agree to Mutual Search of Vessels on the High Seas in Order to Suppress the Slave Trade.
- 1842 Slavery Abolished in Uruguay.
- 1848 Slavery Abolished in All French and Danish Colonies.
- 1851 Slavery Abolished in Ecuador.
Slave Trade Ended in Brazil.
- 1854 Slavery Abolished in Peru and Venezuela.
- 1862 Slave Trade Ended in Cuba.
- 1863 Slavery Abolished in All Dutch Colonies.
- 1865 Slavery Abolished in the U. S. as a Result of the Passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the End of the Civil War.
- 1871 Gradual Emancipation Initiated in Brazil.
- 1873 Slavery Abolished in Puerto Rico.
- 1886 Slavery Abolished in Cuba.
- 1888 Slavery Abolished in Brazil.

Source: Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), pp. 34-35.

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Summary of the Population of Virginia and the United States, 1790

Source: *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1986), pp. 8-10.

Summary of the Population of Virginia and the United States, 1790

County in Virginia	Free white males of 16 years and upward	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females	All other free persons	Slaves	Total
Augusta, the part east of the north mountain	2,048	1,665	3,438	40	1,222	10,886
Augusta, Part west of ditto	551	572	986	19	345	
Albemarle	1,703	1,790	3,342	171	5,579	12,585
Accomack	2,297	2,177	4,502	721	4,262	13,959
Amherst	2,056	2,235	3,995	121	5,296	13,703
Amelia, including Nottoway, a new county	1,709	1,697	3,278	106	11,307	18,097
Botetourt, as it stood previous to the formation of Wythe from it & Montgomery	2,247	2,562	4,432	24	1,259	10,524
Buckingham	1,274	1,537	2,685	115	4,168	9,779
Berkley	4,253	4,547	7,850	131	2,932	19,713
Brunswick	1,472	1,529	2,918	132	6,776	12,827
Bedford	1,785	2,266	3,674	52	2,754	10,531
Cumberland	885	914	1,778	142	4,434	8,153
Chesterfield	1,652	1,557	3,149	369	7,487	14,214
Charlotte	1,285	1,379	2,535	63	4,816	10,078
Culpeper	3,372	3,755	6,682	70	8,226	22,105
Charles City	532	509	1,043	363	3,141	5,588
Caroline	1,799	1,731	3,464	203	10,292	17,489
Campbell	1,236	1,347	2,363	251	2,488	7,685
Dinwiddie	1,790	1,396	2,853	561	7,334	13,934
Essex	908	869	1,766	139	5,440	9,122
Elizabeth City	390	388	778	18	1,876	3,450
Fauquier	2,674	2,983	5,500	93	6,642	17,892
Fairfax	2,138	1,872	3,601	135	4,574	12,320
Franklin	1,266	1,629	2,840	34	1,073	6,842
Fluvanna	589	654	1,187	25	1,466	3,921
Frederick Division	1,757	1,653	3,041	49	1,319	19,681
Ditto	2,078	2,517	4,269	67	2,931	
Gloucester	1,597	1,523	3,105	210	7,063	13,498
Goochland	1,028	1,059	2,053	257	4,656	9,053
Greensville	669	627	1,234	212	3,620	6,362

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County in Virginia	Free white males of 16 years and upward	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females	All other free persons	Slaves	Total
Greenbrier, including Kanawa, a new county	1,463	1,574	2,639	20	319	6,015
Henrico	1,823	1,170	2,607	581	5,819	12,000
Hanover	1,637	1,412	3,242	240	8,223	14,754
Hampshire	1,662	1,956	3,261	13	454	7,346
Harrison	487	579	947	0	67	2,080
Hardy	1,108	2,256	3,192	411	369	7,336
Halifax	2,214	2,320	4,397	226	5,565	14,722
Henry	1,523	1,963	3,277	165	1,551	8,479
Isle of Wight	1,208	1,163	2,415	375	3,867	9,028
James City	395	359	765	146	2,495	4,070
King William	723	732	1,438	84	5,151	8,128
King and Queen	995	1,026	2,138	75	5,143	9,377
King George	757	781	1,585	86	4,157	7,366
Lunenburg	1,110	1,185	2,252	80	4,332	8,959
Loudon	3,677	3,992	7,080	183	4,030	18,962
Lancaster	535	542	1,182	143	3,236	5,638
Louisa	957	1,024	1,899	14	4,573	8,467
Mecklenburg	1,857	2,015	3,683	416	6,762	14,733
Middlesex	407	370	754	51	2,558	4,140
Monongalia	1,089	1,345	2,168	12	154	4,768
Montgomery, as it stood previous to the formation of Wythe from it and Botetourt	2,846	3,744	5,804	6	828	13,228
Norfolk	2,650	1,987	4,291	251	5,345	14,524
Northampton	857	743	1,581	464	3,244	6,889
New Kent	605	587	1,199	148	3,700	6,239
Northumberland	1,046	1,137	2,323	197	4,460	9,103
Nansemond	1,215	1,167	2,331	480	3,817	9,010
Orange	1,317	1,426	2,693	64	4,421	9,921
Ohio	1,222	1,377	2,308	24	281	5,212
Prince Edward	1,044	1,077	1,961	32	3,986	8,100
Prince William	1,644	1,797	3,303	167	4,704	11,615
Prince George	965	822	1,600	267	4,519	8,173

Summary of the Population of Virginia and the United States, 1790

County in Virginia	Free white males of 16 years and upward	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females	All other free persons	Slaves	Total
Powhatan	623	548	1,115	211	4,325	6,822
Pendleton	568	686	1,124	1	73	2,452
Pittsylvania	2,008	2,447	4,083	62	2,979	11,579
Princess Anne	1,169	1,151	2,207	64	3,202	7,793
Richmond	704	697	1,517	83	3,984	6,985
Randolph	221	270	441	0	19	951
Rockingham	1,816	1,652	3,209	0	772	7,449
Russell	734	969	1,440	5	190	3,338
Rockbridge	1,517	1,532	2,756	41	682	6,548
Spotsylvania	1,361	1,278	2,532	148	5,933	11,252
Stafford	1,341	1,355	2,769	87	4,036	9,588
Southampton	1,632	1,546	3,134	559	5,993	12,864
Surry	732	651	1,379	368	3,097	6,227
Shenandoah	2,409	2,779	4,791	19	512	10,510
Sussex	1,215	1,174	2,382	391	5,387	10,554
Warwick	176	158	333	33	990	1,690
Washington	1,287	1,440	2,440	8	450	5,625
Westmoreland	815	754	1,614	114	4,425	7,722
York	530	461	1,124	358	2,760	5,233
Total--Rural	106,812	113,884	210,093	11,997	285,685	728,471
City in Virginia	Free white males of 16 years and upward	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females	All other free persons	Slaves	Total
Alexandria	734	480	939	52	543	2,748
Fredericksburg	318	187	354	59	567	1,485
Richmond	878	353	786	265	1,479	3,761
Petersburg in Dinwiddie comprehending Blandford in Prince George & Pocahontas in Chesterfield	583	205	465	310	1,265	2,828
Williamsburg	186	108	368	46	636	1,344
Borough of Norfolk	599	312	693	61	1,294	2,959

Summary of the Population of Virginia and the United States, 1790

City in Virginia	Free white males of 16 years and upward	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females	All other free persons	Slaves	Total
Portsmouth	294	209	536	47	616	1,702
Winchester	464	341	664	12	170	1,651
York	68	56	148	17	372	661
Total--Urban	4,124	2,251	4,953	869	6,942	19,139
Total--Virginia	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,866	292,627	747,610
District in the United States	Free white males of 16 years and upward	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females	All other free persons	Slaves	Total
Vermont	22,435	22,328	40,505	271	0	85,425
New Hampshire	36,086	34,851	70,160	630	158	141,885
Maine	24,384	24,748	46,870	538	0	96,540
Massachusetts	95,453	87,289	190,582	5,463	0	378,787
Rhode Island	16,019	15,799	32,652	3,407	948	68,825
Connecticut	60,523	54,403	117,448	2,808	2,764	237,946
New York	83,700	78,122	152,320	4,654	21,324	340,120
New Jersey	45,251	41,416	83,287	2,762	11,423	184,139
Pennsylvania	110,788	106,948	206,363	6,537	3,737	434,373
Delaware	11,783	12,143	22,384	3,899	8,887	59,096
Maryland	55,915	51,339	101,395	8,043	103,036	319,728
Virginia	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,866	292,627	747,610
Kentucky	15,154	17,057	28,922	114	12,430	73,677
North Carolina	69,988	77,506	140,710	4,975	100,572	393,751
South Carolina	35,576	37,722	66,880	1,801	107,094	249,073
Georgia	13,103	14,044	25,739	398	29,264	82,548
Total	807,094	791,850	1,541,263	59,150	694,280	3,893,523
S.W. territory	6,271	10,277	15,365	361	3,417	35,691
N.W. territory	0	0	0	0	0	0